# Araki: A disappearing language of Vanuatu 

Alexandre François

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## A DISAPPEARING LANGUAGE OF VANUATU

Alexandre François

## Araki

## A disappearing language of Vanuatu

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## Araki

## A disappearing language of Vanuatu

Alexander François



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to the late Lele Moli, in memory of his kindness and knowledge

Om mece lä̈a, Lele, m̈ara posim mo holoho kam̈am kesi kam com̈iko ro.

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## Foreword

My encounter with the language of Araki was quite by chance. I had only spent my first week in Vanuatu, and was heading to the Banks Is. to carry out linguistic fieldwork on Mwotlap, when circumstances made me spend one more month in the island of Espiritu Santo, the largest of the archipelago. A French ethnobotanist asked me to carry out a questionnaire about plant names in some of the thirty languages which are spoken on this island of Santo; and on that occasion, I heard the people of Tangoa mention the existence of a 'small language' which had survived on the island of Araki, with only a handful of elderly people still capable of speaking it fluently.

This is how I first met Chief Lele Moli, who was about seventy seven years old at that time. Being himself aware of how much his language was in danger, he insisted that I record as much of it as I could before it was too late, which of course I accepted without hesitation. Since at that moment he was staying in Luganville, the second largest city of Vanuatu, I postponed my trip to the island itself; and during the month of November 1997, I took the habit of visiting him almost every day at his house, for an hour or so, to have long conversations about the language of Araki. He welcomed me into his family, always ready to teach me more and more; to all my questions he had the patience to answer carefully, together with his son Graham, whom I thank for his assistance. The majority of the linguistic information on which this book is based was given to me by Lele himself, to whom this work is fully dedicated. Sadly, Lele Moli passed away in June 2000, without seeing the fruit of our collaboration.

Although I was living mainly in the northern parts of Vanuatu, I was able to spend some time, in April 1998, on the island of Araki. This gave me a better idea of its geography and culture, and allowed me to appreciate the hospitality of Arakians. Especially, I could meet and hear some of the last speakers of the language;' my first thanks go to Ropo, to Sohe Moli, to Vari Tamaute, who shared their stories with me - some of them are reproduced at the end of this book. I am also indebted to Vevuti, Lele's daughter, who helped me transcribe my recordings;

[^0]and to Hannah Bogiri-Vari (University of the South Pacific), for the precious information she sent me about the sociolinguistic backgroung of her island.

My discovery of Araki was a personal detour in the context of a fieldwork among the islands of Vanuatu, in 1997-1998, which was made possible with the financial support of the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) and of the Académie Française. Moreover, it is a pleasure for me to recall how I was helped in my research, by my supervisor Alain Lemaréchal (Université de Paris-Sorbonne); Darrell Tryon and his colleagues of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (A.N.U., Canberra); and Ralph Regenvanu, head of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Port-Vila).

During my writing of the present grammar in May-July 2000, I benefited from the encouraging advice of Jean-Claude and Françoise Rivierre (LAcITO-CNRS), and of John Lynch (University of the South Pacific). Last but not least, I would like to thank my family for their indispensable assistance: Brenda for making my English accessible to English speakers, little Hugo for sparing my precious field notebooks, and Sawako for her chocolate cakes.

Ham mece lapa kam̈im povi, nam opoi kam̈im vutiana, pani nam kila ro ha pa lesia noku üev̈ehina nene ha pa avulai nia.


Chief Lele Moli was one of the last speakers of Araki. The generation of his children have adopted the language of neighbouring Tangoa; as for his grandchildren who live in town, they are growing up in a modern environment where the dominant language is pidgin Bislama.


Map 1 Location of Vanuatu inside the Pacific Ocean
The largest island of this archipelago is Santo I., to which Araki is closest.

## 1. Introduction

The present grammar is the fruit of a short linguistic survey, which we carried out in November 1997 and April 1998 in Vanuatu. It represents what we have been able to reconstruct from the grammar of Araki, a disappearing language among the many tongues of that South-Pacific country. As is often the case with the languages of Melanesia, no other study has ever been previously published on Araki; knowing the threat which hangs over it, it is likely that the present work provides as much as is ever likely to be known about the grammar of this language.

### 1.1. The geographic and social context of Araki

### 1.1.1. Vanuatu

Araki language is spoken in a small, round, rocky island officially called Araki - that is, Daki ['raki] in the vernacular; it is just three miles off the southern shores of Espiritu Santo, which is the largest island of the country. Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides, is an independent Republic of the South Pacific (Map 1); it is mainly populated by Melanesian people, who settled there about three thousand years ago.

The archipelago of Vanuatu is famous for its linguistic density, one of the highest in the world: more than a hundred distinct languages are spoken in its eighty islands, ${ }^{2}$ for an overall population of less than 200000 (Map 2). They all belong to the Oceanic group of Austronesian languages, and are often designated as 'Melanesian' languages, though this label corresponds to more than one genetic subgroup. More precisely, Araki belongs to the set of languages which Clark (1985) labelled 'North and Central Vanuatu'. Beside these vernacular languages, all Ni-Vanuatu can speak the English-based pidgin Bislama; but this lingua franca is mainly used in the two towns of the country, Port-Vila and Luganville, and seldom in rural areas.

[^1]
© Darrell Tryon 1996

## Map 2 The languages of Vanuatu

The Republic of Vanuatu consists of more than a hundred distinct languages, all belonging to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. Along with Araki (\#46), the languages which are mentioned in this study correspond, on this map, to \#5, 6, 29, 47, 49, 55, 71, 95, 102, 105, 108.


Map 3 Araki and its mainland Santo
Araki is a small island located south of Santo I., in Vanuatu. A famous myth tells how Araki moved from Hog Harbour to its current location, near Tangoa and Elia (see §8.1). Other place names which are mentioned in this study include: Tangoa I., Malo 1., Luganville, Shark Bay, Port Olry.

### 1.1.2. Araki

With an area of 2.5 square kilometers, Araki always had a low population. Census records as early as $1897^{3}$ give 103 islanders, while they were 112 in 1989, and 121 in $1999 .{ }^{4}$

Araki is sometimes considered to have one single village, located on the northern flank of the island, facing the shores of Santo (Map 3). In reality, this community is divided into five hamlets or villages, that is, from west to east: Belinda (including Leilehina), Parili, Parili-Aru, Vinapahura, and Sope. ${ }^{5}$

These villages are basically homes to individual extended family clans; these clans can be referred to as vapa (literally 'cave'). For example, the village of Sope belongs to Lele Moli and his extended family, that is, his sons, their wives and children. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)
In addition, a common area close to Sope is called the Mission (Misin):
The Mission is where the church, the nakamal (meeting house), the cooperative, the aid post, the Chief's house, the Pastor's house, the women's club house are located. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)
As is often the case in rural areas of Vanuatu, most of the people are subsistence farmers, exploiting the resources of land and sea for their own consumption; they also breed pigs and poultry. At the same time, many Arakians have developed various trade activities as sources of income:

- culture of copra and especially cocoa;
- local stores and bakery;
- selling crabs, coconut crabs, fish, and fruit, to the market of Luganville.

But for many Arakians, inland activities do not generate sufficient income: therefore they prefer to cultivate larger land slots in the mainland Santo, or even choose to live in the local capital Luganville. As a result, the official figure of a hundred islanders does not reflect the population which really lives permanently on Araki: several men, or even whole families, live between their island and the mainland. The development of the modern town Luganville, especially after the American presence in 1942, continues to attract people for socio-economical

[^2]reasons easy to understand. This situation exposes most Arakians - as well as their children - to languages other than their own, that is, local South Santo vernaculars (for example Wailapa, Narango, especially Tangoa) as well as pidgin Bislama.

### 1.2. The sociolinguistic situation on Araki

### 1.2.1. Araki, a dying language

Former figures recorded up to eighty (Tryon \& Charpentier 1989) or even one hundred and five (SLL 1983) speakers of Araki; but they are evidently overestimated. An in-depth sociolinguistic survey of the island (Varisipite and BogiriVari 1998) showed that though thirty four people claimed to speak Araki, the majority of them are not fluent.

In reality, there appears to have been a steady decrease in the number of speakers over the last three or four generations: as a consequence, there are nowadays hardly fifteen speakers, who can understand and speak Araki fluently. ${ }^{6}$ Most of them were born between the 1920s and the early 1960s, which means that this language ceased to be used daily, in most families of the island, at least fifty years ago.

Table 1-1 Fluent speakers of Araki: official figures v. our estimate

| source | island <br> population | speakers, <br> official | speakers, <br> our estimate | year |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Miller 1990 | 103 | $(103)$ | $(103)$ | 1897 |
| SL | $(105)$ | 105 | $45 ?$ | 1983 |
| Tryon \& Charp. | 112 | 80 | $30 ?$ | 1989 |
| Bogiri-Vari | 121 | 34 | 15 | 1999 |

As will be shown below, Araki is no longer used in public, but only in a domestic context. This can explain why the language has survived in some families more than in others: for example Lele Moli's ten children, and even some of his grandchildren who lived with him, can still speak the language fairly well; but this extension to three generations is not usually found in other family clans.

While only 15 per cent of the Arakian population are fluent enough to use the language in any situation, the rest have at least a passive knowledge of it, that is, they can understand it, and even make whole phrases or sentences. Nevertheless, they have already forgotten most of the vocabulary, the difficulties of syntax, and even the most idiosyncratic phonemes of the language. For example, only the

[^3]fluent speakers can still distinguish between the flap [r] and the trill [r]; and only them are still able to pronounce - or even to hear properly - the apico-labial consonants [ $\ddot{\mathrm{p}}$ ], [ $\ddot{\mathrm{v}}],[\mathrm{m}]$; the other 'passive' speakers, when they try and speak Araki, will replace these sounds either with bilabials [p], [ $\beta$ ], [m] or with apicoalveolars [t], [n].

As is common in such cases of language death, ${ }^{7}$ the vernacular disappears more or less rapidly according to the personality of each individual, to the way of life of each family, and to their sensitivity to foreign influence. As a result, it is difficult to draw the boundary between those who do and those who do not 'speak Araki', because everything is gradual and quite subjective. On the one hand, several people overestimate their own linguistic competence, mainly for psychological reasons, and this leads to exaggerated figures of thirty or forty fluent speakers; on the other hand, a very strict conception of what a good knowledge of the language should be, convinced Lele Moli that he was 'the last speaker' of Araki. The actual size of the Araki-speaking population lies somewhere between these two extremes, and the figure of fifteen seems reasonable.

### 1.2.2. The influence of Tangoa

In the present case, the language which is replacing Araki on the island is not or not only - the pidgin Bislama, as one could expect. For a couple of generations, everybody on Araki has been switching to the language of the neighbouring island Tangoa. The latter language is close enough to Araki, at least from the linguist's point of view, ${ }^{8}$ in such a way that it has been proposed to consider Araki and Tangoa two dialects of the same language; nevertheless, native Tangoans usually do not understand Araki, which suggests they are two distinct languages.

### 1.2.2.1. Inter-island marriages

Several reasons can be considered for the recent progress of Tangoa over Araki. ${ }^{9}$ The explanation which is most often given, is the increase of inter-island marriages between both islands: many men from Araki, during the last generation,

[^4]9 The essential of this information is drawn from Varisipite and Bogiri-Vari (1998), Bogiri-Vari (2000).
would marry women from Tangoa, in such a way that their children would have mostly Tangoa as their 'mother tongue'. This situation can be observed typically with our main informant Lele Moli, who married successively with two women from Tangoa; as a consequence, his ten children did not have Araki as their first language, but as a secondary tongue.

One could question this phenomenon, and wonder, for example, why the reverse process did not occur - that is, Tangoa men marrying Araki women. However, the theoretical symmetry of a women-exchanging system is of little relevance here, when the communities are so small: among a population of a hundred people, the number of nubile youngsters was too low to reach mathematical equilibrium between genders - in other terms, it remains statistically possible that Arakian boys were more numerous than girls for a certain period, and this, combined with a couple of other factors, could result in a quick reshaping of the sociolinguistic situation on the island. This observation suggests that the historical disappearance of languages in these small Melanesian communities must have occurred more often than what is usually believed. ${ }^{10}$

Another answer to the same question, is that the population of Tangoa being four or five times as big as that of Araki, there are necessarily more Tangoan women marrying to Araki than the reverse. Moreover, Arakian women marry to other islands of Vanuatu - for example Santo, Pentecost, Efate - in such a way that no Araki-speaking community can be formed outside their home island.
H. Bogiri-Vari shows that in 1998, out of 28 women aged twenty to forty who had married and come to live on Araki, no less than 24 were born outside the island, while only 4 were Arakian women married to Arakian men. Even if these 24 women do not all come from Tangoa, they have all adopted its dialect first as a lingua franca, and eventually as the unique way to communicate.

### 1.2.2.2. Missionary and Church influence

The second main reason for the increasing influence of Tangoa language during the last century, is the development of Christian missions. The first Presbyterian missionaries settled on Tangoa as early as in 1887, and founded the TTI (Tangoa Training Institute), ${ }^{11}$ which had and still has a deep influence upon the social life of the whole South Santo area.

[^5]From 1892 to 1923, several parts of the Bible and hymn books were produced in the area; they were all written in Tangoa language, which had been chosen as the local lingua franca for missionary purposes. It was used not only in church, but also in all forms of education ${ }^{12}$ and inter-island communication; on the island of Araki, Tangoa began to be the normal idiom on many public occasions, at the expense of the local vernacular. At the same time, Bislama became more and more commonly used in the same activities:

Church services are usually carried out in Bislama or Tangoa, and only occasionally in Araki language, if the service is carried out by such people as Pastor Varisipiti or Elder Lele Moli. (Bogiri-Vari 2000)

### 1.2.2.3. Other factors for language loss

The public (non-religious) school system is also decreasing the use of Araki. First, because secondary school is officially held in French or English; second, because the teachers usually come from different places of Vanuatu, and therefore speak Bislama; third, because Araki island only has a Kindergarten and a primary school, in such a way that children continue their schooling on the mainland:

The last two years of primary education are usually away from home, in a boarding school on the mainland; there, children are exposed to other languages such as Tangoa, Bislama and English. Others continue on to other high schools, and because of lack of finance, hardly come home for holiday.
(Bogiri-Vari 2000)
What is more, we have already mentioned the socio-economical attraction of the neighbouring town, and its employment opportunities; as well as the need, for many islanders, to cultivate copra or food crops on the mainland, which is more fertile and extended than their inherited land on the island.

### 1.2.3. Language use on Araki: a polyglossic situation

To sum up, Table 1-2 shows how four distinct languages are being used today on the island, depending on the social occasion. The low status of Araki is obvious. ${ }^{13}$
see §8.1.2 p.205.
12 Education and church are not easy to separate in those central parts of Vanuatu held by Presbyterians. As an illustration, the Araki word skul (<Bsl. skul < English school) means 'church', or (as a verb) 'attend church, go for prayer' - see also Tryon and Charpentier (1989).
13 Data from Bogiri-Vari (2000).

Table 1-2 Language use on Araki island in 2000: a polyglossic situation

| social context | Araki | Tangoa | Bislama | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kindergarten | - | + | + | - |
| Primary school | - | - | + | + |
| Bible classes ('Youths') | - | + | $(+)$ | - |
| Women's club | - | + | + | - |
| Church | $(+)$ | + | + | - |
| between villagers | - | + | - | - |
| at home | $(+)$ | + | - | - |

### 1.3. Our research on the language of Araki

### 1.3.1. Existing documentation

To date, almost nothing is known about the language of Araki, apart from a wordlist published in Tryon (1976), along with all the other languages of Vanuatu. Not only the list for Araki (list \#75), but also the general presentation given for all the languages, provide important insights to most of the phonological features with which we are concerned, especially the apico-labial consonants (1976:52). As for the flap/trill distinction, although he does not mention it in the introduction (for example 1976:29), it does appear occasionally - even if not systematically throughout the list, in the form of a contrast between [r] and [ř]: for example [paru-ku] 'head', [puřo-ku] 'navel'.

On some occasions, Darrell Tryon's list shows forms which differ from what we heard during our own field: for example we have [ripa] 'axe' when he has [ripa]; [ v̈erali] 'banana' when he gives [ßerale]; [p̈ep̈e] 'butterfly' corresponding to his [ $p^{w} e p^{w} e$ ], and so on. The reasons for these discrepancies can be of two kind: one possibility is an error in transcribing, either on his part ${ }^{14}$ or on ours; the second would be an actual difference in the way lexical items were given by the speakers. This would mean that certain Araki consonants may have been subject to variation, either historically, geographically, socially or individually; we believe this might indeed have been the case at least for apico-labial consonants. ${ }^{15}$ Deeper research would be needed, if it is not too late, to check the scope of these variations in Araki phonology.

[^6]
### 1.3.2. Methodology

As we mentioned in the Foreword, the main bulk of our research on Araki language was carried out as individual interviews with Lele Moli, at his house in Luganville. As a result, what we lack most in our data is spontaneous speech between native speakers, which we usually consider the best approach to language description (François 2000). However, given the sociolinguistic situation of Araki, it is most likely that we would have enjoyed few opportunities to hear such casual conversations, even if we had carried out this work on the island itself.

Our fieldwork on this language could only be done during the spare time left by our main field study, that is, the linguistic description of Mwotlap (Banks Is). During the four weeks we were able to dedicate to Araki, we did not acquire enough fluency to have any deep intuition about its grammar. As a consequence, the present study is entirely based on a corpus analysis, however frustrating this method may be.

This corpus consists of two separate bunches of data:

- elicited sentences, which we aimed to be as natural as possible, with mainly Lele Moli as our informant;
- oral literature, consisting of fifteen stories (about 40 minutes) recorded from various fluent speakers, including Lele, Ropo, Vari, Sohe. Ten of these texts were fully transcribed and translated, with the help of native speakers. ${ }^{16}$
In the chapters of the present study, we will always privilege the second part of this corpus, because of its spontaneity; and we will cite our isolated sentences only when no equivalent is found in our texts. However, even the first part of our fieldwork, that is, 'grammatical' elicitation, was deeply concerned with naturalness of the speech. For theoretical reasons which we shall not detail here, we always refused to ask our informants whether a sentence was 'grammatical' or not, and always preferred to ask if it would be the most natural in a given context even a fictitious context.

Not only our methodology, but also the core of our scientific concerns and of our linguistic reasonings, are based on the correlations between the speaker and his anthropological, social, and pragmatic environment.

[^7]
### 1.4. The present study

This book provides a grammar description of the language of Araki; it is as comprehensive as was made possible by our limited corpus. After a presentation of the Araki sound system (Chapter 2), the reader will find an overview of the major parts of speech defined on distributional ground (Chapter 3). Then we provide a detailed study of the internal organisation of noun phrases (Chapter 4) and verb phrases (Chapter 5), with a discussion on the relevant linguistic issues which are raised by these syntactic rules: for example issues on referentiality, numbermarking and possession for NPs; questions on modality, aspect and transitivity for VPs. Chapter 6 presents the internal syntax of whole clauses, with a reflection on the predicativeness of each part of speech, as well as the informational hierarchy between constituents; and we eventually (Chapter 7) examine how these clauses organise together to build whole sentences and paragraphs. The next part of this book (Chapter 8) breathes life into this grammar sketch, by offering a selection of texts from the oral tradition of Araki; and finally the last two chapters provide a short Araki-English-Araki dictionary, as detailed as was made possible with our limited corpus.

The functional approach to language we mentioned earlier, together with a focus on the pragmatics of discourse, turned out to be extremely fertile when trying to have a clear understanding - or even just trying to give an accurate description - of how a language like this really works. At the same time as it describes the syntax of Araki, our study aims at emphasising the paramount importance, for the interpretation of these syntactic structures, of the functional parameters involved in any speech situation. Grammar is not just a set of formal, arbitrary rules that one has to obey, but rather a sophisticated arsenal geared to resist, adapt and reply to the never-ending modifications of the speaker's environment. The speaker permanently shapes and reshapes his verbal strategies, eager to reconcile his immediate communicative intents with the heavy structural, cognitive and pragmatic constraints hanging over the success of his speech acts.

These theoretical issues appear throughout the following chapters, together with questions belonging more specifically to the studies on Oceanic languages. We sincerely hope that this grammar of Araki, however sketchy it may appear, be of some help to linguists at large, whatever their speciality. On the one hand, Oceanists will find several diachronic and areal reflections on the linguistic situation of Araki, as well as the more specific data they need; on the other hand, typologists should be able to discover the interest of such a language for language theory. A detailed index at the end of this book, as well as several footnotes dealing with cross-linguistic differences and universal trends, will help the reader figure out the linguistic identity of Araki among the languages of the world.

### 1.5. Typological overview

We will end this introduction with a typological overview of the language of Araki. This can also be read as an abstract to the present grammar; all the notions mentioned here will easily be found in our index (p.343-353).

Phonologically speaking, Araki belongs to a very small set of languages, found only in Vanuatu, which have created and maintained a series of apico-labial consonants. Another unusual feature is the phonemic opposition between a trill, a flap and a liquid, on the same point of articulation. The diachronic effects of word stress result in the irregular loss of some syllables, and the creation of new phonotactic patterns - that is, CVC, CCV, which is rare in the area; another consequence of this stress is the emergence of a distinctive accent, following a spectacular - though typologically well-known - path of evolution.

Araki follows many Oceanic languages, in contrasting different patterns for the coding of possession: in addition to the alienability opposition - which appears to be particularly free in this language - five possessive classifiers are used to distinguish between different semantic relations.

Number categories were reduced to a binary contrast between singular and plural, with only vestigial forms of dual; the former trial has been reinterpreted with a globalising effect ('all together'), which is slightly different from a paucal. What is more, even the singular/plural opposition is far from being universal: nonhuman referents most often neutralise this semantic category, and are coded as singular whatever the actual number of the referent.

Rather than animacy, the criterion of humanhood appears to be more relevant to describe Araki syntactic categorisations: in particular, the use of the construct suffix in genitive structures is normally a privilege of human possessors; and the strategies for cross-referencing the object also mark a clear boundary between human and non-human individuals. The only exception to these rather strict rules, are for proper place names, which are always treated as humans.

As far as reference-tracking strategies are concerned, the pivotal linguistic category in Araki is not so much definiteness - which is not necessarily coded for - but rather specificity of the referent. In a most original way, this semantic parameter appears to be essential throughout the syntax of this language. Not only articles distinguish between specific and non-specific noun phrases, but this feature also splits up existential predicates, and plays a crucial role in the coding for transitivity. Indeed, only referential objects are given an autonomous status in the clause, whereas non-referential NPs are systematically incorporated into the nuclear verb phrase.

Most interestingly, the referentiality contrast strongly correlates with the pragmatic and modal status of the clause: specific nouns are typically associated to realis assertions, whereas most other sentence types - negation, interrogation, irrealis assertion - regularly code their arguments as being non-specific, unless
they are definite. In this regard, pragmatic or cognitive referentiality are often more relevant than semantic referentiality.

Furthermore, the notion of referentiality does not only apply to nouns and to the representation of objects: even verbs appear to obey a similar division, since their mood marking between realis and irrealis mood can reasonably be described in terms of referentiality v. non-referentiality of the event. Again, Araki is quite original in having grammaticised a strictly binary opposition between these two moods: not only all verb phrases, but also adjectival or numeral predicates, necessarily take either realis or irrealis marker, with absolutely no other alternative. Not only are all modal categories reduced to this binary opposition, but there is no other device for coding tense: as a result, the sentences of Araki look like a string of clauses switching back and forth from realis to irrealis modality. The only other notion to which verbs are sensitive is aspect, with a handful of optional markers.

To be precise, these semantic features of aspect and modality define only one kind of predicate, whose head is a verb, an adjective or a numeral - seldom a noun. Conversely, other parts of speech (nouns, demonstratives, adverbs) are directly predicative: they basically form equational predicates, which are normally sensitive neither to time nor to pragmatic variations. The constituent order is strictly SVO, with a clear formal boundary between the direct object - always internal to the predicate phrase, whether incorporated or not - and the oblique arguments: adverbs, prepositional phrases and indirect objects always appear outside the VP.

Finally, the last major original feature of Araki, is the overwhelming development of clause chaining. More frequent than verb serialisation, this strategy is exploited in almost all sentences, as a powerful device for analysing a complex situation into several events, or a complex event into several of its facets. The interclausal relations involved in a clause-chaining string correspond either to cognitive iconicity, or to functional constraints such as the hierarchy of information. This grammatical device has even supplanted most subordination patterns, in such a way that any sample of normal speech in Araki often resembles a never-ending chain of clauses, following each other in Indian file. And indeed, if there is a structural hierarchy between these clauses, it is seldom coded by any formal, unambiguous marker, but has to be inferred through a complex semantic and pragmatic analysis.

## 2. Phonology

From a general point of view, Araki phonology is quite conservative of the Proto Oceanic system, especially because it has retained the five vowels of its ancestor, with little innovations. But consonants have undergone a few changes, with the creation of apico-labials, and a high degree of phonemic distinctions at the alveolar point of articulation (stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, lateral, flap and trill).

More significant are the modifications of syllable structure, due to the effects of stress, both diachronically and synchronically: out of a strictly open-syllable (CV) language, Araki has created richer patterns like CVC or CCV syllables, with many word-final consonants. Some effects of this stress also involve vowels, either through deletion or assimilation; as a result of this, a word accent is emerging, which can be morphologically distinctive.

### 2.1. Phonemes

### 2.1.1. Consonants

The phonological inventory of Araki contains 16 consonant phonemes; presented in Table 2-3. These consonants generally appear at the beginning of a syllable, although word-final Cs and consonant clusters will be discussed below (§2.4).

Table 2-3 Consonants of Araki

|  | bilabial | apicolabial | alveolar | velar | glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voiceless stop | p | $\ddot{\mathrm{p}}$ | t | k |  |
| voiceless affricate <br> voiceless fricative |  |  | ts |  |  |
| voiced fricative | $\beta$ | $\ddot{v}$ | s |  | h |
| nasal | m | $\ddot{\mathrm{m}}$ | n | y |  |
| lateral |  |  | l |  |  |
| flap |  |  | r |  |  |
| trill |  |  | r |  |  |

The main features of this system, which differs from other neighbouring languages, are the following:

- existence of an apico-labial series;
- lack of a row of voiced/prenasalised stops;
- high number of phonemic differentiation on the apico-alveolar point of articulation.


### 2.1.1.1. Apico-labials

Apico-labial phonemes form an areal feature of Central Vanuatu languages, being found mainly on Santo and Malekula islands, and in very few other places in the world (Maddieson 1989). Also known as 'linguo-labials', they are pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the middle of the upper lip. In Araki, this involves either complete blocking of the air followed by exploding - thus forming the voiceless obstruent $/ / \overline{\mathrm{p}} /$ - or a constriction at this same point - to form the voiced $/ \ddot{v} /$ - or a complete obstruction, correlated with nasality - which defines the nasal consonant $/ \ddot{\mathrm{m}} /$. These three phonemes may be opposed one-to-one to their bilabial correspondents, either with minimal or semi-minimal pairs:

Table 2-4 Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and bilabials

| /rap̈ala/ | 'friend' | /rapala/ | 'Grouper (fish)' |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :--- |
| /pirina/ | 'its seed' | /pilina/ | 'his shoulder' |
| /̈̈a/ | 'go' | /ßa/ | Definite |
| /̈vaha/ | Multiplicative | /ßaha/ | 'lightning' |
| / $\mathrm{matsi} /$ | 'fish/bird' | /matsi/ | 'leg's calf' |
| / $\mathrm{mara/}$ | 'because'; 'eye' | /mara/ | 'snake' |

It has been often observed, in other languages of Santo or Malekula, ${ }^{17}$ the diachronic shift from a bilabial to an apico-alveolar or dental consonant, via precisely an apico-labial stage: thus ${ }^{*} p>{ }^{*} \ddot{p}>t$, or ${ }^{*} m>{ }^{*} \ddot{m}>n$. In this perspective, it is of interest to point out that Araki has retained the three series of consonants, as is shown through the following pairs contrasting apico-labial / $\ddot{\mathrm{p}} /$ and $/ \ddot{\mathrm{m}} /$ with the phonetically close apico-alveolar sounds $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{n} /$ respectively.

[^8]Table 2-5 Phonemic contrast between apico-labials and apico-alveolars

| /p̈aheu/ | 'shark' | /tahaßu/ | 'cover' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /рёере/ | 'butterfly' | /tetei/ | 'father's sister' |
| /pilahe/ | 'Rail (bird)' | /tilaßono/ | 'poor, deprived' |
| /marua/ | 'righthand' | /naruna/ | 'his child' |
| /m̈eme/ | 'tongue' | /nene/ | 'here' |

Despite the lack of perfect minimal pairs, this evidence should suffice to prove the existence of three series of consonants opposed by their point of articulation, namely bilabial v . apico-labial v . apico-alveolar consonants.

However, it should be noticed that the distribution of these apicolabial $v$. bilabial consonants throughout the lexicon, depends largely on the following vowel. Table 2-6 shows the distribution of apico-v. bi-labial consonants according to the vowel following, throughout the lexical entries of our lexicon: the figures indicate the number of such -CV- syllables, whatever their position within the word.

Table 2-6 Lexical distribution of bi-labial v. apico-labial v. apico-alveolar consonants, according to following vowel

|  | $i$ | $e$ | $a$ | $o$ | $u$ |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $p$ | 5 | 15 | 31 | 18 | 17 |
| $\nu$ | 60 | 15 | 35 | 24 | 41 |
| $m$ | 3 | 6 | 26 | 8 | 3 |
| $\ddot{p}$ | 6 | 8 | 24 | - | - |
| $\ddot{v}$ | - | 8 | 22 | - | - |
| $\ddot{m}$ | 5 | 5 | 61 | - | - |
| $t$ | 7 | 5 | 26 | 10 | 7 |
| $n$ | 23 | 5 | 28 | 22 | 9 |

This table shows not only that some vowels are generally more common than others - which is not surprising - but more specifically that apico-labials are incompatible with both rounded vowels $/ \mathrm{o} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{u}$. The absence of $\ddot{v i}$ syllables could be due to insufficient data, but the contrast with the number of $v i$ syllables suggests that / $/ \mathrm{/} /$ might well be incompatible with the high front vowel $\mathrm{i} /$, too.

### 2.1.1.2. Affricate

Araki contrasts with its immediate neighbouring language Tangoa, in having a (voiceless) alveolar affricate $/ \mathrm{ts} / .^{18}$ To be precise, this phoneme is generally

[^9]realised phonetically as:

- [ts] or [tcc] before $\mathrm{f} /$ /.
- [tcc] or [ t$]$ ] before $/ \mathrm{a} /$ and $/ \mathrm{e} /$,
- [tf] before rounded vowels $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{u} /$,

As a consequence, [ts], [tc] and [t 5$]$ are no more than three allophones of the same phoneme /ts/; in the orthography, it will be spelt $\mathbf{c}$. We therefore find such words as:

Table 2-7 Allophones of phoneme $c / t \mathrm{~s} /$


The affricate phoneme /ts/ can be distinguished from other phonetically close phonemes $/ \mathrm{t}$, $\mathrm{s} /$ through the following evidence :

Table 2-8 Phonemic contrast between affricate $/ \mathrm{ts} /$ and close phonemes $/ \mathrm{t}$, /s/

| /tso/ | 3sg (Irrealis) | /to/ | 'hen, chicken' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /tsu/ | 'nice, handsome' | /tu/ | 'son/daughter' |
| /tsoro/ | 'it's all right' | /soro/ | 'blow, talk' |
| /matsa/ | 'wooden club' | /masa/ | 'mushroom' |

### 2.1.1.3. Fricative

The glottal fricative phoneme $/ \mathrm{h} /$, at least in the idiolect of our main informant Lele Moli, has two allophones, which are partly predictable, and partly randomly represented in our corpus: it is generally voiceless [h] everywhere, especially at the beginning of a word; and it optionally takes the voiced variants $[\mathrm{K}] \sim[\gamma]$, mostly between vowels within a word. Yet, there is no minimal pair contrasting these sounds, suggesting that they are all free/context-sensitive variants standing for the same phoneme $/ \mathrm{h} /$.

Some pairs contrasting the two voiceless fricative phonemes $/ \mathrm{h} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{s} /$ include the following :

Table 2-9 Phonemic contrast between glottal $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and alveolar $/ \mathrm{s} /$

| /horo/ | 'root' | /soro/ | 'blow, talk' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /laho/ | 'trunk' | laso/ | 'testicles' |

### 2.1.1.4. Trill, flap, lateral

Finally, one of the difficulties of Araki, is to hear the difference between three very close phonemes, that is, the lateral $/ \mathrm{l}$, the flap $/ \mathrm{r} /$, and the trill $/ \mathrm{r} /$. Since these distinctions do not exist in Tangoa or in the neighbouring languages, ${ }^{19}$ they typically disappear after the last generation of fluent speakers of Araki: though younger people can often understand or repeat many words, they will very often skip the contrast between $/ \mathrm{r} /$ and $/ \mathrm{r} / .^{20}$

Nevertheless, the following evidence shows these three phonemes to be distinct in Araki:

Table 2-10 Phonemic contrast between trill $/ \mathrm{r} /$, flap $/ \mathrm{r} /$, and lateral $/ 1 /$


Unlike with apicolabials, there appears to be no particular restrictions on the distribution of these three consonants, which are all very common in Araki.

### 2.1.1.5. Other contrasts

Among the other phonemic contrasts which have not yet been illustrated, we may mention the ones involving $/ \mathrm{g} /$ :

Table 2-11 Phonemic contrast between velar nasal, velar stop, alveolar nasal

| /naya/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /pon/ |$\quad$| 'Canarium almond' |
| :--- |
| 'day' | | /kaka/ |
| :--- |
| /pon/ |$\quad$| 'reach' |
| :--- |
| 'smell' |

[^10]
### 2.1.2. Vowels

The phonology of Araki is quite straightforward regarding vowels, with five elements organised in a symmetrical system.

Table 2-12 Vowels of Araki

|  | front | central | back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| high | i |  | u |
| mid | e |  | o |
| low |  | a |  |

There are no phonetic or phonemic long vowels, each vowel being normally short. From the historical point of view, notice that these five vowels almost systematically reflect the five vowels of Proto Oceanic etyma, with very few cases of change in quality; for example POc *tasik $>$ rasi 'sea', *tolu $>$ rolu 'three'.

Nothing in this language makes it necessary to consider diphthongs on the phonemic level. However, vowels do meet in many lexical items, as shown in Table 2-13. It is not even rare to hear sequences of three or four consecutive vowels, as in Nam poe-i-a 'I like him'.

Table 2-13 Number of vowel clusters VV in our lexicon

|  | $i$ | $-e$ | $-a$ | $-o$ | $-u$ |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $i-$ | - | - | 10 | 5 | 2 |
| $e-$ | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| $a-$ | 26 | 3 | - | 5 | 19 |
| $o-$ | - | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| $u-$ | 4 | 10 | 22 | 1 | - |

A sequence <high $V+$ low $V>$ may indeed be phonetically pronounced with a glide sound: ua-ku 'my neck' is pronounced [u'aku] or ['waku]; yet there is never any contrast with such phonetic pairs, and both allophonic pronunciations are possible. ${ }^{21}$ What is more, VV clusters normally behave as two separate syllables on phonotactic criteria. For example, while the stress-assignment rule (see §2.3.1) selects the penultimate syllable, a word ending with a -VV sequence will always

[^11]place its stress on the first of these two vowels: hence ruai [ru'ai] 'before' has three syllables, and avulai [aßu'lai] 'glad' has four. ${ }^{22}$

### 2.2. Orthography

The orthography we are using aims at both simplicity and accuracy, since it has to be transparent to both linguists - including non-Oceanists - and non-linguists including native speakers of Araki. The basic conventions of neighbouring Vanuatu languages have been followed, such as using $|\mathbf{g}|$ for the nasal velar $/ \mathrm{g} /$; digraphs have been avoided.

Spelling conventions which need no comment concern the five vowels a eiou, and the consonantsptkvemi. The three apicolabials are written either with the IPA double-dot above / $\ddot{\mathrm{p}}$ v̈ $\ddot{\mathrm{m}}$ / whenever this is possible; or instead with a small circle after them: $p^{\circ} v^{\circ} m^{\circ}$. As mentioned above, $g$ codes for the velar nasal $/ \mathrm{g} /$.

Although the phoneme $/ \mathrm{h} /$ is transcribed, in the neighbouring (and predominant) language Tangoa, with a $\mathbf{c}$, we have rejected this choice in Araki, for two reasons: first, $\mathbf{h}$ is a much better and simpler choice for everybody, including Tangoawriters who know this use for Bislama or English; second, a letter like c fits better to code for the affricate alveolar /ts/, following widespread usage among linguists.

Finally, Araki makes it necessary to code for a distinction which does not exist in surrounding languages, between the alveolar trill /r/ and flap / $\mathrm{r} /$. Although speakers would spontaneously write them both with $\mathbf{r}$, it has already been shown how essential it is to distinguish them. While /r/may be indeed written $\mathbf{r}$ following common usage, the rarer flap will be spelt $\mathbf{d}$, for two reasons: first, this letter is available through lack of voiced alveolar stop in the phonemic inventory; second, knowing that $\mathbf{l}$ is excluded, $\mathbf{d}$ is the letter closest to the flap sound. ${ }^{23}$

The alphabet for Araki language - regardless of loanwords - is as follows:
Table 2-14 The alphabet of Araki, with corresponding phonemes

| $\boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{c}$ | $\boldsymbol{d}$ | $\boldsymbol{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{g}$ | $\boldsymbol{h}$ | $\boldsymbol{i}$ | $\boldsymbol{k}$ | $\boldsymbol{l}$ | $\boldsymbol{m}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{m}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a | ts | $\boldsymbol{r}$ | e | $\mathrm{\eta}$ | h | i | k | l | m | $\ddot{\mathrm{m}}$ |
| $\boldsymbol{n}$ | $\boldsymbol{o}$ | $\boldsymbol{p}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{p}}$ | $\boldsymbol{r}$ | $\boldsymbol{s}$ | $\boldsymbol{t}$ | $\boldsymbol{u}$ | $\boldsymbol{v}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{v}}$ |  |
| n | o | p | $\ddot{\mathrm{p}}$ | r | s | t | u | $\beta$ | $\ddot{\mathrm{v}}$ |  |

[^12]Other minor orthographic conventions include:

- use of a diacritic (acute accent) to mark irregularly stressed vowels, like $\mathbf{a} \neq \mathbf{a}$; this will be discussed in §2.3.4.
- use of a hyphen to mark morpheme boundary.

From now on, this study will use these orthographic conventions.

### 2.3. Stress

### 2.3.1. General rule for stress assignment

Word stress in Araki normally strikes the penultimate syllable, at least when the last syllable of the word is of the form -(C)V. A secondary stress may be heard on every second syllable towards the left of the word.

Table 2-15 Stress on the penultimate syllable with words ending with V

| haipiru paliha ecene | [hai'p̈iru] [pa'lifa] [e'tçene] | 'seven' 'in-law' 'sell' | ruai <br> paliha-ku <br> ecen-i-a | [ru'ai] <br> [pali'faku] <br> [etce'nia] | 'before' <br> 'my in-law' <br> 'sell it' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

As is clear in Table 2-15, stress is not assigned to a fixed syllable in the lexicon, but instead may change its position when a suffix is added. Another way to say this, is to consider that stress is assigned only after the lexeme has received all its affixes to form the whole phonological word.

This stress-mobility property is precisely what helps distinguish suffixes from clitics: though the latter have no proper stress either, they do not affect the way the preceding word is being accented. Thus in Table 2-16, -ho ('very') is a suffix, whereas ro ('Progressive aspect') is a clitic:

Table 2-16 Suffixes and clitics are defined by their effects upon word-stress

| mo holo | [mo'fiolo] | 'is good' | mo holo-ho [mofo'lofo] | 'is (very) good' <br> mo roho |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [mo'rofio] | 'stays/stayed' | mo roho ro <br> [mo'roforo] | 'is staying' |  |

The two different statuses are typographically coded through use of hyphenation $v$. word boundary.

### 2.3.2. The case of final high vowels

A characteristic of Araki phonology, which seems to be shared with other Vanuatu languages such as Mota, is the weakness of (unstressed) final high vowels
i// and $/ \mathrm{w}$. The majority of words (that is, root + affixes) ending with either of these two vowels may be heard with or without it: the consequence is a numerous set of lexical $/-\mathrm{Ci} /$ or $/-\mathrm{Cu} /$ roots having regularly a consonant-final variant:

Table 2-17 Optional deletion of final high vowels

| rasi | $\sim$ ras | 'sea' | mapu | $\sim$ m̈ap | 'breathe' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| hadivi | $\sim$ hadiv | 'rat' | rudu | $\sim$ rud | 'stand' |
| Daki | $\sim$ Dak | 'Araki' | p̈aheu | $\sim$ p̈ahe | 'shark' |
| lesi | $\sim$ les | 'see' | ugu | $\sim$ ug | '(to) light' |
| ragis-i | $\sim$ ragis | 'cry for' (TR) | nunu-ku | $\sim$ nunu-k | 'my shadow' |

Two important comments are needed here. First, evidence like ragis-i ~ ragis shows that this deletion rule does not only concern the final vowel of the lexeme, but may also affect a separate morpheme like the Transitiviser suffix -i; this point will cause difficulty for syntactic analysis, when trying to know whether a surface form without -i actually has it or not in its underlying structure. ${ }^{24}$

The second comment is that the final high vowel, though likely to disappear when it is in post-tonic position, will always appear again when an extra suffix is added, showing that it is still there:

Table 2-18 Deleted vowels reappear before a suffix

| asi | $\sim$ | as | 'rope' | asi-na | [a'sina] |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | 'its ropes (canoe)'

Although the optional deletion is very widespread in the lexicon of Araki, it seems that some roots are more affected than others. The reasons for such inconsistencies still need further research, but may be related to:
(a) the quality of the final vowel itself: $/ \mathrm{i} /$ seems to delete more easily than $/ \mathrm{u} /$, and both much more easily than other vowels (see §2.3.5);
(b) the quality of the preceding consonant: for example a word ending in $/-\mathrm{mu} /$ will lose its final vowel more easily than one ending in /-ru/;

[^13](c) the frequency of the word: high frequency of use seems to correlate with a higher probability of vowel deletion;
(d) the position of the word in the sentence, or in the prosodic phrase.

These hypotheses are only tentative, and need to be developed. ${ }^{25}$ Until exact rules are determined, this vowel deletion process seems to be fairly arbitrary. Our lexicon of Araki (Chapter 9) will always mention, for a given root ending in /i/ or $/ \mathrm{J} /$, whether it is also attested without it.

As would be expected, our corpus shows three kinds of roots:
I. roots which are only attested with their final vowel, and are never reported to lose it: for example hosu 'this/here', rolu 'three', vi-nini 'palm-tree';
II. roots which are attested with both complete and incomplete forms (see samples in Table 2-17);
III. roots which are attested with only their incomplete form - that is, ending with a single consonant ( -C ) - but which are known to have, or to have had in the past, a final high vowel: for example cam 'yam' < *ndamu, hanhan 'food' <*kanikani. The same applies for certain suffixes, which never surface with a final vowel: for example -m 'your (2sG possessive)' < *-mu, as in ram̈a-m 'your father'; opp. 1SG ram̈a-ku ~ -k 'my father'.

The third category is more problematic, since there is no synchronic evidence, at least within our limited corpus, to pretend that these forms are indeed (variants of) vowel-final roots. As a consequence, they will be referred to using a consonantfinal form in our lexicon of Araki: cam, hanhan, -m, and so on. Obviously, this leads to the definition of a set of consonant-ending lexical items, which is a phonotactic innovation ${ }^{26}$ more or less shared throughout North and Central Vanuatu.

### 2.3.3. Stress-rules for consonant-ending words

As far as stress-rules are concerned, final-vowel deletion does not affect the position of the former stress, previously defined in Table 2-15. Therefore the word for 'rat' will be pronounced either [ha'rißi] or [ha'riß], with no displacement of the stress to the preceding syllable *['hariß]. Another way to say this, is to consider that the rule (if any) for final-vowel deletion only applies after the stress has been assigned its position.

[^14]Anyway, the latter statement may account for the set of items numbered II in the last paragraph, but has to be reformulated to fit group III, in which all items end with a consonant. The simplest way is to say that words ending with a consonant, contrary to vowel-final words, normally receive their primary stress on their final syllable. ${ }^{27}$

Table 2-19 Stress on the final syllable with words ending with C

| nredan | [nre'ran] | 'sometimes' | m̈alum | [m̈a'lum] | 'quiet' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| com̈com̈ | [tSö̈'tSom̈] | 'think'; 'idea' | ravur | [ra'ßur] | 'get up' |
| naru-m | [na'rum] | 'your child' | hosu-n | [ho'sun] | 'this/here' |

The last row of Table 2-19 stands for all the words which receive a -C suffix, such as $\mathbf{- m}$ 'your' or $\mathbf{- n i} \sim-\mathbf{n}-$ the latter being either a Construct suffix (see §4.7.1), or a Demonstrative particle compatible with all deictics (§4.4.3.2).

### 2.3.4. Exceptional vowel-final words, and emergence of a distinctive accent

The situation drawn so far is quite straightforward, contrasting vowel- and consonant-ending words. As a matter of fact, Table 2-17 suggests there can be a special case of $-\mathrm{V} \#$ words to be analysed, namely former $/-\mathrm{Vi} /$ or $/-\mathrm{Vu} /$ roots which have lost their final high vowel. In this case, the new final vowel /-V/maintains its stress, following §2.3.3: for example 'shark' is p̈aheu ["̈a'fieu] ~ ̈̈ahe [p̈a'fe], with a stress on the final syllable. Another example is sadai [sa'rai] ~ sada [sa'ra] 'sit'.

An even more complex case occurs when the high vowel in former $/-\mathrm{Vi} /$ or $/-\mathrm{Vu} /$ sequences has totally disappeared in synchrony, in accordance with group III defined in §2.3.2. In this case, we are dealing with vowel-ending words which are stressed on their final syllable, in violation of the rule in Table 2-15. One instance of such exceptions is the noun for 'coconut crab', cau, stressed on the last syllable ${ }^{28}\left[\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{a}^{\prime} u\right.$ ] - opp. the word for 'blood' cai ['t $\int$ ai]. An exact orthographic convention would require that such exceptions to stress-rules be specified by means of a diacritic, following Italian or Spanish usage - for example caú

[^15]'coconut crab', puá 'mother', hiná 'thing', hotó 'hermit crab'. However, since we remarked and noted this stress only when it was semantically relevant, we will use this diacritic exclusively in cases where this distinction is necessary. Further research will help correct our lexical items.

As a matter of fact, we have encountered only one such case of distinctive stress, but it is frequent and important enough to be recorded here. Amongst the paradigm of personal object suffixes, ${ }^{29}$ the pre-Araki system most probably resembled nowadays Tangoa language (Ray 1926:359), in contrasting First singular object suffix $/-a u /$ with Third singular $/-a /$ : thus we have tGO /mo tapa-i-aul [motapai'au] 'he found me' v. /mo tapa-i-al [motapa'ia] 'he found her'.

Nowadays Araki language has somewhat modified this $*$-au/-a contrast, since it has dropped the final $/ \mathrm{u} /$ in the First singular suffix. As a consequence, 1SG and 3SG object suffixes have homophonous forms $/-\mathrm{a} /$, except that 1 SG exceptionally bears stress on its final vowel: *-i-áu>/-i-á/, while 3SG is more regularly stressed $/-\mathrm{i}-\mathrm{a} /$. The result of this is a general stress-contrast between 1 sG -object and 3sG-object verb forms, as shown in Table 2-20. To make it clear, the 1SG suffix will always be written with a diacritic:

Table 2-20 Stress-marked contrast between 1SG and 3sG object suffixes

| Mo tapa-i-á. | [mota,pai'a] | 'He found me.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mo tapa-i-a. | [mo,tapa'ia] | 'He found him/her.' |
| O sovi-á ro! | [o,soßi'aro] | 'Wait for me!' |
| O sovi-a ro! | [oso' $3 i a r o]$ | 'Wait for him/her!' |

### 2.3.5. Other processes of final deletion

What we have stated about final high vowels, from §2.3.2 on, is also true of some other vowels, yet in much lower proportions. For instance, the root for 'die', normally mare, has also been recorded without its final vowel ['m̈are] ~ [m̈ar]. Table 2-21 collects most of the items in which such a deletion has been found possible - though always optional - for non-high vowels.

Table 2-21 Optional deletion of some non-high final vowels

| mare | $\sim$ m̈ar | 'die' |
| :---: | :---: | :--- |
| mana | $\sim$ m̈an | 'laugh' |
| supea | ~supe | 'chief, lord' |


| pona | $\sim$ pon | 'smell' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| raholo | $\sim$ rahol <br> vavono <br> $\sim$ | 'straight' |

Finally, there is another pattern of deletion concerning a small number of words: instead of (or together with) losing their last vowel, they show a variant form in which the whole final unstressed syllable /-CV/ has totally disappeared. Table 2-22 lists all the words - less than ten - which are concerned by this last deletion rule. Most of them are very common words, or highly grammaticised items, such as verbs of movement, some conjunctions, and so on.

Table 2-22 Deletion of the whole final syllable /-CV/ for a few exceptional roots

| m̈audu |  | $\sim$ mau | 'live, grow' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\sim$ vadi | 'small; children' |
| sohe |  | $\sim$ so | 'like, as' |
| rodo |  | $\sim$ ro | 'do what' |
| raha |  | $\sim \mathbf{r a}$ | 'become, be' |
| roho |  | $\sim$ ro | 'stay' |
| シ̈ano |  | $\sim \ddot{\text { va }}$ | 'go, walk' |
| saha |  | $\sim$ sa | '(go) up' |
| sivo | $\sim$ siv | $\sim \mathbf{s i}$ | '(go) down' |
| povi | $\sim$ pov | $\sim$ po | 'all, every' |
| voni | $\sim$ von | $\sim \mathrm{vo}$ | 'or' |

As far as stress is concerned, there is no change of position along these processes: vadidi [ $\beta a^{\prime}$ riri] ~ vadi [ $\beta a^{\prime}$ ri]. Anyway, the output is generally a monosyllabic word, which has only one possible position for the stress - unless it becomes a clitic, like ro 'Progressive marker' (< roho 'remain').

### 2.4. Phonotactics

The basic syllabic structure of Proto Oceanic/pre-Araki, which was dominantly $|\mathrm{CV}|$, still prevails in modern Araki: lo nahodani 'in the morning', radami-na 'its meaning', m̈alokoloko 'exhausted', all follow the same basic $|\mathrm{CV}| \mathrm{CV} \mid$ pattern. However, several vowel deletion processes have recently led to the constitution of closed $|\mathrm{CVC}|$ syllables. We have already discussed, through $\S 2.3$, the origin and properties of such syllables in word-final position: see Table 2-17, Table 2-19, Table 2-21. Our corpus shows virtually all consonants in word-final position, except for $\mathbf{h}, \ddot{\mathbf{p}}$ and $\ddot{\mathbf{v}}$.

Other $|\mathrm{CVC}|$ syllables may be encountered within the word, after an intemal pretonic high vowel $\mathrm{i} /$ or $/ \mathrm{u} /$ has been lost. Thus sovusoho [so $\beta \mathrm{u}$ 'sofo] 'grey' is
occasionally realised sovsoho, with an initial CVC syllable. Most of our examples are included in Table 2-23. The resulting internal /CC/ clusters which are found throughout our lexicon are: $\mathbf{g g}, \mathbf{l l}, \mathbf{l s}, \mathbf{l t}, \mathbf{m l}, \mathbf{p d}, \mathbf{r k}, \mathbf{r n}, \mathbf{s m}, \mathbf{s r}, \mathbf{v c}, \mathbf{v s}, \mathbf{v t}$.

Table 2-23 Emergence of word-internal closed syllables

| sovusoho | ~ sovsoho | 'grey' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| mavusa-ku | ~ mavsa-ku | 'my entrails' |
| tavutavu | ~ tavtavu | 'rich' |
| - | levsei | 'know' |
| - | rarna-ku | 'my mother' |
| - | vuggo-ku | 'my sister-in-law' |
| - | Tasrihi | 'Tasiriki (place)' |

The process above described is quite limited, since it involves words having at least four syllables, the second of which contains a high vowel, following a pattern $|\mathrm{CV}| \mathrm{C}(1 / u)|\mathrm{CV}| \mathrm{CV} \mid$. More original is the case of words in which the unstressed high vowel was in their first syllable: the consequence of the deletion process has been to create syllables beginning with two consonants |CCV-|, thus violating former phonotactic rules. For example, pula-ku [pu'laku] 'my (Possessive classifier for valuables)', which may still be heard in Araki, is often replaced by pla-ku, with a consonant cluster beginning the syllable. The same process accounts for the word nredan 'sometimes', morphologically ni- (Preposition) + re (Partitive) + dani ('day'): a four-syllable form like *[nire'rani] lost its first and last high vowels, to become a two-syllable word nredan [nre'ran].

Similar /\#CC-/ clusters appearing in our lexical data are kl, lc, lp, ml, nd, nk, $\mathbf{n r}, \mathbf{p d}, \mathbf{p l}, \mathbf{r k}, \mathbf{s l}, \mathbf{s n}, \mathbf{v c}, \mathbf{v s}$. for example rkel [rkel] 'reach', Iceg [ltccey] 'strike', vcan [ $\beta$ tçan] 'hurt', sna [sna] 'come', (nida ~) nda [nra] 'they'. This set of native /\#CC-/ words also receives loanwords from Bislama, with the same phonotactic structure: smat (< smart) 'handsome', store 'story; narrate', skul (< school) 'church; attend church'.

Although a cluster of more than two consonants is impossible within a word, linguistic sequences sometimes put together three $C$, in phrases like Nam vcan-i-ko. 'I am beating you'. No specific samdhi process is involved in this case, which anyway is rare.

### 2.5. Morphophonemic rules

After this detailed presentation of vowel deletion in Araki, this chapter will present other rules of its phonology and morphology.

### 2.5.1. Lexical vowel assimilation

While belonging to the phonological consequences of the stress, a process of vowel assimilation ${ }^{30}$ has been observed in several lexical items of Araki, without being very productive. Instead of having their post-tonic (final) vowel simply drop -as was analysed in $\S 2.3$ - a few items assimilate it to the preceding stressed vowel: for example 'liar' is kodekode ~ kodokodo. Besides the assimilated form, the basic non-assimilated form may be known in different ways:

- the original form is still in use, like in the case of kodekode;
- the original vowel appears in derived or suffixed forms of the same root: for example vuruvuru 'hill', but vurivuria-ha 'steep, high', suggesting the original form for 'hill' to be *vurivuri;
- both of these two cases may concur: for example 'live; life' is often maudu [m̈a'uru], but it is sometimes heard maudi ( $\sim$ maau), and the possessed form is m̈audi-da 'their lives', with an /i/ (see Table 2-18);
- sometimes, the process of assimilation is only suggested by knowledge of neighbouring languages or etyma: for example saha 'go up' < *sake; rapala 'Grouper fish' < *tab ${ }^{w}$ ale (Mota taqale); m̈arasala 'door' < *mate-sala 'way'.

The latter case is a matter of historical changes, and does not represent on-going phonological changes in Araki.

### 2.5.2. Morphological vowel assimilation

### 2.5.2.1. Suffixes $/-\mathrm{Ca} /$

A subcase of this kind of post-tonic vowel assimilation process is now a productive morphological rule. A number of suffixes of the form $/ \mathrm{-Ca}$ change their vowel to / $/$ / when preceded by a stressed vowel $/ \mathrm{o} /$ on the radical:
e.g. reo 'nest' + -na '3sG poss.' $\rightarrow$ reo-no (not *reo-na) 'its nest'

The suffixes concerned by this rule are

- personal possessive markers, suffixed to nouns and to possessive classifiers: -na 3sG, -ca 1PL:INC, -da 3PL;
- personal object markers, suffixed to verbs: -ca 1pl:INC, -da 3PL;
- an intensive suffix -ha, found on some adjectives.

[^16]Table 2-24 Morphological vowel assimilation from /a/ to / $\mathrm{o} /$

| leo | -da | leo-do | 'their voices' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| no | -ca | no-co (ta) | 'our (dad)' |
| dogo | -da | dogo-do | 'hear them' |
| holo | -ha | holo-ho | '[very] good' |

Notice that contrary to lexical vowel assimilation (§2.5.1), the present rule only applies to the shift from $/ \mathrm{a} /$ to $/ \mathrm{o} /$, no other vowel being concerned. Thus leo +-ku $\rightarrow$ leo-ku 'my voice', never *leo-ko; and naivou + -na $\rightarrow$ naivou-na 'his wife', with no change on the final vowel.

### 2.5.2.2. The case of third singular suffix $/-a /$

There is still one question regarding this assimilation, that is, what happens to the usual 3 sG object suffix -a: does it behave like the other $/-\mathrm{Ca} /$ suffixes listed above, or is it an exception? To make the problem clearer, let us contrast three forms ${ }^{31}$ of two different verbs, one stem ending in $/ \mathrm{o}$, the other in $\mathrm{i} /$ :

Table 2-25 Irregular morphology of /o/-ending verbs for 3SG object

| object suffix | -i stem |  | -o stem |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | Mo lesi-ko | 'He saw you.' | Mo dogo-ko | 'He heard you.' |
| 1IN:PL | Mo lesi-ca | 'He saw us.' | Mo dogo-co | 'He heard us.' |
| 3SG | Mo lesi-a | 'He saw her.' | Mo dogo | 'He heard her.' |

Table 2-25 shows that -a suffix has a special behaviour with stems ending in $/ \mathrm{o}$ : first, it never surfaces as /a/, so that forms like *dogo-a are impossible in Araki. Nor does it follow the same assimilating pattern as other /-Ca/ suffixes (like in second row), since forms like *dogo-o are impossible too. It seems that the latter form is automatically reduced to dogo, through haplology/shortening of the underlying double $/ \mathrm{o}$. But if this hypothesis were true, then the surface form should bear a stress on its last vowel [ro'yo], which apparently is not the case.

Although the historical path might indeed have been the one we have just suggested (*[ro'yo-a] > *[ro'yo-o] $>*[$ ro'yo $]$ ), the actual 3 sg-transitive form of this verb seems to be ['rono], that is, exactly the same as the root, with no morpheme added. If this fact is confirmed by further research focused on stress, this would mean that verbs ending in /o/do not vary when the object is third singular or, in other terms, that the 3SG object suffix $/-\mathrm{a} /$ has a zero allomorph for verbs ending in $/ \mathrm{o} /$. The verbal roots concerned with this issue are all the $\% /$-ending verbs in their transitive use, which are listed in Table 2-26.

[^17]Table 2-26 Transitive /o/-ending verbs taking a zero allomorph for 3sG object

| dogo | 'hear, feel' | polo | 'light (fire)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hoco | 'wash' | sodo | 'blow in'; 'shoot at' |
| hodo | 'stop up' | tovo | 'read' |
| holo | 'pilot (boat)' | vodo | 'touch; make' |
| koso | 'break' | voko | 'do, make' |

Notice that some /e/-ending roots do not take any suffix either: all these issues will be further dealt with in the morphosyntactic chapter §5.4.2.

### 2.5.3. Morphology of reduplication

Reduplication of the root is not so common in Araki as it is in other Oceanic languages, but it does occur. There are several ways to reduplicate a radical: they are shown in the following paragraphs, before we review the semantic aspects of this morphological process (\$3.2).

### 2.5.3.1. Complete repetition of the root

This concerns mainly roots of two syllables. Monosyllabic roots are too rare in Araki to provide enough evidence.

Table 2-27 Reduplication through repetition of the whole root

| 1 SYLLABLE 2 SYLLABLES | han <br> dev̈e <br> kadu <br> doco <br> sodo <br> alo <br> avu <br> iso <br> si ~ sivo <br> シ̈a ~ $\mathbf{v a n o}$ | hanhan <br> dev̈edë̈e <br> kadukadu <br> docodoco <br> sodosodo <br> aloalo <br> avuavu <br> isoiso <br> sivosivo <br> シ̈anoüano | 'eat' <br> 'pull' <br> 'swim' <br> 'sick' <br> 'talk' <br> 'sun' <br> 'fly' <br> 'end' <br> 'go down' <br> 'go, walk' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

The output of this process can be subsequently reduced, following phonological rules for deletion of high vowels, both word-finally and word-internally. This is why we have hovi 'scabies' $\rightarrow^{*}($ hovihovi $)>$ hovhovi; or kesi 'now' $\rightarrow$ kesikesi > keskesi; obviously, a form like tavtavu 'rich' must have followed the same path.

And even the form hanhan, which synchronically corresponds to a singlesyllable root han, must in fact be explained by the loss of two li/ in *hanihani; consider also comin 'sad, thoughtful' $\rightarrow$ com̈com̈ 'think'.

### 2.5.3.2. Repetition of the first syllable

This pattern is very frequent with three-syllable words, although two-syllable roots are also concerned:

Table 2-28 Reduplication through repetition of the first syllable

| 2 SYLLABLES | naru- | nanaru- | 'son' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | hada | hahada | 'red' |
|  | runi | rurunu | 'cook' |
|  | sodo | sosodo | 'spring (v)' |
|  | sovi | sosovi | 'wait' |
| 3 SYLLABLES | lokodu | lolokodu | 'angry' |
|  | 齐aodo | 齐av̈aodo | 'noisy' |
| 4 SYLLABLES | levosai | lelevosai | 'intelligent' |

Two other roots must be added to this pattern, which involve the intermittent vowel /i/ again: ra $\sim$ rai 'cut' $\rightarrow\left({ }^{*}\right.$ rarai $)>$ rará; and $\mathbf{v e} \sim$ v̈ei 'do, make' $\rightarrow$ ( $* \ddot{\nu} e v e e i$ ) $>$ v̈evé.

Notice that the same root sodo 'blow, spring, shoot at, talk' has two different reduplicated forms, which are distinct semantically: sodosodo 'talk' v. sosodo 'blow, spring'. ${ }^{32}$

### 2.5.3.3. Repetition of the first two syllables

Table 2-29 Reduplication through repetition of the first two syllables

| 3 SYLLABLES | m̈arahu | maram̈arahu <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> m̈acihi <br> veculu <br> hudara | mecim̈acihi <br> nudeculu <br> hudahudara |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | | 'colour' |
| :--- |
| 'whistle' |
| 'dirt' |

In a way similar to hanhan above, the output of this latter process may undergo other transformations, for example ${ }^{*}$ rueni 'help' $\rightarrow{ }^{*}$ rue|rue|ni $>$ rueruen.

[^18]However, since even the simple form of this verb has lost its final $/ \mathrm{i}$ /, what appears in synchrony (in our corpus) is a slightly different pattern: ruen $\rightarrow$ rueruen.

### 2.5.3.4. Other patterns

There are other patterns attested, especially when the root has a syllable consisting of just a vowel (for example V- instead of CV-). Thus we have ele 'search' $\rightarrow$ elele; and ul ~ uli 'write' $\rightarrow$ uliuli $\sim$ ululu. ${ }^{33}$

# 3. Syntactic categories and their relations 

This short chapter addresses the most general issues of Araki morphosyntax, before each structure (for example NP, VP) is reviewed in detail. We will first present a list of the word classes - that is, 'parts of speech' - of this language, defining them mainly on distributional grounds. Secondly, we will present the morphology and semantics of root reduplication, since this kind of process has to do with several parts of speech at the same time, and is instructive of their mutual relations.

### 3.1. Word classes

The lexicon of Araki may be divided into different distributional categories, called word classes or parts of speech. A first line may be drawn between the open set of lexemes, on the one hand, and a closed set of morphemes, which are often monosyllabic clitics or affixes. This chapter will discuss the classes of lexemes, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, adjuncts, adverbs, demonstratives.

### 3.1.1. Nouns

Nouns cannot be distinguished from verbs using the sole criterion of being predicative, since both categories are - which is very common among Austronesian languages. However, only nouns are able to refer directly to entities of the world, and make them arguments entering into larger sentence structures. Syntactically speaking, a noun can be either the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or the object of a preposition, all syntactic slots which are forbidden to verbs or adjectives.

Sadi nene m̈ara sodo m̈aci. 'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'
spear this for shoot fish/bird
The only other part of speech which may replace a noun, at least in topic or subject position, is the closed set of free independent pronouns. Proper nouns, that is,
place names and personal names, can be said to belong to the global category of nouns in Araki.

On the other hand, nouns can form predicates, without ceasing to be nouns. These nominal predicates generally consist of equational sentences:

Daki
Araki $\begin{aligned} & \text { udeude. } \\ & \text { island }\end{aligned} \quad$ 'Araki is an island.'
Although nouns seem to share this predicativeness with verbs also, they actually behave a different way: while verbal predicates must always be preceded by a subject clitic, nouns and noun phrases are not, being instead 'directly' predicative. ${ }^{34}$ In fact, few parts of speech are directly predicative in Araki: nouns, demonstratives, some locative words (see §6.1.3 p.155).

### 3.1.2. Adjectives

Contrary to many languages which lack a distinct category of adjectives, Araki does have a set of lexemes which can be named this way. These adjectives are words expressing a stative property, which can modify directly a noun, simply by following it:

Niko racu tavtavu. 'You are a rich man.'
2 s man rich
This direct-modifier position is forbidden to verbs, which would need a relative clause, and anyway would take a subject clitic. This is a sufficient argument to consider a set of adjectives, distinct from (intransitive) verbs.

Nevertheless, when these adjectives are in the predicate function, they behave syntactically like verbs, taking subject clitics:

| Nia | mo | tavtavu. | 'He is rich.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3 s | 3:R | rich |  |

This makes it impossible to contrast verbs and adjectives when they are predicates. Moreover, what corresponds to an adjective in English is not necessarily an adjective in Araki, and may just be an intransitive (stative) verb:

Nia mo comì. 'He is sad.'
3s 3:R sad
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { *racu } & \text { comii } \\ \text { man } & \text { sad }\end{array} \quad$ 'a sad man'
As a consequence, we have only tagged 'Adjectives' the words which were found, in our limited corpus, in noun-modifying contexts; but when our evidence only

[^19]showed a word in the predicative structure, we have always considered it to be 'at least' an Intransitive verb. This means that among what we call Intransitive verbs, there must be some words which are in fact adjectives; but this can only be checked through the direct noun-modifying test. More will be said about adjectives in §4.6.

### 3.1.3. Verbs

Verbs are predicative words which are always preceded by subject clitics. Unlike nouns, they cannot form a direct predicate (that is, without a clitic), and cannot refer to an entity, nor form the subject of a sentence; unlike adjectives, they cannot directly modify a noun by just following it. From the semantic point of view, verbs refer to actions, events or states.

Nia mo comili 'He is sad.'
3s $\quad 3: \mathrm{R} \quad$ sad
More will be said on verbs later on, especially in $\S 5$.

### 3.1.4. Numerals

Numerals behave syntactically like (intransitive) verbs, and could be argued to form a subset of verbal lexemes. They must always be introduced by a subject clitic, which is sensitive to person and modality (Realis/ Irrealis).

| Naru-ku mo | dua. | 'I have two children.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child-1s | $3: R$ | two |$\quad$ (lit. my child is/are two)

Yet numerals do fill some syntactic positions of their own, which are not open to verbs. For instance, the morpheme rapudo, a kind of numeral classifier for persons, can only be followed by numerals:

```
racu rapudo rolu 'three men'
man NUM three
```

Moreover, the word dua 'two' can be found in vestigial forms of dual pronouns. ${ }^{35}$

### 3.1.5. Adjuncts

Adjuncts form quite a small category of lexical items, whose syntactic position is to follow immediately the verb radical, though still within the verb phrase. When the verb is transitive, adjuncts have the remarkable property of inserting

[^20]between the verb radical and the transitiviser suffix and/or the object suffixes, ${ }^{36}$ as though they were incorporated:

Na pa nak pilai -ko.
1s:I SEQ kill outright -2s
'I'm going to kill you outright!'
Less than ten words have been identified as adjuncts, including cece 'forever', coco 'all day long', hodo 'blocking', otome 'well', povi 'completely', pultan 'together'.

### 3.1.6. Adverbs

Contrary to adjuncts which are always incorporated into the verb phrase, Adverbs never are. They can appear either at the beginning or at the end of a clause. The unmarked position of a (non-topical) adverb is after the Verb-Object bundle, where Prepositional phrases are too.

| Vapa | di | mo roho ro | saha-ni | kaura. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cave | ANA | $3:$ r | stay | PRG | up-DX2 | above |

'The cave is located up there, above.'
This category includes all words which form directly - that is, without a preposition - an oblique complement. They will be presented in §6.2.1.

### 3.1.7. Demonstratives

Although they syntactically behave partly like locational adverbs, Demonstrative words form a specific paradigm, which is easily identified morphologically. All demonstratives can take a -ni $\sim-n$ suffix, whose linguistic function will be discussed in §4.4.3.2: thus kesi 'here', nene 'here', hosu 'there' among other forms - are demonstratives, allowing for the derived forms kesi-n, nene-n, hosu-n. Basically, demonstratives are either associated to nouns for reference-tracking:
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Vere } & \text { hosu-n mo holo-ho. } \\ \text { song } \\ \text { DX3-ASS } & 3: \text { R good-NT }\end{array}$
'That song is very nice.'
or have the whole clause as their scope:

[^21]```
Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.
story the 3:R end DX3
'And the story ends here.'
```

They can also be the predicate of the clause:
Nia hosu-n.
3s Dx3-ASS
'That's it.'
Demonstratives will be detailed in §4.4 p. 69 .

### 3.2. Reduplication and derivation

The process of reduplication can be seen as a semantic strategy, in which the speaker presents a notion as intense, multiple, plural in one way or another; ${ }^{37}$ this is a clear case of iconicity between form and function. Most often, the semantics of reduplication are more subtle than just plural reference: for example applied to a verb, this derivation will put the focus on the generic notion of an action rather than on a single event. That is why verbal reduplication triggers such semantic features as non-referentiality/genericity of the object - or even its complete absence, in the case of detransitivisation - and thus is naturally associated with noun incorporation.

Reduplication is also the main device, if not the only one, which allows a word to change its syntactic category, for example from noun to verb or from verb to noun; this is why it is being discussed here, in the general chapter on parts of speech. Considering that the main categories concerned by this derivation technique are nouns and verbs, there are four possible input/output combinations, which are detailed below.

### 3.2.1. From noun to noun

Duplicating a noun into another noun occurs seldom in Araki. The effect can be that of a plural, in the case of the noun naru- 'son' $\rightarrow$ nanaru- 'sons, children':

Na v̈a voli re v̈erali ha-n nanaru-ku.
1S:R go buy some banana FOOD-CST children-1s
'I am going to buy some bananas (as food) for my children.'
In some cases, the plural sense ('many Ns') induces a secondary meaning of diminutive ('small Ns'). For example, hudara refers to 'dirt, filth' - as well as to

[^22]'the bush'; the reduplicated form hudahudara, somewhat iconically, designates many small particles of dirt:

| Hudahudara-n | cam | di | mo roho ro | lo hoco-no. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dirt:DUP-CST | yam | ANA | 3:R stay | PRG | LOC teeth-3s |

'Some small particles of the yam had got caught in (the Rat's) teeth.'

### 3.2.2. From noun to verb or adjective

A handful of nouns in our corpus appear capable of deriving into an intransitive verb (or adjective?) by reduplication: for example macihi- 'colour' $\rightarrow$ macim̈acihi(-ha) '(very) colourful, multicoloured' ${ }^{38}$ The semantic iconicity intensive, plural value of reduplication - is obvious here. Notice also hovi 'scabies' $\rightarrow$ hovhovi 'scabious, covered with scabies'.

Another example is alo 'sun' $\rightarrow$ aloalo 'be sunny, be daylight'. The effect of reduplication is to refer, not to an object of the world, but to the process/state which is normally caused by it; this process, in turn, can combine with mood and aspect morphemes, and so on.

### 3.2.3. From verb to verb

Among the different values of reduplication, derived verbs show an intensive meaning:

| N-re-dan | co | pa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| OBL-some-day | liN:I | SEQ |
| wanölk:DUP |  |  |

'One day, we shall race (lit. walk-walk) together ...'

- plural:

Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!
now POSS-2s day 3:R end:DUP now
'(lit. Now, your day(s) finish-finish now!) This is the last of your days!'

- plural or reflexivity:

Nam m̈ara ni-á ro. $\rightarrow$ Cam ̣̈aram̈ara ni-ca ro.
$1 \mathrm{~S}:$ R look OBL-1S PRG $1 \mathbb{N}:$ R look:DUP OBL-1N PRG
'I am watching myself $\rightarrow$ We are watching ourselves/each other.'

[^23]- distributive:

Mada Naura-lapa mo sivosivo mo velu ro kia.
PERS Mainland 3:R go.down:DUP $3:$ dance prg there
'The people from Santo would go there (in small groups) to dance.'

- imperfective:

Nam po-i-a na sodosodo isa-m.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ like-TR-3s 1s:I talk:DUP with-2s
'I would like to have a chat with you.'

- detransitivising: ${ }^{39}$

Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.
$1 \mathrm{~N}: 1$ say $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ weep $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ finish $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ eat:DUP
'If you stop crying, you will have your dinner.'
Generally speaking, reduplication is usual when reference is not made to a single event in time, but to the generic notion of the verb. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

P̈aivuho, na ul re leta co sivo sa-n puá. tomorrow 1s:I write some letter 3s:I go.down to-CsT Mum 'Tomorrow, I shall write a letter to my mother.'

SPECIFIC
No-ku pen mo te, mo ce le ululu. poss-1s pen 3:R bad 3:R NEG again write:DUP
'My pen does not work, it cannot write any more.' GENERIC

```
Hadiv mo kadu.
rat 3:R swim
```

'So the Rat started to swim.'
SPECIFIC
Nam ce dogo na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara p̈ahe. $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG feel $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ swim:DUP LOC sea because shark 'I don't want to swim in the sea, because of the sharks.' GENERIC
Hence the use of this derivation process in the case of object incorporation, with a non-referential object: for example v̈ev̈e-hina 'work' (lit. do-do things). Other examples of this include:

Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3P:I seek:DUP (crab)
'Two men went to Rahuna, intending to look for coconut crabs.'

```
Nam sivo nam de deüedev̈e m̈aci.
ls:R go.down ls:R say pull:DUP fish
'I went fishing (lit. to pull fish).'
```

Conversely, the simple root is normally used whenever the speaker refers to a single, referential event:

```
Mo ce m̈aci ne nam dev̈e, nia v̈ahasu.
3:R NEG fish here 1S:R pull 3s DX3:far
'It is not this fish which I caught, it is that one.'
```


### 3.2.4. From verb to noun

Finally, reduplication is the usual way to derive a noun from a verb. The noun thus derived generally refers to the very notion of the verb, in general terms: ${ }^{40}$

## lo ima rurunu

LOC house cook:DUP
'in the kitchen (lit. house for cooking)'
Other examples include: sodo 'talk' $\rightarrow$ sodosodo 'speech, message, language'; ruen 'help (V)' $\rightarrow$ rueruen 'help (N)'. Remarkably, these verbal nouns can be possessed, by means of the general classifier no- (§4.7.3); the possessor is the actor of the corresponding action:
Om mece m̈ara no-m rueruen.
$2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ (thanked) because poss-2s
help:DUP
'Thank you for your help.'

Finally, a reduplicated verb can keep its incorporated object even when it has become a noun. For example, the verb v̈eच̈e-hina 'work' (already reduplicated, see above) is also a noun with the same meaning: (lit.) 'my do-do-things $\rightarrow$ my work'.

'Thank you so much for your work on Araki language.' (lit. 'your do-do-things')

[^24]
## 4. Nouns and noun phrases

Nouns have already been acknowledged to exist as a lexical category in Araki (§3.1.1); this chapter will focus on the syntactic properties of noun phrases (NP) as a whole, and their internal structures. Noun phrases have the semantic property of referring to entities of the world, and include them into larger sentence structures. Syntactically speaking, a NP usually codes for an argument in a predicate structure, being either the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or the object of a preposition; NPs can also form the predicate in an equational sentence.

In the case of emphatic subjects, some pronouns (independent pronouns) may take the place of a NP; in other cases, it is somewhat misleading to compare NPs and pronouns, since they hardly ever commute in the same syntactic positions. However, we will first mention pronouns and other personal markers in this chapter, before describing the internal structures of NPs.

### 4.1. Pronouns and personal markers

Instead of talking about 'personal pronouns', we will more generally speak about personal markers. In Araki, like in most Oceanic languages, such markers are categorised into seven morphosyntactic 'persons': persons 1, 2, 3 refer respectively to the speaker, the addressee and anybody else, without gender distinction; but non-singular forms contrast what is commonly called First exclusive - a 'we' excluding the addressee from the reference- and a First inclusive - a 'we' including the addressee.

As far as number is concerned, Araki has considerably lost the general fournumber system of Oceanic languages, which usually distinguish Singular, Dual, Trial/Paucal, and Plural. Apart from a few vestigial forms which will be discussed later (\$4.5.4.4), the modern system only opposes singular to plural forms. As a result, each paradigm of personal markers in Araki normally consist of seven forms.

### 4.1.1. Independent pronouns

### 4.1.1.1. Morphology of independent pronouns

Table 4-30 lists the forms of the free independent pronouns.
Table 4-30 Independent pronouns

| Singular |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1 INC | Plural |  |
| 1 EXC | na | nica |
| 2 | niko $\sim$ nko | kam̈am |
| 3 | nia | nida $\sim$ nda |

The short allomorphs of 2 sG and 3 PL are explained by the rules for internal vowel deletion ( $\$ 2.4$ ). The second singular form is sometimes heard inko and even ninko [ningo], with perhaps a stronger stress effect.

### 4.1.1.2. Syntax of free pronouns: object, subject, topic, predicate

These independent pronouns are never used as OBJECTS for a verb, except for the two forms in ka-, which are employed instead of the lacking correspondent suffix (§4.1.3):

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mo } \\ & \text { 3: } \end{aligned}$ | sovi-da wait-3P | PRG | 'He is waiting for them.' *mo sovi nida ro |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mo | sovi kam̈im | ro. | 'He is waiting for you (pl).' |
| R | wait 1Ex | PRG |  |

The normal use of free pronouns is in the subject position, essentially in two cases:

- Obligatory NP subject of nominal predicates, that is, equational sentences:

$\frac{\text { Nia }}{3 \mathrm{~s}} \quad$| racu |
| :--- | :--- |
| man |$\quad$| lapa. |
| :--- |
| big |$\quad$ 'He is a chief. [a 'big man']'

- Optional $N P$ subject of verbal predicates, with the function of underlining the obligatory subject clitic which follows immediately. Here, 'underline' generally means marking it as a new or contrastive topic - not really a focus - in the sentence:

Nia mo roho ro lo $\mathbf{v a p a .}$ ' $\underline{H e}$ lives in caves. (contrary to others)' 3s 3:R stay PRG Loc cave
The latter case is somewhat uneasy to distinguish from other cases of TOPICALISATION, either semantically contrastive or not, which resort to the same
free pronouns:

## Pani inko epe-m mo holo.

but 2s body-2S 3:R good
lit. 'But you, your body is healthy.'
Finally, there is another use to which free pronouns fit, though quite seldom: the predicative function (for example 'It is me'). In affirmative sentences, the independent pronoun begins the sentence, and is often ${ }^{41}$ followed by a relative clause:

| Inko | hosu nanov om | lito-vi-á? |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 S | REL yesterday | $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ | spit-TR-1s |,

In fact, the latter example is not really different from an equational sentence: in this case, inko would be the subject, and the predicate would be the whole relative clause. However, a negative sentence like the next example definitely shows a free pronoun in the position of a predicate; it is preceded by the negation ce, and also by 3 SG subject clitic (mo), as though it were a verb:

Mo ce na hosun nam nak-i-a racu ro.
3:R NEG 1S REL $1 S: R$ kill-TR-3S man PRG
'It is not me who killed the man.'
In a way, this negative sentence is rather strange, if we realise that the affirmative equivalent, with the same subject clitic before a pronoun predicate, would be absolutely ungrammatical: *Mo na ... ('It is me ...').

### 4.1.1.3. The comitative suffix -ni

Independent pronouns, and apparently no other part of speech, have the property of being compatible with a comitative suffix ${ }^{42}-n i \sim-n$ 'with, and'. This morpheme suffixes to a pronoun, in order to add a new referent to it; for example it translates English and in a phrase like You and Mum:

| niko-ni | Graham | 'you and Graham' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s-COM | G. |  |
| kam̈am-ni Ela | 'we plus Ela' |  |
| 1EX-COM | E. |  |

[^25]Notice that the second element is necessarily a NP - either a proper noun or not and cannot be a pronoun itself. For example, me and you could never be translated *na-ni niko, because the system already provides a pronoun for this kind of 'inclusive We', that is, nica or nica dua 'the two of us'.

Pronouns have another way to link to a NP in a comitative pattern, that is using the word rolu 'three' in what used to be trial forms. This rather strange structure will be discussed in §4.5.4.7 p.87.

### 4.1.2. Subject clitic personal markers

Contrary to equational sentences, which must take free pronouns as their subject, the ordinary marking of subjects in verbal sentences uses a special set of obligatory clitics. We call them clitics rather than prefixes, because they do not normally receive (primary or secondary) stress.

In fact, subject clitics are all portmanteau morphemes: they are divided into two series, according to the modality associated to the verb phrase. One series codes for REALIS mood, the other for IRREALIS. ${ }^{43}$

Table 4-31 Subject clitic markers for REALIS mood

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1 NNC |  | cam |
| 1 EXC | nam | kam |
| 2 | om | ham |
| 3 | mo | mo |

Table 4-32 Subject clitic markers for IRREALIS mood

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1 INC |  | co |
| 1 EXC | na | kam̈a |
| 2 | $\mathbf{o}$ | ha |
| 3 | co | ha |

As far as morphology is concerned, Table 4-31 and Table 4-32 suggest that realis forms were once more or less derived from IRrealis forms, by adjunction of some */m/ morpheme; ${ }^{44}$ but synchronically, they appear to be two separate paradigms of portmanteau morphemes.

[^26]In our word-to-word translations, a marker such as ham will be glossed ' $2 \mathrm{P}: \mathrm{R}$ ' meaning 'Second plural + Realis mood'; $\mathbf{o}$ is ' 2 s :I' for 'Second singular + Irrealis mood'. A form like na will either be glossed ' $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ ' if it is a clitic, or just ' 1 s ' if it is syntactically a free pronoun (see §4.1.1.1). On the other hand, since numbermarking on Third person Realis clitic is irrelevant, mo will always be glossed ' $3: R$ ', that is, 'Third person Realis' ('he, she, it, they').

The syntax and semantics of subject clitics will be explored in $\S 5.1$ p.103.

### 4.1.3. Object suffix markers

Another paradigm of personal markers is formed by object suffixes. These are usually associated with transitive verbs and verb-like prepositions. Like in Tangoa (Ray 1926:359), two persons in the plural lack a suffix; in this case, the object is exceptionally ${ }^{45}$ marked by a free pronoun - respectively kam̈am '1EXC:PL (us)' and kam̈im '2PL (you)'.

Table 4-33 Object suffix markers

| Singular |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1 INC | Plural |  |
| 1 EXC | -á | -ca |
| 2 | -ko | - |
| 3 | -a | $-\mathbf{- d a}$ |

The origin and stress properties of First singular -á have been discussed in §2.3.4. Morphophonemic rules governing the shift from -ca and -da to -co and -do are stated in §2.5.2.1, and the case of Third singular zero allomorph is dealt with in §2.5.2.2.

All transitive verbs are supposed to take these object suffixes, except in special cases of noun incorporation or when objects have human reference, as will be
accounts for a major morphological phenomenon occurring in the neighbouring languages of Central Vanuatu - e.g. Ngunese-North Efate (Lynch 1998), Paama (Crowley 1982:118), Lewo (Early 1994:90): this is the alternation of initial consonants for verbs, according to their mood/tense. For example, Paama contrasts at least two forms for the verb kati 'bite': Realis $/ l u$-gatil 'They two bit it' v. Irrealis /lu-atil 'You two bite it!': the opposition between a prenasalised voiced stop ( ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{g}$-) and loss of consonant ( $\varnothing$-) matches precisely the Araki contrast between $m$-suffixed subjects - e.g. $\boldsymbol{O m}$ hari-a 'You bit it.' - and absence of this suffix - e.g. $\boldsymbol{O}$ hari-a 'Bite it!'. In our hypothesis, a former linguistic stage had a Realis morpheme containing $-m$-, which was once autonomous (?); then it attached to the preceding subject clitic in some languages - e.g. Araki - and to the following verb in others - e.g. Central Vanuatu - involving a phonological process of assimilation. For further discussion on these issues, see Tryon (1986) and Crowley (1991).
shown later (see §5.4.3). These object suffixes immediately follow the transitiviser suffix -i when there is one: hence most transitive forms - but not all of them - end with complex transitivity marking -i-á, -i-ko, -i-a, -i-ca, -i-da.

## O ruen-i-á!

'Help me!'
$2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ help-TR-1s
The same suffixes appear on several prepositions, which may be called 'verb-like prepositions'; these are hini-, ini-, ni- which all roughly mean 'at, to', pedesi ~ p̈edesi 'with'. ${ }^{46}$

Several issues concerning object suffixes, both morphological and syntactic, will be dealt with in $\S 5.4$ p. 130 .

### 4.1.4. Possessive suffix markers

The last paradigm of personal markers is the list of possessive suffixes. These are associated with inalienable nouns, possessive classifiers and noun-like prepositions.

### 4.1.4.1. Morphology of possessive markers

Table 4-34 Possessive suffix markers

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1 INC |  | -ca |
| 1 EXC | -ku~-k | -m̈am |
| 2 | $-\mathbf{m}$ | -mim |
| 3 | -na | -da |

These suffixes all begin with a consonant, and usually follow a stressed vowel: for example p̈isu ['pisu] ~ p̈is ['p̈is] 'finger' $\rightarrow$ p̈isu-ku [p̈i'suku] 'my finger(s)'. No particular morphological alternations are involved, except the $/ \mathrm{o} /$ assimilation described in §2.5.2.1: for example podo 'ear' $\rightarrow$ podo-no 'his ears' (*podo-na).

### 4.1.4.2. Possessive markers and parts of speech

Our corpus shows up to 160 inalienable nouns in Araki, that is, nouns which are compatible with these possessive suffixes (see §4.2.1). The five possessive classifiers are no- 'general possession', maa- 'drink', ha- 'food', cuga- 'portion', pula- ~ pla- 'economical possession’; possession issues will be discussed in §4.7. Our corpus also has a handful of noun-like prepositions, including mara- 'after,

[^27]because of', isa- ~ sa- 'with, to (Dative)', nida- 'with':

| Nam | roho ro <br> 1s:  | stay | isa-m. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'I'm staying with you.'

There is no evidence, at least synchronically, to say that these noun-like prepositions were originally (inalienable) nouns - except for mara, which is homophonous with the noun m̈ara 'eye'. ${ }^{47}$

Finally, three other words must be mentioned, which always take these personal suffixes; they are not nouns, but behave syntactically as adjectives. These so-called 'possessible adjectives' include tilavo 'deprived of', sohe '(be) like', hase 'alone, (by) oneself'. They will be discussed in $\S 4.6 .4 \mathrm{p} .94$.

### 4.2. Nouns

### 4.2.1. Inalienable v. alienable nouns

The syntactic criteria defining the category of nouns were defined in §3.1.1. Nouns basically divide into two categories: inalienable v. alienable nouns. The former - 171 nouns in our corpus - are compatible with personal suffixes, while the latter - 302 nouns - are not. Inalienable nouns could further be divided into nouns which are always suffixed, such as ram̈a- 'father', v. nouns which can also stand on their own, such as aka 'canoe'. The consequence of this are three nominal categories, which are summarised in Table 4-35:

Table 4-35 The three lexical categories of nouns, according to suffixation

|  | ALIENABLE | INALIENABLE |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | optional suffix | obligatory suffix |
| unsuffixed suffixed | $+$ | $\begin{aligned} & + \\ & + \end{aligned}$ | $+$ |
| example unsuffixed ('a N') suffixed ('my N') | $\begin{gathered} \text { 'axe' } \\ \text { dïpa } \\ \text { *dipa-ku } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 'canoe' } \\ & \text { aka } \\ & \text { aka-ku } \end{aligned}$ | 'father' ${ }^{*}$ ram̈a ram̈a-ku |

The first category (alienable nouns) is supposedly the largest in Araki: it includes all plant and animal names, and many words which are normally not named in relation to anything else; loanwords are generally treated as alienable. At the other end of the table, the set of obligatorily suffixed nouns is quite reduced, and concerns mainly kin terms. Conversely, it is remarkable that a fair amount of common (non-technical) nouns belong in the class of optionally suffixed nouns.

[^28]This class could be described intuitively as the hybrid union of two fuzzy-edged sets of lexemes:

- nouns which typically take a possessive suffix, but exceptionally lose it when the possessor is either non-human, or non-specific. This is the case of most body part terms - for example hoco 'tooth': hoco-mim 'your teeth', but hoco po 'a pig's tusk' - or other part terms - for example para 'trunk (of a tree)' $\rightarrow$ para levu 'trunk of a breadfruit', para-na 'its trunk'.
- nouns which are typically unsuffixed, but can be exceptionally possessed, when one of their meanings is unambiguously relational: for example dani 'day' is normally never possessed, except with the sense 'the date of it (event)', dani-na; the same for lagi 'wind', which is found once in our corpus with a Construct suffix lagi-n Tahuna 'the South wind'; asi 'rope, liana' is never possessed directly, except when referring to the cords used in tying an outrigger to the canoe, asi-na 'its rope (of the canoe)', and so on.
Obviously, since the boundaries between these two categories are not coded by morphological constraints, many words are uneasy to be assigned a predominant use. For instance, nouns like ima 'house', aka 'canoe', epa 'mat', koko 'hole', cai 'blood', p̈aka 'bow', cannot be said to be 'typically' suffixed or typically unsuffixed: they can be used as a reference either to an object by itself ('a house', 'the canoe'), or to an object in relation to its possessor, in such a way that the nature of the relationship is unambiguous (ima-ku 'my house' is normally the house I live in).

In summary, the contrast between alienable v . inalienable nouns in Araki is not clearly marked: only few common nouns can be said to belong definitely to either of these categories. Conversely, most nouns can almost freely shift from one pattern to the other, following what seems to be a flexible process of (semi-) productive suffixation. This situation can be contrasted with other Oceanic languages like Mwotlap (Banks Is, personal data), in which each noun either must be or cannot be suffixed, in such a way that the system doesn't allow any flexibility between these two distinct categories. Diachronically speaking, it seems that this flexibility of Araki suffixation was already a characteristic of the Proto Oceanic noun system; whereas it is probably an innovation of Mwotlap to have rendered so rigid the opposition of alienability. Once again, Araki is conservative of former linguistic stages.

### 4.2.2. Noun-modifying nouns and composition

Distinct from possession structures, some patterns allow nouns to modify another noun, in a way similar to adjectives. This is the case when the NP-head $\left(\mathrm{N}_{1}\right)$ has its referential value narrowed down by a modifier $\left(\mathrm{N}_{2}\right)$. In this situation,
the order is always <head $\mathrm{N}_{1}+$ modifier $\mathrm{N}_{2}>$, in a direct construction:

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { mara ras } \\ & \text { snake sea } \end{aligned}$ | 'sea-snake' | ciliv <br> pot | lep̈a earth | 'clay pot' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| pilahe hudara | 'bush Rail (bird)' | pis finger | livuha middle | 'middle finger' |
| hadiv Tasale <br> rat Europeans | 'cat' | pera <br> taro | Tasale Europeans | 'Fijian taro' |

The second part of the compound can also be a (short) NP, consisting of more than one noun:

| aco | cigo-hese | 'swordfish' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (cetacean) | snout-one |  |
| vi-pue | da-pera | 'taro-leaf (that is, soft) bamboo' |
| PLANT-bamboo | leaf-taro |  |
| vasohi | udeece | シ̈erali |

The second noun can also be a 'verbal noun', referring to an action (§3.2.4 p.40). In general, these nouns are derived through reduplication of the verb root, for example runu 'cook' $\rightarrow$ rurunu 'cooking, cuisine':

| ima | rurunu | 'kitchen' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house | cook:DUP |  |
| maci | avuavu | 'bird' |
| fish/bird | fly:DUP |  |
| cada | ruvaruva <br> place | girdle:DUP |

V̈eral ne mo ce ÿral hanhan. 'This banana is not for eating.' banana DX1 3:R NEG banana eat:DUP

In fact, these qualifying structures are sometimes difficult to distinguish from possessive structures involving two nouns, for example daca po 'pig's rib'. The difference between both patterns is twofold:

- syntactically, $\left\langle\mathrm{N}_{1}-\mathrm{N}_{2}\right\rangle$ is a possessive structure if $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ belongs to the set of inalienable nouns, that is, if the noun $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ can be replaced by a possessor suffix. For example, daca po $\rightarrow$ daca-na 'its rib' is a possessive structure, but mara ras 'sea-snake' $\rightarrow$ *mara-na 'its snake' is only a noun-modifying structure.
- semantically, $\left\langle\mathrm{N}_{1}-\mathrm{N}_{2}\right\rangle$ is a possessive structure if the possessor noun $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ can
be specific: for example daca po can mean either 'a pig's rib' (non-specific) or 'the rib of the/this pig', and hence is possessive; but mara ras 'sea-snake' does not refer to any sea in particular, that is, the second element is never specific.

The syntax of possessive constructions will be detailed in $\S 4.7$ p. 96 .

### 4.2.3. Derivation patterns

There are a few productive patterns of lexical derivation to form nouns; they use prefixes rather than suffixes.

### 4.2.3.1. Prefixes da- and vi-

Both are compatible with several, if not all, plant names:

- <da-+ plant name> forms names of leaves (cf. dau 'leaf'): for example da-holo 'coconut palm', da-pera 'taro leaf'
- <vi-+ plant name> designates the plant as a whole, and has become automatic although still removable - in the citation forms of most plants: vi-adu 'Casuarina', vi-ca 'Pometia pinnata', vi-cogo 'mangrove', vi-mele 'Cycas'. More than 30 plant names take vi-, except the most common edible plants like cam 'yam', holo 'coconut', pera 'taro', シ̈erali 'banana'.

Both prefixes are compatible with a generic radical for plants, ha (<POc *kayu); thus vi-ha 'tree', da-ha 'leaf'.

### 4.2.3.2. Prefix ve-

It forms female kin terms out of male kin terms, all being inalienable nouns. This is better presented in a table:

Table 4-36 Female kin terms using ve- derivative prefix

|  | Male term | Female derived term |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ra | 'younger brother' | ve-rasi | 'younger sister' |
| roha | 'elder brother' | ve-roha | 'elder sister' |
| paliha | 'father-in-law' | ve-paliha | 'mother-in-law' |
| rahu | 'brother-in-law' | ve-rahu | 'sister-in-law' |
| naru | 'child; son' | ve-naru | 'daughter' |
| tu | 'child; son' | ve-tu | 'daughter' |
| elua | 'uncle; nephew' | v-elua | 'niece' |
| mara | 'uncle; nephew' | ve-m̈ara | 'niece' |
| rahura | 'uncle'; 'nephew' | ve-rahura | 'niece' |

The exact meanings of each form have been a bit simplified here, and will be detailed in our dictionary of Araki (Chapter 9); see also our Kinship tables pp.231-233.

### 4.3. Articles and reference-tracking devices

Contrary to many languages of Vanuatu, Araki did not retain the noun article *na of Proto Oceanic, nor any other obligatory noun determiner. As a consequence, a noun root on its own can perfectly form a valid NP in a sentence. Semantically speaking, a noun without an article can be specific as well as non-specific, and definite as well as indefinite. Moreover, not only is there no gender distinction, but even number is most of the time under-specified; only the context, and partly the personal marker on the verb, help distinguish between singular v. plural reference.

## Hotou mo hani-a. <br> Hermit.crab 3:R eat-3s

'It was eaten by the/some hermit-crab(s).'

'The stranger(s), they want to test their destiny.' [in an oracle]

| Mo | vari-a | ai, | mo | vari-a | as $\ldots$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3:R | hold-3s | water | 3:R | hold-3s |  |
| rope |  |  |  |  |  |

'They had taken water, they had taken rope(s).'
However, several devices are available - though always optional - in Araki to help track the reference of a particular NP. These are the clitics va, di, mada, dai, re, mo hese, which are detailed below.

### 4.3.1. The pro-clitic va 'the'

Placed immediately before a noun, this clitic va codes for discourse-internal anaphora, that is, reference to a term which has been already introduced in the earlier context.

| Po! | Va racu | Supe | mo re ceu-ca | mo iso! |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hey | the man | Supe | $3: \mathrm{R}$ | PFT | surpass-1N | $3: \mathrm{R}$ finish | 'Hey! That man Supe has already overtaken us!'

Supemala mo sure va ai z̈adug mo siv lo paru-da.
Sup. $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ pour the water hot $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down LOC head-3P
'Then Supemala poured the boiling water over their heads.'
Mo v̈a; va m̈aci mo le vavere mo de...
3:R go the bird 3:R again sing 3:R say
'As he was going away, the bird(s) [already mentioned] went on singing.'
This va clitic is compatible with demonstratives:
Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo colo.
3:R hit outright the woman DX2 3:R go.down 3:R sink
'Then he killed outright that woman (I was mentioning), and she sank down.'
This anaphoric marker va is optional, and occurs only 15 times in our whole corpus. It is semantically very close to the post-clitic di, discussed hereafter.

### 4.3.2. The anaphoric post-clitic di

Araki has another way to mark a NP as being anaphoric, namely the post-clitic di - glossed 'ANA (Anaphora)'. This morpheme, which follows immediately the noun, is as optional as va, and only occurs 19 times in our corpus. Its linguistic function is very difficult to distinguish from va; we have di whenever the reference of the noun has just been established in the close context.

V̈apa mo hese, ravui lo ima-ku. V̈apa di mo roho sahan kaura. cave $3: \mathrm{R}$ one close Loc house-1s cave ANA 3: R stay up above 'There is a cave, near my house. This cave is located up there.'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Mo } & \text { hani-a } & \text { pani } & \text { cam } & \text { di } & \text { cam hahada. } \\ \text { 3: } & \text { eat-3s } & \text { but } & \text { yam } & \text { ANA yam red }\end{array}$
'(The rat saw a piece of yam and) ate it. The trouble is, this yam was red yam.'
Rasi mo saha lo lolo-no. Aka di mo colo, aka-n hadiv.
sea 3:R go.up LOC inside-3s canoe ANA 3:R sink canoe-CST rat
'Water began to seep inside. The boat was sinking, the rat's boat!'
A hypothesis on the difference between va and di, would be to say that di refers to the immediate context, as suggested by the examples above, in a way similar to English 'the latter', or to the anaphoric (not demonstrative) use of English 'this'; whereas va would just mark the noun as being definite in a broader context (English 'the'). This hypothesis is confirmed by another kind of immediacy which is associated with di: every time the narrator of a story refers to his own discourse, he uses di rather than va.

| Sodosodo |  | di | mo hilu | hosu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| talk:DUP | ANA | 3:R | finish | DX3 |

'The story ( I am telling) ends here.'
Our corpus shows no example of va and di occurring together <va N di>, which confirms that they must be different. Deictics are also compatible with di:

'This story (I am telling) ends here.'

### 4.3.3. The personal nominaliser mada

Another particle can be found at the beginning of NPs, mada. This word never occurs alone, but is always followed by an adjective or a place name. Its role is to refer to a set of human individuals defined by the next word, in a way similar to English 'one' in the small one(s); mada can be described as a personal nominaliser. It does not involve definiteness or number.

Our corpus shows two basic uses of mada. One is combined with a place name, to refer to the people from that place: for example mada Naura-Lapa 'the ones (from) the Mainland, that is, the people from Espiritu Santo I.'.

| Mada | Tanna | hase-da | nida mo | levse | hani-a | vidi. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PERS | Tanna | alone-3P | $3 P$ | $3: R$ | know | eat-3s | dog |

'Only Tanna people eat dogs.'
The other use is for nominalising an adjective. In reality, the only two adjectives encountered with mada are hetehete 'small' and vadidi 'small (and numerous)', which form a rather strange pair of suppletive phrases, coding respectively for singular and plural of 'child' $::^{48}$

## mada hetehete

PERS small
'a/the child'
mada vadidi
PERS small:numerous
'(the) children'

[^29]
### 4.3.4. The plural marker dai

Optional again, the plural marker dai makes explicit the plurality of the NP, which is otherwise never coded for, but often left implicit (see §4.5).

| E : | Dai | maci | mo hani-a | ha-ku hina! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hey | PL | bird | 3:R eat-3s | FOOD-1s thing |

'Hey! The birds ate my dinner!'
Mo veei povi-a dai hina hosun.
3:R do all-3s PL thing DX3
'He did exactly all these things.'
Sometimes the plurality is already suggested in the NP (see vadidi in §4.3.3), but is underlined by dai; notice the combination of dai and mada:

Nida povi dai mada vadidi mo mare povi.
3P all PL PERS small:PL 3:R die all
'All of the children were dead.'
Finally, it is interesting to notice the possibility of using dai to pluralise the relative marker (no)hosu(n) - which is actually a Demonstrative (see §7.2.1):

Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-lä̈a mo dogo leo-do ro.
PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
'Those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'

### 4.3.5. The specific indefinite mo hese

As we said before, most NPs consist just of a noun, whether it has a definite or indefinite reference:

Mo sohan-i-a sodo isa-na.
3:R send-TR-3s talk to-3s
'He sent her a message.'
However, when the referent is introduced for the first time, it is very common, if not compulsory, to use mo hese, a numeral quantifier meaning 'one'. Being a numeral, mo hese may be used as a predicate, contrasting with other numbers:

Naru-ku mo hese. / mo dua.
child-1s $3: R$ one $3: R$ two
'I have one child/two children.' lit. My child is one/are two.
But this numeral word is most frequently used as a kind of article following a NP, in order to mark it as being indefinite, that is, newly introduced in the discourse.
Nam

1s:R | lesi-a |
| :--- |
| see-3s | rapala-ku mo hese.

'I saw a friend of mine (lit. I saw my friend he is one).'
Though it is well-formed to make a whole clause, this phrase mo hese apparently behaves like a quantifier within the limits of the NP. As a consequence, it would make sense to write it in one word mohese 'a, one', as if a phrase had frozen into an indefinite article. But at the same time, what we have here could also be described as a case of clause chaining or relative structure - though without a relativiser - which is very common in Araki. In this perspective, it looks acceptable to keep spelling it in two separate words mo hese, considering this to be no more than a common example of clause chaining in Araki. This point is being discussed below.

### 4.3.5.1. Indefiniteness and modality

The presence of the subject clitic mo (Third singular Realis) in mo hese suggests there could be variations in this point. In fact, no other person than Third singular is compatible with the word hese '(be) one', which is not so surprising. With regard to the modality contrast between Realis and Irrealis, we only have one instance of hese combined with a subject other than Realis mo, that is Third singular Irrealis co. In this case, the numeral value of hese is clearly present:

Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.
$1 \mathrm{l}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{I}$ SEQ sing LOC song $3: \mathrm{R}$ one
'I would like to sing a song (lit. a song which is one).'

## Nam de na pa vavere lo vere co hese. <br> $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say 1 s :I SEQ sing LOC song 3 s :I one

'I would like to sing one song (lit. a song which would be one).'
The Irrealis marker co puts the predicate 'be one' under the control of the main verb, which is desiderative; as a consequence, it is a part of the subject's will that the song should be one and no more. Conversely, with Realis marker mo, the fact that there is 'one song' does not depend on anybody's will, but is presented as already true/objective (Realis value); mo hese does not fall under the scope of the main verb, but refers to some properties of the song (that is, existence and unicity) which are simply stated by the speaker.

This is the meaning of mo hese when it is used as an indefinite article: the existence and unicity of the noun are presented not as a wish in the future, but as objective properties of the world. Moreover, although with mo hese it is being referred to one individual, this does not exclude the possibility of a greater number of referents being involved in the same process: hence the translation with English $a$, which means logically one at least. This is why most cases of indefinite mo
hese (lit. 'one X ') would be better glossed 'There is an X , which ...', as is suggested by Realis modality (mo) - for example 'There is a song which I would like to sing'.

### 4.3.5.2. New topics, existential predicates, and discourse structure

As was already shown in our examples, mo hese always follows the noun it modifies, whatever the syntactic function of this noun. The commonest slots for indefinite NPs are in the object and the adverbial (prepositional) positions:

Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a.
3: R feel crab $3: \mathrm{R}$ one $3: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ throw take.off-TR-3s
'He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed it and threw it away.'
Nam roho lo cada mo hese mo rovi-a mo de Sope.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ stay Loc place $3: \mathrm{R}$ one $3: \mathrm{R}$ call-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ say Sope
'I live in a place called Sope.' (lit. in one place, they call it S .)
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Lo dan } & \text { mo hese, } & \text { mo } & \text { ÿei-a } & \text { hanhan } & \text { mo hese } & \text { Daki. } \\ \text { LOC day } & 3: R \text { one, } & 3: R \text { do-3s meal } & \text { 3:R one } & \text { Araki }\end{array}$
'One day, they were giving a party in Araki.'
In all these examples, the Araki phrase obviously has lost its numeral value ('one'), and now behaves exactly like an indefinite marker ('a'), in a way similar to French un; this is why mo hese is so frequent in Araki speech.

Almost any new referent is being introduced by mo hese; then, as would be expected, anaphoric markers are used (for example object suffix -a) when the same referent is mentioned again. Sometimes, mo hese seems to be used only for the purpose of introducing a new element, in a kind of topical sentence; then the 'true' - comment - sentence follows on, with an anaphoric marker (here co 'he'):

Nam levse racu mo hese, co pa ruen-i-ko.
1s:R know man 3:R one 3s:1 SEQ help-TR-2s
'I know a man who (lit. he) will help you.'
This example recalls the strategy which is often used in English, to avoid indefinite NPs on the subject position: instead of ? A woman is living up there, we would say There is a woman living there, or I know a woman, she is living there, and so on. ${ }^{49}$ Our point is that, in many languages, an indefinite NP must first be introduced in a first clause, which can be described as existential ('there is $\mathrm{X}^{\prime}$ ); then it becomes possible to resume this NP with definite markers.

[^30]It is remarkable that Araki does allow for indefinite NPs on subject position, which is typologically paradoxical:

P̈ra mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle üa.
woman 3:R one 3:R stay beyond cape go.away go
'A woman was living beyond the cape, over there.'
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { Cau } & \text { mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura. } \\ \text { coconut.crab } & \text { 3:R } & \text { one } & 3: \mathrm{R} \text { PFT climb } & 3: \mathrm{R} & \text { go.up above }\end{array}$
'A coconut crab has climbed up there!'
This unnatural English translation reveals that the Araki pattern is somewhat strange too. A possible explanation of these indefinite subjects, would be to say that mo hese must not be seen as an 'article' in these sentences, but remains a full predicate, forming a first clause in a clause-chaining sequence. In this idea, mo hese would be well formed to introduce a new topic, asserting first the existence of the subject, before inserting it into a new clause.

Our hypothesis is confirmed by several sentences in our corpus, showing mo hese as the predicative head. The function of this Realis predicate is not only to indicate a numeral quantity, but also to assert the existence of a new referent. In these sentences, mo hese is best translated as an existential operator 'There is an $X^{\prime}$ :

| Pira | hetehete | mo | HESE | nida-n | veroha-na. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman | small | 3:R one | with-CST | elder.sister-3s |  |

'(There was) a girl and her elder sister.'
V̈apa mo hese, kesi-ni ravui lo ima-ku. cave $3:$ R one here-ASS nearby Loc house-1s
'(There is) a cave, around here near my house.'
Racu mo hese lo ima rurunu.
man 3: one Loc house cook:DUP
'There is a man in the kitchen. ${ }^{50}$

### 4.3.5.3. Clause-chaining structures and specificity of the referent

According to this evidence, it becomes possible to re-analyse a few sentences above. For example, the first analysis which would have come to mind for the next sentence, was to consider mo hese a part of the subject NP:

[^31]
## <P̈ira mo hese> mo roho raṽal cigo mle v̈a.

'A woman was living beyond the cape ...'
Now, an alternate syntactic description of the same sentence would be that mo hese is in fact a full predicate with an existential value, as it is when it stands alone. Then the so-called 'predicate head' mo roho would be no more than a second predicate in a clause-chaining structure:
< P̈ira> mo HESE | mo ROHO rav̈al cigo mle v̈a.
'There was a woman, she was living beyond the cape ...'
Not only would this latter analysis be more satisfying from a typological perspective, but it would be more respectful of the syntactic structures of Araki. Although it is being used as a kind of 'indefinite article' in NPs, the phrase mo hese is first and foremost a PREDICATE. ${ }^{51}$ The indefinite meaning is thus combined with the faculty to assert the existence of the subject. In other words, mo hese does not only quantify the NP as referring to 'one' X , but it also implies that this particular X exists.

To illustrate this latter point, let us contrast English 'a/one', which does not imply existence of the referent, with Araki mo hese, which does. If the referent is specific, that is, if it exists already outside the discourse, then mo hese can be used:


But it is impossible if the referent is non-specific, that is, if it does not yet exist except as a mental representation:
*Nam dogo na hani-a v̈erali mo hese.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ feel $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ eat-3s banana $3: \mathrm{R}$ one
*'I feel like eating a banana.' (any banana, not a specific one)
In the case of non-specific reference, mo hese must be replaced by an Irrealis form co hese, if the number ('one') is relevant. ${ }^{52}$ But the essential modification is the replacement of transitivity suffix (-i-a) by the Partitive clitic re:

Nam dogo na han re v̈erali (co hese).
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ feel 1 s :I eat some banana 3 s :I one
'I feel like eating a (/ one) banana.'

[^32]The case of partitive clitic re, expressing non-specific reference, is discussed in the next paragraph.

- To sum up, the phrase mo hese has always a triple function:
- quantifying the preceding noun ('one');
- presenting the referent of this noun as new in the discourse, not given in the context (Indefinite value);
- asserting the existence of this referent, that is, providing it with a specific referential value. ${ }^{53}$


### 4.3.6. The partitive-indefinite re

We already know that indefinite noun phrases in English correspond sometimes to bare nouns in Araki, and often to NPs followed by the indefinite marker mo hese (see last paragraph). However, we have just mentioned the possibility of a third syntactic structure, requiring a partitive pro-clitic re; this is when the NP refers to a new, non-specific instance of a notion.

To understand this, it is essential to remember the contrast between specific v . non-specific indefinites in general semantics: for example English/I ate a banana./, besides being indefinite, is specific, because it refers to a specific banana; whereas /I want to eat $\underline{\text { a banana./ is non-specific, because it can refer to }}$ any banana, not one in particular. Although this semantic difference is not grammaticised in English, it is in Araki, and re can be described as a marker for nonspecific indefinite reference.

### 4.3.6.1. Extracting a non-specific quantity of an object

The prototypical use of re is at the beginning of an object NP, in association with a transitive verb. It may correspond either to our partitive, that is, a quantifier operating upon an uncountable notion (for example 'some water'), or to our indefinite, if the notion is countable (for example 'a bow'):

Nam dogo na inu re hae.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ feel $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ drink some kava
'I feel like drinking some kava.'

| O | polo | re | hap | lap̈a! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s:I | light | some | fire | big |

[^33]'Please light a big fire!'
No-ku ta, o vodo re paka-ku, re vina-ku. poss-1s dad 2s:I make some bow-1s, some arrow-1s
'Dad, could you make me a bow, make me some arrows?'
Nica co pa han re sa?
1IN $1 \mathrm{~N}: I$ SEQ eat some what
'What are we going to eat?' lit. We shall eat some what?
In these examples, the NP introduced by re does not refer to any object already existing, but has a virtual reference, which is construed by the action of the verb. With re, the linguistic instruction given to the hearer is just to take a sample of the abstract notion of the noun ('some fire', 'some arrows'), without trying to relate it to any already existing object. ${ }^{54}$

It is instructive to notice that re is compatible with another quantifier, as long as the non-specificity of the referent is maintained. As would be expected, the numeral predicate takes the Irrealis modality, since the speaker is referring to some virtual quantity of the object, not an actual one:

'I'd like to drink two glasses of water.'
(lit. drink some glasses of water which should be two)
This helps distinguish between two different semantic features of the object NP, that is, whether it already exists or not (specific v. non-specific); and whether it is associated to some quantifying marker or not. As long as the reference remains virtual/ non-specific, Araki uses re.

### 4.3.6.2. Partitive re and transitivity issues

As all sentences above illustrate, it is interesting to notice that non-specific reference, like the one coded by re, almost systematically correlates with Irrealis modality, or negative-interrogative Realis. Similar to English 'any', the word re never shows in Realis affirmative sentences.

The chapter on transitivity in Araki ${ }^{55}$ will reveal that verbs never take a transitivity marker -i, nor any object suffix, when the object is being introduced by re: cf. inu (*inum-i-a) and han (*hani-a) in the sentences above. This is very instructive to understand the specific status which is given to indefinite

[^34]non-specific objects in Araki: they do not behave like real external arguments of the verb, but rather as incorporated objects. This must be contrasted with apparently similar cases, in which the object is already construed and quantified; the latter case necessarily implies that transitivity be marked on the verb (suffixes $-i-a)$ :
Nam dogo na inu re hae.

1s:R feel 1s:I drink some kava
'I feel like drinking some kava.'
Nam dogo na inum-i-a m̈a-m hae.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ feel $1 \mathrm{~S}:$ I drink-TR-3S DRINK-2S kava
'I feel like drinking your (already quantified) cup of kava.'
In the standard transitive structure, the verb and its object are referentially 'autonomous' from one another, but a different analysis is required in the case of object incorporation. In the partitive construction, what has to be quantified is not only the object itself, but arguably the Verb-Object bundle as a whole. Semantically, this means that inu re hae is not so much 'carry out the action of drinking upon a certain amount of kava', but would be more accurately glossed as 'do a certain amount of kava-drinking'.

### 4.3.6.3. Grammaticisation of re into Perfective marker

Besides fitting closer to the object-incorporation structure of Araki, the latter translation helps understand another use of re, which has grammaticised as an aspectual pro-clitic with a Perfective meaning:

Nam re inum-i-a hae.
1s: R PFT drink-TR-3s kava
'I have drunk the/some kava.'
Though we will analyse this use later, ${ }^{56}$ we would just like to point out its similarity with the (incorporated-) object pattern involving re, as far as cognitive operations are concerned. In both cases, what is being 'extracted' is a certain amount of a verbal process, out of the generic notion signified by this verb. If the action is still virtual/Irrealis, then the object itself may be non-specific (for example 'I want to drink some kava'), and we will find re in its typical partitive use, between the verb and its incorporated object (na inu re hae).

Conversely, if the action is already performed/Realis, then the object is necessarily specific (for example 'I have drunk some kava'), and cannot be introduced by re; yet it is still possible to extract the action itself, and this is how re has grammaticised on the left of the verb, where aspectual particles are: Nam re

[^35]inum-i-a hae. The latter sentence can be glossed 'There is a certain amount of my drinking, involving a specific quantity of kava'; and this is how the Perfective meaning emerges: 'there is a certain amount of such an action' $\rightarrow$ 'such an action has been done, ${ }^{57}$

### 4.3.6.4. Non-object uses of re

So far, we have been examining the most typical use of the non-specific quantifier re, that is, marking the (incorporated) object of a transitive verb. In other Vanuatu languages such as Mwotlap (pers. data), quantifying the direct object is the only use attested, and it is likely that former linguistic stages began with this typical position for their partitive morpheme. Nevertheless, (pre-) Araki has increased the variety of syntactic positions where the morpheme re can be used with a partitive meaning.

- We can find the partitive re on a subject NP, provided the reference is still semantically non-specific, like in the following conditional clause:

> ... co de re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di ...
> $1 \mathbb{N}: I$ say some octopus $3 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ stay PRG straight LOC place ANA
'... (if you go to the sea) suppose that some octopus is right in that place ...'

- The partitive is sometimes found at the beginning of a PREDICATE NP:

'When I heard your voice, I thought (this was) some nice man.'
What is remarkable in the latter example, is that the non-specificity of the referent is only suggested by some markers of epistemic modality, that is, pana 'maybe', and the subjective sense associated with de. Without these words, it would become ungrammatical to use the non-specific quantifier re in an (affirmative) equational sentence:

| *Nia | re | racu cu. |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 3 s | some | man |
| handsome |  |  |

'*He is some nice man.'
In this case, Araki re follows similar rules as English some or Fr. quelque: these indefinite articles are normally forbidden in affirmative Realis sentences, except

[^36]when the predicate is semantically hypothetic, and the subject of the sentence is unknown to the speaker.

- Some ObliQUE NPS can have re:
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Ha } & \text { pa nak-i-a } & \text { lo } & \text { vudo } & \text { vo } & \text { re } & \text { hina sohe-na. } \\ \text { 3P:I } & \text { SEQ kill-TR-3s } & \text { Loc battle } & \text { or } & \text { some thing like-3s }\end{array}$
'He will be killed (lit. they will kill him) during a battle, or something of the kind.'
We even find combinations in which re immediately follows a verb-like preposition ni-, marking a NP as oblique. The result is a PrepP introduced by a form ni-re, which is often reduced ${ }^{58}$ to nre:
Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re presin.

1s:R feel 1s:I give-2s obl-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.'
Another example of this combination ni- + re is with the noun dani 'day', to form the adverbial phrase n -re dan 'sometimes, from time to time' (lit. 'on some days'); it may be spelt in one word nredan:

| N-re-dan | co | pa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| OBL-some-day |  |  |
| liN:I | SEQ | vanov̈ano |
| SElk:DUP |  |  |

'One day, we shall race together ...'

```
Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3:R NEG rain obl-some-day
```

'It never rains.'
Once again, it is important to see the boundary between specific and nonspecific reference. Since it includes re, the phrase n-re-dan 'some time' is normally compatible with Irrealis/future events, or negated predicates, but it cannot go with a Realis and specific meaning, like referring to a date in the past. In this latter case, 'one day' cannot be translated n-re-dan, but lo dan mo hese - using the specific-reference quantifier mo hese:
Lo dan mo hese, mo viei-a hanhan mo hese Daki.
Loc day 3:R one,
'One day, (the people) were giving a party in Araki.'

### 4.3.6.5. Pronominal uses of re

The large majority of examples involving the partitive re, as we have seen up to now, is at the beginning of a noun phrase, that is, re being immediately followed by a noun. For this reason, it makes sense to consider it as a partitive article - if it

[^37]is useful to give it such a tag. However, our corpus gives some evidence of the same word being used as a pronoun, that is, as the head of a nounless NP. This pronominal use of re is somewhat original among other languages which have a similar partitive. We thus find re alone, on the object position:

| Lo maudi-ku, nam ce misi han | re. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| LOC life-1s | 1s:R NEG yet eat | some |

'(Today, I ate some octopus;) during my whole life, I had never eaten any.'
In the next example, re is followed by an adjective, and still appears to be the head of the NP:

| O | sile | re | ravon co | hani-a! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ | give | some other | 3s:1 eat-3s |  |

'Give (it) to someone else (so that) he can eat it!'
Finally, it is worth underlining the pronominal use of re on subject position, with the meaning 'someone'. Once again, this is incompatible with specific reference, and thus with Realis sentences like 'Someone came today'; but it fits well into an Irrealis sentence pointing just to 'anyone':

'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'
Although these examples are not numerous in our corpus, they show how productive this partitive morpheme has become in a language like Araki.

### 4.3.6.6. Partitive re in negative contexts

The same partitive-indefinite article often shows in negative sentences, to mark an object which does not exist, and therefore is non-specific: ${ }^{59}$

| Mo | ce | les | re | cau | lo | lepa. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3: | NEG | see | some | coconut.crab | LOC | ground |

If the noun has a generic meaning like hina 'thing', then the same pattern is used to translate our indefinite pronoun 'nothing'. The structure of Araki is parallel to English not any-thing:

Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.
3s 3:R blind 3 :R Neg know see some thing
'He is blind, he cannot see anything.'

[^38]Similarly, a sentence already mentioned shows how Araki translates our word 'never', by combining the negation with the time adverb n-re-dan derived from re:

Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3:R NEG rain obl-some-day
'It never rains.'

### 4.3.6.7. Existential uses of re

## * Negative existential

It is remarkable that Araki, like other languages, has somewhat grammaticised the negative pattern <ce... re>, in developing the predicate ce re 'do not exist (lit. not any)'. This predicate always takes a 3 sG subject clitic, generally mo (Realis), and is always followed by its semantic subject, as is common with Existential structures.
Mo ce re dipa.

Neg some axe
'There is no axe.'
It is difficult to say whether the predicative head of such a sentence is the negation ce, the partitive re, or maybe the NP (?) re dipa. It seems the starting point was a NP predicate, preceded by a negation:

## Mo ce <re dip̈a>.

'Not <some axe>'
Then this structure, for functional reasons easy to understand, was reanalysed as having a predicate-head of the form ce-re 'do not exist', followed by its only argument ${ }^{60}$ (that is, the noun which is said not to exist):

> <Mo ce re> dipa.
'<There is not any> axe'
The latter pattern is evidenced by the usual shortcut which appears when the noun is obvious from the context:

Mo ce re.
3: R NEG some
'There is not any' - also used to mean 'No!'

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## Affirmative existential: problem

Since the combination <ce $+\mathbf{r e}>$ has generalised to form a negative existential predicate, one could expect that, in a second stage of evolution, affirmative existential sentences (that is, 'there is N ') would simply use the same particle re, without a negation. In fact, this is normally impossible:

```
*Re dip̈a. /*Mo re dipa.
some axe 3:R some axe
```

'There is an axe.'
Affirmative existential sentences never use re, but have to employ other strategies. ${ }^{61}$ Nevertheless, the morpheme re may indeed receive an existential function in sentences other than negative. First, we find this word in some affirmative sentences, which however are marked in modality, as being semantically counterfactual ('CF') or optative:

| Aru | mo | usa, | mo | pa | re | ai. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if:CF | 3: | rain | 3:R | SEQ | some/exist | water |

'If it had rained, we would have (lit. there would be) some water.'
This sentence is syntactically very close to the negative pattern Mo ce re ai 'There is no water': the word re behaves as a predicate, being introduced by a subject clitic, and preceded by some mood-aspect particle (resp. pa 'Sequential/ Future' and ce 'Negation'). This would suggest the emergence of an existential re, which would be predicative ('there is'), and definitely distinct from the partitive ('some').

## * Interrogative existential

In interrogative sentences, when the question precisely focuses on the presence $v$. absence of an object $X$, then re is used, without any subject clitic:

| Lo | cada-m, | re | ram̈are | vo | mo | ce | re? | Ramare | kia. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| LOC | place-2s | some/exist | devil | or | $3: R$ | NEG | some | devil | there |

'In your country, are there devils or not? - Yes, there are.'
Nevertheless, if the word re were to be re-analysed as an existential marker meaning 'there is', then it would become difficult to explain why it cannot appear in affirmative Realis statements. This appears to be a strong argument for not losing the connection between these existential uses of re, and the core function of this word as a non-specific Indefinite marker.

In fact, some parallel may be drawn, as we have already suggested, between this re and English non-specific quantifier any. The latter can be said to hold existential functions, in a sentence like Any problem?, which we claim to be

[^39]parallel to Araki Re ram̈are? Such a comparison becomes instructive, once we realise that English allows so-called 'existential' use of any in questions, but never in affirmative sentences: we don't have *Any problem? - Yes, any problem. That is because a Realis affirmative statement about existence necessarily implies, by definition, that the object referred to already exists, and consequently cannot be non-specific.

This is why re normally shows up exclusively in interrogative, negative, or counterfactual sentences, in which the existence of the object is not presupposed, but is precisely what is being challenged - cf. Do you want any cake?; I don't want any cake; I could eat any cake! On the other hand, affirmative existentials are incompatible with non-referentiality of the object - *There is any cake. - and this is when alternate strategies must be used, in Araki as well as in English.

### 4.3.6.8. Synopsis of different uses of re

Because the particle re in Araki has a very complex behaviour, it may be useful to sum up the many different cases we have been going through, in one single synthetic table. We basically consider this morpheme has three different values:

- a Partitive use, either as an article or as a pronoun, filling in the same slots as NPs;
- an Existential use, where re more or less behaves as a predicate itself;
- a Perfective use, where re works as an aspectual clitic.

Table 4-37 recalls sample sentences of each syntactic pattern; these are simple enough to enable comparison. In each sentence, the predicative head has uppercase letters, in order to clarify the syntactic position of re within the sentence.

Table 4-37 Syntactic uses of morpheme re: summary

| Partitive use | indefinite non-specific reference, normally Irrealis |
| :---: | :---: |
| (incorporated) object <br> [*specific object object pronoun negated object subject subject pronoun oblique complement hypothetical predicate | Nam de na INU re hae. 'I want to drink some kava.' <br> *Nam INU re hae. 'I drank some kava.] <br> Nam de na INU re. 'I want to drink some.' <br> Nam ce INU re (hae). 'I didn't drink any (kava).' <br> Re vidi co INUMLA! 'Let a dog drink it!' <br> Re co INUMIA! 'Let someone drink it!' <br> Na pa SLE-ko n-re hae. 'I will give you some kava.' <br> Nam de pana RE RAM̈ARE. 'I thought it was some devil.' |
| Existential use | non-specific only. Re partly behaves like a predicative head |
| interrogative negative <br> $\rightarrow$ negative phrase counterfactual [*affirmative | RE hae? '(Is there) any kava?' <br> Mo ce RE (hae). 'There is not any (kava).' <br> Mo ce RE! 'No!' <br> Mo pa RE hae. 'There would be some kava.' <br> *Re hae./*Mo re hae. *There is some kava.] |
| Perfective use | aspectual marker, compatible with Realis |
| (affirmative Realis)... | Nam re INUMIA hae. 'I have drunk (the) kava.' |

### 4.3.7. Reference-tracking devices: summary

After going through many of the syntactic structures related to nominal modifiers in NPs, it has become possible to draw the main semantic boundaries which are relevant in Araki.

As in many languages, one criterion which is often - but not systematically coded for, is whether the referent of the NP is DEFINTE v. INDEFINTTE. A NP is definite if it gives the hearer an instruction to track back an element already present in the context. It is indefinite if it presents the referent as being new in the discourse, without connecting it to any existing representation.

A characteristic of Araki's syntax, which is more original typologically, is the drastic importance given to the SPECIFIC v. NON-SPECIFIC contrast. A specific - that is, referential - NP points at a particular object, existing independently from the discourse: for example English The cake is ready (definite) or I ate a cake (indefinite) are both specific, since they presuppose the existence of their referent into the real world. Conversely, a non-specific NP does not refer to any particular object, but rather to an abstract notion represented by the noun. If it is 'definite', then the whole notion is involved, in what is called a generic NP - for example I like cakes; if it is 'indefinite', then only a certain quantity of this notion has to be taken as a
sample, whether with precision or not - for example I want to eat some cake/a cakelthree cakes.

These two main semantic categories correspond to four distinct cases, each involving different structures in Araki. They are summarised in Table 4-38, with an English illustrative sentence to help the reader. Most of the so-called 'articles' that is, nominal modifiers - which we have been analysing in this chapter, are represented in this table: va, di, mo hese, re. No further detail will be given here.

Table 4-38 Definiteness and specificity in the noun phrase: summary

|  | DEFINTE | INDEFINTE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SPECIFIC | $\mathbf{N}\\|\mathbf{v a} \mathbf{N}\\| \mathbf{N}$ di <br> 'The cake is ready.' | $\mathbf{N} \\| \mathbf{N}$ mo hese <br> 'I ate a cake.' |
| NON-SPECIFIC | $\mathbf{N}$ <br> 'I like cakes.' | $\mathbf{N} \\| \mathbf{r e} \mathbf{N}$ <br> 'I want to eat a cake.' |

### 4.4. Demonstratives

The system of Demonstrative markers in Araki is complex, and also remarkably different from that of neighbouring Tangoa (Ray 1926:360). Not only is there a high number of morphological forms, but the precise syntactic behaviour of several affixes is still unclear to us.

### 4.4.1. Paradigm of Demonstrative markers

As was briefly mentioned in §3.1.7, all Demonstrative markers - or 'deictics’ share the property of being compatible with a suffix of the form -ni $\sim-n$, which is homonymous with the Construct suffix (§4.7.1), and whose semantic value will be discussed later (§4.4.3.2). This compatibility with the suffix -n(i) helps rule out other particles from the set of demonstratives, such as the anaphoric markers va and di, ${ }^{62}$ since ${ }^{*}$ va-n and ${ }^{*} \mathbf{d i - n}$ are impossible.

Our corpus shows no less than fourteen deictic markers, which means that demonstratives may have twenty-eight forms in all - if we include -n(i)-derived forms. Some of the relevant semantic criteria to distinguish between all these forms include:

- absolute distance and spatial direction from the starting point/from the speaker: su 'there', シ̈a-su 'over there', sivo-su 'down there', saha-su 'up there';

[^40]- spatial/abstract relationship with a particular person in the situation: either the speaker (kesi; ne/nene), the addressee (forms in ni: honi, v̈ahani) or nobody in particular (forms in su: hosu, 譱asu, sivosu...); ${ }^{63}$
- the syntactic function of the deictic: forms without $\mathbf{n V}$ - (for example ne, honi, hosu) either modify a noun or a whole clause; forms with nV- (for example ne-ne, no-honi, no-hosu) are more likely to be NP heads, like pronouns (but see discussion under §4.4.3.1);
- pragmatic value of the phrase: an assertion or affirmation would normally take the - $\mathbf{n}(\mathbf{i})$ suffix, while questions or topic NPs usually do not (but see discussion under §4.4.3.2).
Table 4-39 shows all the deictic markers ${ }^{64}$ we have in our corpus, and endeavours to classify them according to the criteria above. Thus we have two columns, one for deictics in their basic forms, and one for certain forms using a $\mathbf{n V}$ - prefix. On the other hand, markers are horizontally organised into three main groups, whether they are semantically oriented towards the speaker, towards the addressee (ni deictics), ${ }^{65}$ or not oriented to anyone in particular, but designate a spot in space (su deictics). Finally, each of these groups is tentatively divided into several degrees of distance from the speaker.

Each marker has a subscript suffix [-n], in order to recall that it is always possible to add it: thus ho-su ${ }_{[-n]}$ points to both forms hosu and hosu-n. We indicate in uppercase letters the two markers which are by far most frequent in our data, ne and hosu.

[^41]Table 4-39 Paradigm of deictic forms: a possible classification

|  | Basic form | $n V$ - prefixed | Gloss | Translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| speakeroriented | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{k e s i}_{[-\mathrm{n}]} \\ \mathbf{N E}_{[-n]} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\mathbf{N E}-\mathrm{NE}_{[-\mathrm{nl}}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DX1 } \\ & \text { DX1 } \end{aligned}$ | 'right here/right now' 'this/here' |
| addresseeoriented: $\square$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { ho-ni } i_{[-n]} \\ \text { vaha-ni } i_{[-n]} \end{gathered}$ | $\text { no-ho-ni }{ }_{[-n]}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DX2 } \\ & \text { DX2:far } \end{aligned}$ | 'that/there/your' 'over there (near you)' |
| not oriented: <br> Spatial designation $-\mathrm{SU}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { no-su }_{[-n]} \\ \text { NO-HO-SU } \\ - \\ - \\ - \\ - \\ - \end{gathered}$ | DX3 <br> DX3 <br> DX3:far <br> DX3:far <br> DX3:down <br> DX3:up | 'that/there (designated)' <br> 'that/there (designated)' <br> 'over there (in front)' <br> 'over there (in front)' <br> 'down there' <br> 'up there' |

More needs to be found out about this paradigm, in order to have a better idea of its organisation. For instance, it might well be that the form v̈ahasu should be better segmented v̈a-hasu: following the pair su/v̈a-su, we would have a parallel pair hosu/va-hasu, with a sort of vowel copy which is not new in Araki. ${ }^{66}$ If this hypothesis were true, then a third pair would be honi/̈̈a-hani, with a prefix v̈a(< ̈̈a 'go') bearing a meaning of remoteness, like over in English over there.

What is less problematic is the origin of both forms sivo-su and saha-su: they are derived from the two directional verbs/adverbs ${ }^{67}$ sivo 'down' and saha 'up'. Both these forms have shorter variants: so-su(n) 'down there' and sa-su(n) 'up there'. If the system were symmetrical, we should have the same prefixes combined with the deictic nucleus -ni, with forms like *sivo-ni(n) and *saha-ni(n): but our corpus shows neither of these forms, nor does it for **̈a-ni(n) nor *ni(n) - forms suggested by the parallelism with the su deictics.

### 4.4.2. Semantics of each Demonstrative

The last paragraph already contains much of the information we have about the semantics of each Demonstrative; they will now be illustrated with sentences from our literary corpus, which are typical of their main use.

[^42]
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- Kesi 'here', is also the usual term for 'now' (17 occ.):

V̈apa mo hese, kesi-ni ravui lo ima-ku. cave $3:$ R one DX1-ASS nearby LOC house-1s
'There is a cave, here near my house.'
Kesi nam po-i-a vada na pa store store-ni cau.
DX1 1S:R like-TR-3s when 1S:I SEQ tell story-CST coconut.crab
'Right now, I would like to tell the story of the coconut crab.'

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Kesi } &$|  no-m  |  dan  |  mo isoiso  |  kesi!  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  DX1  |  POSS-2s  |  day  |  3:R  | end:DUP \& DX1\end{array}

'This is your very last day today!'
Kesi mo usa viru mo rolu.
DX1 3:R rain month 3:R three
'It has been raining for three months now.'
Notice the reduplicated form kesikesi ~ keskesi 'right now':
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Nam } & \begin{array}{lll}\text { pa } & \text { lesi }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { rasi-m }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { kesikesi. }\end{array} \\ \text { ls:R } & \text { SEQ see } & \text { brother-2s } & \\ \text { right.now }\end{array}$
'I am just meeting your brother for the first time [pa] right now.'

- Ne (10 occ.) and nene (9); both are used to refer to the place where the speaker is, with or without the addressee - that is, 'here';


## Pasta mo sna ne Daki.

Pastor 3:R come DX1 Araki
'The Pastor came here, to Araki.'
No-m ta mo roho ro ne. poss-2s dad 3: stay PRG DX1
'Your dad is here.'
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { P̈ira } & \text { hosun } & \text { co } & \text { pa } \\ \text { woman } & \text { malue } & \text { nene. } & \text { 3S:I } & \text { SEQ } & \text { go.out }\end{array}$
'That woman will eventually leave this place.' (oracle)
They are also used as modifiers at the end of a NP ('this'), especially when the NP is the topic of the sentence:
V̈eral ne mo ce च̈eral hanhan.
banana DX1 3:R NEG banana eat:DUP
'This banana is not for eating.'

Sadi nene m̈ara sodo m̈aci. spear DX1 for shoot fish/bird
'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'
Nanovi nam goro lo ep̈a nene.
yesterday $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ sleep LOC mat DX1
'Yesterday, I slept on this mat here.'
Notice that only nene may be used as a pronoun:
Nene m̈ara , vahuden-i-a colog botel.
DX1 for take.out-TR-3s cork bottle
'This is for taking out bottle corks.'
Mo vavere sohe nene ...
3: R sing like DX1
'He began to sing like this ...'

- Honi (5 occ.) and nohoni (8): both are used to refer to an object or a place in relation with the addressee - that is, 'that/your/there':


## M̈a-ku honi! <br> DRNK-1s DX2

'That is my drink (not yours)!'

## O sle-i-á lo hina nohoni! <br> 2s:I give-TR-1s Loc thing DX2

'Give that thing to me!' (which you are holding)
Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. yesterday 1s:R hear man 3:R one 3:R hold-3s song DX2
'Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you).'
Sometimes, the orientation towards the addressee is somewhat abstract. For example, in a story, a deictic of the honi series may point to a referent which the audience has heard about earlier in the same tale. In the next example, notice also the definite marker va ( $\S 4.3 .1$ ):

| Mo | nak | pilai | va | pira | honi | mo | si | mo colo. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3:R | hit | outright | the | woman | DX2 | 3:R | go.down | $3: R$ | sink |

'Then he killed outright that woman (whom you know), and she sank down.'
The noun-modifying use of honi $\sim$ nohoni is usual, especially in topic phrases:

| Bonbon | honi, | ha-n | se? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sweet | DX2 | FOOD-CST | who |

'(lit.) That sweet there, whose is it?'

But honi may also be predicative, as in first sentence above, or in the next one:

```
Va racu honi.
the man DX2
```

'There comes the man.'

- Hosu (15 occ.) ~ hosu-n (30) and nohosu (11) are the most frequent deictics. Instead of referring to an object in relation to a person (speaker v. addressee), it points directly to it, either spatially or more abstractly.

```
Vere hosu-n mo holo-ho.
song DX3-ASS 3:R good-NT
```

'That song is very nice!' (sung by someone who is remote)
Na lpo lesi-a racu mo hese hosu-n.
1s:I try see-3s man 3:R one DX3-ASS
'I want to go and have a look at that man over there.'
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Sodosodo di } & \text { mo hilu } & \text { hosu. } \\ \text { story } & \text { the } & 3: \mathrm{R} & \text { end } & \mathrm{DX3}\end{array}$
'And the story ends here.'
A very common use of (no)hosu is a discourse-internal demonstrative, such as English I saw a woman; this woman was ... It is very usual in narrative speech, much more than the post-clitic di which has the same function: ${ }^{68}$

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text { M̈ara } & \text { rugana } & \text { hosu mo lesles } & \text { te } & \text { ni-da. } \\
\text { from } & \text { period } & \begin{array}{l}
\text { DX3 }
\end{array} & 3: \mathrm{R} & \text { see } & \text { bad } 0 \text { obl-3p }
\end{array}
$$

'Since that moment, they have hated each other.'
M̈ara pira hosu-n mo re ÿei-a mo re lokodu mo iso. because woman DX3-ASS $3:$ R PFT do-3s $3:$ R PFT angry $3: \mathrm{R}$ finish
'Because the/that woman had already made him so angry.'
Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosu-n.
3:R do all-3s PL thing DX3-ASS
'He did exactly all these things.'
This deictic can have the function of a predicate:
Nia hosu-n.
3s Dx3-ASS
'That's it.'
${ }^{68}$ See $\S 4.3 .2$ p.52. Notice that di, like va, is compatible with Demonstratives (honi/hosu).

# Ima nohosu om vodo hini-a. <br> house DX3 2s:R be.born ObL-3s 

'There is the house where you were born.' (lit. The house is there, in which ...) ${ }^{69}$
Finally, notice the grammaticalisation of hosu/nohosu into a relativiser: ${ }^{70}$
Niko hosu-n om nak-i-a racu ro!
2S DX3-ASS $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ kill-TR-3S man PRG
'You are the one who was killing the people!'

> Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
> 'Those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'

### 4.4.3. Syntactic issues

We have been alluding to the two most common affixes which Demonstratives can receive, that is, prefix $\mathbf{n V}$ - and suffix $\mathbf{- n ( i )}$. More need be said about them, although our interpretations are still incomplete.

### 4.4.3.1. Syntactic positions and prefix nV-

As was suggested above, there are four basic functions that Demonstratives can take in Araki:

- noun modifier, at the end of a NP: ${ }^{71}$

Sadi nene m̈ara sodo maci.
spear DX1 for shoot fish/bird
'This spear is to shoot fish (with).'

- head of a NP, or pronoun:
Nohosu co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a!

Dx3 3s:I bow.head Dx1 3s:I bow.head
'Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ...'

[^43]
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- adverbial phrase modifying a whole clause:
Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu.
story the 3:R end
'And the story ends here.'
- predicate of a clause:

| Mo ce | maciaci | ne | nam deच̈e, | nia |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3: | ñahasu. |  |  |  |

'It is not this fish which I caught, it is that one.'
Nevertheless, not all deictic forms are attested with these functions. In particular, it would seem that deictics prefixed with $\mathbf{n V}$ - appear more easily in the NP-head position, even if they are also attested in other positions. On the other hand, a fifth function is possible for at least some deictics, that is, a relativiser.

Table $4-40$ shows which syntactic slots are allowed for the three main pairs of deictics, that is, respectively of the first (ne/ne-ne), second (honi/no-honi), and third grade (hosu/no-hosu). Each column is split into two: the left one refers to the behaviour of the unsuffixed form, for example honi; the second one to the form suffixed with -n(i), for example honi-n. Notice a few conventions:

A ' + ' sign means that in such and such syntactic position, the form is attested;
' ++ ' means that this marker is met particularly often in this position, for example 24 out of 30 instances of hosu-n are NP-modifiers;
' $(+$ )' means our examples are ambiguous, and should be checked;
'-' means the marker is supposedly ungrammatical in that position;
'?' means the marker is not attested in this position, though this may be due to insufficient data; more research is needed in these cases.

Table 4-40 Syntactic functions attested for Demonstratives: according to prefixation and/or suffixation

| marker | NP-modif. | NP-head | adverbial | predicate | relativiser |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ne $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | ++ | + | - | + | + | + | $?$ | $?$ | - | - |
| honi $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | + | + | $?$ | + | + | $?$ | + | $?$ | $?$ | $?$ |
| hosu $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | + | ++ | $(+)$ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| nene $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | + | + | ++ | + | + | $?$ | $?$ | $?$ | - | - |
| nohoni $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | ++ | $?$ | + | + | $?$ | $?$ | + | $?$ | $(+)$ | $?$ |
| nohosu $_{[-\mathrm{n}]}$ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | $?$ | ++ | + |

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this chart, especially concerning the $\mathbf{n V}$ prefix. It is likely that the semantic difference between forms like hosu and
nohosu involves other criteria than the syntactic ones we have been suggesting: some investigation must be made, with a possible focus on the information hierarchy, on pragmatic saliency or so-called 'expressiveness'. Perhaps the ne/nene contrast is a matter of expressive 'weight', similar to the contrast between light bound pronouns (for example mo 'he') and heavy independent pronouns (for example nia 'him'). No further discussion will be held about this issue here.

### 4.4.3.2. The assertive suffix $-n(i)$

Table 4-40 above gives very little information about the syntactic influence of the suffix -ni ~-n, which is specific to Demonstratives (see §3.1.7). In fact, we have only little evidence of a syntactic or semantic contrast between unsuffixed and suffixed forms, and this point, again, requires further investigation.

One of our informants suggested a context which would be prototypically associated to basic forms, normally excluding the suffix -n(i), that is the TOPIC phrase. At least, interrogative or imperative (that is, non-affirmative) sentences require no suffix on their topic NP:

| Bonbon | hosu(* -n), | ha-n |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sweet | se? |  |
| DX3 |  |  |$\quad$| FOOD-CST |
| :--- |
| who |

'(lit.) That sweet there, whose is it?'

'(lit.) This banana, just take it and eat it!'
Similarly, we would typically find unsuffixed forms when a whole clause is pragmatically topical, while suffixed demonstratives would fit better into the comment part of the sentence, that is, generally its last part:

## O kan vari-a sule シ̈ahasu (?-n), o vari-a nene-n! <br> 2S:I PROH hold-3s stone DX3:far 2 s :I hold-3s DX1-ASS

'Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one!'
Indeed, suffixed demonstratives seem to be heard more often in affirmative clauses, which are personally asserted by the speaker (?); this is why we chose to gloss -n(i) 'ASs', that is, 'assertive suffix'. If this hypothesis were true, it would strongly remind us of the behaviour of demonstratives in Mwotlap, another language of Vanuatu (François f.c.), where two series are used according to the pragmatic status of the deictic phrase (that is, assertive v. non-assertive). As for Araki, more research is needed, since what we have been underlining here is far from being regular, and is no more than a rough tendency for the moment. To our view, hypotheses on presupposed v . new information should also be tested.

### 4.5. Number-marking and numerals in the Noun Phrase

### 4.5.1. Under-specified number and the context

At the beginning of $\S 4.3$ p. 51 , we already underlined the ambiguity of most Araki NPs regarding the number of the referent: a single noun, without any article or number mark, can either refer to one or several objects. The difference is often made by the context, that is, either the wide/situational context, or the narrow one, within the same sentence.

For example, plural meaning on an ambiguous NP is suggested if an adjective or a verb associated with it is duplicated (§3.2.3):

Kesi NO-M DAN mo iso-iso kesi!
now POSS-2s day 3:R end:DUP now
'(lit.) Now, your day(s) finish-finish now! $\rightarrow$ This is the last of your days!'
Although reduplication is not so frequent in Araki, and does not always involve plurality, this is sometimes a clue for assigning the right number to a noun phrase which is under-specified.

A particular case was mentioned in §4.3.3 above, of an adjective giving a clue as to whether the referent is singular or plural. This lexicalised contrast in number concerns exclusively the words for 'small' (sg. hetehete, pl. vadidi) and for 'big' (sg. lapa, pl. シ̈alalapa):

## man hetehete

vein small:single
'a small vein'
man vadidi
vein small:many
'small veins'
A more common clue will be the behaviour of a personal marker which is supposed to agree with this NP. For example, in the two following sentences, the object pada is unmarked for number, but the latter can be deduced from the object marker on the verb (sg. -a/pl. -da):

Nam ce opoi-
1S:R NEG like-Tr-3s spider
'I don't like the spider.'
Nam ce opoi-da Pada.
1S:R NEG like-TR-3P spider
'I don't like spiders.'
The same applies for other personal markers: in next sentence, the topic NP (vinano 'foreigner[s]') is under-specified for number; but plural is marked
elsewhere in the sentence - first on the independent pronoun nida, on the subject clitic ha, and on the possessive suffix -da:


### 4.5.2. Ambiguities and inconsistencies in number-assigning

In some sentences, however, clues diverge as for assigning a number to a NP. This is the case in a sentence like the following, where a bare noun (racu 'man/people') has a global and generic reference. Somewhat unexpectedly, this triggers a singular object suffix of the verb (-a), but a plural possessive suffix on the following noun (-da):

Hina salahese mo vse-i-a RACU ro lo m̈audi-da.
thing several $3:$ R show-TR-3s man PRG LOC life-3p
'Several signs inform people of their destiny.'
Such contradictory number-markings are not rare in Araki.
Notice that the Third person subject clitic for Realis modality (mo) is always ambiguous with regard to number:

## Mo levsei-a mo de RAM̈ARE mo hani-a. <br> 3: R know-3S 3: R say devil 3:R eat-3s

'He understood that the devil(s) had devoured (his fellow).'
In fact, the difficulty for the linguist to assign a number to each referent, suggests that it is not always relevant for the speakers themselves. In many contexts, ambiguity is not a problem, in a way which is similar to many Oceanic languages - or to Chinese, Japanese, and so on. For example, in the last sentence, it is seldom precise whether the word ramare 'devil(s)' refers to one or several individuals, precisely because these creatures are not highly individualised.

Number-marking in the next sentence is typologically less surprising, since the object coded as singular refers to an inanimate, generic object ('pineapples' in general), which is apparently coded as a massive noun:

| Nam | ecen-i- | PaNIAVU | ro. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s:R | sell-TR-3s | Pineapple <br> pra |  |
| 'I sell pineapple(s).' |  |  |  |

### 4.5.3. Overt number-marking on NPs

Even if most NPs are under-specified with regard to number, speakers do have several devices in order to mark overtly the number of a NP referent.

One of these devices seems obvious, that is the plural article dai. But despite its simplicity, it would be artificial to present it as the standard plural marker, since it is always optional, and shows seldom in our corpus: only one out of ten or twenty semantically plural NPs uses dai as its number marker. This clitic was discussed already under §4.3.4; we will just recall here one sentence:

Mo v̌ei povi-a dai hina hosun.
3:R do all-3s PL thing that
'He did exactly all these things.'
Once again, notice here the inconsistency of number marking, between the singular object clitic -a and the plural marker dai. According to us, this has to do with the [-animate] trait of the object NP: although it refers to several objects, it is not as individualised cognitively as animate creatures or persons would be; hence the frequent - but not systematic - use of singular -a, instead of -da, before inanimate NPs.

Finally, there are other few words which indicate lexically that the reference is plural rather than singular. One example is salahese 'several', which has also an indefinite meaning, like in English:

Nam lesi-da rap̈ala-ku salahese.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ see-3p friend-1s several
'I saw some friends of mine.'
As far as predicates are concerned, the word vutiana 'plenty, numerous' points necessarily to a plural reference, even though the subject is unmarked with regard to number:

```
Mohi mo vutiana!
mosquito 3:R plenty
'There are so many mosquitoes!' (lit. The mosquito is numerous.)
```


### 4.5.4. Numerals

Another device for coding number is to use numerals. As was alluded to in §3.1.4, all numerals in Araki are fundamentally predicates, which are sensitive to modality (Realis v. Irrealis) and person-marking in the same way as verbs are. As a consequence of their predicativeness, numbers are almost systematically preceded by the subject clitic mo ' 3 sG:REALIS', including in their citation form.

### 4.5.4.1. Paradigm of numerals

Numerals are listed in Table 4-41 below; their morphology and expression rules can easily be inferred from this chart. ${ }^{21}$

[^44]Table 4-41 Numerals

| mo hese mo dua mo rolu mo $\mathbf{\text { vari }}$ mo lim̈a | 'one' <br> 'two' <br> 'three' <br> 'four' <br> 'five' | mo hais mo saga | nine' ten' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mo sagavul comana mo hese 'eleven'' <br> mo sagavul comana mo dua 'twelve' <br> mo gavul dua 'twenty' <br> mo gavul dua mo hese 'twenty one' <br> mo gavul rolu 'thirty' <br> mo gavul haipiru 'seventy' <br> mo gavul sagavulu 'one hundred' <br> mo gavul sagavulu mo sagavulu 'one hundred and ten' <br> mo gavul sagavulu dua 'two hundred' <br> mo gavul sagavulu sagavulu 'one thousand' |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
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### 4.5.4.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are formed with the prefix ha-, at least for numbers from 2 to 5: ha-dua 'second', ha-rolu 'third', ha-v̈ari 'fourth', ha-lim̈a 'fifth'. Greater numbers have already integrated this - or a similar - prefix ha- to their radical; as for number 'one', it uses a suppletive form mudu 'first'. These ordinal forms are used especially with the word dan(i), to form the names of the days of the week.

Table 4-42 Ordinal numerals, and days of the week

| dan mudu | 'Monday' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ha-dua dan | 'Tuesday' |
| ha-rolu dan | 'Wednesday' |
| ha-ïari dan | 'Thursday' |
| ha-lim̈a dan | 'Friday' |
| haiono dan | 'Saturday' |
| haipiriru dan | 'Sunday' |

Incidentally, notice the difference between the following sentences: ${ }^{73}$

[^45]| Na | pa lahi | 10 ha-r |  | 'I will marry on Wednesday.' (lit. in the third day) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1s:I | SEQ marry | Loc third | day |  |
| Na | pa lahi | pog rolu. |  | 'I will marry in three days' time.' |
| 1s:I | SEQ marry | day three |  |  |
| Lo dan mo hese ... LOC jour 3:R un |  |  |  | 'One day ...' |
|  |  |  |  |  |

There are two other domains where the equivalent of English ordinals are involved: counting children and counting wives. In the first case, numeral radicals are suffixed to the verb vodo 'touch, reach; touch (ground) > be born': thus we have vodo-mudu 'first-born', vodo-dua 'second-born', vodo-rolu 'third-born', and so on; notice a synonym for 'second-born': vodo-rahu 'born after (?)'.

As far as wives are concerned, a second set of ordinals is used, which is distinct from the paradigm for days. These ordinals are formed with a prefix $\mathbf{v a h a}$ 'time(s)'. Thus we have: naivou-ku mudu 'my first wife', n. シ̈aha-dua 'my second wife' $=\mathbf{n}$. parahu ( $<$ parahu 'after'), n. シ̈aha-rolu 'my third wife' literally 'my wife for the third time'. Notice also tapu-ku v̈aha-dua '(lit.) my grandfather twice', that is, 'my great-grandfather'. This is to be compared with the adverbial use of $\mathbf{\text { vaha, for example }}$

Nanov, mo usa च̈aha-dua. 'Yesterday, it rained twice.'
yesterday $3:$ r rain time-two

### 4.5.4.3. Syntax of numerals

We have already mentioned the predicative use of all numerals:

| Naru-m mo visa? - | Naru-ku mo hese. / mo dua. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child-2s | 3: R how.many | child-1s 3:R one | $3: \mathrm{R}$ two |

'(lit.) How many are your children? - My child is one/My children are two.'
Being a sort of verb, numerals are sensitive to modality. That is, a number associated with a Realis subject necessarily refers to a group of objects which already exist in reality; conversely, it must take an Irrealis marker if the group of objects is still virtual, that is, has no real existence yet.

## Dan co rolu co iso na pa lahi. <br> day 3S:RR three $3 \mathrm{~S}:$ IRR finish $1 \mathrm{~S}:$ I SEQ marry

'In three days' time, I will marry.' (lit. Let days be three and finish, I shall marry.)
Though more seldom, numeral predicates can be found with a person other than the Third:

| Co | dua! |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1INC:RR | two |

'Join me!' (lit. Let us be two!)
On the other hand, our detailed study of mo hese 'a/one' (§4.3.5) showed that the same predicative pattern is used when numerals modify a NP. In this case, it is somewhat ambiguous whether the numeral phrase <mo + Numeral> really belongs to the NP - as we would intuitively think - or is an autonomous clause by itself, chained to the main clause as is common in Araki:

Nam vari-a Dov̈A mo v̈ari.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3s plate $3: \mathrm{R}$ four
'I am holding four plates.' (lit. I'm holding plates they are four)
A significant argument to claim that these are still synchronically autonomous clauses, is that these numeral phrases are still sensitive to modality, just like numeral predicates presented above. Whenever the referent of the NP is not real but virtual/non-specific (cf. re in next sentence), then Irrealis subject clitics will be preferred:

'I would like to drink two cups of kava.' (lit. drink cup of kava it-shall-be-two)
Numbers different from 'one' are compatible with the plural marker dai:
O huden-i-a paniavu lo m̈asap̈a-n dai CEA nohosu mo dua. 2s:I put-TR-3s pineapple LOC space-CST PL chair that 3:R two 'Put the pineapple down between these two seats.' (lit. the seats here they-are-two)

### 4.5.4.4. Vestigial dual forms

In our presentation of pronouns (§4.1.1), we stated that the basic numbers which are morphologically relevant in Araki are singular and plural: the two extra categories of dual and trial, which are largely widespread among Oceanic languages - especially in Vanuatu - have considerably lost their productivity in Araki. The main argument for this claim, is that almost all phrases referring to two or three objects will be coded with a plural marker, if any, and no other number specification:

Nica p̈aivuho!
1NC:PL:R tomorrow
'See you tomorrow!' (lit. We tomorrow)
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Nida-n } & \text { verasi-na } & \text { nida mo colo } & \text { mo mare. } \\ \text { with-CST } & \text { sister-3S } & \text { 3PL } & \text { 3: } & \text { sink } & \text { 3: } \mathrm{R} & \text { die }\end{array}$
'(She) and her younger sister, they sank and died.'

However, it still happens that some vestigial forms of dual - and more rarely of trial - are used in Araki. These forms are always transparent, since they do no more than add the radicals dua 'two' and rolu 'three' to personal pronouns. What allows us to speak about dual and trial - instead of just number-specification by means of a numeral - is that dua and rolu are the only words that can insert between subject clitics and aspectual particles/predicate nucleus.

| Ha dua $\quad$ sivo goro! |
| :--- |
| 2P:I two |
| go.down sleep |

*Ha ̈̈ari sivo goro!
2P:I four godown sleep
'*You four go to sleep!'

## Mo dua medesai.

3: R two enemy
'They two are enemies.'
So-called 'dual' subject clitics attested in our corpus include co dua, ha dua, mo dua. However, we only have one or two instances of each, and it must be underlined that if a number is expressed - which is rare anyway - clause-chaining structures are preferred:

| Nida | mo dua | mo sovi-á ro. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 3:R |

'They (are) two (they) are waiting for me.'
Dual forms - see below for trial - are more frequent with independent pronouns. While a plural pronoun (for example nida 'they') refers to any group of more than one person, it can optionally receive an extra specification with the number 'two' (usually not 'three', and never more). Thus the forms attested are nica dua 'the two of us (Inc)', kamam dua 'the two of us (Exc)', kamim dua 'the two of you'. Following the syntax of independent pronouns (§4.1.1.2), these socalled 'dual pronouns' can be the subject of an equational predicate:

> | Nica |
| :--- |
| dua |
| Inacu. |
| racu. |
| 'You and me man men.' |

or can be the topic/emphatic subject of a verbal predicate, introducing a simple (plural) subject clitic:

| Kam̈im | dua | ham | de | ha han | re | hina? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

[^46]The same form of independent pronoun is accepted in the object position, at least for the two persons - First exclusive and Second non-singular - which accept independent pronouns as objects; ${ }^{74}$ notice that object suffixes are apparently incompatible with numerals:

## Nam sov kam̈im dua ro.

1S:R wait 2P two PRG
'I was waiting for you two.'
Nam sovi-da (*dua) ro.
1S:R wait-3P (*two) PRG
'I was waiting for them (two).'
The latter evidence confirms that dual markers are not productive any more, and cannot be formed by just adding the numeral to any personal pronoun. This also confirms the morphological evidence, that 1INC:PL/2PL objects do not behave like ordinary suffixes.

The last context in which the word for 'two' sometimes forms dual personal markers, is with possessive suffixes. In fact, the situation is complex again, since dual marking is not so natural in Araki. For instance, with the possessive classifier for food ha-, the numeral 'two' is sometimes met immediately after the personal suffix (example 1 below), and sometimes after the following noun (example 2):

1. Nene, ha-mim dua cam.
this FOOD-2P two yam
'This is yam for the two of you.'
2. Nene, ha-m̈im cam dua. this FOOD-2P yam two
'This is yam for the two of you.'
A third way to combine dual and possessive suffixes, is to add a pronominal phrase <Independent pronoun + dua> after the whole possessive NP:
3. Nene, ha-m̈am cam kam̈am dua.
this FOod-lex:P yam lex:P two
'This is yam for the two of us.'
There is a last possible combination, resorting to the word rapudo; the latter will be developed in the next paragraph.

### 4.5.4.5. Human classifier rapudo

It is clear from the last paragraph, that so-called dual personal markers in Araki are not only optional, but also purely vestigial and conserved only randomly. There is a more productive way to integrate numerals to personal markers, that is using a human numeraliser rapudo. This morpheme, which classifies the referent as human, inserts between the personal marker and the numeral dua 'two':

| kamam rapudo dua $=$ | kam̈am dua |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1EX:P NUM two | 1EX:P | two |

'the two of us'
The same classifier is found in NPs to indicate the number of the referent, for any numeral from 'two' to 'ten' and over. In this case, notice that rapudo commutes with the subject clitic (mo), which in Araki is exceptional:

Dai p̈ira rapudo dua mo vari-a sule mo hese.
PL woman NUM two $3: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3S stone 3:R one
'Two women were carrying a stone.'
A similar structure can be found without a noun, to designate a group of two persons. In this case, the head of the NP is rapudo itself:

Nene, cam ha-n dai rapudo dua nohoni.
this yam FOOD-CST PL NUM two that
'This is yam for those two (people) there.'

### 4.5.4.6. Trial forms

What is remarkable with the classifier rapudo, is that it is almost obligatory with the number 'three', to form the equivalent of trial pronouns:

Nene, ha-m̈am cam kam̈am rapudo rolu. (*kä̈am rolu)
this FOOD-1EX:P yam lex:P NUM three
'This is yam for the three of us.'
Using rapudo is the normal way to combine rolu 'three' with independent pronouns in topic position:

Kam̈am rapudo rolu kam̈a sivo goro.
1EX:P NUM three lEX:P:I go.down sleep
'The three of us, we are going to sleep.'
Notice the ungrammaticality of *Kam̈a rolu sivo, as opposed to the dual Kä̈a dua sivo. In general, the dual structures we have presented with dua are not allowed with rolu to build trial forms, unless rapudo is used. This shows that if dual is not productive any more in the system, trial is even less so; and there would be no sense in positing such a category in Araki.

### 4.5.4.7. The globalising use of rolu 'three'

In fact, the word rolu 'three' may be combined with some pronouns, but this takes a particular meaning of globalisation: for example kam̈am rolu does not mean 'the three of us' - in which case rapudo is required - but 'all of us, we together', and refers to a group of people normally more than three, and up to several dozen.

## Co rolu sivo goro!

1IN:I GLOB go.down sleep
'Let us all go to sleep!'
Of course, this particular use recalls the evolution from Trial to Paucal, which is attested in Fijian and in Polynesian languages. However, the sense which is taken by this word 'three' in Araki is distinct from a Paucal, since it is oriented towards a greater number, with a focus on the achievement of a limit - that is, 'all, everybody' - and on the association of several elements - that is, 'together'.

Other examples illustrate the globalising use of rolu, with a meaning which is neither that of a trial nor of a paucal morpheme:

Mo com̈i naivou-da m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro. 3:R regret wife-3P because 3P 3:R go 3:R GLOB 3:R dance PRG
'They regretted their wives because they had left to dance together (with other men).'
In this sentence taken from the famous myth of Araki, the whole female population of Hog Harbour (Santo island) has left the mainland, and crossed the sea in order to take part in a party on Araki. ${ }^{75}$ The focus is here on the great number of women, and on their association with the group of men in Araki; hence the translation 'together'.

The next example of clause chaining with rolu has Irrealis modality. In this tale (the Rat and the Octopus), ${ }^{76}$ there are already a dozen people aboard the boat, when some new fellow asks to come in; the answer of the captain rat uses rolu, though not with the meaning of 'three':

| O | vici | co | rolu! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s:I | embark | IN:I | GLOB |

'Come aboard, let's be together!'
Finally, the same tale provides us with an interesting instance of rolu, or more exactly two in the same sentence. When the boat has sunk and the rat is swimming, several animals come to rescue him, and begin with this question:

[^47]Ham rolu v̈eve hina, kamim rolu se?
2P:R GLOB do:DUP thing 2P GLOB who
'Who have you been with?' (lit. You 'three' were doing something, you three who?)
The first phrase ham rolu behaves syntactically like a trial personal pronoun since rolu is inserted between the subject clitic and the verb - but exclusively with a globalising meaning. This confirms that the former set of trial pronouns has not only ceased to be productive, but has also lost the sense of 'three' (now requiring rapudo); although the numeral lexeme rolu still refers to this number, it has taken a globalising sense 'together, all' whenever it is combined with a personal marker.

The second instance of rolu in the last sentence is even more instructive, since its associative meaning 'together' makes it eventually behave like (or grammaticise into?) the equivalent of a preposition 'with': in the phrase meaning literally 'you three who?', the result is that rolu has a linking function. Here is another example of this use:

```
niko kam̈im rolu nanaru-m
2S 2P:R GLOB child:DUP-2S
'you and your children' (lit. thou you 'three' thy kids)
```

Once again, notice that this phrase does not necessarily refer to three people, but would also fit perfectly for six children: rolu is only used here as a linker meaning '(together) with'. This evidence interestingly shows that a former trial can evolve not only into a paucal, like in other Oceanic languages, but also in other functions cognitively derived from the original meaning of 'three': hence the globalising and comitative effects.

### 4.5.4.8. Syntax of numerals: summary

Here is a summary of the syntactic behaviour of numerals.

- all numerals are basically predicates, sensitive to person and modality;
- even when they only modify a noun, numerals must be preceded by a subject clitic, in a kind of clause-chaining pattern;
- all numbers [ $>1$ ] can be preceded by a human numeraliser rapudo. The phrase <rapudo + Numeral> can follow either a noun in a NP (replacing the subject clitic), or an independent pronoun;
- the word hese 'one' has grammaticised as a referential indefinite marker (English ' $a$ '), which does not necessary focus on the number of the referent; ${ }^{77}$

[^48]- the word dua 'two' is found in some vestigial and optional forms of dual, following immediately personal markers (independent pronouns, subject clitics, possessive suffixes);
- the word rolu 'three' can be associated with independent pronouns and subject clitics, in what used to be trial forms; but the meaning 'three' is then dropped, and replaced by a globalising effect ('all, together'); this in turn may grammaticise as a comitative linker ('with').


### 4.5.5. Other quantifiers

### 4.5.5.1. The quantifier povi 'all'

Apart from the very particular use of rolu 'three' as a personal quantifier meaning 'everybody' (see §4.5.4.7), the commonest way to refer to a whole set of elements, is to use a quantifier morpheme povi $\sim$ pov $\sim$ po 'all'. One of its uses is as a noun-modifier, inside the NP; in this case, it follows immediately the noun:

Ham̈ali, ima-na da racu povi.
nakamal house-3s PL man all
'The nakamal is the house for all men.'
This quantifier is often associated with independent pronouns:
Ale, kam̈im po ha gigisa!
come.on 2 P all $2 \mathrm{P}: \mathrm{I}$ smile
'Come on, all of you, smile!'

## Maci mo avuavu nda povi. <br> bird 3: fly 3p all <br> 'The birds flew away, all of them.'

Another syntactic position where povi often appears, is that of Adjunct ${ }^{78}$ within a predicate phrase. If the preceding verb is intransitive, then the universal quantifier povi refers to the subject of the clause:

'(lit.) All the children were all dead.'
If the preceding verb is transitive, then the scope of povi normally corresponds to the object of the sentence. What is remarkable with adjuncts, is that they, and not the verb, bear the transitivity suffix -i-, ${ }^{79}$ together with the personal object suffixes:

[^49]Mo vari va racu mo han povi-a visiho-no.
$3: R$ hold the man $3: R$ eat all-3s flesh-3s
'(The devil) grabbed the man and devoured all his flesh.'
Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun.
3:R do all-3s PL thing that
'He did exactly all these things.'

### 4.5.5.2. The quantifier tade 'every', and the use of generic nouns

The quantifier tade 'every' is distinct from povi 'all', in that the universality of its reference is virtual, not specific. ${ }^{80}$ This word comes immediately after the noun; in the next examples, notice that its combination with certain generic nouns corresponds to our universal indefinite markers ('everybody', 'everything'):

- for human referents: generic noun racu 'man'.

| Racu | tade <br> man | mo sivo | ro kery |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3: |  |  |  | kia.

'Everybody still goes there.'

- for non-human referents: generic noun hina 'thing'.
Hina tade mo holo-ho.
thing every 3:R good-NT
'Everything is fine.'
- spatial reference: generic noun cada 'place'.

Ne, ne, ne, lo cada tade!
here here here LoC place every
'.. here, here, here: everywhere!'

- temporal reference: generic noun dan 'day'.

Dan tade nam po-i-a nam de na in re hae. day every 1s:r like-Tr-3s $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ drink some kava 'Every day, I want to drink some kava.'
Incidentally, the same word tade can be used as an adverb, meaning 'always':

[^50]Mo usa tade.
3:R rain every
'It is always raining!'

- and even as a subordinator, with the meaning 'every time' (see §7.2.3).


### 4.6. Adjectives

### 4.6.1. Syntax of adjectives

We have defined ( $\S 3.1 .2 \mathrm{p} .34$ ) the lexical category of adjectives on distributional terms, by two basic properties:

- adjectives can be predicates, and in this case must be preceded by a subject clitic, like numerals or verbs;
- adjectives can modify directly a noun in a NP, without a subject clitic (opp. numerals) or a relative structure (opp. verbs).

Adjectives always follow the noun they modify, and come before numerals:

| pira | hetehete mo hese |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woman | mall <br> sma |  |

'a young woman'
They can do without a noun head, using the personal nominaliser mada (§4.3.3):
mada hetehete mo hese
PERS small 3:R one
'a child' (lit. a small one)
Typical adjectives include words for colour, size, value, that is, notions which are aspectually quite stable. Conversely, many words which are adjectives in English, but refer to temporary states are intransitive verbs in Araki: for example comin 'sad', avulai 'happy', lumi-ha 'dirty', ede 'open'; this means that they cannot modify directly a noun, but need a relative structure in order to do so.

Adjectival comparative is done using a clause-chaining strategy, with the verb ceu 'overtake, surpass':

Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ strong $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ surpass-2s
'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.

### 4.6.2. The intensive suffix -ha

A small set of adjectives take a suffix -ha ${ }^{81}$ when they are in an assertive/ affirmative sentence, but usually lose it in questions or negative clauses. ${ }^{82}$ This suffix can be described as 'Intensive' (iNT):

| Om | holo (*-ho) | ro? | Nam holo-ho | ro. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ | good | PRG | $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ good-NTT | PRG |

'Are you all right? - Yes, I'm fine.'
In our corpus, the adjective lexemes which take the suffix -ha include: holo 'good', vsovso 'filthy', m̈acim̈acihi 'multicoloured'; we strongly suspect its presence in the forms lumi-ha 'dirty', vurivuria-ha 'steep', sui-ha 'strong' (cf. sui 'bone');' ${ }^{83}$ and in a few colour names vidi-ha 'black', codi-ha 'yellow', sovuso-ho 'grey'.

The suffix -ha apparently involves a personal evaluation of the speaker, together with a pragmatic commitment to his words: this is why it is typically associated with affirmative statements (opp. questions, negations), and with semantically gradable adjectives. It is remarkable that some affirmative sentences do not show this suffix, when precisely the adjectival predicate refers to an objective/pragmatically neutral property of the subject, as opposed to a property which is personally ascribed by the speaker:

## Inko kesin epe-m mo holo. <br> 2 s here body-2s 3:R good <br> 'Your body is in good health.'

Inko kesin ep̈e-m mo holo-ho.
2s here body-2s 3:R good-INT
'Your body is good-looking!'
Despite its label 'Intensive', it must be kept in mind that -ha is not a productive suffix, and only goes with a handful of lexemes. For other adjectives, including those compatible with -ha, the expression of high degree ('very') is mainly done through intonation, and repetition of the whole clause (rather than reduplication of the root):

[^51]```
Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho!
3:R good-INT 3:R good-INT
'It is very good/excellent.'
```

In fact, there are three adjuncts/adverbs equivalent to English very, that is, hacavua 'a lot, too much', lapa 'big', vutiana 'plenty, numerous':

Nam com̈i hacavua.
1s:R sad too.much
'I am so sorry!'
Om mece lä̈a.
$2 s:$ R (thanked) big
'Thank you very much.'
Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ glad plenty $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ find-2s
'I am really happy to have met you.'

### 4.6.3. The resultative clitic $r a \sim r a h a$

A few adjectives appear sometimes in our texts preceded by a clitic of the form ra, whose meaning and function still needs discussion. Distributionally speaking, ra comes just before the adjective root, which has the same functions as a bare adjective; that is, the group < ra + Adj. > can modify directly a noun:

Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu.
3: R hold-3s cane ? dry
'He is holding a dry cane.'
or it may take a subject clitic, and be the predicate:
Mo v̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo घ̈a mo v̈a, mo ra hetehete.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3p 3:R go 3:R go 3:R ? small
'At first, their voices could be heard, but as time went on, it began to diminish.'
From the semantic point of view, the last example suggests that ra changes a stative adjective ('it is small') into a temporal predicate ('it becomes small, it diminishes'). Indeed, all its instances are associated with the physical transformation of an object, for example kodu '[plant+] become dry', hetehete 'diminish, shrink', lap̈a 'become big, grow'. ${ }^{84}$

[^52]Via シ̈alalap̈a, dau-na ra valalap̈a.
Alocasia big:many leaf-3s ? big:many
'Big taros, the leaves of which are (=have become) big too.'
If this semantic description is true, this clitic ra should be compared to a longer form raha, which appears in the same syntactic contexts, with the same resultative meaning. Indeed, the latter clitic involves the completion of some process in time, in such a way that the bundle < raha + Adj. > can take aspectual markers in the same way as do verbs:

Om lap̈a.
2 s : R big
'You are an important person.' (lit. you are big)

```
Om raha lap̈a.
2S:R RES big
'You are an adult.' (lit. you have become big)
```

Om re raha lap̈a.
2S:R PFT RES big
'You have already become an adult now.'
Finally, the same form raha is attested in a nuclear-layer serialisation, showing it has a resultative meaning:

Na pa nak raha mare-ko!
1S:I SEQ hit RES dead-2S
'I am going to kill you!'

### 4.6.4. Suffixable adjectives

A few adjectives behave like inalienable nouns, in that they must be followed by a so-called 'possessor'. Following the rules for possession (§4.7), this possessor is either a personal suffix, a non-human noun following directly the adjective, or a human noun introduced by the construct suffix -ni $\sim-n$.

One adjective is tilavo 'deprived of, lacking'. If the object (calling it 'possessor' would be paradoxical in this case!) is specified, it follows the bare stem of the adjective:

'They made breadfruit-biscuit because they were lacking yam.'
If the object is simply alluded to, it takes the form of a third person suffix: for example tilavo-no 'deprived of it'. Remarkably, the latter suffix can have a
generic/absolute reference ('deprived of anything'), in such a way that the form tilavono is the usual adjective for 'poor':

Nko pa racu tilavono, co ce re no-m hina.
2 s SEQ man poor 3s:I NEG some pOSS-2s thing
'You will become a poor man, you will not have anything.'
A more common adjective is sohe '(be) like/similar to'. Like inalienable nouns, it may appear unprefixed if it is followed by a non-human 'object', but otherwise must take a possessive marker:

## Om sohe huira.

$2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ like octopus
'You are (fitful) like an octopus.'
Vulu-m̈am co sohe-m!
hair-1EX:P 3s:I like-2s
'Let our hair be (red) like yours!'

## Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na. <br> PERS small 3:R like-CST mother-3S <br> 'The child looks like his mother.'

Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na mo sa Sakpei, Okava, Potlore.
3:R send-TR-3S talk like-3S 3:R go.up (place-names)
'He sent the same message up to Shark-Bay, Hog-Harbour, Port-Olry.'
Knowing that the form sohe-na may refer not only to persons ('like him/her'), but also to abstract ideas or situations, it is often used as an adverb meaning 'thus, this way':

Vada mo colo lo rasi, niko o pa colo lo rasi sohe-na. if $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ sink LOC sea, 2 s 2S:I SEQ sink LOC sea like-3s
'If (the cane flies and) eventually sinks in the sea, (this is a sign that) you will get drowned in the sea the same way.'

The last suffixable adjective is hase-, which means 'alone, on one's own', as well as '(by) oneself'. It is always followed by a personal suffix, referring to the thing/person being alone; the latter is also generally the subject of the sentence.

'Only Tanna people (know how to) eat dogs.'
Daga viha mo lare hase-na.
branch tree $3: \mathrm{R}$ break alone-3s
'The tree branch broke by itself.'

Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku.
1S:R seek POSS-2S talk 1 s alone-1S
'I have learnt your language all by myself.'

### 4.7. Possession

Araki follows other Oceanic languages in having a quite complex system with regard to possession: not only does it contrast alienable v . inalienable nouns, but also several classifiers are used in order to express different sorts of possession.

### 4.7.1. Syntax of inalienable possession

We already presented the lexical contrast between alienable and inalienable nouns in §4.2.1; we also showed that the boundaries between such categories are fuzzy in Araki. By definition, inalienable nouns can - or must - be followed by their possessor; the latter can be coded either by a personal suffix, ${ }^{85}$ or by a simple noun, if it refers to a non-human object:

| hoco-mim <br> tooth-2P | hoco po <br> tooth pig |
| :--- | :--- |
| 'your (pl.) teeth' | 'a/the pig's tusk' |
| dau-na | dau holo <br> leaf-3s |
| leaf coconut |  |
| 'its leaves' | 'coconut palm' |
| m̈arasala-ku | m̈arasala ima |
| door-1s | door house |
| 'my door'' | 'the house door' |

No significant difference appears to be made between specific and non-specific possessor, be it human or not.

If the possessor is a person, either a proper noun or a NP; then the construct suffix -ni $\sim-\mathbf{n}$ is required on the possessed noun: ${ }^{86}$

| naru-n <br> child-CST | moli <br> chief | ima-ni Joj |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | house-CST George |

[^53]'the chief's son' 'George's house'

## Rua-ni tetei-m, nia elua-m. <br> husband-CST aunt-2S 3 S uncle-2S

'Your aunt's husband is (called) your uncle.'
Animals are treated as humans only in tales, when they are personified: ${ }^{87}$

| sodo- $\underline{\mathbf{n}}$ | Siho | nida-ni | Hotou |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| talk-CST | Kingfisher | with-cST | Hermit.crab |

All place names behave in the same way as human proper nouns, in that they require the construct suffix:

## lagi-n Tahuna

wind-CST South
'the South wind'

## sodosodo-ni Daki

talk:DUP-CST Araki
'the language of Araki'

## hotou-n Kanal

hermit.crab-CST Luganville
'the hermit crabs of Luganville'
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Sule mo lulu lo cuhu-n } & \text { Daki. } \\ \text { stone } & 3: \mathrm{R} \text { white Loc back-CST } & \text { Araki }\end{array}$
'There is a white rock behind (lit. in the back of) Araki.'

### 4.7.2. Syntax of possessive classifiers inside NPs

An alienable noun, by definition, cannot take personal suffixes, nor be followed directly by a possessor: for example dip̈a 'axe' $\rightarrow$ *diëa-ku 'my axe', *dip̈a moli 'the chief's axe'. In order to take a possessor, such a noun needs a possessive classifier (PC), which will be followed by the possessor in the same conditions as inalienable nouns. The most common PC is the General classifier no-; for example 'my axe' would be:

[^54]
## no-ku dipa

POSS-1S axe
'my axe'
The order of constituents depends on the length of the possessor constituent, which systematically follows the PC. If the possessor is only a personal suffix, then it is short enough to allow for the possessed noun to follow; in this case, the order of constituents is

$$
\text { <CLASSIF-suffix }{ }_{\text {posR }} \text { noun }_{\text {posD }}>
$$

```
no -no paua
pOSS -3s power
'his power'
```

But if the possessor is expressed by means of an overt NP, then the possessed noun comes before the PC; the order is then

$$
<\text { noun }_{\text {posD }}{\text { CLASSIF-CST } \text { noun }_{\text {posR }}>}
$$



### 4.7.3. Semantics of possessive classifiers

Araki has five possessive classifiers, contrasted semantically according to the kind of possessive relationship involved. The General classifier no- expresses a vague, general relationship between two elements X and Y ; it covers those relations that are not expressed by other more specific classifiers. Apart from no-, Araki has ha- 'food', m̈a- 'drink', pula- ~ pla- 'economical possession', cuga'portion'; they are detailed below.

- Ha- presents X (the possessed object) as food for Y (the possessor). In general, it refers to an $\mathrm{X} \sim \mathrm{Y}$ relationship that has already been established beforehand, and which the speaker just recalls:

Hadiv mo lesi cam ha-ni M̈ala mo hani-a.
Rat 3:R see yam FOOD-CST Hawk 3:R eat-3s
'The Rat saw a piece of yam (which was reserved) for the Hawk, and ate it.'
Nene, ha-ca paniavu.
this FOOD-1INC pineapple
'This is pineapple for the two of us (to eat).'

No other semantic use of ha- appears in our corpus, such as the 'passive' use of similar classifiers in Northern Vanuatu or Fiji.

- Mäa- presents X as a drink for Y :

Lasa nohoni, m̈a-n se?
cup that DRNK-CST who
'This cup here, who is it for (to drink)?'
Nam ce inum-i-a $\ddot{m} a-k u \quad$ ai $\quad$ vadug.
1s:R NEG drink-TR-3S DRINK-1s water hot
'I haven't drunk my tea (already served and assigned to me).'

- Pula- presents X as a valuable possession, of economical interest for Y . It is generally associated with plants and possessed animals - including cats and dogs, which are not bred for food:


## Nam シ̈a-hani-a pla-ku to. <br> 1s:R CaUS-eat-3s ECON-1s fowl

'I am feeding my fowls.'

'Your taro (that you planted) will not be able to grow properly.'

- Cuga-: when a set of objects has several possessors, cuga- presents X as the one which goes with Y , its 'portion'; this classifier generally refers to temporary possessions, such as objects transported by several persons at the same time:

'My piece of pudding (opp. yours) is already cooked.'
The same classifier fits to indicate a catch of fish or game:

| cuga-ku <br> Pormon-ls | maciaci <br> fish/bird |
| :--- | :--- |
| 'my catch of fish/the bird I shot' |  |

- No- refers to any other relationship between X and Y , which is neither expressed by other classifiers, nor by direct (inalienable) suffixation:

| no-ku dudu <br> POSS-1s clothes | no-m <br> POSS-2s | vatu <br> money |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'my clothes' | 'your money' |  |

Notice that the same noun may be associated with different PCs, according to the possessive relationship between X and Y :

```
ha-ku po
FOOD-1S pig
'my piece of pork (to eat)'
pula-ku po
ECON-1S pig
'my pig (I breed)'
cuga-ku po
PORTION-ls pig
'my pig (I am carrying for s.b. else)'
no-ku po
poss-1s pig
'my pig' (I am selling, or offering s.b. for a ceremony)
```


### 4.7.4. Syntactic functions of possessive classifiers

The bundle consisting of a <noun (alienable) + classifier + possessor> behaves globally as a complex noun; that is, it takes the position of a simple noun inside the NP, and behaves externally like a noun. For instance, this possessive bundle can be the subject or object of a verb (see examples above), or the object of a preposition:

Na pa sodosodo lo no-m maikrofon.
1s:I SEQ talk:DUP LOC POSS-2s microphone
'I am going to talk into your microphone.'

The possessive bundle can also be the predicate of the clause:
Lasa nohoni, m̈a-n se?
cup that DRINK-CST who
'This cup here, whose is it?'
Incidentally, notice a rare pattern in which the possessor suffix is being echoed by an independent pronoun. In the present case, this strategy is used to indicate a dual reference (§4.5.4.4):

Nene, ha-m̈am cam kam̈am dua.
this FOOD-1EX:P yam 1EX:P two
'This is yam for the two of us.'
It is also remarkable that possessive classifiers can be elliptic of the possessed noun - never the possessor - in the same way as English pronouns minelyours. Hence classifiers are sometimes met 'alone' in a subject position:
$\ddot{M} a-k u \quad$ ai $k e s i$, nia $\ddot{\text { ve }} \quad \ddot{m} a-m$ ?
DRINK-1s water here 3s where DRINK-2s
'This is my water, but where is yours?'

- or as an object:

Verasi-ku mo ragi-si ha-na.
sister-1s 3:R cry-TR FOOD-3S
'My younger sister is crying for her food.'
Finally, notice that a PC may combine with the partitive article re 'some', to indicate the future possessor of a (non-specific) object:

> Na v̈a voli re v̈erali ha-n nanaru-ku.
> $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ go buy some banana FOOD-CST children-1s
> 'I am going to buy some bananas (as food) for my children.'

### 4.8. Basic NP structure

In this chapter, we have been examining the many elements which can enter into a NP: articles, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and possessive structures. We often alluded to their relative ordering within the NP, but a summary would be necessary now.

A noun phrase needs a head: this can be a noun, an independent pronoun, certain demonstratives; an adjective cannot be a NP-head, but needs the support mada. All other elements are optional. A maximal noun phrase should follow the following order of constituents, ${ }^{88}$ most of which are optional:

[^55](1) an article: plural dai, partitive re, definite va;
(2) a noun or the empty head mada, or a 'possessive bundle', formed by <possessed noun + (a possessive classifier + ) a possessor>; ${ }^{89}$
(3) an adjective;
(4) the anaphoric marker di;
(5) a demonstrative word;
(6) a numeral preceded by a subject clitic (usually mo), similar to a clause;
(7) a relative clause;
(8) a prepositional phrase, for example 'with $\left(+\mathrm{NP}_{2}\right)$ '.

Here are a few examples of NPs which contain several of these elements; but notice that it is rare to meet more than three or four elements in one NP, and putting them all together would be of course artificial:
dai CEA nohosu mo dua
PL chair that 3:R two
$125<6>$
'these two chairs here'
PIRA hetehete mo hese nida-n veroha-na
woman small 3:R one with-CST sister-3s
$2<3<6><8>$
'a young woman with her elder sister'
Notice that the order between 5 (demonstratives) and 6 (numerals) is not strict, at least for mo hese 'one':

RACU mo hese hosun
man $3: \mathrm{R}$ one that
$2<6>5$
'this one man'

[^56]
## 5. Verbs and verb phrases

Nouns and verbs are definitely distinct in Araki, as was shown in §3.1.3. Now we have discussed the syntactic structures of noun phrases, we will present the behaviour of verbs and verb phrases.

First, verb phrases include indications on the actors of the action: subjects are coded by subject clitics, which always begin the verb phrase (see §4.1.2); on the other hand, objects of transitive verbs are normally coded by object suffixes ( $\S 4.1 .3$ ), which follow the verb or its adjunct. In the following sentence, na ' I ' is the subject clitic, while -ko 'you' is the object; pa 'Sequential/Future' is an aspect marker, and pilai is an adjunct to the verb nak. Notice here that the whole sentence consists only of a VP, with nothing before or after it:
[Na pa nak pilai -ko]! 'I'm going to kill you outright!'
1s:I SEQ kill outright -2 s
The basic syntax of subject clitics will be explained in §5.1, but their modal value will be developed throughout $\S 5.2$; as far as object suffixes are concerned, the transitivity issues they raise will be dealt with in §5.4.

Therefore, the mainlines of this chapter will be the following. First, after a short overview on the syntax of subject clitics, we will explore modality contrasts and their semantic effects on time interpretation; secondly, aspect markers will be reviewed; thirdly, syntactic issues on valency, transitivity and object-marking will be detailed.

### 5.1. Basic syntax of subject clitics

### 5.1.1. Subject clitics and parts of speech

Subject clitics typically associate with VERBS:

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\mathbf{0} & \text { sile } & \text { Viki } & \text { co } \\
\text { 2s:I } \\
\text { give } & \text { Viki-a. } & \text { hs:I eat-3s } & \text { 'Give it to Viki (so that) he eats it.' }
\end{array}
$$

and most ADJECTIVES (§3.1.2):
Vulu-na
hair-3s
$3: R$
red $\quad$ 'His hair is red (that is, blond).'

They also form the subject for NUMERALS (§3.1.4) and a few other predicative words, like sohe '(be) like', ce re 'not exist, not be there':

## Om sohe huira.

2s:R like octopus
'You are (fitful) like an octopus.'
$\underline{\text { Mo }}$ ce re ai.
3: R NEG EXIST water
'There is no water.'
Conversely, there are some 'directly predicative' words which do not normally take a subject clitic, like nouns, demonstratives, and some adjectives. ${ }^{90}$

### 5.1.2. Syntax of subject clitics

At the sentence-level, subject markers may be preceded by a topic - whatever it is: adverb, NP, free pronoun - and/or by a NP subject, at least for the Third person. Subject clitics always open the verb phrase, ${ }^{91}$ and may be separated from the verb radical by only a few aspect clitics. Here are a few illustrative sentences for these points:

'We are not able to see him [ghost], yet he is around.'
The first cam is being separated from the verb levse by another clitic, namely the negation ce; then mo is preceded by an optional free pronoun nia, which agrees with the obligatory subject clitic mo.
2. [Co lesi-a] se [co pa v̈anö̈ano] vila.
$1 \mathbb{N}: 1$ see-3s who $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ walk:DUP fast
'(Let us race) we shall see who will go faster.'
Notice the aspect clitic pa (Sequential/Future), which inserts between the subject clitic and the verb radical. This sentence also illustrates the ambiguity of some homophonous morphemes, like co which is either First inclusive Irrealis ('we shall') or Third Irrealis ('he will').

[^57]3. Na, ta [co mule], [na pa vadai-a] ni-a. is dad 3s:I be.back 1s:I SEQ tell-3s obl-3s '(As for) me, Dad will come back, and I will tell him about it.'

The first na is not a subject clitic, but a free pronoun, since it serves as a topic to the whole sentence; contrary to the second na, it is not sensitive to Realis/Irrealis mood contrast (v. nam). Notice also the NP subject ta 'dad', coming immediately before the 3 SG subject clitic which agrees with it; *ta mule is impossible.

Subject clitics only occur once within a verb phrase, so that verb serialisation is normally defined as a sequence of two (or more) verb radicals in one single verb phrase, that is, after one subject clitic:

## Ha sivo goro!

2P:I go.down sleep
'You (all) go to sleep!'
But what looks like an ordinary Oceanic pattern of serialisation is in fact very rare in Araki, and apparently concerns more generally $V_{1}-V_{2}$ sequences where $V_{1}$ is a movement verb, like sivo here. What is overwhelmingly common in Araki, is to link several verb phrases to build so-called 'clause chains', which will be detailed later. ${ }^{92}$

### 5.2. Modality and time

When we presented the paradigm of subject clitics in §4.1.2 (p.44), it appeared that two series of clitics were distinguished morphologically, according to the modality associated to them, or more precisely to the whole VP. We alluded to this contrast by using the terms Realis v. Irrealis mood; we are now going to explain these words, and examine what they involve in the domain of modality and time.

### 5.2.1. Modality in main clauses

Contrary to many other languages of the world, including languages from Vanuatu, Araki is quite original in having such a straightforward mood-and-tense system: ${ }^{93}$ any verbal predicate is basically coded as being Realis or Irrealis, in such a way that all sentences seem to be defined by this twofold opposition.

[^58]
### 5.2.1.1. Semantics of Realis

As is apparent from Table $4-31$ p.44, Realis clitics in Araki all contain the phoneme $m$, certainly reflecting a former Realis morpheme. A Realis verb form indicates that the action referred to is 'real', that is, already belongs to the world. Speaking in terms of modality, this corresponds roughly to indicative mood in European languages; speaking in terms of tense, Realis forms point either to an event in the past, or to a process which is ongoing at the moment of speaking (that is, present):

Racu $\frac{\mathrm{mo}}{3 \mathrm{R}}$ hese hosun $\frac{\text { mo }}{3 \mathrm{R}}$ vavere, $\underline{\text { nam dogo leo-no. }}$ man 3:R one that $3: R$ sing $1 s: R$ hear voice- 3 S
'That man who is singing, I can hear his voice.'
Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni.
yesterday $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ hear man $3: \mathrm{R}$ one $3: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3s song that
'Yesterday I heard a man, he was singing the same song as you.'
Notice that none of these two sentences has any other time or aspect morpheme on the verbs, to indicate that the process is still going on or is already over. Of course, nanov 'yesterday' is a strong clue towards a past tense interpretation, but such time adverbs are far from being systematically present, and in most sentences, only the context can be relied upon to determine the time reference of the verb (past $v$. present). Notice also that the aspect post-clitic ro 'Progressive', for example, would not give any indication on this issue, since Nam dogo ro could mean either 'I am hearing' or 'I was hearing': in other terms, aspect markers say nothing about absolute time.

Questions about the past or present also take Realis mood, despite the obvious uncertainty of the speaker: ${ }^{94}$

Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?
$2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ PFT eat some meat sheep 3:R finish
'Have you ever tasted mutton?'
The same applies for negative assertions:
Nam ce levsei dogo-ko.
1 S : R NEG know hear-2s
'I cannot hear you.'

[^59]
### 5.2.1.2. Semantics of Irrealis

Table $4-32$ p. 44 shows that Irrealis clitics were originally simpler - that is, formally 'unmarked' - than Realis clitics, at least morphologically speaking, since they lack the (now opaque) $m$ element. Irrealis is complementary to Realis, that is, any form which is not Realis must be Irrealis, and vice-versa. From the semantic point of view, Irrealis refers to events which do not belong in the real world, but are only conceived as possible facts in the imagination.

When Irrealis clitics are used with the main verb, the meaning can correspond to our FUTURE tense:

Co ce levse v̈ei-a.
1N:I NEG know do-3s
'We won't be able to do it.'

## Co lesi-a se co pa v̈anö̈ano vila. <br> $1 \mathbb{N}: 1$ see-3s who $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ walk:DUP fast

'(Let us race) we shall see who will go faster.'
However, notice that the majority of sentences predicting an event in the future make use of a combination < Irrealis subject + aspect pa >; this combination will be exposed in detail in §5.3.5.3 p.121.

The majority of Irrealis sentences (without pa aspect marker) correspond to an imperative predication. This is especially clear when the subject is a second person:

```
Ale, kam̈im po ha gigisa!
come.on 2P all 2P:I smile
'Come on, all of you, smile!'
```

No-ku ta, $\underline{o}$ vodo re paka-ku, re vina-ku.
poss-1s dad 2 s :I make some bow-1s, some arrow-1s
'Dad, please make me a bow, make me some arrows.'
This can happen with a third person too:
Re co pele sna co holo aka!
'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'
Close to an imperative meaning, many Irrealis sentences can be described as DESIDERATIVE/OPTATIVE:

Vulu-m̈am co sohe-m!
hair-1EX:P 3s:I like-2s
'Let our hair be (red) like yours!'

And notice that imperative and desiderative meanings combine naturally into clause-chaining patterns. Both Irrealis clauses are perfectly parallel, except with regard to the person of the subject:

## O vici co rolu!

2s:I embark 1N:I three
'Come aboard, let's be together!'

## Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho: <br> 2P:I cook some water 3s:I boil 3s:I good-INT

'(You all) cook some water (so that) it shall be really boiling!'
With a First person, the Irrealis expresses a wish, an intent, or a request for permission (that is, 'let me do'):

Na na sa na hanhan.
1s ls:I go.up ls:I eat
'I am going to have dinner.'
Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun!
dad 1s:I again go.down see-3s man 3:R one that
'Dad! I'd like to ( $=$ Let me) go and have a look again at that man over there!'
Other instances of the Realis/Irrealis contrast in main clauses, such as the use in hypothetical contexts, will be detailed later.

Cognitively speaking, it is obvious that Irrealis verbs cannot just be described as 'real' events which would be transferred to a future time scale. In fact, they bear some specific semantic properties which make them contrast drastically with Realis clauses, such as:

- incompatibility with a truth-value statement;
- high degree of pragmatic involvement either from the speaker's part, or somebody else; hence such modal values as obligation, intent, order, wish, and so on.
- affinity with non-specificity of the referent, whether in NPs ${ }^{95}$ or VPs. ${ }^{96}$

[^60]We won't detail these properties here, but they must be kept in mind in order to understand the specific syntactic and semantic behaviour of Irrealis, as opposed to Realis, clauses.

### 5.2.2. Modality and interclausal relationships

The presentation we have just given provides a first notion of the semantic contrast between Realis and Irrealis mood; however, this description focused on the case of main clauses, that is, when the modality affects the sentence as a whole. We are now going to examine the effects of the same contrast in clause chaining, subordinate clauses, sentential objects, and other sentences where the verbs alternate between Realis and Irrealis.

### 5.2.2.1. Clause chaining and mood agreement

In the examination of clause-chaining structures of Araki, it is essential to observe whether or not the two adjacent clauses have the same mood. Standard patterns of clause chaining, in which events are aligned in chronological order, normally share the same Realis modality - but notice that each verb must take a subject clitic:

## Mo ran-i-á nam covi.

3: R push-TR-1s $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ fall
'He pushed me (and) I fell down.'
Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. man 3:R hold-3s stone 3:R throw-TR-3s 3:R go.up 3:R fall 3:R go.down
'A man takes a stone and throws it (so that it goes) up and then falls down (again).'
It is also possible, though less frequent, to have a chronological succession in an Irrealis context:

## Na na sa na hanhan.

1s 1s:I go.up 1s:I eat
'I am going to have dinner.'

## Ha pa nak-i-a co mare. <br> 3P:I SEQ hit-TR-3S 3s:I die

'They will strike him to death.' (lit. They will hit him he will die.)
Generally speaking, two chained clauses which share the same truth values and pragmatic properties, should also share the same modality. What we have just shown about time succession, also applies for other kinds of clause-chaining sentences, in which both clauses are on the same level:

## Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko. <br> $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R} \quad$ strong $\quad 1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ surpass- 2 s

'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.

## (Ha ku re ai) co val co holo-ho!

2P:I cook some water 3s:I boil 3s:I good-INT
'(Cook some water) it must be really boiling!' (lit. It must boil it must be good)
In a way, these examples of clause chaining could be said to 'agree' in modality. Another case of such an agreement is between a so-called 'implicative' verb ${ }^{97}$ and its clausal object, when both truth-values are inseparable from each other:

Vida haviha nam levsei-a mo hada.
flower Syzygium 1s:R know-3s 3:R red
'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.'

### 5.2.2.2. Clause chaining and switching mood

In some cases, however, clauses which are chained together show different moods; this generally indicates that both clauses belong to distinct levels, for example that one is subordinate to the other.

## * Irrealis $\rightarrow$ Realis

The case of an Irrealis main clause having a Realis subordinate clause is not so frequent, except in the case of numerals. In the next sentence, the main VP is Irrealis (na le sivo...) because it expresses a will, which is an event still virtual; but the numeral phrase (mo hese) is Realis, because it refers to an actual, specific person, whose existence is already established:

Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu <mo hese> hosun!
dad 1S:I again go.down see-3s man 3:R one that
'Dad! I'd like to go and have a look again at that one man (lit. who IS one) over there!' The latter sentence must be contrasted with the following, in which the numeral phrase 'agrees' in modality with the main verb. This is because the number of the object does not exist independently of the main verb (as it does with mo hese), but falls under the will of the speaker: ${ }^{98}$

[^61]
## Na pa vavere lo vere <co hese>.

1s:I SEQ sing LOC song 3s:I one
'I shall sing just one song (lit. a song which SHALL BE one).'

## * Realis $\rightarrow$ Irrealis

More frequent is the reverse order, that is, a Realis main verb followed by an Irrealis dependent clause. This happens when the main clause is making a truthvalue statement ( $\rightarrow$ Realis), but has under its scope a clause referring to a virtual event ( $\rightarrow$ Irrealis), with no possibility of a true/false judgment about it.

This happens in certain negative contexts, with a subordinate clause depending on the verb denied:

This sentence is interesting enough to deserve a longer explanation: see our presentation of negation ( $\S 6.3 .5$ p.166).

More frequent, and more simple too, is the case when the first clause $\left(\mathrm{C}_{1}\right)$ refers to an actual event, but the second one $\left(\mathrm{C}_{2}\right)$ refers only to a virtual one, for example a wish held in the subject's mind. This definition corresponds to at least two cases:

- PURPOSE CLAUSES, if $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ refers to an action, and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ to its purpose:


Nevertheless, although this pattern is theoretically possible, it appears seldom in our corpus. Usually, the subordinate status of these purpose clauses is indicated by a conjunction (m̈ara 'because, for', vada 'if, when'), followed by Irrealis:

'He cut an oar in order to paddle with it.'
An even more frequent pattern is to use the verb-conjunction de 'say, want', which will be discussed below ( $\$ 7.2 .5 \mathrm{p} .184$ ); an example of this would be:
$\frac{\text { Mo }}{3 \cdot R} \quad$ ran-i-á $\quad \frac{\text { MO }}{3 \cdot R} \quad$ DE na covi.

3: R push-Tr-1S 3:R say 1S:I fall
'He pushed me (and meant) I should fall down.'

- SENTENTIAL ObJECTS, if $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ is a volitional or manipulative (non-implicative) verb, and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ its clausal complement. This extremely frequent pattern concerns
mainly three verbs, that is, dogo 'feel like', poe 'like, want', and de 'say, want' (§5.2.2.3):
Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re presin. $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ feel 1s:1 give-2s obl-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.'
Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua.
1s:R say 1s:I drink some cup water 3s:1 two
'I would like to drink two glasses of water.'
Again, it is sometimes possible - though rare - to insert some conjunction before the sentential object:
Nam po-i-a vada $\underline{0}$ rai re aka-ku.
1S:R like-TR-3s if $2 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ cut some canoe-1s
'I would like you to make a boat for me.'
And this conjunction can also be replaced by the verb de, in a clause-chaining construction which will be discussed later:

'The strangers want to test their destiny.'
With another verb in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$, consider also the following examples:

'I told him to go and see the chief'
Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan. 1s:R wait wife-3S PRG when 3 S:1 give PERS small obl food 'I am waiting for my wife to feed the children.'
In all the examples we have been presenting of mood switching in clausechaining structures, it is clear that the asymmetry with regard to modality is due to a difference of discourse level: the second clause is generally subordinate to the first one, or at least shows some kind of syntactic/pragmatic dependency from it.


### 5.2.2.3. Lexical polysemy and mood switching

A dramatic illustration of the mood-switching rules we have just given can be provided by three polysemic verbs, which we reviewed in last paragraph. These verbs dogo, poe and de have different meanings according to what follows them, and especially according to the modality of the next clause.

- Dogo + NP means 'hear/feel s.th.':

Nam dogo leo-no.
1 s : feel voice-3s
'I can hear his voice.'
Dogo + Realis clause means 'hear/feel that (s.th. is going on)':
Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á.
1s:R feel kava $3: \mathrm{R} \mathrm{hit-TR-1s}$
'I can feel the kava affecting me.'
Dogo + IRREALIS clause means 'feel like (doing s.th.), be willing to':
Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki.
3:R NEG feel 3P:I again go.down Araki
'They do not want to go down to Araki any more.'

- Poe + NP means 'want, like, love':

Nam po-i-ko.
1s:R like-Tr-2s
'I love you.'
Poe + Realis clause means 'like it when (s.th. happens)':
Nam ce poe-i-a mada vadidi mo v̈av̈aodo.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG like-TR-3S PERS small 3:R noisy
'I don't like it when the children are noisy.'
Poe + Irrealis clause means 'wish, want (s.th. to happen)':
Nam po-i-a na sodosodo isa-m.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ like-TR-3S 1S:I talk:DUP with-2S
'I would like to have a chat with you.'

- De + NP means 'say':

Om de sa?
2s:R say what
'What did you say?'
De + REALIS clause means 'say, mean; think':
Cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a.
1N:R see-3s PRG 3:R white 3:R say Araki 3:R hit-TR-3S
'We can see that (the mountain) is white: this recalls how it was hit by Araki.'

Om de se mo po-i-ko?
2 s : s say who 3:R like-Tr-2s
'Who do you think loves you?'
De + Irrealis clause means 'say that (s.th. will happen in the future); tell (s.b. to do s.th.); want':
Radami-na mo de p̈ira hosun co pa m̈are lo cada vavono. meaning-3s 3:R say woman that 3s:I SEQ dead LOC place other 'This sign means that this woman will die abroad.'

Ta mo de na roho lo ima.
dad 3:R say 1s:I stay loc house
'Dad told me to stay at home.'
Kam̈im dua ham de ha han re hina?
2p two 2P:R say 2P:I eat some thing
'The two of you, do you want to eat something?'
Notice that de is the second most frequent word in our literary corpus, ${ }^{99}$ having also grammaticised as a subordinator. This issue will be detailed in §7.2.5 p. 184.

The sentences in this paragraph show the mood markers do not affect only the meaning of the clause they belong to, but may also have a deep impact on the interpretation of the preceding main verb.

### 5.2.2.4. Conclusive remark

The uses of Realis v. Irrealis subject clitics which we have been reviewing so far appear to be globally consistent and straightforward: Realis is used when reference is made to a specific event in the past or present, and a truth value is implied; Irrealis is used when the event is virtual and non-referential, that is, future or desiderative, and so on. Nevertheless, some cases of paradoxical mood-marking will be illustrated in our presentation of conditional systems (\$7.2.2).

### 5.3. Aspect

### 5.3.1. General presentation of aspect markers

While modality markers are obligatory in any verbal or adjectival clause, all aspect markers are optional. These aspectual clitics generally take place immediately after the subject-mood clitic, and immediately before the verb itself.

[^62]For instance, in the next sentence, $\mathbf{o}$ indicates mood (Irrealis) and person (Second person), while le 'again' codes for an iterative aspect:

## O le vavere! 'Sing your song again!' <br> 2s:I again sing

We already noticed that there is no such thing as tense in Araki, that is, a morphological category which would indicate unambiguously whether the event referred to belongs to the past, the present or the future - with reference to the speaker's act of utterance. However, we have seen that the contrast in modality between Irrealis and Realis can often be interpreted in terms of time oppositions, that is, between Future (Irrealis) and non-Future (Realis).

Although aspect markers are also concerned with time, they do not provide the same information as mood markers: aspect says nothing of the time relationship between the event and the act of utterance (event-external temporality), but rather indicates which phase of the event is being considered (event-internal temporality): initial, medial or final phase, result of the event, and so on. Another semantic feature which can typically be assigned to aspect, is the marking of different relations between events: event $\mathrm{E}_{1}$ comes before/after/at the same time as event $\mathrm{E}_{2} ; \mathrm{E}_{1}$ is a cause/a consequence of $\mathrm{E}_{2}$, and so on.

The different aspect markers which we are going to review are listed in Table 5-43; the latter also illustrates them briefly with a standard pattern Nam (' $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ ') + hanhan ('eat', intransitive). All these morphemes are clitics, and insert between the subject and the verb; except ro, which always marks the end of the whole predicate phrase - and iso, which is in fact a verb, and appears as a second clause with a Third singular subject.

Table 5-43 Morphology of aspectual markers: example with hanhan 'eat'

|  |  | Example | Approx. translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ce | Negation | Nam ce hanhan. | 'I did not/do not eat.' |
| le | again | Nam le hanhan. | 'I ate again.' |
| misi | still | Nam pa ${ }_{\text {misi }}$ hanhan. | 'I am still eating.' |
| pele | Alternative | Nam pele hanhan. | 'I took my turn to eat.' |
| pa | Sequential | Nam pa hanhan. | 'Then I ate.' |
| re | Perfect | Nam re hanhan. | 'I have eaten.' |
| iso | Complete | Nam $\underline{r \underline{e}}$ hanhan mo iso. | 'I have already eaten.' |
| ro | Progressive | Nam hanhan ro. | 'I am eating.' |

To be precise, the negation ce is not an aspectual marker, but a modal one. However, it is included in this chart, because it belongs to the same morphological set as other aspectual markers; we will discuss negation issues later ( $\S 6.3 .1$ p.162). All other morphemes are detailed in the following paragraphs.

### 5.3.2. The aspect clitic le 'again'

### 5.3.2.1. Semantics of le

The clitic le indicates that the action is a repetition of a former one, whether after a break (English 'do again') or not (English 'go on doing').

O le vavere!
2s:1 again sing
'Sing your song again!'
Mo $\ddot{\text { va, mo }}$ le kadu mo v̈a mo les Ivua. 3:R go 3:R again swim 3:R go 3:R see turtle
'So (Rat) went on swimming, until he saw Turtle.'
Ta! Na le sivo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun!
dad 1s:I again go.down see-3s man 3:R one that
'Dad! Let me go and have a look again at that man over there!'
Another meaning, is when an action is presented as semantically the reverse of a preceding one, in a kind of backwards process (English 'back'):

Mo le sna mo de "Na na le sna na vari-a cada-ku."
3: R again come $3: \mathrm{R}$ say 1 s 1s:I again come $1 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ hold-3s place-1s
'He came back, saying "I am coming back to take my place".
Nia ralme racu mo m̈are mo le maudu.
3s spirit man 3:R dead 3:R again live
'He's the spirit of people who were dead and came back to life.'
When combined with another aspect clitic, le normally comes in last position:
Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki.
3:R SEQ again get.up LOC morning 3:R NEG again see Araki
'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'

### 5.3.2.2. Combination with the negation

The morpheme le can also combine with the negation ce; the bundle ce le corresponds to English 'no more, no longer', or 'stop doing':

Mo シ̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo v̈a, mo ce le dogo otom̈e.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P 3:R go 3:R NEG again hear properly
'At first, they could hear their voices, but then they could not hear properly any more.'

Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau.
3s 3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R NEG again seek:DUP coconut.crab 'So he ran away and went back home, without looking any longer for coconut crabs.'

Notice that ce and le are separated in the next sentence:
Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki.
3:R NEG feel 3P:I again go.down Araki
'They don't want to go to Araki any more.' (lit. do not feel like going again to A.)
In all these cases, le comes after the negation ce. The only case where it can precede it, is with the negative existential ce re; thus we have (mo) le ce re 'there is not any more' as an alternate to (mo) ce le re:

Paniavu, ruai mo roho ro, pan kesi mo ce le re. pineapple before 3:R stay PRG but now 3:R NEG again some
'As for pineapples, there used to be some, but there aren't any more now.'
Nida mo tilavo cam, mo le ce re hanhan vutiana.
3p 3:R deprived yam 3:R again NeG some food plenty
'They were lacking yam: there was not enough food any more.'
This is a piece of evidence for considering that ce + re is grammaticising into a single, inseparable, predicate cere 'there is not' - instead of just being a predicate re with a normal negation. ${ }^{100}$

### 5.3.3. The aspect clitic misi 'still'

When the marker misi appears in affirmative sentences, it expresses the continuity of a state (English 'still'); in this case, it is normally associated with the time-focus marker pa (§5.3.5):

Kam holo-ho ro, pani kam pa m̈is com̈com̈-i ram̈a-m̈am.
lex:R good-INT PRG but 1EX:R SEQ still regret:DUP-TR father-1EX
'We are fine, but we are still mourning for our father.'
Mo vari-a nunu lo dani no-m̈am ta mo pa m̈is m̈audu ro.
3: R take-3s shadow Loc day poss-lex dad 3:R sEQ still live PRG
'He took the photo at the time our father was still alive.'
More often, misi combines with the negation ce, to form a complex aspect marker ce m̈isi 'not yet':

[^63]| Lo maudi-ku, nam ce misi | han re. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| LOC life-1S | ls:R | NEG yet | eat some |

'(Today, I ate some octopus;) during my whole life, I had never eaten any yet.'

## Racu ne, mo ce misi rai-a. <br> man this 3:R NEG still cut-3s

'This man is not yet circumcised (lit. they have not cut him yet).'
Semantically speaking, the combination ce misi 'not yet' must not be understood literally as 'not still' - which would make no sense - but rather as 'still not'.

### 5.3.4. The aspect clitic pele 'Alternative'

When a subject takes up an action which was performed by another subject, this turn-taking situation is coded by pele.

'Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat!'
Apparently, pele cannot combine with another aspect marker; when this must happen, then the subject clitic must be repeated:

O pele o le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan.
2s:I in.turn 2s:I again hold-3s place-2s ls 1s:I go.down $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ in.turn eat
'While you come back to your place, I will go and have lunch.'
This suggests that pele can be itself a predicate, meaning maybe 'take s.o.'s turn' (?). On the other hand, the pair pele... pele may translate a structure like 'While you do this, $I$ will do that'.

### 5.3.5. The aspect clitic pa 'Sequential'

Another aspect marker is pa, which we have been glossing SEQ 'Sequential'; in fact, it seldom corresponds to any marker in our English translation, and is quite difficult to describe in simple terms. This morpheme, which systematically comes before a verb $\mathrm{V}_{1}$, indicates a link of logical necessity and/or temporal exclusiveness between this verb $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ and a point in time. In other terms, pa can sometimes be glossed 'at that specific moment', or 'on that specific condition':

Ale, Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na.
so Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LoC deep.sea because-3s
'This is precisely when Araki island decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'

However, the majority (89\%) of our corpus shows pa combined with Irrealis mood, generally to form the equivalent of our future:

Nica co pa hanre sa?
$1 \mathbb{N} \quad 1 \mathbb{N}: I$ SEQ eat some what
'What shall we eat?'
We will first try and define the basic mechanism involved by pa, before we examine its semantic link with the future.

### 5.3.5.1. Realis uses of pa: a focus on time

The cognitive mechanism associated with pa is more visible in a Realis context. Quite often, the relationship involved by pa is between two verbs; it consists in presenting one verb as the time frame for the other one. On the one hand, simple clause chaining without pa mentions several events that occurred jointly - either simultaneously or in succession - without suggesting any logical link between them:
Nanov nam hanhan mo coco.
yesterday 1S:R eat 3:R night
'Yesterday, it was night when I had dinner.' (lit. I ate and it was night)
On the second hand, if pa is added to one verb, this indicates a link of temporal or logical dependency with the other one:

```
Nanov nam pa hanhan mo coco.
yesterday 1S:R SEQ eat 3:R night
```

'Yesterday, I had dinner precisely when night fell.'
[gloss: I (consciously) waited till night fell before I finally had my dinner]
Notice the strange meaning the same sentence would take, if pa was on the other verb:

```
? Nanov nam hanhan mo pa coco.
yesterday 1s: eat 3:R SEQ night
```

? 'Yesterday, İ had dinner, and this is precisely when night fell.'
[gloss: Night (consciously) waited for me to have dinner, before it finally fell]
In other words, pa indicates that an event took place at a specific moment in time, in relation to another event. Not only is that temporal location suggested in the sentence, but it is generally the focus information; for example, the first sentence above - without pa - could be just answering the question 'What did you do yesterday?'; but the sentences with pa would rather answer questions focusing on time, that is, 'When did you have dinner yesterday?', or 'When did night fall yesterday?' (semantically improbable).

More precisely, all our examples of pa include a contrast in time, which suggests a gloss like '(V happened) at that specific moment, neither before nor after'. This mechanism recalls exactly what is named contrastive focus in general syntax, for example It's me who did it (that is, nobody else); this is why the best description of pa is a CONTRASTIVE FOCUS ON TIME. ${ }^{101}$

We have just shown how pa builds a temporal-logical link between two events, corresponding to two distinct verbs; it is also possible that pa refers just to a point in time. In this case, the mechanism is similar to what we have just described: pa selects a specific date as being correct, and at the same time marks off any other possible time location. Thus contrast both sentences below:

## Nam lesi rasi-m keskesi.

1s:R see younger.brother-2s right.now
'I have just seen your brother.' [ $\rightarrow$ I knew him already]
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Nam } & \text { pa lesi } & \text { rasi-m } \\ \text { ls } & \text { keskesi. }\end{array}$
1S:R SEQ see younger.brother-2S right.now
'I just saw your brother right now.' [ $\rightarrow$ I had never seen him before]
In the first sentence, the event is located in time (keskesi), but this does not exclude the possibility of the same event occurring in the past; whereas with pa, this temporal location corresponds to a contrastive focus, drawing a necessary relationship between the event and its date.

### 5.3.5.2. Irrealis uses of pa

The mechanism we have just shown for pa + Realis is basically the same when combined with an Irrealis. For example, pa is normally used whenever the event referred to is being situated in time:

| Dan | co | rolu | co | iso | na | pa | lahi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| day | $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ | three | $3 \mathrm{~s}: I$ | finish | ls:I | SEQ marry |  |

'I will marry in three days' time.' [ $\rightarrow$ neither before nor after]
The contrastive effect on time can be observed in the following pair of sentences:

Vada co usa, co mule.
if $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ rain $3 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ be.back
'If it rains, we'll go home.'

[^64]| Vada | co usa, | co | pa mule. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if | $3 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ rain | $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ | SEQ be.back |

'We'll go home if it starts raining (and only in that condition).'
Without pa, the relation between the two events is presented as being contingent, that is, not necessary; rain is only one among several possible conditions for going back home. Conversely, the particle pa expresses a necessary implication between both clauses, that is, rain is the only condition for going home. Another way to contrast these two examples, would be to consider what is informative: the first sentence answers a possible question 'What shall we do if it rains?' $(\rightarrow$ focus on the main clause co mule); the second one replies to 'When shall we go home?' ( $\rightarrow$ focus on the time phrase Vada co usa). The optional presence of pa in conditional systems will be underlined in §7.2.2.6 p.181.

### 5.3.5.3. The semantics of Future

Nevertheless, the majority of examples of pa in our corpus consist of Irrealis clauses, which do not seem to be directly associated to a date in particular. They correspond rather to our Future, ${ }^{102}$ without focusing on any specific moment:

Na pa sodosodo lo no-m maikrofon.
1s:I SEQ talk:DUP LOC POSS-2s microphone
'I am going to talk into your microphone.'
Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu lapa?
$2 s: r$ like-Tr-3s $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ chief $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ like-TR-3s $2 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ SEQ man big
'Do you want to become a chief, do you want to become a big man?'
This use of pa can be explained, according to us, if we realise that the notion of Future tense, in typological terms, involves the reference to an abstract point in time. Each future event - either in predictions, promises, and so on - is symbolically attached to that specific point, thus receiving such semantic properties as uniqueness (I am referring to one single event) and apparent reality (I am referring to an event which I believe will really happen, at a particular moment in time).

This definition of Future tense helps make the difference with other verb forms pointing to a merely possible event, involving no link with reality or with a time reference. In many European languages, this contrast corresponds respectively to Future tense v. Subjunctive mood; in Araki, it seems to describe well the opposition between Irrealis with pa (for example Na pa シ̈a 'I will go') and Irrealis without pa (for example Na シ̈a 'I should go, I'd like to go, that I may go, my

[^65]going ...'). Only a pa-marked verb is presented as being unique and associated to a specific point in time - even though this point is still unknown to the speaker.

The next pair of sentences below show how the cognitive mechanism associated with pa suggests a difference in situation:

| Ram̈are | co | hani-ko! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| devil | 3s:I | eat-2s |

'The devil is going to devour you!' [ $\rightarrow$ he may be already around]

## Ram̈are co pa hani-ko! <br> devil 3s:I SEQ eat-2s

'The devil will devour you!' [ $\rightarrow$ in the future/some day/somewhere]
The time reference indicated by pa, although it is not precise in itself, implies the speaker is referring to a particular - though still virtual - situation, which is not the present; hence the future interpretation. Conversely, the first sentence does not involve any specific point in time, which would be separated from the ongoing situation; this is why it is compatible with a present/near-future interpretation.

Finally, notice that the particle pa, when used with its Future meaning, can appear several times within a single sentence:

```
Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna
1S:I SEQ go.up 1S:I SEQ catch-TR-3S 1S:I SEQ throw-TR-3S come
inko o pa polo hap o pa taur-i-a!
2s 2S:I SEQ light fire 2s:I SEQ hold-Tr-3s
'I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it to you;
meanwhile, you shall light a fire, and be ready to roast it!'
```


### 5.3.6. The aspect clitic re 'Perfect'

Another aspect marker is re, which codes for Perfect. Its semantic function is typically aspectual, because it is used to indicate which side of an event is being considered. A verb preceded by re is viewed in its result, which implies that the action is complete:

## Udeece mo re meco.

pudding 3:R PFT be.done
'The pudding is done.'
Mo re dovo.
3:R PFT run
'He has been running.' $\rightarrow \mathrm{He}$ is tired now

Ha-ku hina mo re ciha!<br>FOOD-1s thing 3:R PFT disappear<br>'My food has disappeared!'

With re, no attention is paid on when and how the actual event took place, but only on its result in the current situation (for example the food is no longer there). In order to describe this situation, the speaker refers to the various events which led to it, and this corresponds exactly to the cross-linguistic definition of Perfect. Conversely, re is not used when the focus is on the event itself, for example in a narrative, in the description of a past action, and so on:

Mo re ede m̈arasala-ku.
3: R pFT open door-1s
'He has opened my door.'
(focus on the result: The door is open now)

## Mo ede m̈arasala-ku.

3:R open door-1s
'He opened/opens my door.'
(focus on his action)
The so-called 'current situation' which re is supposed to be describing usually refers to the moment of utterance (that is, 'right now'), but it can also correspond to a past situation, which is taken as a reference point in the discourse. In this case, the perfect re will be translated with our pluperfect:

Mo lesi-a epe-na mo re holo-ho.
3:R see-3s body-3s 3:R pft good-NT
'He realised his body had totally recovered.'
Similarly, if the time reference is in the future, then the aspect marker re will correspond to our future perfect. Notice, in that case, that re combines with Irrealis mood - which is rare:

Na pa sna, co re usa.
1s:I SEQ come 3s:I PFT rain
'When I come back, it will have rained.'
This evidence is sufficient to show that re codes for aspect (Perfect), not for tense (Past), since by itself it says nothing about the date of the event.

In an earlier chapter, we provided a tentative explanation of how the aspect marker re emerged from the partitive/existential clitic of the same form re. ${ }^{103}$

### 5.3.7. The aspect auxiliary iso 'Complete'

The Perfect re must be carefully distinguished from the Complete aspect iso, both from the syntactic and from the semantic point of view.

### 5.3.7.1. Syntax of iso

Syntactically speaking, iso is basically a verb which means 'finish':

```
Hosun sodo di mo iso su.
DX1 story ANA 3:R finish DX1
'This story finishes here.'
Usa co iso, co pa v̈a inu hae. rain 3s:I finish 3s:I SEQ go drink kava
'When the rain stops, we will go and have kava.'
```

But this verb iso appears very often as a second verb in a clause-chaining structure, preceded by a Third person singular clitic - whatever the subject of the first verb. ${ }^{104}$ In this case, the verb iso points to the end of the first action:

Nam re goro | mo iso.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ PFT sleep $3: \mathrm{R}$ finish
'I have finished sleeping.' (lit. I have slept it finished)
lo wik mo $\mathbf{\text { va a }}$ | mo iso
LoC week 3:R go 3:R finish
'last week' (lit. in the week it went it finished)
Though it is much less frequent than with Realis, iso can appear in an Irrealis context, referring to the end of a future event:

Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan.
$1 \mathrm{~N}: 1$ say $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ weep $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ finish $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ I SEQ eat
'If you stop crying, you will have your dinner.'
Dan co rolu co iso na pa lahi.
day $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ three $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ finish $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ marry
'In three days' time, I will marry.' (lit. Let days be three and finish, I shall marry.)

### 5.3.7.2. Semantics of iso: Complete v. Perfect

In fact, almost all instances of iso combine with Perfect re in the first clause. As

[^66]a consequence, the semantic contrast which is most relevant here, is between a simple Perfect re and a combination $\mathbf{r e}+\mathbf{m o}$ iso.

Thus compare the two sentences below:
Ha-ku hina mo re ciha.
FOOD-1s thing 3:R PFT disappear
'My food has disappeared.'

'My food has already disappeared.'
Obviously, the aspect auxiliary iso does not correspond always to a mere focus on the end of the action, for example ${ }^{*}$ My food has finished disappearing. The difference between both these sentences would be better described in terms of information structure.

On the one hand, the bare perfect (re) presents a new state of affairs, in which the verb is semantically informative: that is, the vanishing of the food is a surprise to the speaker, who makes it the focus of his sentence. On the other hand, as is suggested by the translation 'already', the event referred to is not inherently informative: it is presented as if it were predictable, that is, mentally presupposed. What is new, and therefore is the main information of the sentence, is that the event which was supposed to happen actually did. In our example, a probable context would be that the speaker left his food on a table, telling his friend ' T 'm afraid rats will have eaten it before soon!'; and a few minutes later, he realises that the food is already gone. The surprise, if there is one, concerns not the very disappearing of the food, but the time it happened. ${ }^{105}$

In fact, the use of (mo) iso to indicate Complete aspect corresponds to two different translations, according to the scope of the time reference. On a short time-scale, reference is made to a specific action which had been previously planned for (English already):

| Nam | re | vadai-a | mo iso | sa-n | Grem. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s: | PFT | tell-3s | $3: R$ finish | to-cST | Graham |

'(Don't worry) I have already told Graham about it (as I was supposed to do).'
On the other hand, the action referred to may not be presupposed as a specific event in time, but have a generic status. For example, being a human person implies marrying or dying:

[^67]

1. 'Did you finally marry? (as you were supposed to do some time ago)'
2. 'Are you already married? (as everybody is supposed to do, sooner or later)'

The latter case, that is, wide-scale presupposition, also corresponds to questions about doing s.th. for the first time (English ever):

Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?
2S:R PFT eat some meat sheep 3:R finish
'Have you ever tasted mutton?'
Even if both structures are similar in Araki, Complete aspect must not be mistaken for Terminative auxiliary, that is, the designation of the last phase of an action: for example I have already eaten $\neq I$ have finished eating. When an Araki speaker wants to make such a distinction clear, he may repeat the Perfect clitic re on the verb iso itself, when the notion of termination is precisely under focus:

Om re hanhan mo iso?
2s:R PFT eat 3:R finish
'Have you already had dinner?'
Om re hanhan mo re iso, voni om d' o le han re hina? $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ PFT eat $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ PFT finish or $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ again eat some thing
'Have you finished your dinner, or do you want to eat something else?'

### 5.3.8. The aspect post-clitic ro 'Progressive'

Contrary to all other aspect markers which come immediately before the verb, the aspect clitic ro 'Progressive' always comes at the end of the verb phrase. We'll examine first its semantics, before observing which syntactic slot it takes exactly.

### 5.3.8.1. Semantics of ro 'Progressive'

When used with Realis mood, the post-clitic ro presents the action as being in progress in the current situation. This corresponds to English -ing forms, whether in present or in past:

Nam sov-i naivou-ku ro.
1S:R wait-TR wife-1s PRG
'I am waiting for my wife.'

'What are/were you laughing about?'
Nam m̈an pala m̈enum̈enu honi mo sale ro lo rasi.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh at small.leaves there 3:R float PRG LOC sea
'I am laughing about those small leaves which are floating on the sea.'
With a stative verb, ro often means 'still', expressing the continuity of the state:
Mo mare vo mo m̈audi ro?
3: R dead or 3:R live PRG
'Is he dead, or is he still alive?'
Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha hoco lim̈a-m̈m, pani mo vidiha ro! $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ tell $2 \mathrm{P} \quad 1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ say 2P:I wash hand-2P but $3: \mathrm{R}$ black PRG 'I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!'
The verb roho 'stay, dwell', from which ro most certainly proceeds, ${ }^{106}$ slightly differs in meaning, according to whether it is followed by progressive ro or not:

Nam roho Vila.
'I live in Vila.' (that is, my personal house is there)

| Nam | roho | $\underset{\text { ro }}{\text { ro }}$ | Vila. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s: | stay | $\underset{\text { PRG }}{ }$ | Vila |

'I am staying in V./I am now in Vila.'
(this is a property of the current situation)
In fact, the combination roho + ro is the most common ${ }^{107}$ way, for the speaker, to indicate in which place the subject is located - either in a temporary or a permanent way:

Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈aha-sun Okava.
before Araki 3:R stay PRG over.there Hog-Harbour
'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, near Hog Harbour.'

| \#̈apa | di | mo roho | ro | saha-n | kaura. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cave | ANA | 3: | stay | PRG | up-DX | above |

'The cave is located up there, above.'
The progressive marker appears often in relative clauses: while referring to an earlier predication, the speaker also mentally shifts its time reference towards the

[^68]past, so that the event alluded to is viewed in its progress. This corresponds to English past progressive (was ...-ing):

P̈ira nohosu nam vadai-ko ro, nia mo roho ro ne. woman that $\quad 1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ tell-2s PRG 3s 3 : R stay PRG here 'The woman I told you (lit. I was telling you) about is here.'

### 5.3.8.2. Clitic ro in Irrealis contexts: 'Suggestive'

When combined with Irrealis mood, the clitic ro receives two possible meanings. One is just the equivalent of the Progressive aspect, transferred into the future (cf. marker pa 'future'):

Kam̈a pa sovi-ko ro.
1EX:I SEQ wait-2s PRG
'We shall be waiting for you.'

| Co | pa | roho | ro | ra-n | naru-m. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1N:I | SEQ | stay | PRG | with-CST | son- 2 s |

'We'll be all staying with your son.'
The second sense diverges so much from that of 'Progressive', that it may be better to treat it as separate. With a second person, <Irrealis + ro> forms a kind of polite order, which can be called 'Suggestive' (cf. Bislama traem < English try):

O roho ro!
2s:I stay SUG
'Please stay there (while I am going)'
O kla ro co kan covi!
2s:I look sug 3s:I PROH fall
'Take care that he does not fall!'
In other contexts, ro corresponds to a suggestion, rather than a polite order:
Vada o vari-a hadiv ro sivo o plan-i-a lo rasi ...
when 2s:I hold-3s rat SUG go.down 2s:I throw-Tr-3s LOC sea
'Suppose you throw a rat into the sea ...'
With a first person, the same combination allows the speaker to present politely his own intent, with a tentative meaning (English let's do, Bisl. mi traem ...):

Na roho ro.
1s:I stay SUG
'Let me stay here./I will stay here.'
Both these uses are close to, though different from, the post-clitic ra, which fits in the same position of the sentence. This clitic has the same idiosyncratic meaning
as Bislama festaem ( $\approx$ English first): the action is politely suggested as preliminary to another one - hence such values as 'before anything else; please; why not', and so on.

O च̈a ra!
2s:I go first
'You go first (I'll join you later).'

## O m̈ap ra!

2s:I rest first
'Before anything else, you should rest.'
Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.
1s:I try down 1s:I see-3s first
'Let me go and have a look at him (I'll be back soon)'

### 5.3.8.3. Syntax of ro, and the limits of verb phrases

Among all the particles and clitics which come around the verb, ro 'Progressive-Suggestive' is the most instructive in order to give a vernacular definition of verb phrases. Indeed, while it is clear that all VPs begin with a subject clitic, it seems dubious as to what is their final limit: especially, do VPs in Araki include only the verb (or the bundle Verb + Adjunct), or the verb + its direct object, or the verb + all its complements?

The particle ro appears systematically at the same syntactic position in the sentence, that is, between the direct object of the verb, and its other complements (indirect object, adverbial phrases). That is, the notion of 'direct object' includes not only the object suffix following the verb or the adjunct, but also the object noun phrase whenever there is one: ${ }^{108}$
$\left[\begin{array}{lllll}{[O m} & \text { v̈ei-a } & \text { sa } & \text { RO] lo sto? }\end{array}\right.$
2s:R do-3s what PRG LOC shop
'What were you doing in the shop?'
$\left[\begin{array}{llll}\text { [Nam } & \text { vadai-ko } & \text { RO] } & \text { ini-a. } \\ \text { 1S:R } & \text { tell-2S } & \text { PRG } & \text { obl-3S }\end{array}\right.$.
'I have told you about her.'

[^69]
'Several signs inform people of their destiny.'
In other words, Araki verb phrases, contrary to other languages, formally include their direct object, and no other complement.

The interest of this observation, among other things, is to provide syntactic tests in order to check whether a post-verbal element is a direct object, or an adverbial complement. For instance, it becomes clear that direct locative complements must be distinguished from direct objects:

| Nia | [mo | roho | RO] |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 3 S | Rago. |  |  |

'He is staying in Tangoa.' DRECT LOCATIVE COMPLEMENT
Nia [mo lesi Rago RO].
3s 3:R see(-TR) Tangoa PRG
'He is watching Tangoa.'
DIRECT OBJECT
A similar application, is to make the difference between a preposition - which goes outside the VP, in the position of oblique phrases - and a transitivising adjunct - which comes inside the VP, and takes object suffixes. Therefore, in the two sentences below, isa is a preposition, but pala is a transitivising adjunct:

| Nia | $\left[\begin{array}{lll}\text { mo } & \text { roho } & \text { RO] }\end{array}\right.$ | isa-ku. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3s | 3:R | stay | PRG | with-1S |

[Nam m̈an p̈ala-ko Ro].
1s:R laugh at-2S PRG
'I was laughing at you.'
This point allows us to examine now the syntax of transitivity and object marking.

### 5.4. Transitivity and object marking

The last complex issue which needs to be detailed, is the behaviour of Araki verbs with regard to transitivity and valency. While intransitive verbs are not too difficult to analyse, transitive stems raise important questions concerning the morphological marking of transitivity: in a word, the presence of transitivity markers depends both on the verb stems, and on the syntactic structures involved.

After examining these issues, we will present briefly a couple of valencychanging devices. The coding of secondary relations (indirect objects, oblique complements) will be reviewed later ( $\$ 6.2 \mathrm{p} .156$ ), since these complements do not belong to the verb phrase defined syntactically.

### 5.4.1. Presentation of transitivity issues

### 5.4.1.1. Intransitive v. transitive verbs

From the syntactic point of view, Araki contrasts intransitive with transitive verbs. Intransitive lexemes never take either object NPs or transitive suffixes, and are morphologically unvarying: for example doco 'be sick', dodo 'play', goro 'sleep', iso 'finish', kla 'have a look', sale 'float', sua 'paddle', च̈a 'go', and so on.

Transitive verbs take object arguments, as NPs and/or as object suffixes: for example dogo 'hear, feel', ecene 'sell', ele 'search', inu 'drink', hani 'eat', rkel 'reach', sure 'pour; follow', tovo 'count, read', and so on.

Several roots present both intransitive and transitive uses; a few of them are presented in Table 5-44. Notice that the morphological means for this derivation are far from being regular:

Table 5-44 Transitivisation of some intransitive verb roots

| INTRANSITIVE FORM |  | TRANSITIVISED FORM |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| comi | 'be sad' | comìi- | 'be sad about'; 'take pity on'; 'help' |
| ede lito | 'be open' 'spit' | ede litovi- | 'open s.th.' <br> 'spit at'; 'despise, abuse' |
| m̈an | 'laugh' | m̈an p̈ala- | 'laugh at, scorn' |
| posi | 'turn; change' | posi- | 'change s.th., modify' |
| rag | 'cry' | ragisi- | 'cry for, regret, miss' |
|  | 'blow'; 'talk' | sodo sodohi- | 'blow in'; ‘shoot at' 'talk about' |

### 5.4.1.2. Morphological marking of transitivity

Most of the transitive (or transitivised) verbs, though not all of them, can be morphologically marked as such: this usually implies the presence of a transitivity suffix -i and/or of an object personal suffix. ${ }^{109}$ For example, a root like ecene 'sell' is transitive not only from the syntactic point of view, but also through morphological suffixation:

Nam ecen-i-a radio mo hese. 'I sold a radio.'
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ sell-Tr-3s radio $3: \mathrm{R}$ one
On the other hand, a verb like tovo 'read' is invariable, that is, never takes these suffixes; yet it is definitely a transitive verb, since it can be - and normally is followed by a direct object:

[^70]Nam tovo leta mo hese. 'I read a letter.'
1s:R read letter 3: R one
In other words, a study focusing on transitivity in Araki, should first acknowledge that this kind of morphological marking is dependent on each verb root: some are compatible with suffixes, some are not. These questions of morphology will be raised in the next paragraph §5.4.2.

Yet, there are other cases of variations in transitivity, which concern syntax: according to the syntactic context, the verb 'sell' will either take both suffixes (ecen-i-a), or only the transitiviser (ecen-i), or no suffix at all (bare form ecene). This syntactic influence on morphological transitivity, obviously, does not concern invariable roots like tovo, and can only be observed with transitivity-sensitive lexemes like ecene. Rules concerning the syntax of transitivity will be detailed in §5.4.3.

### 5.4.2. Morphological allomorphisms

The paradigm of object suffixes presented in Table $4-33$ p. 45 undergoes several unpredictable changes, depending on the verb morphology. When a verb stem ends with a consonant, it systematically takes the transitiviser suffix -i; but this is not systematic when the stem ends with a vowel. The result of this situation looks like five distinct verb paradigms, according to the final vowel of the verb radical; they are listed in Table 5-45, and explained below.

Table 5-45 Object suffix allomorphisms according to verb final vowel

|  | I | E | A | O | U |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | i-á | -i-a | a-i-á | $?$ | u-á |
| 2 | i-ko | -i-ko | a-ko | o-ko | u-ko |
| 3 | i-a | -i-a | a-i-a | o | u-a |
| 1 INC | i-ca | -i-ca | a-ca | o-co | u-ca |
| 3 | i-da | -i-da | a-da | 0-do | u-da |

Each column corresponds to a vowel at the end of a verbal root, and the forms given must be understood to commute with this vowel: for example a verb ending in E will normally have this /e/ replaced, not followed, by the suffix -i : for example ecene 'sell' $\rightarrow$ ecen-i-a 'sell it', not *ecene-i-a.

- Verb roots ending in i /: these are the most frequent. They include alovi 'greet', hani 'eat', hari 'bite', lesi 'see', levsei 'know', posi 'change', rai 'cut', sadi 'spear', sovi 'await', tapai 'find', uli 'write', vadai 'tell', vari 'hold, take', visi 'bind', voli 'buy', v̈ei 'do, make'.

None of these verbs adds the transitiviser -i suffix to its root, in a way which would get to a cluster of two /i/ like *hani-i-a. To be more precise, the presence of the transitiviser is impossible to deduce from the observation of the surface forms: a form like hania ('eat it') can be analysed either as hani $+\mathbf{- a}$, without a transitiviser, or as hani $+\mathbf{- i}+\mathbf{- a}$, provided we posit an extra deletion/simplification rule which would account for the shift from *i-i-a to i-a. Knowing that several verbs lack the transitiviser suffix in Araki, we have opted for the first solution, so that a form hania is always glossed hani-a |eat-3s| in our translations.
It is sometimes difficult to know precisely the shape of some roots, either because they always appear in their suffixed form (for example ligia 'convey' $\rightarrow$ lig or ligi?); or because, in our corpus, the unsuffixed form only appears without its final vowel. ${ }^{110}$ For instance, nak 'kill' might well be a short form of a root naki, in such a way that the suffixed form nakia 'kill him' could be read as naki-a |kill-3s|, without a transitiviser suffix; but since our corpus shows no form *naki, we analyse nakia as having three morphemes nak-i-a |kill-TR-3s|.

- Verb roots ending in /e/: As shown in Table 5-45, most of these verbs have their final /e/ replaced by the transitiviser -i. This is the case for ecene 'sell', plane 'throw', sure 'follow': for example sur-i-a is |follow-TR-3s|. Nevertheless, there are as many as three kinds of exceptions to this 'rule':
- the transitive stem of kode 'lie (to)' is not *kod-i-, but kode-i-. ${ }^{111}$ The verb opoe ~ poe 'like, love' varies between both patterns: besides the 'regular' form (o)po-i-a, the same speaker uses an 'irregular' form (o)poe-i-a.
- the verb sle 'give' follows an irregular paradigm sle-i-á, sle-ko, sle-i-a; this makes it similar to the /a/-roots analysed below.
- the verbs de 'say; want', dev̈e 'pull; fish', ede 'open', ele 'seek, learn', lare 'break' are invariable, at least for a 3SG object; this makes them similar to several /o/ roots.
$\overline{110}$ This final-vowel deletion is usual in Araki, especially with a high vowel like $/ \mathrm{i} /$ : see $\S 2.3 .2 \mathrm{p} .21$. A consequence of this process is that many roots which are classified here among /i/-ending
 les 'see'; yet they sometimes appear in their full form, which is enough to posit $/ \mathrm{i}$-ending roots.
${ }^{111}$ This form can be easily explained if kode is in fact a short form of kodei, i.e., an /i/-ending root (see fn. 110); however, the assimilated form kodokodo for kodekode ( $\$ 2.5 .1 \mathrm{p} .28$ ) suggests that the radical is indeed of the form kode ['kore], not *kodei [ko'rei] ~ kode [ko're].

Table 5-46 Competing transitivity paradigms for verbs ending in /e/

|  | SURE + 'follow' | KODE 'lie to' | (o)POE <br> 'like’ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { SLE } \\ & \text { 'give' } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { EDE } \\ \text { 'open' } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | sur-i-á | kode-i-á | po-i-á | sle-i-á | - |
| 2 | sur-i-ko | kode-i-ko | po-i-ko | sle-ko | - |
| 3 | sur-i-a | kode-i-a | po-i-a $\sim$ poe-i-a | sle-i-a | ede |
| 1 INC | sur-i-ca | ? | ? | $?$ | - |
| 3 | sur-i-da | ? | po-i-da | ? | ? |

Obviously more research is necessary to sort out regular from irregular forms.

- Verb roots ending in $/ \mathrm{a}$ /: we only have one such root in our corpus, which is not even a verb, but a verbal adjunct: while the verb for 'laugh' is m̈ana $\sim$ m̈an, its transitive form ('laugh at') takes an adjunct pala-, to which the personal endings are added; for example $\mathbf{O}$ kan man p̈ala-i-á! 'Don't laugh at me!' Table 5-45 suggests that the /i/ heard in 1SG and 3SG is not - or no longer - the transitiviser, but rather a euphonic (epenthetic) high vowel to avoid a cluster of two /a/ (Ross 1998:23).
- Verb roots ending in $/ \mathrm{o}$ : they have all been discussed in §2.5.2, since they all undergo the same morphophonemic rules for vowel assimilation. The verb roots themselves were listed in Table 2-26 p.30. None of these were found to be compatible with transitiviser suffix -i.
- Verb roots ending in $/ \mathrm{u}$ : our corpus has two 'regular' roots following the paradigm in Table 5-45: ceu 'surpass, be better than', and inu 'drink'; for example Nam ceu-ko. 'I am stronger than you'; Nam inu-a ( $\sim$ inum-i-a) 'I drank it'. Yet, a few forms have been found to add the transitiviser -i, like v̈asusu-i-a 'give birth to'; and p̈isu-i-a 'point at (with the finger, pisu)'.
- Vestigial transitive forms: for a few verbs, Araki has retained from earlier stages an allomorphic stem specific to transitive forms. Like in Fijian and many other Oceanic languages (Ross 1998:23), these transitive stems, thanks to the suffixes -i(-a), show a final consonant which has disappeared from the shorter form: for example ragi $\sim \mathbf{r a g}$ 'cry' < POc *tanis, has a transitive form ragis-i('cry for/because of'), which reflects directly the POc transitive form *tanis-iYet, a synchronic analysis of Araki might need to consider the consonant $/ \mathrm{s} /$ as now a part of the suffix, and argue that ragi 'cry' exceptionally takes a suffix $/ \mathrm{si} /$ instead of $/ \mathrm{i} / .^{112}$ The same applies for sodo 'talk', whose transitive form is sodohi- 'talk about'; ${ }^{113}$ and lito 'spit', which gives litovi- 'spit at, offend'.

[^71]Our last example is the verb inu 'drink', which in fact has got two competing transitive forms: one is conservative of the POc final consonant of the root, that is, inumi-(a); the second form inu-(a) is obviously a modern innovation, with an attempt to standardise the derivation patterns within the system.
As a conclusion to this paragraph, it looks as though the language of Araki were in the middle of a long stage of morphological standardisation, yet with many inconsistencies still subsisting. What is more, the original value of /i/ as a transitivising morpheme has lost most of its systematicity, and whether it surfaces or not is pretty much a matter of arbitrary morphology rather than of semantics.

### 5.4.3. Syntactic influence on transitivity marking

### 5.4.3.1. Methodological issues

Nevertheless, although the morphological paradigms are hardly predictable as a system, it still remains possible to observe the syntactic behaviour of transitive forms in our corpus. Most verbs contrast a shorter form (verb stem, for example poe 'want') with a longer one (transitive form, for example po-i-a 'want it'), although they are followed by an object.

In order to observe these variations, the best roots are those ending in a consonant or in /e/, because it is usually clear which suffixes they bear: for example poe $\neq \mathbf{p o - i} \neq$ po-i-a 'want'. Roots ending in $/ \mathrm{i} /$ or $/ \mathrm{u} /$ are not helpful when checking out the presence of the transitivity suffix, ${ }^{114}$ but they are fine when the question is about object suffixes: for example lesi $\neq$ lesi-a 'see'; ceu $\neq$ ceu-a 'surpass'. Finally, invariable roots, like those ending in $/ \mathrm{o} /$, must not be considered at all with these transitivity issues, since they provide only one form, whatever the syntactic context: for example dogo 'hear'.

### 5.4.3.2. General principles of transitivity suffixation

The reasons why zero v . one v . two suffixes are present on a transitive verb form are complex, ${ }^{115}$ but can apparently be accounted for according to the nature of the phrase which is immediately following the verb form. For example, if a verb is

[^72]followed by another verb, it will have no suffix (for example poe); if followed by a NP with a human reference, only the transitivising suffix will be present, without any object suffix (for example po-i); finally, both suffixes will be present whenever the object NP has a non-human reference (for example po-i-a).

The rules for suffixation are in fact more complex than this; Table 5-47 lists them all, before they are illustrated in the following paragraphs. What we consider is mainly the case when the transitive verb is associated to an explicit object phrase.

Table 5-47 Syntactic rules for transitivity suffixation

| syntactic context | no suffix <br> e.g. poe | suffix $-\mathbf{i}$ <br> e.g. | po-i $+(-\mathbf{i})$ <br> e.g. po-i-a |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| + adjunct | + | - | - |
| + other verb | + | - | - |
| + partitive re | + | - | - |
| + non-referential object | + | - | $(+)$ |
| + place name | - | + | - |
| + human proper noun | - | + | - |
| + human NP | - | + | $(+)$ |
| + non-human NP | - | - | + |
| + human anaphora (him/her $)$ | - | - | + |
| + non-human anaphora $($ it $)$ | - | - | + |

### 5.4.3.3. Conditions for having no suffix

As shown in Table 5-47, transitive verbs appear in their bare form, that is, with no suffix at all, in several cases.

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ Adjunct

As was described first in $\S 3.1 .5$ p.35, all suffixes are reported onto the adjunct whenever there is one.

Ha huden pultan-i-a paru-mim sohe-na!
2P:I put together-TR-3S head-2P like-3s
'(Bend down and) put your heads together like this!'

## Mo han povi-a visiho-no.

3:R eat all-3s meat-3s
'He entirely devoured its flesh.'
Of course, the adjunct follows the same rules as a transitive verb, as to which
suffixes it can take; ${ }^{116}$ for example before a human NP, no object suffix is allowed:
Mo nak pilai va pira honi.
3:R kill outright the woman DX2
'Then he killed outright that woman.'

* $\quad V_{t r}+V e r b$

When $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{t}}$ is followed by a second verb within a single VP, like in some cases of serialisation, it cannot take any suffix.

Na pa nak raha m̈are-ko!
ls:I SEQ hit RES dead-2s
'I am going to kill you!' lit. ... to hit-become-dead-you
This is also the case with four aspect-modal verbs, which behave like auxiliaries, that is, lpo 'try (doing)', vari 'take > start (doing)', poe 'like, enjoy (doing s.th.)' and levsei $\sim$ levse 'know (how to do), be able':
"O le vavere!" Mo le var vavere.
2s:I again sing 3:R again take sing
"'Sing once again!" - and he started singing again.'
Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai?
3:R do.what 2 s NEG like swim LOC water
'Why don't you like swimming in rivers?'
Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro. $1 \mathrm{~N}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG know see-3s but 3 s 3:R stay PRG
'We are not able to see him [ghost], yet he is around.'
Serialisation must be distinguished from clause chaining, in which each verb form has its own subject clitic. In the latter case, suffixation is the rule, although unprefixed verbs are also met:

Nam ce poe-i-a mada vadidi mo v̈ä̈aodo. 1s:R NEG like-TR-3S PERS small 3:R make.noise 'I don't like it when the children are making noise.'

Vinano nida mo poe mo de ha v̈elesi-a m̈audi-da. stranger 3P 3:R like 3:R say 3P:I try-3s life-3p
'The strangers want to test their destiny.'

[^73]
## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ Partitive re

A transitive verb followed by a partitive/non-specific NP introduced by re, cannot take any suffix, either -i or an object suffix.

Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina.
3s 3:R blind $3:$ neg know see some thing
'He is blind, he cannot see anything.'

'I feel like drinking some kava.'
This kind of sentence must be contrasted with one which has a referential object, pointing to a representation already existing:

'I feel like drinking your (already quantified) cup of kava.'
Most interestingly, this evidence proves that the transitive suffix -i and /or object suffixes are necessarily associated with referential objects, which are cognitively and syntactically autonomous. The absence of suffixes on the verb before re, can be described, in our opinion, as a case of object incorporation: the non-referential object NP (for example re hae) is not treated as an ordinary object, but as an adjunct, that is, a VP-internal element. ${ }^{17}$

Another illustrative pair of sentences is the following: ${ }^{118}$

| Paivuho, na | ul | re | leta | co sivo | sa-n | puá. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tomorrow | 1s:I | write | some | letter | $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ | go.down | to-CST | Mum

'Tomorrow, I shall write a letter to my mother.'
Nanovi, nam uli-a leta mo sivo sa-n puá. yesterday $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ write-3s letter 3 R go.down to-CST Mum
'Yesterday, I wrote a letter to my mother.'
Before the letter is written, the word leta only refers to an abstract or virtual notion: hence the non-specific article re and the object incorporation. Conversely, if the action of writing a letter really took place (cf. Realis mood), then the letter

[^74]actually exists in the world, as an autonomous object: this is the only condition in which transitivity/object suffixes may - and must - occur.

This is a very strong tendency, almost a rule, in Araki: transitivity is marked morphologically on the verb if, and only if, the object is referential, that is, has autonomous existence in terms of mental representations.

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ non-referential (incorporated) object

The same principle applies normally to other non-referential objects, which are not introduced by the partitive re. This concerns generic reference, when no specific quantity is meant:

Na mara rai viha.
1s for cut tree
'I cut timber (as a job).'

```
Om v̈e\ddot{e hina hacavua!}
2s:R do:DUP thing too.much
'You work too much!'
```

> Usa co iso, co pa v̈a inu hae.
> rain 3s:I finish $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ go drink kava
> 'When the rain stops, we will go for kava-drinking.'

All these are typical examples of object incorporation, both syntactically (lack of transitivity marking) and semantically (non-referential object). ${ }^{119}$

## * Functionally-grounded exceptions

In reality, there appears to be some exceptions to the rule 'non-referential object $\rightarrow$ no transitivity suffix': some sentences show transitivity suffixes even when their object is non-specific. However, we believe that these exceptions can be accounted for on discourse-functional ${ }^{120}$ and cognitive grounds: for some reason, these predicates are felt by the speaker to be closer to the prototypical referential sentence. This leads to the definition of new sorts of referentiality of the object, that is, cognitive/pragmatic, as opposed to semantic, referentiality.

First, in a Realis affirmation, contrary to other types of sentences, arguments are prototypically referential, in such a way that even non-specific objects will be 'attracted' towards that prototype, and therefore receive transitivity marking:

- Ruai, ham levsei inu ai v̈adug? before 2P:R know drink water hot

[^75]
## - Oo, kam̈am levsei inum-i-a ai v̈adug. yes lex:P know drink-Tr-3s water hot

'In the olden days, did you use to drink tea? - Yes, we used to drink tea.'
The first sentence does not surprise us, since it follows the rules we have just stated for object incorporation; but the affirmative sentence is unexpected, since a non-referential object should have triggered again an incorporated object (that is, ...inu ai v̈adug). This observation reinforces the hypothesis we stated, ${ }^{121}$ that Araki almost systematically associates Realis-mood affirmations with a morphological marking implying referentiality ${ }^{122}$ - even where the arguments are not referential - whereas in most other types of sentences (that is, Realis questions + negations, Irrealis assertions + questions + negations), indefinite objects are normally coded as non-referential.

Second, there is a tendency to mark the object as being specific, if it is salient from the point of view of information hierarchy, that is, if it is a strong topic or a focus of assertion. Although they both point to a non-specific (generic) object, our informant Lele Moli contrasted the two following sentences on purely functional-pragmatic criteria:


| Nam | ecen-i-a | paniavu | ro. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ | sell-TR-3S | pineapple | PRG |
| 'I sell pineapples.' | [reply to: 'What do you sell?'] |  |  |

In the first case, the verb-object bundle ('sell pineapples') behaves functionally as a whole, as is usual for object incorporation; it is globally topical - that is, presupposed - in the context. But in the second case, the boundary between background and foreground information divides this bundle into two separate parts; being the focus of assertion, the object receives cognitive autonomy, and this results in its syntactic coding as a (pseudo-) referential object. ${ }^{123}$

[^76]
### 5.4.3.4. Conditions for taking the transitivity suffix only

In some syntactic contexts, the verb must take the transitivity suffix -i (provided it is allowed by its morphology), but it cannot take any object suffix of the Third person. For the verbs whose morphology provides three forms (for example poe 'like'), this corresponds to the second form (po-i); for many verbs, though, this -i is difficult to track, either because it has merged with the final $/ \mathrm{i} /$ of the radical (for example lesi 'see'), or because it is deleted through productive phonological rules (for example nak for nak-i 'hit-TR').

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ place name

When a verb is followed by a proper noun designating a place, it takes the suffix -i, but no object suffix:

Nia mo p̈isu-i Ram̈apo.
3s $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ designate-TR Malo
'He pointed at Malo island.'

| Om | lesi | Tumepu mo lulu | lo ravalu-na. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ | see | T. | $3: \mathrm{R}$ | white | LOC beyond-3s |

'You can see Mount Tumepu, which is white on its other side.'
This rule does not apply to common nouns referring to places:
Nam po-i Daki.
1s:R like-TR Araki
'I like Araki.'
Nam po-i-a udeude-m.
1s:R like-TR-3s island-2s
'I like your island.'

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ human proper noun

Proper nouns referring to people follow the same rule as place names, that is, take no object suffix:
Mo ro om ce opo-i Joj?

3:R do.what $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG like-TR G.
'Why don't you like George?'
Nam sov Ral nida-n Pen ro.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ wait R . with-CST B. PRG
'I am waiting for Ralph and Ben.'

Along with human proper nouns, we find names of animals when they are personified in a tale: ${ }^{124}$

Hadiv mo v̈a mo les Huira, mo de "Huira, o comini-á!"
Rat 3:r go 3:r see octopus 3:R say octopus 2s:1 sad-1s
'As Rat went on, he saw Octopus, and said "Octopus, take pity on me!"'
At the end of the story, when the tale comes back to reality and mentions octopuses as animals - instead of as human-like characters - what we find is the ordinary transitivity marking for non-human referents (that is, with object suffix):
... 0 lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a.
2 s : 1 see- 3 s octopus $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ go.up there $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ seize-TR-3s $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ hold- 3 s
'... you will see the octopus jump to it, seize it and shake it.'

## $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ human common noun phrase

Just like proper nouns, common noun phrases with a human reference are normally incompatible with object suffixes.

```
Om ragis-i-a sa? - Nam ragis-i no-ku puá.
\(2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}\) weep-TR-3S what \(1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}\) weep-TR Poss-1s Mum
```

'What are you crying for? - I am crying for my Mum.'
Ram̈are mo vari va racu mo han povi-a visiho-no. devil $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ hold the man $3: \mathrm{R}$ eat all-3s meat-3s
'The devil grabbed the man and devoured all his flesh.'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Nam } \\ \text { ls: } & \underset{\text { les }}{\text { les }} & \underset{\text { rapala-ku }}{\text { rep }} \\ \text { friend-1s }\end{array} \quad$ nam alovi-a.
'I saw a friend of mine, and greeted him.'
Nam suiha nam ceu moli.
$1 s: \mathrm{R}$ strong 1 s : R surpass chief
'I am stronger than the chief.'
The main exception to this rule, is with the noun racu 'man, person': while some sentences are regular (absence of object suffix), it is possible to find the noun racu preceded by an object suffix, as if it were a non-human referent (p.144).

Mohi mo levse hari-a racu. mosquito 3:R know bite-3s man
'Mosquitoes (can) bite men.'

[^77]| Na | lpo | lesi-a | racu |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s:I | try | see-3s | mese hosun. | man | 3: |

'I want to go and have a look at that man over there.'
Despite the paradox, one can figure out the reason why the generic word for 'man, person' tends to be coded grammatically as non-human. Its generic value puts it on the same level - cognitively speaking - as other generic nouns, which have non-human reference ('person' ${ }^{125} \neq$ 'plant' $\neq$ 'place' ...): this is why it is treated like an 'ordinary' noun. Conversely, most of the other nouns referring to humans are automatically placed in a mental paradigm referring to humans: for example puá 'Mum' is connected to ta 'Dad' and to all other kin terms, moli 'chief' designates a function in society; hence their great ability to be distinguished cognitively and syntactically - from non-human terms. ${ }^{126}$

### 5.4.3.5. Conditions for taking both suffixes

The last possibility, for a transitive verb, is to take both its suffixes, that is, the transitivity suffix -i (if the verb root is compatible with it), and an object suffix.

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ pronoun

The basic condition in which ( $-\mathrm{i}+$ ) object suffixes must appear, is when no object NP is present. This corresponds to two possibilities: first, if the object refers to a person other than the third person: ${ }^{127}$

## O ruen-i-á!

2s:I help-TR-1s
'Help me!'

[^78]Nam po-i-ko.
1s:R like-tr-2s
'I love you.'
Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo.
1s:R see-3s wavelet PRG 3:R hold-1INC 3:R go.up 3:R go.down
' 1 am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down.'
Araki has no specific pronouns for reflexive (for example I saw myself) or reciprocal (for example We know each other); the ordinary object suffixes are used instead.

Second, when the third person object is already present in the context, it can be anaphorically resumed by a suffix, either singular (-a) or plural (-da). In this case, no difference is made between human and non-human referents:

Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a.
$3: \mathrm{R}$ feel crab $3: \mathrm{R}$ one $3: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ throw take.off-TR-3s
'He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed it and threw it away.'
Nam de na tovo leta nam vari-da.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ read letter $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3p
'I am going to read the letter which I received (lit. I received them).'
However, non-human referents are often resumed by a singular pronoun, even if they are plural in meaning: ${ }^{128}$

Maci vadidi, o levse nak-i-a vila.
fish small:numerous $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ know hit-3s quickly
'Small fish are (lit. is) easy to kill.'

## * $\quad \mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{tr}}+$ referential, non-human NP

Transitive verbs take object suffixes whenever they are followed by a NP with a non-human referent. It may be definite or indefinite, provided it is semantically specific (referential), that is, it refers to an actual object.

Nam ce levsei-a hica-na.
1s:R NEG know-3s name-3s
'I don't know her name.'
Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a camanana, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na.
3: R cut-3s canoe $3: \mathrm{R}$ cut-3s outrigger-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ cut-3s yoke-3s peg-3s
'He cut a canoe, then he cut its outrigger, he cut its yoke, and its pegs.'

[^79]Once again, singular pronouns are common with plural inanimate objects:
Nam re voli-a radio mo dua.
1S:R PFT buy-3S radio 3:R two
'I have bought two radios.'
Sentential objects and certain subordinate clauses generally behave as nonhuman objects, that is, are preceded by a suffix -a:

| Co |
| :---: |
|  |  |

'He will make the water wet the rope.'
Co lesi-a <se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila>. 1N:I see-3s who 3S:I SEQ walk:DUP fast
'We shall see who will go faster.'
Other uses of object suffixes were presented in the last paragraphs, in contrast with some rules excluding them.

### 5.4.4. Valency-changing processes

Araki has no passive voice, and generally has only few devices that modify the relation between the predicate and its arguments, that is, voice and valency. We will mention briefly three of them.

### 5.4.4.1. Symmetrical verbs

In English and many other languages, certain verbs are compatible with more than one semantic orientation towards its arguments: for example in Eng. The door opened $\neq$ I opened the door, the syntactic subject of the same verb form 'opened' can either have the case-role of Patient or Agent. The same happens in Araki, for example, with the verb ede 'open':
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { M̈arasala } & \text { mo ede. } \\ \text { door } & \text { 3: } & \text { open }\end{array}$
Nam ede m̈arasala.
1s:R open door

- or with posi 'turn, change':

Posi-m mo posi. 'Your behaviour has changed.'
manner-2s $3: \mathrm{R}$ change
Om posi-a m̈acihi-na. 'You changed its colour!'
2 s : R change-3s colour-3s
'The door opened/is open.'
'I opened the door.'
[2

However, this phenomenon is more limited in Araki than it is in English.

### 5.4.4.2. Detransitiviser $\ddot{m} a-$

A very small number of transitive roots can be detransitivised ${ }^{129}$ by means of a derivational prefix m̈a-. In our corpus, this concerns mainly two verbs for 'break': lare 'break (a long object) into two pieces', and koso 'break into pieces, shatter'. The transitive sentence below focuses on the event itself, whereas its detransitivised counterpart takes the point of view of the leg, and considers the result of the process, with a clearly passive meaning:
Nam lare sadi-ku. 'I broke my leg.'

1s:R break:long leg-1s
Sadi-ku mo m̈a-lare. 'My leg is broken.'
leg-1s 3:R DETR-break:long

> TRANSITIVE

DETRANSITIVISED

In fact, not only is that process little productive, but it is also optional even for these verbs: that is, they can also be used intransitively, without being derived with ma-:

Daga viha mo lare hase-na. 'The tree branch broke by itself.' branch tree 3:R break alone-3s
In this case, the bare verb behaves like a symmetrical root (§5.4.4.1), and makes reference to the process itself rather than to its result. The contrast corresponds exactly to English 'it is broken' (mo ma-lare) v. 'it broke' (mo lare), that is, roughly passive v. middle voice.

Several adjectives or stative verbs also begin with a syllable mäa-, although no derivation process is synchronically visible: for example madaga 'puny', m̈aloko 'exhausted', m̈alum 'quiet', m̈am̈asa 'dry', m̈arahu 'afraid', m̈asaga 'cloven', mavinuvinu 'thin'. At least some of them proceed from a former derivation process with the prefix $\ddot{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{a}-<* m a$-, all being situated at different points on the time scale between Proto Oceanic and modern Araki.

### 5.4.4.3. Causativiser $\ddot{\mathbf{v} a}$ - and other causative structures

Whereas mäa- was lowering the number of arguments from two (Agent + Patient) to one (Experiencer), there is a way to increase their number by adding a causativiser: this is done through the prefix $\ddot{\text { va- }}{ }^{-130}$ Although this device is wellknown in other Oceanic languages, it is no longer productive in Araki, and was found only once in our whole corpus; this is with the verb hani 'eat' to make the causative form ${ }^{131}$ v̈a-hani 'feed':

[^80]
## Ela mo シ̈a-hani naru-na ro.

E. 3:R CAUS-eat child-3s PRG
'Ela is feeding her child.'
Nam g̈a-hani-a pla-ku to.
1s:R CAUS-eat-3s ECON-1s fowl
'I am feeding my fowls.'
A more productive device to make a causative structure, is to build a periphrase with the verb ${ }^{132}$ vei 'do, make' - optionally followed by the verb-conjunction de. Notice that the following verb is Realis only if the target event was successful:

Co pa $\begin{aligned} & \text { ひ̈ei-a } \\ & \text { ai } \text { co wet-i-a as. }\end{aligned}$
3s:I SEQ do-3s water $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ wet-TR-3s rope
'He will make the water wet the rope.'
M̈ara p̈ira hosu-n mo re घ̈ei-a mo re lokodu mo iso. because woman DX3-ASS 3:R PFT do-3S 3:R PFT angry 3:R finish
' ... because that woman had already made him so angry.'
Nam de na ÿei-a na de nkoo hani-a ha-m hina!
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ do- 3 s 1s:I say 2 s 2s:1 eat-3s FOOD-2s thing
'I want to have you eat your dinner!'
Alternate patterns for causativisation include serialisation within a single VP:
Na pa nak raha m̈are-ko!
1s:I SEQ hit RESUL dead-2S
'I am going to kill you!'

- or clause chaining, with more than one VP:

Ha pa nak-i-a co mare.
3P:I SEQ hit-TR-3S 3s:I dead
'They will strike him to death.' (lit. They will hit him he will die.)

### 5.5. Verb serialisation

Araki allows two verb roots to appear in one single verb phrase, thus forming a sort of complex verb $\left\langle\mathrm{V}_{1}-\mathrm{V}_{2}\right\rangle$; usually no more than two verbs can appear at a time. This series of two verbs share one single mood-subject clitic - which does not imply that they semantically have the same subject - and share the same aspect

[^81]markers; no object or other complement can insert between these two verbs. The transitivity suffix -i, as well as the object suffix, appear on the right of the second verb, provided this is authorised by the morphology of $V_{2}$, and by the syntactic context. ${ }^{133}$ Distributionally speaking, $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ takes the syntactic slot of what we have called adjuncts (§3.1.5).

M̈ala mo de "Na pa pisu cudug-i-a aka-ca!"
Hawk 3:R say 1s:I SEQ prick pierce-TR-3s canoe-1INC:P
'The Hawk went "I am going to prick and make a hole in our boat!"'
Lag mo sere lare daga viha.
wind 3:R blow break branch tree
'The wind blew (so strong that it) broke the branch of the tree.'
In reality, verb serialisation is much rarer in Araki than in many other Oceanic languages. It seems to be productive only when either of the two verbs is a movement verb, that is, v̈a 'go', saha 'go up', sivo 'go down':

Ha sivo goro!
2P:I go.down sleep
'You (all) go to sleep!'
Another pattern in which serialisations appear less seldom, is when the second element is a stative verb or an adjective: $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ indicates the manner of $\mathrm{V}_{1}$.

Om haraho $\mathbf{~ m} a l u m$.
2 s : R crawl quiet
'You crawl so slowly!' (said to a hermit crab)
Hapu mo ug lapa.
fire 3: light big
'The fire went with big flames.'
M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da.
from period that 3:R see:DUP bad obl-3p
'Since that time, they have been hating each other.'
As for verbs of action, serialisation is a much less frequent strategy than clause chaining ${ }^{134}$ (§7.3).

[^82]
### 5.6. Basic VP structure

All the elements we have been reviewing in the present chapter belong to the Verb Phrase. The only obligatory elements to form a VP are the head and the subject clitic.

What we call here VPs, for the sake of simplicity, should be better tagged 'Aspect-and-mood sensitive predicates', which would have a wider scope than just 'verb phrase'. Indeed, despite its name, the verb phrase can not only have a verb as its head, but also an adjective or a numeral, for which this construction is the default. Moreover, although NP predicates have a syntax of their own, a noun can also be the head of a so-called 'VP', provided it is endowed with mood-aspectual properties - for example negation ce, sequential pa (see §6.1.1). In all these cases, we consider that adjectives remain adjectives, and nouns remain nouns, although they are treated like verbs, ${ }^{135}$ this is why the tag 'VP' is not so accurate - it is only meant here as a shortcut.

This complex structure consists of several elements, in a rather fixed order:
(1) the subject clitic, which also carries the indication of modality;
(2) the word dua 'two', for vestigial forms of dual; exceptionally rolu 'three', with a globalising effect; ${ }^{136}$
(3) the aspect clitic pa 'Sequential';
(4) the negation ce, or prohibitive kan (§6.4.2);
(5) other aspect clitics: le, misi, pele, re;
(6) the HEAD: normally a verb, an adjective, or a numeral; sometimes a noun;
(7) an adjunct, or a second verb ( $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ ) in a serialisation;
(8) the transitiviser suffix ${ }^{137}-\mathrm{i}$, provided it is allowed by the morphology of the preceding word;

[^83](9) an object suffix, provided it is allowed by the morphology of the preceding word, and by the syntactic conditions;
(10) an OBJECT, ${ }^{138}$ normally a noun phrase; ${ }^{139}$
(11) the aspect post-clitic ro 'Progressive', which ends the global VP. ${ }^{140}$

All adverbial complements, the aspect marker (mo) iso and all other clauses even if they are syntactically the object of $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ - belong to the right of the VP, that is, are situated outside of it.

A couple of sentences will illustrate briefly this ordering of constituents inside the VP:
[Nam ce m̈an pala mada vadidi ro].
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG laugh at PERS small PRG
$1467<10>11$
'I am not laughing at the children.'

| $\left[\begin{array}{ccc}\text { Ha } & \text { le } & \text { HUDEN }\end{array}\right.$ | pultan-i-a <br> 2P:1 | again | put | paru-mim $]$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| together-TR-3s | sohe-na! <br> head-2P | 5 | 6 | 7 | $8-9$ | $<10>$ |

'Put your heads together again like this!'

'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'

[^84]
## 6. Clause structure

The only element which is obligatory to build a clause, is a predicate phrase (PdP). This PdP can be a Verb Phrase, that is, a mood-and-aspect sensitive structure whose head is either a verb, an adjective, or a numeral; but there are other sorts of PdP, such as Noun Phrase predicates, which have distinct syntactic properties: we will present them in §6.1. Apart from the PdP, clauses can take several optional elements, such as a topic, a subject NP, and some adverbial complements ${ }^{141}$ such as time, place, manner, and so on. They will be dealt with in §6.1.2.3.

On the other hand, clauses have devices for indicating their pragmatic status, that is, negative, imperative or interrogative. We will present briefly their syntax.

### 6.1. Verbless clauses

Chapter 5 gave a detailed account of the internal syntax of Verb Phrases. However, there are other kinds of predicates in Araki, which have distinct properties, both syntactically and semantically: while we define VPs as being sensitive to such categories as aspect and (Realis v. Irrealis) modality, other kinds of predicate phrases are not, that is, have no relation whatsoever to time.

### 6.1.1. NP predicates

Like in almost all Austronesian languages, nouns in Araki are directly predicative, that is, need no copula to build an equational sentence; since it is not just a noun, but a whole NP which can become a predicate, it can be called a NP predicate (NPP). ${ }^{142}$

[^85]NPPs are not compatible with modality marking, and thus do not normally take subject clitics. The subject of a NPP can be zero if it is inanimate and obvious in the context:

## Ima-ku.

## house-1s

'(This is) my house.'
Most often, the subject is explicitly mentioned, and is either a NP itself, or an independent pronoun (NPPs are bracketed in our examples):

## Daki [udeude-ku].

Araki island-1s
'Araki is my island.'

Pan viha hosun | [viha hetehete]. |
| :--- | :--- |
| but tree that tree small |

'Now, that tree was a small tree.'
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { Nia } & \begin{array}{clllll}\text { [ralme } & \text { racu mo } & \text { mare } & \text { mo } & \text { le } & \text { maudu]. }\end{array} \text { spirit } & \text { man } & 3: \mathrm{R} & \text { dead } & 3: \mathrm{R} & \text { again } & \text { live }\end{array}$
'He's the spirit of people who were dead and came back to life.'
Although subject clitics are incompatible with NP predicates, they are required when the NPP is being negated. In this case, the usual rules regarding modality in verb phrases (that is, Realis $v$. Irrealis) apply here too:

```
V̈eral ne [mo ce \(\mathbf{m}\) eral hanhan].
banana this \(3: \mathrm{R}\) NEG banana food
```

'This banana is not for eating.'
In fact, there is also a case when a NPP can be preceded by a subject clitic in an affirmative sentence: this happens when the predicated property is semantically represented as a process in time. The subject is not only said to belong to a timeless category (for example 'He is a chief.'), but this equational relationship is described as dynamic in time (for example 'He will become a chief.'). In this case, the NP predicate is often associated with aspect/mood markers, in such a way that we shall consider them to follow the syntax of VPs. ${ }^{143}$

This is clear in the next example, where NPs are not only predicative, but also marked in mood (Irrealis) and aspect (pa Sequential/Future). As a consequence, they receive the clitic $\mathbf{o}$ as their subject, instead of the free pronoun niko compare Niko moli 'You are a chief'.

[^86]Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu lap̈a?
2s:R like-TR-3s 2s:I SEQ chief 2s:R like-TR-3s 2s:I SEQ man big
'Do you want to (become) a chief, do you want to (become) a big man?'
Though the NP behaves pretty much like a VP in such sentences (predicativeness, sensitivity to aspect-mood categories), we believe that these words remain basically nouns, because their main linguistic function is to predicate the inclusion of an entity $x$ into a category of objects. This last example does not allow to erase the boundary between the two parts of speech verb $v$. noun in Araki, which are clearly distinguished in the syntax of this language.

### 6.1.2. Other direct predicates

Nouns are not the only part of speech which can form direct predicates, without subject clitics.

### 6.1.2.1. Directly predicative adjectives

A small handful of adjectives are apparently able to form direct predicates:
No-m vatu [vutiana].
pos-2s money plenty
lit. 'Your money is abundant.'
Nia [deci]. ?Mo deci.
3 s remote
'He is far away.'
These lexemes do not follow the general rule for adjectives, which is to take subject clitics, like verbs do (§4.6.1).

### 6.1.2.2. Possessive predicates

Though they can also be included among NP Predicates, possessive classifiers are predicative (§4.7.4):

| Lasa | nohoni | [m̈a-n | se]? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cup | that | DRINK-CST | who |
| 'This cup here, whose is it?' |  |  |  |

### 6.1.2.3. Demonstrative predicates

Most demonstrative words (§4.4) can form the predicate of a sentence. From the semantic point of view, this corresponds to two possibilities. Firstly, the
speaker may want to show where the subject is - that is, the subject is the topic, and the deictic predicate is the comment: ${ }^{144}$

| M̈a-ku | ai | $[$ kesi]. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DRINK-1s | water | Dx1 |$\quad$ 'My glass of water is here.'

But more often, the information structure is the reverse: the subject NP is semantically the comment, that is, the informative part of the clause, whereas the demonstrative predicate is the equivalent of a topic. ${ }^{145}$ This is used when the speaker wants to identify an object which is already given in the situation:
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { M̈a-ku } & \text { ai } & \text { [honi]! } & \begin{array}{ll}\text { 'This is } m y \text { glass of water!' } \\ \text { DRINK-1s } & \text { water }\end{array} \\ \text { DX2 } & \text { (it.) } M Y \text { glass of water is this! }\end{array}$
Though this second combination seems paradoxical (that is, foreground subject + background predicate), it is perfectly common in all this geographical area, especially for demonstratives. For example, the translation of the last sentence into Bislama has the same structure Wota blong MI [ia]! 'This is my water!', with a foreground subject and a background predicate.

### 6.1.2.4. Adverbial predicates

It is possible to have an adverb or a prepositional phrase ( $(6.2 .1$ ) as a predicate.

| Nica | [p̈aivuho]. | 'You and me tomorrow.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| liNC | tomorrow | (said to mean 'Good bye.') |
| Ram̈are [kia].  <br> devil there  | 'There are devils.' |  |

The latter pattern is employed especially for existential statements, when the referent is indefinite, but semantically specific. ${ }^{146}$ This corresponds normally to affirmative sentences, as opposed to questions or negations:

'Is there some pineapple in the kitchen? - Yes, there is.'

[^87]When the subject of an existential statement is associated with a numeral like (mo) hese 'one', it becomes ambiguous whether the predicate is the numeral itself with its subject clitic - or the locative complement. For example, if we bracket the predicate phrase, notice there are two alternate interpretations for the same sentence below:

| Racu mo | hese | $\quad\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { lo } \\ \text { man }\end{array}\right.$ | ima rurunu]. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | one $\quad$ LOC | house cook:DUP |
| :--- |

'There is a man in the kitchen.' (lit. One man IS IN THE KITCHEN.)

| Racu |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | 3: | hese] | lo | ima rurunu. |
| Loc |  |  |  |  |

'There is a man in the kitchen.' (lit. Man IS ONE in the k.)
For the second interpretation, see $\S 4.3 .5 .2$ p.56. We currently have no evidence, nor syntactic test, which should privilege either analysis over the other.

### 6.1.3. Parts of speech and direct predicativeness

Table 6-48 sums up which syntactic categories are directly predicative, and which ones follow the basic syntax of VPs in needing subject clitics. ${ }^{147}$

Table 6-48 Parts of speech and direct predicativeness: summary

|  | directly <br> predicative | take <br> subject clitics |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nouns and NP | + | $(+)$ |
| possessive classifiers | + | - |
| adverbs and PrepP | + | - |
| demonstratives | + | - |
| free pronouns | + | - |
| (dir. pred. adjectives) | + | - |
| adjectives | - | + |
| numerals | - | + |
| verbs | - | + |
| adjuncts | - | - |

[^88]
### 6.2. Verbal clauses: peripheral complements

We shall briefly recapitulate the main properties of verbal arguments. The order of constituents in a clause containing a VP predicate is the following:

| (Topic) - Subject - VP including Object - peripheral |
| :---: |
| complements |

The function of subject and object are not indicated by any morphological marking such as case, but only by their position in the sentence; both these functions were dealt with already, ${ }^{148}$ and this chapter will focus on peripheral or adverbial complements.

### 6.2.1. Adverbs and prepositional phrases

Adverbs were defined as a part of speech in §3.1.6 p.36. Like in many languages, the slot of adverbs can be taken by prepositional phrases; there is no postposition in Araki. Other parts of speech, such as demonstratives ( $\S 3.1 .7$, §4.4.3.1), can take this postverbal position too.

Morphologically speaking, prepositions fall into three categories: ${ }^{149}$

- 'verb-like prepositions' [VLP] take the same object suffixes as verbs do (§4.1.3): for example pedesi-á 'with me', pedesi-ko 'with you';
- 'noun-like prepositions' [NLP] take the possessive - and the construct suffixes (§4.1.4.2), for example isa-ku 'with me', isa-m 'with you', isa-n moli 'with the chief';
- 'bare prepositions' take no suffix at all, for example lo ima 'in the house'.


### 6.2.1.1. Locational adverbs and prepositions

Locational adverbs include karano 'underneath', kaura 'above', ravui 'closeby'; locational prepositions include $\mathbf{l o}$ 'in, at', and rav̈alu 'beyond, on the other side of':

V̈apa mo hese, kesi-ni ravui < $\underline{\text { lo }}$ ima-ku>. cave $3: \mathrm{R}$ one here-ASS nearby LOC house-1s
'There is a cave, around here near my house.'
When the referent is obvious in the context, an anaphora is made possible with the adverb kia 'there, in that place':

[^89]```
Racu tade mo sivo ro kia.
man every 3:R go.down PRG there
'Everybody still goes there.'
```

All place names (proper nouns) behave like adverbs, that is, do not take prepositions to be a complement. In the next sentence, notice that Daki is a subject (that is, not an adverb), but Okava is an oblique complement ${ }^{150}$

Ruai, Daki mo roho ro ÿaha-sun Okava.
before Araki 3:R stay PRG over.there Hog-Harbour
'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, in Hog-Harbour.'

### 6.2.1.2. Directional adverbs and prepositions

Directional adverbs are homophonous with movement verbs, and their meaning is derived from them: シ̈a 'go $\rightarrow$ forward', saha ~ sa 'go up $\rightarrow$ up', sivo ~ si 'go down $\rightarrow$ down', sna/m̈a 'come $\rightarrow$ hither', mle 'go back $\rightarrow$ back, over there'. Contrary to these verbs, ${ }^{151}$ directional adverbs are used directly, that is, without subject clitic, to indicate the direction of a movement.
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { Na } & \text { pa } & \text { sa } & \text { na } & \text { pa } & \text { ran-i-a } & \text { na } & \text { pa } & \text { plan-i-a } & \text { sna. } \\ 1 \mathrm{~S}: 1 & \text { SEQ } & \text { go.up } & 1 \mathrm{~S}: 1 & \text { SEQ } & \text { catch-TR-3s } & 1 \mathrm{~S}: 1 & \text { SEQ } & \text { throw-TR-3s } & \\ \text { come }\end{array}$
'I will climb up, catch (the crab) and throw it to you here (lit. hither).'
Mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun.
3: R hold.out down LOC hole-CST tree that
'Then he stretched down his arm inside the hole of the tree.'
However, these directional constructions appear seldom; almost always the verbal construction is preferred, in a clause-chaining pattern, ${ }^{152}$ for example na pa plan-i-a co sna 'I will throw it + it will come'. The only case in which Directionals are systematic, is in association with a couple of verbs like kla 'watch', or lpo 'try':

M̈ala mo kla ұ̈a mo lesi-a cam di.
Hawk 3: R watch go $3: \mathrm{R}$ see-3s yam ANA
'Hawk looked in front of him (lit. forward) and saw the piece of yam.'

[^90]Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.
1s:I try down 1s:I see-3s first
'Let me go (down?) and have a look at him (I'll be back soon)'
Notice also the 'prepositional' use of a directional in next sentence:
Mo m̈a mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia.
3:R come $3:$ R stay there $3:$ s say 3 S:I stay Tangoa down Elia
'As soon as it got there, it stopped, intending to settle between Tangoa and Elia.'
Finally, remember that some directional adverbs are used in the morphology of demonstratives, for example sivo-ni(n) 'down there', $\underline{\text { sa-su(n) }}$ 'up there' (§4.4.1 p.71).

### 6.2.1.3. Time adverbs and prepositions

Time adverbs include nanovi 'yesterday', hede/nahade 'today', paivuho 'tomorrow', ruai 'before', parahu 'afterwards', nredan 'sometimes', keskesi 'now', tade 'always'. The preposition lo 'in' also serves here.
<Lo Sande mo hese>, Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai ruai.
Loc Sunday 3: one Pastor Sope 3:R stay prg T. before
'On a Sunday, Pastor Sope was staying in TTI - a long time ago.'
Time clauses will be reviewed in our study of subordination: see §7.2.3 p.181.

### 6.2.1.4. Manner or modal adverbs and prepositions

Adverbs of manner and other semantic values include: vila 'fast', kodogo/pana 'maybe', sohena 'thus', pdogo 'only'. The noun-like preposition mara 'after, because of, for' is also very frequent, in addition to its use as a conjunction ('because'):

Na ${ }_{\text {m̈ara }}$ rai viha.
1s for cut tree
'I cut timber (as a job).' lit. I am for tree-cutting.
Om mece ${ }_{\text {mara }}$ no-m rueruen.
$2 s: R$ thanked because poss-2s help:Dup
'Thank you for your help.'
Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ... Hosu nam mana ro m̈ara-na.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ see-3s wavelets this $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh pRG because-3s
'I was watching the wavelets ... This is what I was laughing about.'
Remember also that the equivalent of English adverbs of manner are adjectives in the position of an adjunct (see $\S 5.5$ about serial verbs).

## Om haraho malum.

2 s : R crawl quiet
'You crawl so slowly!' (said to a hermit crab)

### 6.2.1.5. Dative, instrument and other oblique relations

More abstract relations are expressed through the prepositions [NLP] nida'with, towards (+human)', sa- ~ isa- 'with, to (+human)', ${ }^{153}$ and [VLP] pedesi'with', hini- ${ }^{154} \sim$ ini- ~ ni- ~ n- 'Dative, Instrument, Oblique'. Some of them are illustrated below:

Nam sov Ral nida-n Pen ro.
1 s : R wait R . with-CST B. PRG
'I am waiting for Ralph and Ben.'
Nanovi, nam uli-a leta mo sivo sa-n puá.
yesterday 1s:R write-3s letter 3R go.down to-CST Mum
'Yesterday, I wrote a letter to my mother.'

| Nam | vadai-ko ro ini-a. <br> 1s: tell-2s PRG <br> OBL-3s   |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

'I have told you about her.'
Ima nohosu

house that $\quad$| om vodo |
| :--- |
| $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ be.born |$\frac{\text { hini-a }}{\text { OBL-3s }}$

'There is the house you were born in.'
M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te $\frac{\text { ni-da. }}{\text { ner }}$
'Since that time, they have been hating (lit. looking bad at) each other.'
Kam kila ro m̈ara hin-re pogi o pa le m̈a Daki.
1EX:R look PRG because obl-some day 2S:I SEQ again come Araki
'We hope that one day, you will come back to Araki.'
When the context is obvious about the nature of the referent, relevant anaphoric adverbs are nia $\sim$ inia 'with it/about it'. Notice a possible translation with the verb 'use':

[^91]Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua ni-a.
3:R cut-3s paddle because 3s:I SEQ paddle OBL-3s
'He cut an oar in order to paddle with it.'
Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi ni-a co sa.
3s:I SEQ do-3s water 3 s :I wet-Tr-3s rope $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ climb obl-3s $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ go.up
'He will wet the rope with the water, so that he can use it to climb up (the tree).'
Finally, notice that instruments are very often introduced in a preceding clause by means of the verb vari 'take'. ${ }^{155}$ In the following clause, the instrument phrase is normally cross-referenced with an anaphoric adverb:

Mo vari-a hapasi via mo rai-a aka ini-a.
3:R hold-3s stem (taro) 3:R cut-3s canoe obl-3s
'(Rat) took the stem of a wild taro, and cut himself a canoe out of it.'

### 6.2.2. Oblique transitivity

Some verbs can be described as having oblique transitivity, since they are usually followed by an oblique (generally prepositional) complement. ${ }^{156}$ For instance, v̈alum 'to fight' takes an oblique argument, like in English:

Nam de na v̈alum p̈edesi-ko.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~S}: I$ fight with- 2 s
'I want to fight with you.'
The same occurs for lokodu 'be angry', which indicates its Beneficiary with a preposition: lokodu nida- or lokodu ni- 'be angry at (s.o.)'; and similarly, the verb vavere 'sing' needs the preposition $l o$ on its object:

Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ SEQ sing Loc song 3 : R one
'I would like to sing a song (lit. to sing in a song).'
There is a fair number of verbs which behave the same way, and mentioning them all would be a matter of lexicography rather than descriptive grammar.

[^92]
### 6.2.3. Ditransitivity and three-argument verbs

On the other hand, Araki does not normally allow for ditransitive verbs, that is, taking two direct objects as English I'll give you some money. In this case, one object is direct, while the other one takes an oblique case, therefore appearing outside the verb phrase. ${ }^{157}$ Verbs which are concerned by this rule include sile $\sim$ sle 'give', vse 'show', vadai 'tell'.

Interestingly, human referents have the priority for being the object of the verb. Generally, the human-priority rule implies that the verb is oriented towards (what English codes as) its Beneficiary, for example the person to whom s.th. is told or given; in this case, inanimate arguments are introduced by instrumental/oblique prepositions such as n(i)- ~ini-, lo:
[Nam vadai-ko ro] ini-a.
1s:R tell-2s pRG obl-3s
'I have told you about her.'
Nam dogo [na sile-ko] n-re presin.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ feel 1s:I give-2s obl-some present
'I feel like giving you a present.' (lit. favour you with a present)

```
Rasi-ku [mo sle naru-na] lo hanhan. brother-3s \(3: \mathrm{R}\) give child-3s LOC food
```

'My brother gave his child some food.'
But in some cases where the Patient is semantically human, it happens that it can take the priority over the Beneficiary, and be promoted to object position. In this case, the Beneficiary will be introduced by another preposition, like sa- ~ isa'with, to'. As a consequence, what is syntactically an object does not always match the same semantic case roles: for example -ko 'you' and naru-na 'his child' were Beneficiaries in the last two sentences, but they are Patients below:
[Na pa sle-ko] sa-n ram̈are co pa hani-ko! 1s:1 SEQ give-2s to-CST devil 3s:I SEQ eat-2s
'I will give you to a devil, who will devour you!'
Rasi-ku [mo sle naru-na] isa-n pira nohoni. brother-3s 3:R give child-3s to-CST woman that '(lit.) My brother gave his child to that woman.' (i.e., he got her pregnant)

[^93]
### 6.3. Negation

### 6.3.1. Basic syntax of negation

The general negation is a single morpheme ce, which is used in all negative sentences except imperative. ${ }^{158}$ It always comes at the beginning of the predicate phrase, following the subject clitic, in the same position as aspect markers. It can be combined to Realis or Irrealis mood:

Nam ce opo-i-da pada.
1s:R nEG like-Tr-3p spider
'I don't like spiders.'

| Co | ce | levse | ÿei-a. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1IN:I | NEG know | do-3s |  |

'We won't be able to do it.'
Remarkably, the use of negation triggers the presence of subject clitics, even when the affirmative sentence does not take them, that is, for non-verbal predicates. On the one hand, VP predicates just add the clitic ce to the affirmative sentence:

Mo v̈a lo ham̈ali.
3:R go LOC men's.house
'He went to the men's house.'
Mo ce v̈a lo ham̈ali.
3: R NEG go LOC men's.house
'He didn't go to the men's house.'
Conversely, direct predicates such as NPs need subject clitics only when they are negated:

V̈eral ne [̈̈eral hanhan].
banana this banana food
'This banana is for eating.'

'This banana is not for eating.'
A way to interpret this rule, would be to say that the presence of a negation provides the NP predicate with some modal value, which is typical of VP predicates; this is how NPPs transform into (so-called) 'VP predicates'. ${ }^{159}$

[^94]Notice also the next sentence, in which the third person clitic is used as a subject, while the predicate is a first person. In fact, the very same paradox appears in the English equivalent $\underline{I t}$ is (not) me:

| Mo | ce | na | hosun nam nak-i-a | racu ro. |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3: R$ | $N E G$ | $1 S$ | $R E L$ | $1 S: R$ | kill-TR-3S | man | PRG |

'It is not me who killed the man.'
This subject clitic would be impossible in an affirmative sentence (see §4.1.1.2).

### 6.3.2. Negative complex morphemes

The negation ce combines with other elements, for example aspect markers, to build complex negative morphemes. Some of them were already mentioned, and will be reviewed briefly here.

- Negation ce + aspect le ‘again’ $\rightarrow$ ce le 'no longer’ (§5.3.2.2):

Mo v̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo v̈a, mo ce le dogo otome.
3:R go 3:R hear voice-3P $3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ NEG again hear properly
'At first, they could hear their voices, but then they could not hear properly any more.'

- Negation ce + aspect mimisi ‘still’ $\rightarrow$ ce minisi 'not yet’ (§5.3.3):

Racu ne, mo ce misi rai-a.
man this 3: R NEG still cut-3s
'This man is not yet circumcised (lit. they have not cut him yet).'

- Negation ce + partitive re 'some' $\rightarrow$ 'not any'.

Nam ce les re rapala-ku.
$1 s:$ Reg see some friend-1s
'I did not see any friend of mine.'

- Negation ce + NP re hina 'some thing' $\rightarrow$ 'nothing'.

Nam sivo nam de dev̈edev̈e maci, nam ce var re hina.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ go.down $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ say pull:DUP fish $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ NEG hold some thing
'I went for fishing, but I didn't catch anything.'

- Negation ce + adverb n-re-dan 'on some day' $\rightarrow$ 'never'.

Mo ce usa n-re-dan.
3: R NEG rain OBL-some-day
'It never rains.'

The three latter combinations were explained and illustrated in §4.3.6.6 p.64 (Partitive re in negative contexts). They are narrowly related with the phrase mo ce re 'there is not (any)', which has grammaticised with a negative existential meaning; this phrase is being discussed below.

### 6.3.3. Negative existential and grammaticisation

The combination <negation ce + Verb + partitive re in object position>, had the frequent effect of implying the non-existence of this object:
Mo ce les re cau lo lep̈a.

3:R NEG see some coconut.crab loc ground
'They didn't see any coconut-crab on the ground.'
( $\rightarrow$ suggests that there is no such crab)
We have suggested that this particular use of re has resulted in an existential structure, in which re is the predicate head ('exist, be there'); ${ }^{160}$ this is visible from the position of aspect le:

Mo ce le re hina, nia hosun.
3: R NEG again exist thing 3 s that
'There is nothing (to say) any more, that's it.' [conclusive sentence]
In turn, the frequent sequence <ce re $+\mathrm{N}>$ was reinterpreted as - that is, grammaticised into - a complex predicate ce-re meaning 'do not exist, not be there':

Mo ce-re cau lo lep̈a.
3:R NEG-some coconut.crab LOC ground
'There is not any coconut-crab on the ground.'
If the object has a possessive marker, then the whole phrase corresponds to 'have not':

Niko mo ce-re monohi-m!
2s 3:R NEG-some brain-2S
'You have no brain!' (you stupid!) lit. 'You, (there) is not any brain of yours.'
Nko pa racu tilavono, co ce-re no-m hina.
2 s SEQ man poor $3 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ NEG-some poss-2s thing
'You will become a poor man, you will not have anything.'
Notice that the predicate ce re, like any VP-type predicate, is sensitive to mood (cf. co in last sentence) and aspect (cf. re 'Perfect' in next one):

[^95]Kesi racu mo roho ro kia, mo re ce-re no-no paua. now man 3:R stay PRG there 3:R PFT NEG-some POSS-3S force 'Nowadays some people live there, the (devil's) force has disappeared.'
Evidence for the rigidification of ce-re as being one single predicate, is precisely given by the position of some aspect markers before v . after the negation ce. ${ }^{161}$

### 6.3.4. Independent negation

When the object referred to is obvious from the context, the pronominal use of re is possible (§4.3.6.5):


The phrase mo ce re 'there is not any' has become the common word for 'no' (independent negation):

```
Na racu, niko mo-ce-re. 'I am a man, you are not.'
1s man 2s 3:R-NEG-some
```

This is very common at the end of yes/no questions:
Om re goro vo mo-ce-re? 'Have you slept or not?'
2s:R PFT sleep or 3:R-NEG-some
What prevents us from considering a complete grammaticisation/rigidification of these three words into one (> mocere 'no'), is its sensitivity to Irrealis modality:

| Co | pa | usa vo | co | ce-re? | ce |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ | SEQ reill it rain or not?' |  |  |  |  |

The only rigidification we have is probably that of ce+re > cere, in such a way that the independent negation should be best spelt mo cere 'no'.

As far as negation is concerned, many languages in Vanuatu have followed a path which is typologically quite common, consisting in the incorporation of the partitive quantifier (Araki re) into the negation itself; this is what happened with French pas (in ne ... pas), and also with morphemes of the very same origin as Araki re, within Vanuatu. ${ }^{162}$ Araki has not followed the same diachronic processes, and despite the diverse uses of re, none can be said to be directly negative; if this

[^96]were true, we would have something like *Nam ce re va or *Nam ce $\mathbf{\text { va re re }}$ 'I didn't go', which are both ungrammatical. Negation in Araki only consists of the morpheme ce, and its combination with re concerns exclusively

- the negative-existential predicate [mo ce-re +N ], in which re keeps playing its basic quantifying role;
- the independent negation [mo ce-re].


### 6.3.5. Negation and modality

Finally, negation has an interesting effect on the modality of dependent clauses, causing it to switch from Realis to Irrealis. ${ }^{163}$

We shall illustrate it with three slightly different sentences, which are (truthvalue) statements about a door being easy v . hard to open; they all consist of a main verb ede 'open', and a second clause which indicates whether this first action is easy (lit. holo 'good') or not. ${ }^{164}$

1. M̈arasala nene mo ede mo holo-ho. door this 3:R open 3:R good- $\mathbb{N} T$
'This door opens easily.' (lit. it opens [so that] it is easy)
Sentence 1 is affirmative, in such a way that both clauses belong to the same pragmatic/logical level. Their truth values necessarily go together, that is, if the whole statement is true, then both clauses are true too ('the door opens' + 'it is easy'). This is why both must take Realis modality.

A way to negate the latter statement, would be to add the negation to the second part of the sentence: 'the door opens' + 'it is not easy'. In logical terms, this second part is precisely what falls under the scope of the negation:
2. M̈arasala nene mo ede $\frac{\text { mo }}{3}$ CE holo-ho.
door this $3:$ R open $3:$ R NEG good-INT
'This door does not open easily.' (lit. opens [so that] it is not easy)
In this case, both clauses still respond to a truth value judgment: first, it-is-true-that the door opens; second, it-is-true-that it is not easy. Since both clauses have referential/epistemic values of their own, they still must take Realis modality.

But there is a second way to negate sentence 1 , that is applying the negation to the whole sentence. Although the whole meaning is roughly synonymous with sentence 2, the strategy is different: instead of saying 'it opens' + 'it is not easy',

[^97]what will be negated is the global notion of 'easy opening'. The consequence of this situation is that the first clause is Realis, but the second one must be Irrealis:
3. M̈arasala nene mo CE ede co holo-ho.
door this 3:R NEG open 3S:I good-NT
'This door does not open easily.' (lit. does NOT open [so that] it BE easy)
The reason for this mood switching is that both clauses cannot be on the same level with regard to truth value: if it is true that the door does not open, then the ease v. difficulty of this opening cannot be true itself, but is necessarily virtual. As a consequence, it wouldn't make sense to provide the second clause with a truth value, and with the pragmatic status of an assertion ('*the door doesn't open, and it is easy'). A better gloss of sentence 3 could be 'This door does not open-in-a-way-which-would-be-easy'. In other words, the Irrealis marker co implies that the second clause (co holo-ho) is subordinate to the main verb (ede).

Here is another pair of mood-switching sentences, which concerns (the equivalent of our) relative clauses:

Nam re lesi-a racu mo hese | mo levsei-a no-co sodo. 1s:R pFT see-3s man 3:R one 3:R know-3s poss-1N talk
'I have met a man who knows our language.'


Once again, the use of negation in the main clause causes the reference to become virtual, that is, non-referential (cf. re); as a consequence, the relative clause switches from Realis to Irrealis mood. These facts strongly recall data in Romance languages, which use subjunctive in subordinate clauses under the scope of a negation; ${ }^{165}$ for example French Je connais quelqu'un qui peut t'aider 'I know somebody who can [Indicative] help you' v. Je ne connais personne qui puisse t'aider 'I don't know anybody who can [Subjunctive] help you'.

These data confirm the strong link which exists, in Araki grammar, between negative sentences, and virtuality/non-specificity of the reference, whether an object or an event. ${ }^{166}$

[^98]
### 6.4. Sentence types

### 6.4.1. General remarks

Although the grammatical description we have been presenting focuses on assertive sentences, some remarks were made about other sentence types, such as orders and questions. Generally speaking, neither of these types involves any change in the order of constituents, contrary to what occurs in European languages; but they differ from assertive sentences on other regards, which will be detailed below.

Among general points, we underlined the affinity of these non-affirmative types of sentences with the non-referentiality of objects and events - the same way as for negative sentences in last paragraph. This explains why, contrary to affirmations, they are all compatible with partitive re:

Om re han re visiho sip mo iso?
$2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ PFT eat some meat sheep $3: \mathrm{R}$ finish
'Have you ever tasted mutton?'
No-ku ta, o vodo re paka-ku, re vina-ku.
poss-1s dad 2s:I make some bow-1s, some arrow-1s
'Dad, please make me a bow, make me some arrows.'
This affinity with non-referential reference is also striking in the next question. Contrary to the following assertion, the generic NP does not trigger necessarily the presence of transitivity suffixes on the verb (see p.139):

- Ruai, ham levsei inu ai v̈adug? before 2P:R know drink water hot
- Oo, kam̈am levsei inum-i-a ai v̈adug. yes lex:P know drink-TR-3s water hot
'In the olden days, did you use to drink tea? - Yes, we used to drink tea.'
However, both imperative and interrogative verbs do take these transitivity suffixes, whenever the object is referential and definite.

Other properties, more specific of each sentence-type, are detailed below.

### 6.4.2. Imperative sentences

All imperative sentences take Irrealis modality, by definition, since they refer to virtual events ( $\S 5.2 .1 .2$ ). The verb must be preceded by its subject clitic:

2S:1 help-TR-1s
'Help me!'

Except for prosody, all imperative sentences are thus formally identical with sentences expressing an intent or a near future (for example 'You should help me', 'you are going to help me'). Imperative sentences can have a subject different from a second person:

Nohosu co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a!
Dx3 3s:I bow.head Dx1 3s:I bow.head
'Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ...'
We have presented how the post-clitics ro 'Suggestive' and ra 'first' help form polite orders ( $\S 5.3 .8 .2$ p.128):

0 sov ro m̈akomono!
2s:I wait SUG a.bit
'Please wait a minute!'

## O m̈ap ra!

2s:1 rest first
'Before anything else, you should rest.'
A negative order does not use the ordinary negation ce, but the modal clitic kan 'Prohibitive':

O kan vari-a sule v̈ahasu, o vari-a nenen!
2s:I PROH hold-3s stone over.there $2 \mathrm{~s}:$ I hold-3s here
'Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one!'
With another person, the same kan means 'must not':
Na kan sa lo ima-na.
1s:I PROH go.up LOC house-3s
'I should not go/l am not supposed to go to his house.'
And the same morpheme corresponds to English 'lest/in order not to ${ }^{167}$ when the clause it belongs to depends from an action verb:

O kla ro co kan covi!
2s:I look sug 3s:I PROH fall
'Take care that he does not fall!'

### 6.4.3. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences can take either Realis or Irrealis modality. ${ }^{168}$ Yes/no questions are similar to the corresponding question, except for prosody:

[^99]Om re hanhan mo iso?
2s:R PFT eat 3:R finish
'Have you already had dinner?'
Quite often, the interrogation is marked by a final tag ... vo mo-ce-re? '... or not?' (§6.3.4):

Om re goro vo mo-ce-re?
2s:R PFT sleep or not
'Have you slept or not?'
The only restriction associated with questions concerns the adjectival suffix -ha 'Intensifier', which is normally possible only in assertions (§4.6.2):

Om holo (*-ho) ro? - Nam holo-ho ro.
2S:R good PRG 1s:R good-NT PRG
'Are you all right? - Yes, I'm fine.'
As far as Wh- questions are concerned, the interrogative words take the same slot as the word they replace:
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Naru-m mo visa? } \\ \text { child-2s } & \text { 3:R } & \text { Now.many }\end{array} \quad \begin{gathered}\text { Naru-ku mo dua. } \\ \text { child-1s }\end{gathered}$
'(lit.) You have how many children? - I have two.'
Om de se mo po-i-ko?
2s:R say who 3:R like-TR-2s
'Who do you think loves you?' lit. You think who loves you?
 'how many':

Nica co pa han re sa?
IIN 1IN:I SEQ eat some what
'What are we going to eat?'
Hica-m se?
name-2s who
'What (lit. Who) is your name?'
Co de co v̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa?
$1 \mathbb{N}:$ I say $1 \mathbb{N}: I$ go from-CST some place 2 S :I SEQ reach when
'Suppose we start racing from a point: when will you reach (the end)?'
Om ÿa lo ham̈ali vo om ta $\ddot{\mathbf{z}}$ ?
$2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ go LOC men's.house or $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ come where
'Have you been in the men's house, or what (lit. or where are you coming from)?'

In the last sentence, notice the frequent tag for Wh- questions: for example Did you go to this place, or where did you go?

The interrogative article ('what X, which') is sava, a longer form of sa. It comes before a noun, for example sava hina 'what thing':

O pa levsei lo dan hosu sava hina co pa m̈a isa-m.
2 s : I SEQ know LOC day that which thing $3 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ SEQ come to-2s
'You will know, on that very day, what kind of events will happen to you.'
Two interrogative words are derived from sa 'what', that is, sohe sa 'like what $\rightarrow$ how' and m̈ara sa 'because of what $\rightarrow$ why':

Na pa m̈are sohe sa?
1S:I SEQ dead like what
'How will I die?' (to an oracle)

## M̈ara sa om sadai ro lo tep?

 because what $2 \mathrm{~s}:$ : sit PRG LOC table 'Why are you sitting on the table?'Finally, our corpus apparently provides evidence of an interrogative verb of the form rodo ~ ro 'do what, be like what, be how':

Om ro ro?
2S:R do.what PRG
'What are you doing?' or 'How are you?'
Mo rodo?
3:R do.what
'What's going on?'
Interestingly, the latter phrase is used as an interrogative word for 'why, for what reason', as an alternative to m̈ara sa:

| Mo | ro | om | ce | opo-i | Joj? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3: R$ | do.what | 2s:R | NEG | like-TR | George |

## 7. Complex sentences

After this detailed description of single clauses, this chapter will present briefly the different ways in which clauses are linked together.

### 7.1. Coordination

Coordination as a clause-linker is far from being widespread in Araki: clause chaining is by far the preferred strategy. Nevertheless, some coordinators exist, whose meaning is more precise than just 'and'.

- The most frequent coordinator is pani ~ pan 'and, but', which usually carries an adversative meaning:

| Cam | ce | levse lesi-a, | pani nia | mo roho ro. |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbb{1 N}: \mathrm{R}$ | NEG | know see-3s | but | 3 S | $3: \mathrm{R}$ | stay | PRG |

'We are not able to see him [ghost], yet he is around.'
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Mo } & \text { hani-a } & \text { pani } & \text { cam } & \text { di } & \text { cam hahada. } \\ \text { 3: } \mathrm{R} & \text { eat-3s } & \text { but } & \text { yam } & \text { ANA } & \text { yam red }\end{array}$
'(The rat saw a piece of yam and) ate it. The trouble is, this yam was red yam.'

- The word for 'or' is voni $\sim$ von $\sim$ vo:


## Racu vo p̈ira? <br> man or woman

'(Is it) a boy or a girl?'
Mo m̈are vo mo maaudi ro?
3:R dead or 3:R live PRG
'Is he dead, or is he still alive?'
Co pa usa vo co ce-re?
3s:I SEQ rain or 3s:I NEG-some
'Will it be raining or not?'

- M̈ara 'because' can be said to have coordinating effects:

Siho mo m̈alokoloko m̈ara mo ce hanhan.
Kingfisher $3: \mathrm{R}$ exhausted because $3: \mathrm{R}$ NEG eat
'The Kingfisher was exhausted, because it had not eaten anything.'
Mo com̈i naivou-da m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro.
3:R regret wife-3p because 3P 3:R go $3: R$ GLOB $3: R$ dance $\operatorname{PRG}$
'They regretted their wives, because they had left to dance with (other men).'

- Frequent use is made of the Bislama coordinator ale (< Fr. allez). Possible meanings are 'OK; then; now; so; finally':

Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo mäa mo m̈a. 3: R put-TR-3s Loc head-3s then 3:R come 3:R come 'He stuck (the red flower) on his head, and then he came closer (to them).'

Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na. then Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down Loc deep.sea because-3s
'That is why Araki island decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'
Mo $\ddot{\text { va }}$ ro; ale p̈ra mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle v̈a. 3:R go PRG then woman 3:R one $3:$ s stay beyond cape go.away go 'So he went his way ... Now, there was a woman living beyond the cape.'
As far as coordination between NPs is concerned, there are three ways to translate English ' X and Y ', which have been detailed elsewhere. These are:

- the noun-like preposition nida- 'with' (§6.2.1);
- the comitative suffix -n(i), only with free pronouns (§4.1.1.3);
- the numeral rolu 'three $\rightarrow$ and', with personal pronouns (§4.5.4.7).


### 7.2. Subordination

Subordination exists in Araki, but it must be kept in mind that many English subordinate structures correspond to a simple pattern of clause chaining in Araki (that is, conjunction zero); whether the latter constructions must be called 'subordination' in this language deserves discussion (see §7.2.1.2, §7.3.2.3).

### 7.2.1. Relative clauses

A noun phrase can be modified by a relative clause. Thanks to this strategy, tracking the reference of a NP is done by recalling a property of the object which
has previously been assigned to it: for example English The house I bought last year gives the instruction to the hearer, to remember a house that has already been characterised, in a broader context, by such and such property.

Araki shows two kinds of relative clauses: one which is marked by a relativiser; the other which is not marked by any subordinating morpheme, and resorts only to clause chaining.

### 7.2.1.1. Relative clauses with a relativiser

The word which is used to build relative clauses is in fact the demonstrative ${ }^{169}$ of the third grade (no)(ho)su(n); since three affixes are optional, this makes many allomorphs for the relativiser - the most frequent being nohosu. For a demonstrative to be used as a relativiser is not rare typologically, cf. English that.

The demonstrative appears in its normal position within the NP (see §4.8), and is immediately followed by the subordinate clause. Inside this clause, the relativiser can be agreed upon by a third person subject (mo) or object (-a):

Va p̈ira mo dogo, p̈ira uluvo [hosun mo roho ro rav̈al cigo].
the woman 3:R hear woman young that 3:R stay PRG beyond cape
'He was heard by the woman, the young woman who (she) lived beyond the cape.'
The relativiser can refer to someone other than the third person. In the next sentence, notice that the subject clitic inside the relative clause (om 'thou') agrees with the antecedent of the relative (inko): thus we have a pattern like You are the one who (you) are clever instead of ... the one who is clever.

'Is it you, the one who (you) scolded me yesterday?'
Notice the possibility of pluralising the relative marker, by means of the plural clitic dai:

Dai [nohosu mo roho ro Naura-lap̈a] mo dogo leo-do ro.
PL that 3:R stay PRG Mainland 3:R hear voice-3P PRG
'Those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.'
Knowing that dai cannot be the head of the NP, the latter example suggests that the demonstrative-relativiser itself is the head, as is the case when a relative clause has no overt antecedent. This happens usually when reference is made to a generic set of people (for example those who, see last example) or to an inanimate notion, with no allusion to a specific noun (for example what I saw):

[^100]Mo sui-ha mo ceu [nohosu nam com̈com̈-i-a].
3: R strong- $\mathbb{N} T$ 3:R surpass that $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ think-TR-3s
'He is stronger than (lit. He is strong he surpasses) what I believed.'
It can also happen in the case of an elliptical phrase pointing to a noun already mentioned in the context - cf. English The one I saw instead of The woman I saw:

Mo levse posi-a naho dai p̈ira sohe [nosun om po-i-a ro]. 3:R know change-3s face PL woman like that $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ like-TR-3s PRG '(This devil) knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love.'
In all these sentences, notice that the relativiser is only coding for subordination, without bearing any case marking. Like in Arabic or many other languages, the syntactic function of the relativiser is normally indicated by a resumptive pronoun inside the clause (here the object suffix -a): what we have is literally stronger than that I believed it, that is, 'stronger than what I believed'.

Conversely, it happens sometimes that the antecedent is not resumed in the relative clause, so that its function must be guessed from the context. This is especially true when the function of the relativiser inside the subordinate clause is oblique:

| Ima | [nohosu | nam | vodo | ro] | mo re | re |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house | that | IS:R be.born | PRG | 3:R | PFT | burnt |

### 7.2.1.2. Relative clauses without a relativiser

The evidence shown in the last paragraph reveals how a demonstrative word can be used as a relative marker. However, it would be misleading to consider that such a relativiser maps exactly our own relative structures. In fact, many relative clauses in Araki do not resort to any subordinating marker, but use clause chaining instead:

| Nam | de | na | tovo | leta | [nam | vari-a]. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s:R | say | $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ |  |  |  |  |
| read | letter | 1s:R | hold-3s |  |  |  |

'(lit.) I am going to read the letter I received it.'
Nam poe ima [m̈arasala-da mo raha lap̈a].
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ like house door-3p 3:R Resul big
'(lit.) I like houses their doors are big.'
By definition, this kind of non-overt subordination is hard to distinguish from a plain case of same-level clause chaining, which is very common in Araki (§7.3):

Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi | mo si | mo colo.
3: R kill outright the woman that $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down 3:R drown
'He killed outright that woman, who/she sank down.'

| Mo dogo | hav̈e mo | hese $\mid$ | mo roho kia lolo-n | viha hosun. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3:R hear crab | 3:R | one | $3: \mathrm{R}$ stay there | inside-CST | tree that |

Of course, English translation is not a sufficient argument to say there is or there is not a subordination; but we claim that it is possible to identify relative clauses through its linguistic effects at a larger scale than the whole sentence, that is, discourse consistency and topic continuity. To our view, a clause is a relative clause if it can be shown that:

- its topic does not affect the topic continuity occurring immediately before and after it;
- it does not provide any new information, but is only there to recall some background predication;
- its aim is to help track back the reference of a NP, which is involved in another (adjacent) clause itself.

This pragmatic definition of subordination - especially relative clauses - may be difficult to observe in speech, but it is strongly suggested by the very data, together with our typological investigations; ${ }^{170}$ moreover, a study on prosodic strategies should be able to confirm the first intuitions.

Notice that our first example above satisfies our definition: the speaker is not making two statements on the same level ('I'm going to read a letter, and I received it'), but recalling a piece of background information ('I received a letter'), which is supposed to be already known by the addressee, in order to help track the reference of an element inside the main, foreground clause. Another example of relative clause without a relativiser is given below; notice that it refers again to a background predication ('you caught a fish this afternoon'):

| Mo | ce | maci | ne | [nam | dev̈e], | nia v̈ahasu. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3:R | NEG fish | here | $1 S: R$ | pull | 3 s over.there |  |

'It is not this fish which I caught (lit. not this fish I caught it), ${ }^{171}$ it is that one.'

[^101]Conversely, the next sentence shows no subordination, since both clauses belong to the same level of (foreground) information in the discourse: it must be analysed as a simple case of clause chaining. As a consequence, nosun is not the relativiser (*'the place which people live in'), but a demonstrative:

Kesi cada nosun | racu mo roho kia, | mo re ce re no-no paua. now place that man 3:R stay there 3:R PFT NEG some poss-3s power 'Nowadays, that place is inhabited, it has lost all of his (the devil's) power.'

### 7.2.2. Conditional systems

A case was left apart in our study of modality ( $\S 5.2$ ), that is the behaviour of conditional sentences with regard to mood-marking. The first idea that comes to mind, is that all conditional systems, since they refer to virtual events, should be coded as Irrealis. In fact, we will see that this is true only of some sentences, while for other kinds of hypotheses, Realis mood is required.

Three markers are used for conditional sentences, corresponding to English 'if': vada, aru, co de. According to our corpus, only co de is incompatible with Realis mood, whereas vada can take both moods. These three hypothetical markers differ slightly in meaning, as is explained below. We will also discuss the use of napdogo 'even if' (concessive conditional).

### 7.2.2.1. The conditional conjunction co de 'suppose, if'

Co de is again a new instance of the verb 'say', which is concerned by many syntactic issues in Araki. ${ }^{172}$ If co is the Third singular (Irrealis) pronoun, then co de would be difficult to translate - lit. 'let him say that'; but it is more probably the First inclusive plural Irrealis pronoun (' $1 \mathbb{N}: \mathbf{I}$ '), referring to the speaker and his addressee. In this case, co de has to be understood as 'let us say that' $\rightarrow$ ' if', in a very similar way to English (let's) suppose:

```
Co de na シ̈a, ram̈are co pa hani-á.
\(1 \mathbb{N}: 1\) say \(1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}\) go devil 3s:I seQ eat-1s
```

'Suppose I go there (lit. Let's say that I shall go), I will be devoured by a devil!'
All our examples of co de are with an Irrealis verb in both clauses, which is not surprising since co de itself contains Irrealis mood. Semantically speaking, this conditional conjunction can express two kinds of hypotheses. It can refer to a possible situation in the future:

[^102]Co de $\underline{o}$ rag $\underline{\text { co }}$ iso, $\underline{o}$ pa hanhan.
1N:I say $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ weep $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ finish $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1 \mathrm{I}$ SEQ eat
'If/When you finish crying, you will have your dinner.'
or it can present a Counterfactual hypothesis about the present:
Co de na m̈aci, na pa avu.
lin:I say is bird ls:I seQ fly
'If I were a bird, I would fly.'
This ambiguity suggests that the difference between possible hypothesis and counterfactual, contrary to many other languages, is not really grammaticised in Araki.

### 7.2.2.2. The conditional conjunction aru 'if'

Aru occurs in our corpus only with Realis mood in the conditional clause. Like co de, it can refer either to a possible hypothesis:

Aru mo usa, co pa re ai.
if $3: \mathrm{R}$ rain $3: \mathrm{R}$ SEQ some/exist water
'If it rains [next week], we will have water.'
or to a counterfactual situation in the past:
Aru mo usa, mo pa re ai.
if $3: \mathrm{R}$ rain $3: \mathrm{R}$ SEQ some/exist water
'If it had rained [last week], we would have water.'
Interestingly, the semantic difference between both sentences is not coded by a modal change on the conditional clause, but on the main clause. It is paradoxical to have a Realis marker (mo) in a clause referring to a counterfactual, which is by definition disconnected from the real world. The right interpretation is suggested by the conjunction aru, which shows the whole clause to be hypothetical, in such a way that the only function of Realis mo in the main clause, is to indicate that the hypothesis takes place in the past, not in the future; the counterfactual sense is a logical consequence of this combination. ${ }^{173}$

On the other hand, notice the possibility to find the verb-conjunction de following the conjunction aru: instead of Aru mo usa, we could have Aru mo de mo usa, with the same meaning(s) 'if it rains/had rained'.

[^103]
### 7.2.2.3. The conditional conjunction vada 'when; if'

Vada is a common subordinator ${ }^{174}$ in Araki, probably deriving etymologically from the same root as vadai 'say, tell'. When used in a topic clause, vada is most often associated to Realis mood. It can refer either to a single event in the past (English 'when'), to a generic event in the global situation (English 'whenever'), or to a possible event in the future (English 'when', 'if', 'in case').

Vada mo tapulo usa ro, co mule. when $3: R$ start rain PRG 3S:I go.home 'When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.'

## Nanaru-ku mo avulai miara vada mo usa. <br> children-1S 3:R glad because when 3:R rain

'My children enjoy the rain (lit. They are glad because + when it rains).'
Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lapa, o levse sa kia. when $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ like-Tr-3s 2 s :I say $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{I}$ SEQ man-big $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ know go.up there 'Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there [and ask the oracle].'
With the same conditional meaning - possible hypothesis on the future - vada is also compatible with Irrealis:

Rav̈alu wik, vada lag co losu, co pa usa. beyond week when wind $3 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ (tempest) $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ rain
'Next week, if there is a hurricane, it will rain.'
Observe the same sentence without vada:
Rav̈alu wik, lag co losu, $\underline{\text { co }}$ pa usa.
beyond week wind 3S:I (tempest) 3S:I SEQ rain
'Next week, there will be a hurricane, and it will rain.'
The next example interestingly combines the two conjunctions vada and co de, in two embedded hypotheses:

VADA $\underline{o}$ vari-a hadiv ro sivo $\underline{o}$ plan-i-a lo rasi, when 2 s :I hold-3s rat SUG down 2 s :I throw-TR-3s loc sea

CO DE re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di, 1 N :I say some octopus $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ stay PRG straight LoC place ANA
( lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a. $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ see-3s octopus $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ go.up there $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ seize-Tr-3s $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ hold-3s
'Suppose you throw a rat into the sea: if there is an octopus right in the same place, you will see the octopus jump to it, seize it and shake it ...'

[^104]
### 7.2.2.4. The concessive conditional napdogo vada 'even if'

Finally, the combination of <napdogo 'although' (+ vada 'when') + Irrealis> codes for a concessive conditional.

Napdogo (vada) co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈audu. although when $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ rain ECON-2s taro $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ NEG know live
'Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly.'
The marking of modality in the latter sentence can be compared with the next one, in which < napdogo + Realis > code for a concessive (non-conditional) clause:

'Although it rained/it is raining, my taro is not growing.'
The distribution of Irrealis v. Realis moods here are consistent with the semantic status of the event: with Irrealis, the rain is only a future possibility; but with Realis mood, it is an actual event which has already happened. ${ }^{175}$

### 7.2.2.5. Summary: condition and modality

In Table 7-49, we sum up the syntactic behaviour of these four conditional conjunctions, with regard to modality: some are attested only with one mood, others with both Realis or Irrealis, with no obvious explanation. The two columns on the right show that the opposition between counterfactual hypothesis (for example 'If I went'had been there') and future-possible conditional (for example 'If I go there') is not grammaticised in Araki; or at least, this semantic contrast does not match systematically the morphological split between Realis and Irrealis.

Table 7-49 Conditionals and modality: summary

|  | + Realis | + Irrealis | counterfactual | possible event |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| co de | - | 'if' | + | + |
| aru | 'if' | - | + | + |
| vada | 'if' | 'if' | - | + |
| napdogo | 'although' | 'even if' | - | + |

[^105]
### 7.2.2.6. Brief note on pa 'Sequential'

Finally, we have not yet underlined the following fact, although it is quite visible in most of the sentences we have just been mentioning. In conditional sentences of Araki, not only the protatic clause is marked with a conjunction, but the apodosis also shows very often a specific marker, that is, aspectual pa:

```
Aru mo usa, mo PA re
ai.
if 3:R rain 3:R SEQ some/exist water
'If it had rained, we would have water.'
```

Co de o rag co iso, o PA hanhan.
$1 \mathrm{~N}: 1$ say $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ weep 3 s :I finish $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ eat
'If/When you finish crying, you will have your dinner.'
This particle pa, glossed SEQ 'Sequential', indicates a necessary relationship, either logical or temporal, between two events. ${ }^{176}$ According to this definition, it is easy to understand why this aspect particle pa appears so often - though not always - on the apodosis of a conditional system: in the implication 'if $P$, then $Q$ ', Q is the consequence of P , following what is usually a relationship of necessity. ${ }^{177}$

### 7.2.3. Time clauses

Time relations between two clauses most often resort to clause chaining, especially in the case of a simple succession between events.

Nam lahi, dan mo lim̈a mo iso lag mo (pa) losu.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ marry day $3: \mathrm{R}$ five $3: \mathrm{R}$ finish wind $3: \mathrm{R}$ SEQ (tempest)
'Five days after I married, there was a hurricane.'
(lit. 'I married, days were five it finished, the wind made a hurricane')
Very often, the time relationships between two clauses are underlined by the timefocus marker pa (§5.3.5), without any other marking of subordination:

Na pa sna, co re usa.
1s:I SEQ come 3s:I PFT rain
'(When) I come back, it will have rained.'
When the speaker wants to refer to some time in the past, one possible strategy is to use a prepositional phrase plus a relative clause, similar to English at the time

[^106]we were there ... In this case, the pivot word is dani 'day', with a generic meaning referring to any period of time: ${ }^{178}$

Mo vari-a nunu lo dani no-m̈am ta mo pa mis mazadu ro.
3: R take-3S shadow Loc day POSS-1EX dad 3:R SEQ still live PRG
'He took the photo at the time our father was still alive.'
When-clauses which have a generic or hypothetical meaning (that is, 'when, whenever, if') usually take the same form as conditionals, with the conjunction vada (§7.2.2.3):

```
Vada mo tapulo usa ro, co mule.
when 3:R start rain PRG 3s:I go.home
```

'When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.'
We may also mention the subordinating use of tade 'every' (§4.5.5.2), to mean 'every time, whenever':

Tade mo usa, mada vadidi mo avulai.
every $3: R$ rain PERS small $3: R$ cheerful
'Every time it rains, the children are happy.'
The same sense can apparently be coded by the verb-conjunction de (§7.2.5.2). Observe the following sentence:

## Rasi mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo lulu. sea $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $3: \mathrm{R}$ come $3: \mathrm{R}$ hit-TR-3S $3: \mathrm{R}$ change $3: \mathrm{R}$ black $3: \mathrm{R}$ white

'Every time the waves hit him (Octopus), he would change from black to white.' lit. The sea wanted to come and hit him, he changed ...
In a rather strange but interesting way, the verb de 'say, want' has sort of grammaticised into a time conjunction. The cognitive assimilation involved here lies between, on the one hand, the virtuality of a subject's will, and on the other hand, the virtuality of an action being repeated several times. ${ }^{179}$ This iterative meaning is then combined with a clause-chaining strategy, and results in a subordinating function.

[^107]
### 7.2.4. Sentential objects

There are two types of verbs which are normally followed by a clausal object.

- 'implicative' verbs (for example vadai 'say that', levsei 'know that', lesi 'see that' ...) are normally followed by a Realis clause;
- 'non-implicative' verbs (for example vadai 'tell [s.o. to do]', poe 'want', sovi 'wait for [s.th. to happen]') are followed by an IRREALIS clause. ${ }^{180}$
Except for the marking of modality, the subordinating strategies are similar between these two sets of verbs. Here they are summarised:
- Simple clause chaining, without any subordinating morpheme:

| Vida | haviha | nam | levsei-a | $<$ mo | hada>. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| flower | Syzygium | $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ | know-3s | $3: \mathrm{R}$ | red |

'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.'
Realis
$\begin{array}{lclll}\text { Nam dogo } & \text { <na } & \text { sile-ko } & \text { n-re } & \text { presin>. } \\ 1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R} \text { feel } & 1 \mathrm{~S}: 1 & \text { give-2s } & \text { OBL-some } & \text { present }\end{array}$ 'I feel like giving you a present.'

IRREALIS
0 vadai-a <co roho m̈alum>!
2s:I tell-3s 3s:I stay quiet
'Tell him to keep quiet!'
IRREALIS

- Use of the subordinator m̈ara ('because'):
$\begin{array}{lllllllllll}\text { Kam } & \text { kila } & \text { ro } & <\ddot{\text { mara }} & \text { n-re } & \text { pogi } & \text { o } & \text { pa } & \text { le } & \text { ma } & \text { Daki>. }\end{array}$ 'We hope that one day, you will come back to Araki.'

IRREALIS

- Use of the subordinator vada ('if, when ...'):

Mo v̈ei-a v̈a <vada uluvo mo le smat>.
3:R do-3s go when young 3:R again smart REALIS
'He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.'
Kam poe-i-a <vada vulu-m̈am co hada sohe-na>!
1EX:R like-TR-3s when hair-1EX 3s:I red like-3s
'We want our hair to be red like that!'
IRrealis

# Nam sovi naivou-ku ro <vada co sle naru-na lo hanhan>. $1 \mathrm{~s}:$ R wait wife-3s PRG when 3s:1 give child-3s obl food 'I am waiting for my wife to feed the children.' Irrealis 

- Use of the verb-conjunction de ('say' ...). This morpheme is so important in Araki, that it deserves being studied on its own: examples of sentential objects introduced by de are presented in the next paragraph.


### 7.2.5. The verb-conjunction de

There are several reasons for dedicating a whole paragraph to the word de. First, it is the second most frequent word in Araki; ${ }^{181}$ second, the variety of its lexical meanings as a verb ('say, mean, want, etc.') is impressing; ${ }^{182}$ third, many types of subordinate structures use de as their conjunction, in a construction which is rare typologically.

### 7.2.5.1. Presentation of $d e$

That a verb meaning 'say' extends its use until it becomes a complementiser, is quite a common process among languages; this grammaticisation pattern is witnessed in Bislama se (<English say), which has calqued corresponding structures in several Melanesian languages, thus undertaking several subordinating functions. However, a more original feature of Araki de, is that this verb continues to behave as an ordinary verb synchronically, at the very same time as it takes the function of a complementiser. ${ }^{183}$

This does not only imply that de is sometimes a verb ('say, think, want ...') and sometimes a conjunction ('that'). It also means that de behaves syntactically like any verb, even when it is used as a subordinator: that is, it is systematically preceded by a subject clitic, which varies in person and modality. ${ }^{184}$ An appropriate tag for this word would be 'conjugated complementiser'.

[^108]
### 7.2.5.2. Subordinating uses of de

That de be the second verb in a clause-chaining pattern does not necessarily imply that it is a subordinator. If the preceding verb is neither a verb of utterance nor a volitional/manipulative verb taking a sentential object, then de must be understood with (one of) its verbal meaning(s):

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Nam dogo } \begin{array}{lllllll}
\text { leo-m | } & \text { nam de pana re racu } & \text { de } \\
\text { ls: } & \text { hear } & \text { voice- } 2 \mathrm{~s} & \text { IS:R } & \text { say maybe some man } & \text { handsome } \\
\text { 'When I heard your voice, } I \text { thought this was some nice man.' }
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
$$

But de behaves as a subordinator when it follows certain types of verbs which take sentential objects. The structure of the whole sentence is always the same as in Table 7-50. Almost systematically, Subject ${ }_{2}$ agrees in person and mood with Subject ${ }_{1}$; as for the modality on the following clause, it may be Realis or Irrealis, according to the semantics of Verb 1 ( $(7.2 .4$ ).

Table 7-50 Syntax of the verb de 'say' used as a complementiser


Here comes a list of the different verbal contexts in which de can be used this way. Notice that when Verb ${ }_{1}$ is de used as a verb ('say', 'think', 'want' ...), this construction is impossible: that is, we never have *Nam de ${ }_{1}$ nam de $e_{2}$ na in 'I want ( $\mathrm{de}_{1}$ ) that ( $\mathrm{de}_{2}$ ) I drink' In this case, the construction is always a direct one (§5.2.2.3).

## * Utterance verb + de + reported speech:

Verbs of utterance include sodo 'talk', vadai 'tell', rigo 'ask', rov 'call', ulo 'shout', vavere 'sing'. De introduces the reported speech, direct or indirect:

Kam vadai-a ni-a kam de "O polo re hap lap̈a!"
1ex:R tell-3s obl-3s lex:R say 2s:1 light some fire big
'Then we told him "Light a big fire!"'
Va maaci mo le vavere mo de "Tata mae ha vitia hinia"
the bird $3: \mathrm{R}$ again sing $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ say (... song ...)
'The birds went on singing "Tata mae ha vitia hinia"'

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'In Araki, this devil is called "Asvohinao"'.

Cognition verb $+\mathbf{d e}+$ Realis object clause:
Cognition verbs include com̈com̈ 'think', levsei 'know', dogo 'feel/hear', lesi 'see'.

| Nam |  | nam | mo ce suiha |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | think-TR-3s | 1s:R | 3:R NEG |

'I thought (that) he was not strong.'
Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo hani-a.
3:R know-3s 3:R say devil 3:R eat-3s
'He understood that the devil had devoured (his fellow).'
Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu.
Rat $\quad 3: R$ feel $\quad 3: R$ say $3: R$ afraid
'The rat felt (that he was) frightened.'

```
* Volitional verb + de + Irrealis object clause:
```

Volitional verbs include dogo 'feel like', poe 'like, want':
Vinano nida mo poe mo de ha v̈elesi-a m̈audi-da.
stranger 3p 3:R like 3:R say 3P:I try-3s life-3p
'The strangers want to test their destiny.'
Remarkably, the modality associated with de, which should agree with that of the main verb, is sometimes 'attracted' to the Irrealis mood of the following clause. ${ }^{185}$ For instance, these two sentences have $\mathbf{o}$ ( $2 \mathrm{SG}: \mathbb{R R}$ ) and co (3SG:IRR), instead of the expected Realis forms om (2SG:REA) and mo (3sG:REA) respectively.

Om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu lapa?
2s:R like-TR-3s $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ say $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ SEQ man big
'Do you want to become an important person?'

[^109]Ta mo ce opo-i-a co de na v̈a.
Dad 3:R NEG like-TR-3s 3s:I say 1s:I go
'Dad does not want me to go out.'

* Manipulative verb + de + Irrealis object clause:
 make': ${ }^{186}$

Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im!
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ tell $2 \mathrm{P} \quad 1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $2 \mathrm{P}: 1$ go wash hand-2p
'I told you to go and wash your hands!'
Mo veelesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a, mo ce levse nak-i-a nredan. 3:R do-see-3s 3:R say 3P:I kill-TR-3S 3:R NEG know kill-TR-3S sometimes 'They try to kill him, but they never succeed.'
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Nam de } & \text { na } & \text { vei-a } & \text { na } & \text { de } & \text { nko } & \text { hani-a } & \text { ha-m } & \text { hina! } \\ \text { 1s:R say } & 1 \mathrm{~s}: 1 & \text { do-3s } & \text { 1s:I say } & 2 \mathrm{~s} & 2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I} & \text { eat-3s } & \text { FOOD-2s } & \text { thing }\end{array}$
'I want to have you eat your dinner!'

* Action verb + de + Irrealis purpose clause:

Nam lug-i-a lim̈a-ku nam de na v̈alum isa-m.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ clenching-TR-3s hand-1s $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ fight with- 2 s
'I am clenching my fists (because I want) to fight with you.'
Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3p:I seek:DUP (crab) 'Two men went to Rahuna (intending) to look for coconut crabs.'

Mo ran-i-á mo de na covi.
3:R push-Tr-1S 3:R say 1S:I fall
'He pushed me to make me fall down.'

## * Other subordinating uses

Apart from these uses of de as a complementiser for utterance-cognitivemanipulative verbs, some other subordinating effects have been acknowledged for the same morpheme. This concerns the following structures:

- hypothetical clauses with co de 'let’s say $\rightarrow$ if' (§7.2.2.1):


## Co de na magci, na pa avu.

$1 \mathbb{N}: 1$ say is bird 1s:I SEQ fly
'If I were a bird, I would fly.'

- combination of de with the conditional conjunction aru 'if' (§7.2.2.2):

| Aru mo de | mo usa, mo pa | re | ai. |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if | $3: R$ | say | $3: R$ | rain | $3: R$ | SEQ some/exist water | 'If it had rained, we would have water.'

- combination of de with the time subordinator vada 'when' (§7.2.2.3) $\rightarrow$ vada mo de 'whenever':
Viha hosun, vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo ...
tree that when $3: R$ say
3:R rain drop-3s
'Whenever it would rain, drops would fall down from this tree $\ldots$...'
- use of (mo) de as a time subordinator 'whenever’ (§7.2.3):

Rasi mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo lulu. sea $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $3: \mathrm{R}$ come $3: \mathrm{R}$ hit-TR-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ change $3: \mathrm{R}$ black $3: \mathrm{R}$ white 'Every time the waves hit him (Octopus), he would change from black to white.' lit. The sea wanted to come and hit him, he changed ...

### 7.2.5.3. Conclusion about de

From the abundant evidence above, it is obvious that Araki has developed an original structure in which a verb, though always behaving morphologically as a verb, has undertaken all the functions of a complementiser, and even more. The verb-conjunction de, despite keeping its basic meaning as a verb of utterance ('say'), has extended its use in both directions:

- from the semantic point of view, the relation between a speaker and his speech (for example 'he said X') was extended to any relation between a subject and his mental representation of an event (for example 'he thought X , he wanted X , he tried to $\mathrm{X}^{\prime}$ )
- from the syntactic point of view, the verbal status of de, which is still perfectly alive in synchrony, has been extended to the status of a general
linker (subordinator) between any cognition/manipulation verb ${ }^{187}$ and its target clause.

In a way typical of Araki clause-chaining strategies, the equivalent of what is coded in English as a single verbal relation (for example 'I know it is late.') is analysed here into two different verb phrases (lit. 'I know I say it is late'), with a systematic mood-and-person agreement between both subjects.

### 7.3. Clause chaining

### 7.3.1. Definition of clause chaining

Several times throughout this grammar description of Araki, it has been acknowledged what crucial role is being played, in the construction of sentences and discourse, by strategies of clause chaining. Not only is this device more developed, as a clause linker, than coordination or subordination; but it can even be recognised within the limits of what used to be a series of clauses, but is now a single one.

We define clause chaining as the combination of at least two clauses ( $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ ), without any coordinator, subordinator, or any other kind of overt link between them. On prosodic criteria, no pause is audible at their boundary, at least no such pause as between two autonomous sentences. Contrary to verb serialisation ( $\$ 5.5$ ), every verb must be preceded by its own subject clitic, ${ }^{188}$ whether or not it refers to the same subject as the preceding verb.

A sentence like this one is perfectly common in Araki speech:
Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. man 3:R hold-3s stone 3:R throw-Tr-3s 3:R go.up 3:R fall 3:R go.down 'A man takes a stone and throws it (so that it goes) up and falls down (again).'
Notice the ambiguity of this sentence: only the context makes it clear that what falls down is actually the stone, not the man. The high frequency of such clause-

[^110]chaining constructions makes this clitic mo (Third person Realis, singular or plural) by far the word most frequently met in actual discourse. ${ }^{189}$

### 7.3.2. Typology of interclausal relations in clause chaining

Despite the very high frequency of clause chaining in Araki - it is hard to find a sentence with only one clause - it is possible to set up a typology of interclausal relations involved in this pattern. All the illustrative sentences below are taken from our oral literature corpus, and do not proceed from elicitation; thus they reflect the most spontaneous speech. Our whole corpus was carefully scanned to build this typology, in such a way that we claim it to be comprehensive, as much as it can be.

### 7.3.2.1. Syntactic and semantic symmetry

At first sight, clause chaining consists in putting together elements on the same level, both from the syntactic and semantic viewpoints, just like in the case of coordination. In fact, this is only true for certain cases of chaining, but not for all; we will examine first those patterns which are symmetrical.

## * Time succession and consequence

The simplest pattern of clause chaining is a time succession, that is, when the event coded by $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ is followed by that of $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ in the real world: the order of the clauses is an obvious case of iconicity ${ }^{190}$ between reality and its linguistic coding. This can correspond to a series of actions performed by the same subject:

| Mo | vari-a | levu | di | mo huden-i-a | lo vipue \| |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3:R | hold-3S | breadfruit ANA | 3:R put.in-TR-3S | LOC bamboo |  |
| mo | run-i-a | \|. mo vari-a | mo hani-a. |  |  |

'They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo, cook it, (and finally) they take it and eat it.'
or to a succession of actions with different subjects:

[^111]Mo nak pilai va p̈ra honi | mo si | mo colo. 3: hit outright the woman that 3:R go.down 3:R sink 'He hit outright that woman, who fell down and sank (in the sea).'

Quite often, $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is not just posterior to $\mathrm{C}_{1}$, but is a consequence of it. Consider last example, and also:

Nam lito-vi-a | mo le mle.
1S:R spit-TR-3S 3:R again go.back
'I insulted him (in such a way that) he went away.'

## * Two phases of a single complex action

What we have just mentioned above are series of distinct events. But clausechaining sequences often consist in the analysis of (what can be viewed as) one single event, ${ }^{191}$ which is being split into two or more of its facets. For example, the next sentence distinguishes the act of watching and that of seeing:

P̈ra mo le sihir| mo si | mo kla si | mo lesi-a.
woman 3:R again run $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down $3: \mathrm{R}$ watch down $3: \mathrm{R}$ see-TR
'Once again, the woman ran down, (watched) and saw him.'
With two distinct subjects, the act of killing (nak 'hit/kill') ${ }^{192}$ and dying (mare) are often distributed into two adjacent clauses:
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Racu nohosu, } & \text { ha } & \text { pa nak-i-a } & \text { co } & \text { mare. } \\ \text { man } & \text { that } & \text { 3P:I } & \text { SEQ kill-TR-3s } & \text { 3s:I die }\end{array}$
'That man will be killed. (lit. They will kill him he will die.)'
A typical case when a single event is being split into its facets, is when the valency of a single verb is too low to receive too many arguments at a time, or when functional constraints such as information hierarchy makes it awkward to concentrate all elements within one single clause. ${ }^{193}$ A very frequent strategy is to introduce one of these arguments - either an object or an instrument - in a preceding clause $\mathrm{C}_{1}$, by means of the verb vari 'take'. ${ }^{194}$ In this case, the object of vari is normally cross-referenced, in the next clause, as the object or as an instrument:

[^112]Mo vari-a hapasi via | mo rai-a aka ini-a (...)
3:R take-3S stem (taro) 3:R cut-3s canoe obl-3s
mo vari-a mo sua | mo v̈a.
3:R take-3S 3:R paddle 3:R go
'He took a stem of wild taro, and cut a canoe out of it ( ... )
Then he went to paddle with it [the canoe].' (lit. He took it he paddled)
In some cases, the multi-event interpretation (that is, $X$ took $Y$ and then ...) is not only awkward, but semantically impossible:

Mo vari-a pisu-na| mo huden-i-a | mo sivo lo hap̈asi via.
3: R take-3s finger-3s 3:R put-TR-3s 3:R go.down Loc stem (taro)
'(Hawk) clenched his claws into the taro stem.'
(lit. he took his claws and put them into ...)
And a very common pattern, both in Araki and typologically, is when the same verb 'take' is associated to a verb of movement, to translate such ideas as to 'bring' ( $X$ takes $Y+X$ comes) or 'take away' ( $X$ takes $Y+X$ goes):

Ha vari-a | ha ma!
2P:I take-3s 2P:I come
'Bring it here!' (lit. Take it and come!)

## \% Simultaneity of two events

Several instances of clause chaining do not refer to a series of successive events, but to actions which are performed simultaneously. In this case, the order $\mathrm{C}_{1}-\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is not iconic of time succession, but rather follows rules of discourse strategy (pragmatics, information structure):

Nam dogo leo-m | nam dogo mo holo-ho.
1S:R feel voice-2S 1S:R feel 3:R good-NT
'(While) I was hearing your voice, I was feeling so good!'

| Mo | vavere | mo | sua | mo | va | ro. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3: R$ | sing | $3: R$ | paddle | $3: R$ | go | PRG |

'He was singing and paddling at the same time.'

### 7.3.2.2. Syntactic symmetry, semantic asymmetry

Many cases of chaining $\mathrm{C}_{1}-\mathrm{C}_{2}$ can still be analysed, from the syntactic point of view, as a sequence of two same-level clauses - that is, they share the same modality, the same truth value, generally the same subject. But semantically/pragmatically speaking, such patterns present a rather strong asymmetry, for example because only one of these two clauses (generally $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ ) clearly provides the main
information, while the other $\left(\mathrm{C}_{2}\right)$ is little more than a comment about this main clause.

More than in the preceding paragraph, the twofold structures involved here systematically refer to single events, and almost always correspond to singleclause sentences in European languages. Thus in English, the information given by Araki $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ will be coded by an adverb, a prepositional clause, or some other clauseinternal element.

## * Commenting on an action

$\mathrm{C}_{2}$ can indicate the manner in which $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ is being performed. This case recalls that of simultaneous actions, although what is involved here are stative rather than active verbs.

Nam suiha | nam ceu-ko.
$1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ strong $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ surpass-2s
'I am stronger than you.' lit. I am strong I beat you.
This structure is particularly usual with the adjective holo(-ho) 'good', which has an intensifying effect on the preceding clause. ${ }^{195}$ Once again, Araki uses two clauses, while other languages prefer to modify a single predicate with an adverb:

Spoemalao nia racu mo hese | mo levosai | mo holo-ho.
S. $\quad 3 \mathrm{~s}$ man $3: \mathrm{R}$ one $3: \mathrm{R}$ clever $3: \mathrm{R}$ good- NT
'Spoemalao is a very cunning man.' (lit. he is wily it is good)
(Ha ku re ai) | co val | co holo-ho!
2P:1 cook some water 3s:1 boil 3s:1 good-NT
'(Cook some water) it shall be really boiling!' (lit. It shall boil it shall be good)

## * Spatial dynamics

Among the set of semantically asymmetrical sequences $\mathrm{C}_{1}-\mathrm{C}_{2}$, a very frequent structure is when $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is a verb of movement, and indicates the spatial direction of
 sna/ m̈a 'come', mle 'go back':

Nam covi | nam sivo.
1s:R fall ls:r go.down
'I fell down.'

[^113]O mle | o sna!
2s:I go.back 2s:I come
'Come back here!'
Ale, Daki mo pa cuha $\mid$ mo sivo lo miasav̈a m̈ara-na.
so Araki 3:R SEQ move 3:R go.down LOC deep.sea because-3s
'Then Araki island decided to shift southward (lit. down), towards the ocean.'

- and with two different directional verbs:

Nia mo dovo |mo mle | mo sa lo ima.
3s 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R go.up LOC house
'He ran back up to his house.'
Mo ravu | mo sihir | mo sivo |mosa.
3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.down 3:R go.up
'Suddenly she started to run down and up (the hills).'
Sometimes, the subject of $C_{2}$ is the object of $C_{1}$ :
Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na | mo sa Sakpei, Okava, Potlore.
3:R send-Tr-3s talk like-3s 3:R go.up (place-names)
'He sent the same message (it went) up to Shark-Bay, Hog-Harbour, Port-Olry.'
As far as semantics are concerned, most movement verbs refer not only to immediate location, but also have a geographical meaning. Our corpus shows the following meanings: ${ }^{197}$

- sivo ~ si 'go down' = 'go seaward, towards the open sea'; 'go westward (within the island)', for example from Sope to Rahuna; 'go southward (outside the island)', for example from Araki to Malekula, to Vila;
- saha ~ sa 'go up' = 'go inland, uphill';
'go eastward (within the island)', for example from Misin to Sope; 'go northward (outside)', for example from Araki to Santo, to the Banks;
- ̈̈a 'go' = 'go forward; follow a direction which is neither north nor south'; for example from Santo to Maewo.

The latter verb シ̈a 'go forward' also expresses the duration of an action (English go on):

Mo vavere | mo v̈a ro.
3:R sing 3:R go PRG
'He went on singing.'

#  3: R go 3:R hear voice-3p 3:R go 3:R go 3:r res small 

'As they were going on (dancing), their voices could be heard; but as time went on again, it began to diminish.'

Finally, notice that a movement verb expresses the direction of another action only if it occurs after it in the sentence $\left(\mathrm{C}_{2}\right)$. Otherwise, if $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ refers to a movement and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ to an action, then they normally correspond to a series of two distinct, successive events. Thus compare:

Mo nud | mo sivo lo rasi.
3: R dive $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down LOC sea
'He dived (down) into the sea.' one event

| Mo | sivo mo nud lo rasi.  <br> $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down 3: dive <br> LOC sea    |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

'He went down (for example walking) and then dived into the sea.' Two events

## * Temporal dynamics

Similar to spatial movement, and sometimes resorting to the same verbs, some instances of clause chaining consist in locating the preceding clause in time. This is quite different from our first category of 'time succession', since $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ does not refer to any event distinct from $\mathrm{C}_{1}$, but rather to its progress in time. Consider the next example:

Mo roho mo sna kes nahade.
3:R stay 3:R come now today
'(Araki) has remained there until today.' (lit. it stayed it reached the present)
M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da | mo sna nahade.
from period that $3: \mathrm{R}$ see bad obl-3p 3:R come today
'Since that moment, they have been hating each other until today.'
And the reader should remember that the same clause-chaining structure is the strategy used by an aspectual marker, that is, iso 'finish'. As it was underlined earlier (§5.3.7), the subject in $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is not the same as in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$, but refers to the event itself:

Nam re goro|mo iso.
$1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R} \quad \mathrm{PFT}$ sleep 3:R finish
'I have finished sleeping.' lit. I have slept it finished

### 7.3.2.3. Syntactic and semantic asymmetry

Despite the surface aspect of a linear string of clauses, the strategy of chaining does not always involve elements on the same level. Other facts than just linkers can create a syntactic asymmetry, such as subordination, between two clauses: ${ }^{198}$ that is, valency of the preceding verb ( $\rightarrow$ sentential complements), foreground $v$. background information ( $\rightarrow$ relative clauses), internal structure of the surrounding constituents ( $\rightarrow$ numerals), and so on.

## * Sentential objects

There are many verbs taking sentential complements, and they do not always take the complementiser vada ( $\S 7.2 .4$ ). The two most usual ways of linking a verb to its sentential objects correspond to clause-chaining strategies:

- use of the verb-conjunction de, in a clause which is inserted between the verb and its complement (see §7.2.5). Although it can ultimately be viewed as a subordinating device, this pattern increases the effects of clause chaining - that is, a series of clauses in Indian file:
Hadiv mo dogo $\quad \underline{\text { mo de }}$ de mo marahu.
Rat $\quad$ 3:R feel
3:R say
'The rat felt (that he was) frightened.'
- use of direct clause chaining, that is, zero subordinator, between the verb and its complement.

| Vida | haviha | nam | levsei-a \| | mo hada. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| flower | Syzygium | 1s:R | know-3s | 3: R red |

'The flower of the Malay apple-tree, I know it is red.'

## Co lesi-a | se co pa v̈anoz̈ano vila. <br> 1IN:I see-3s who 3s:I SEQ walk:DUP fast

'We shall see who will go faster.'
The same direct pattern occurs twice in the next sentence; notice that (mo) de here is not used as a complementiser - which would not fit the preceding verb but as a plain verb:

[^114]
'We can see that (the mountain) is white: this recalls how it was struck by Araki.'
This proves that a chain of clauses can belong to several sentence levels, following a syntactic hierarchy which is not obvious at first sight. For example, the latter sentence is not just a string of four clauses $\mathrm{C}_{1}-\mathrm{C}_{2}-\mathrm{C}_{3}-\mathrm{C}_{4}$, but answers to a more complex functional structure:

| Cam lesia ro mo lulu |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| TOPIC | mo deDaki mo nakia <br> COMMENT. |

* Relative clause

The same kind of zero-subordination can be observed with some relative clauses without relativiser (§7.2.1.2):

Nam de | na tovo leta [nam vari-da].
1 s :R say $1 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ read letter $1 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ hold-3p
'(lit.) I want to read the letter I received them.' (i.e.,.. which I received)
Notice that even those relative clauses which take a relativiser (§7.2.1.1) probably originate in a clause-chaining structure, involving a demonstrative.

## * Numeral phrase

The last case of clause chaining concerns numerals. Contrary to adjectives, numerals do not lose their subject clitic when they are used as noun modifiers (for example 'one boy', 'two boys'), in a way which strongly recalls a chain of clauses.

'I am holding four plates.' (lit. I'm holding plates they are four)
As was discussed earlier, ${ }^{199}$ it would be tempting, and perhaps more accurate, to consider these numerals have 'grammaticised' with their clitic subject; at any rate, considering them as clauses on the same level might well be an optical illusion.

In the next example, the numeral phrase mo hese 'one' is embedded inside a NP, following a word order which is not the more regular, ${ }^{200}$ and is instructive of the kind of 'grammaticisation' we suggest. Indeed, it becomes difficult to interpret this sentence as a chaining of two clauses on the same level:

[^115]$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Na } & \text { lpo } & \text { lesi-a } & \text { [racu } & \text { <mo hese> } \\ \text { 1s:I } & \text { try } & \text { see-3s } & \text { man } & \text { 3:R } & \text { one } & \text { that }\end{array}$
'I want to go and have a look at that (one) man over there.'

### 7.3.3. Clause chaining and the building of discourse

Despite the great number of possible (syntactic and semantic) relations between chained clauses, the typology we have just proposed shows they are not infinite nor random. Provided clause chaining is defined, rather strictly, as a sentenceinternal string of clauses not separated by any linker nor significant pause, then we claim that the range of interclausal relations coded by this device is more limited than one would think at first sight, and anyway much more limited than the semantic and pragmatic relations between sentences can be.

We believe there are at least five units of integration in the construction of discourse in Araki. Each unit is embedded in the following, like Russian dolls:
(1) two verb roots (seldom more) can serialise inside the nucleus of a VP, which forms one type of predicate phrase;
(2) one predicate phrase (either NP-like or VP-like, including serial verbs), plus its subject and adverbial complements, forms a syntactic clause;
(3) a series of syntactic clauses put together by clause chaining (that is, no linker no pause) forms a prosodic super-clause;
(4) several super-clauses can be linked together by coordination, subordination, or even parataxis (that is, with a pause), to form a sentence;
(5) bunches of sentences form the discourse - with the possibility of drawing other boundaries and units inside the discourse (for example paragraph).
What is most original with Araki, ${ }^{201}$ is the distinction between levels 1, 2 and 3: most of the known languages in the world, including among Oceanic languages,

[^116]directly integrate their verbs into predicate structures, and the latter into prosodic (super-) clauses, without employing any clause-chaining strategy; instead, they prefer to make use of subordination, nominalisation, adverbial phrases, and so on.

### 7.3.4. The architectural complexity of sentences

The reader will have understood what a crucial role is being played by clause chaining in Araki. More than a strategy for linking existing clauses, it is a device for analysing complex events into several of its facets, whether these facets correspond to different moments in time, different aspects of an action, or different depths in the informational or cognitive structure of that event.

This powerful linguistic device is being used and overused by Araki speakers, in such a way that it is hard to find a sentence without a chain of clauses. The examples we have been providing in the last paragraphs, to illustrate such and such specific interclausal relation, were often chosen short or shortened for the sake of brevity. But it must be kept in mind that such sequences of clauses can be extremely long in this language, especially in narrative discourse; and before ending this chapter on clause chaining, it can be useful to give at least one example of a whole sentence.

The following sentence was taken randomly from our corpus, and is not exceptionally long. ${ }^{202}$ It belongs to a customary narration about how a village (now Sope) in Araki was released from the spell of a devil, by a Christian Pastor called Sope. This devil used to hide in a hollow tree close to the road, and would kill people by just dropping some of his poisonous rain water kept in the tree. ${ }^{203}$
Pani viha HOSUN mo rudu lo sala \|
but tree that
3:R stand LOC road
 ... every time it rained, a few drops of its water (in the hole) would fall down ...

... and touch someone, who would then become sick to death.'
This sentence has no less than nine (potential) clauses, as evidenced by the nine occurrences of the subject clitic mo. However, these nine elements are by no

[^117]means on the same syntactic or semantic level; rather, they form a complex architecture, as is suggested by our typology of interclausal relationships.

First, notice that the whole citation starts with a coordinator (pani), which links it pragmatically to the preceding part of the discourse. The sentence itself folds into three main parts, delimited by oral pauses (here ' $\|$ '), and corresponding to our prosodic super-clauses. Syntactically, the first part is a topic NP, which contains a relative clause introduced by the relativiser hosun; the second part is a topical time clause, marked by the subordinator vada; finally, the third part is the main (super-) clause, as well as the comment of both these topical phrases.

Now, what makes Araki typologically original, is that the super-clause level can in turn be analysed into several syntactic clauses (separated by ' $\mid$ '). Their exact relations will not be detailed here again, but can easily be checked in the typology above: for example mo de has a subordinating value with vada ( $\$ 7.2 .5 .2$ p.187); sivo indicates the direction of covi, and does not refer to a separate event (p.193); mo hese is in fact an indefinite, specific article which must probably be assigned to the NP <racu mo hese> 'a man' (p.197); and so on.

The sentences of Araki, although they apparently consist in a linear series of chained clauses, form in fact a complex hierarchy of predicates into which the speaker analyses and organises his mental representations, according to cognitive capacities and functional constraints.

## 8. Texts from the oral tradition

In this chapter, we will present a selection of texts from the oral tradition of Araki. Out of the fifteen texts we recorded on the field, ten were translated with native speakers. Among those ten texts, we present four which we find of most interest, from linguistic, literary and anthropological points of view.

Two of these texts were told by the late Chief Lele Moli, in NovemberDecember 1997, in his house in Luganville; they were translated and commented upon by the narrator Lele, together with his son Graham. The two other texts were recorded on the island of Araki, in April 1998, from two elder speakers of the language, Chief Sohe Moli and Ropo; Vevuti, daughter of Lele Moli, helped us understand them. Our transcription is respectful of the oral recordings, as much as it is possible.

The oral tradition of Araki distinguishes several categories or genres. Narrative prose is different from poetic songs, including in the language they use; ${ }^{204}$ but prose narrations often include a short song, which plays a dramatic role in the story, and is generally sung several times throughout the text - an example of this frequent literary pattern appears in the tale The Rat and the Octopus.

Within the categories of narrative prose, there is a crucial boundary, according to us, between two vernacular sorts of texts, according to their 'pragmatic' value. On the one hand, myths, legends and real stories are believed to be 'true', or at least presented as such: that is, these texts are supposed to say something about the real world, for example how Araki came to existence, or how the Gospels arrived in a village. On the other hand, tales never pretended to be true, but are presented as an entertainment or reflection, and so on. Not only is this distinction (legends v . tales) typologically well represented in the world, but we observed its importance in the specific cultural area of Vanuatu; this is why we divided our texts into those two categories. Finally, a fine-tuned study with a bigger corpus could define other genres, such as stories of animals v. stories of devils, and so on.

[^118]
### 8.1. Legends and true stories

### 8.1.1. Myth of Araki

The following myth was told to us by Lele Moli, in Luganville (Santo), in November 1997. It tells how the island of Araki, which used to be near Hog Harbour/os decided once to migrate along the coast of Santo island, and eventually came to settle in its current day location.

According to this myth, the island took with it the women of Hog Harbour; this is an interesting clue towards interpreting this story on historical grounds. The modem population of Araki is represented as descending from a former human group who would have lived on (or closer to) the eastern coast of Santo; after some period of good political relations, and especially women-exchanging traditions, with the people of Hog Harbour, that group would have left the mainland, and eventually populated the island of Araki. Other interpretations are possible, however, and the question may well be solved with the help of historical linguistics or archeology.


A long time ago, the steep island of Araki (right) pulled away from the bay of Hog Harbour, and moved till it reached the southern shores of Santo 1., from where it can still be seen nowadays. On its way towards the deep sea, Araki went past the small islet of Elia (left).

This myth is not only very famous on Araki itself, but also on Santo. Chief Kuvu Kevin, who is precisely from Hog Harbour, told us the same story about Araki [ $1 e \mathrm{e} \mathrm{k}$ ] leaving his own land in East Santo; the two versions of the myth were amazingly similar, except that Lele takes the viewpoint of Araki, while Kuvu sees the event from Hog Harbour. Moreover, a popular belief on Santo considers the two languages Araki and Sakao to be close to one another, or at least equally remote from the two dozen other languages on Santo; although this does not seem to be true, it is instructive of the association which is made between these two populations, despite the distance between them, both geographically and socially.

1. Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈aha-sun Okava. before Araki 3:R stay PRG over.there Hog-Harbour
'In the olden days, Araki used to be situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour.'
2. Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo v̈ei-a hanhan mo hese Daki. 3:R say LOC day 3:R one, 3:R do-3s food 3:R one Araki 'As legend has it, one day, they were giving a party in Araki.'
3. Mada Naura-lapa mo sivosivo mo velu ro kia. PERS Mainland 3:R go.down:DUP 3:R dance PRG there 'The (women) from the Mainland went there and started dancing.'
4. Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. 3:R dance PL REL 3:R stay PRG Mainland $3: \mathrm{R}$ hear voice-3P PRG 'As they were dancing, those who had stayed on the Mainland could hear their voices.'
5. Mo v̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo v̈a mo v̈a, mo ra hetehete. $3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ hear voice-3p $3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ Res small 'They went on and on, and their voices could still be heard; but as time went by, the sound grew faint.'
6. Mo ce le dogo otom̈e.

3:R NEG again hear properly
'They could not hear properly any more.'
7. Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki. 3:R SEQ again get.up LOC morning 3:R NEG again see Araki 'When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.'
8. Mo comini naivou-da m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro. $3: R$ sad:TR wife-3p because $3 \mathrm{P} \quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ GLob $3: \mathrm{R}$ dance PRG 'They were upset that their wives had left them and were now dancing together with (other men).'
9. Daki mo ta kia mo m̈a mo m̈a ne Saot-Santo. Araki 3:R go.off there 3:R come 3:R come here South.Santo 'Araki had quit there, and was slowly coming closer to here, in South Santo.'
10. Mo m̈a mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia. $3: \mathrm{R}$ come $3: \mathrm{R}$ stay there $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ stay Tangoa down Elia 'As soon as it got there, it stopped, prepared to settle between Tangoa and Elia.'
11. Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo m̈ara-na;
but Tumepu 3:R say 3:R stay block eye-3s
'The trouble is, Mount Tumepu started to complain about Araki blocking its view;'
12. ale, mo v̈alum nida-ni Tumepu. then 3:R fight with-3s Tumepu 'so (Araki) struggled with Tumepu.'
13. Om lesi-a sule mo lulu sivo-su lo cuhu-n Daki, 2s:R see-3s stone 3:R white down.there LOC backside-CST Araki 'You can see the rock is white behind Araki, down there:'
14. hosun mo de Tumepu mo nak-i-a. that $3: \mathrm{R}$ say Tumepu $3: \mathrm{R}$ hit-Tr-3s 'this recalls how it was struck by Tumepu.'
15. Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo rä̈alu-na;

2 S : r see Tumepu 3: white LOC beyond-3s
'You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the other side;'
16. cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a. $1 \mathbb{N}:$ R see-3s PRG 3:R white $3: \mathrm{R}$ say Araki 3:R hit-TR-3s 'this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki.'
17. Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na. then Araki 3:R SEQ move $3:$ R go.down LoC deep.sea because-3s 'This is why Araki decided to shift southward, towards the ocean.'
18. Mo roho mo sna kes nahade.
$3: R$ stay $3: R$ come now today
'And it has remained there until today.'
19. Ham mece.

2P:R thanked
'Thank you.'

### 8.1.2. How Pastor Sope released the spell of a Devil

The next text was recorded in Sope (Araki) in April 1998; it was told by Chief Sohe Moli, and Vevuti Lele Moli helped us transcribe it.

This holy story tells how Pastor Sope set the village free from a dreadful devil hidden in a hollow tree. ${ }^{206}$ This early missionary, who belonged to the TTI Bible college ${ }^{207}$ on Tangoa, was one of the first Presbyterians who came to Araki to fight the 'dark ages' of paganism, at the end of the nineteenth century. He freed the place from its heathen fears and taboos, bringing the Christian word of God. The village of Sope was named after him.

1. Lo Sande mo hese, Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai ruai. LoC Sunday 3:R one Pastor Sope 3:R stay PRG (place) before 'On a Sunday, Pastor Sope was staying in TTI Bible college - a long time ago.'
2. Mo sna ne Daki, mo dogo kam vadai-a ni-a kam de: 3: come here Araki 3:R hear 1Ex:R tell-3s obl-3s 1ex:r say 'When he came here in Araki, he heard us tell him (the following story).'
3. Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu $l o$ sala mo ruguha. tree $3: \mathrm{R}$ one down-there $3: \mathrm{R}$ stand Loc road $3: \mathrm{R}$ hollow 'There is a tree down there, in the middle of the road, a hollow tree'

[^119]4. Pani viha hosun mo rudu lo sala but tree that $3:$ R stand LOC road 'But that tree which is standing in the middle of the road, ...'
5. vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo when 3:R say $3: \mathrm{R}$ rain drop-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ fall $3: \mathrm{R}$ go.down '... every time it rains, a few drops of its water (in the hole) fall down ...'
6. mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo mare. 3:R reach-TR-3s man $3: R$ one $3: R$ sick $3: R$ dead ' $\ldots$ and touch someone, who then falls sick and dies.'
7. Pan viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho, but tree that tree small 3:R stay but $3: R$ hollow 'Now, that tree is just a small tree, it's just standing there, but it is hollow ...'
8. ai mo tup lolo-no.
water 3: R full inside-3s
'... and this hole is full of water.'
9. Ale, mo m̈are mo rud lo p̈aisa sala, then 3:R dead 3:R stand Loc side road 'So there was that dead tree standing by the roadside,'
10. mo rudu lo paisa sala sohe-na. 3: R stand LOC side road like-3s 'just standing by the roadside like that."'
11. Ale, Pasta mo sna kam vadai-a ni-a then Pastor 3:R come 1EX:R tell-3s obl-3s 'These are the words we told the Pastor when he came here ...'
12. lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi. LOC Sunday maybe like-CST now '... on a Sunday, probably like this one today.'
13. Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo, kam sivo kam vadai-a ni-a. lex:r pray go.out lex:r go.down lex:r go.down lex:r tell-3s obl-3s 'As we were going out of the church, we went down there and explained everything to him.'
14. Mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia. 3: R hold.out go.down LOC hole-CST tree that water $3: \mathrm{R}$ stay there 'Then he stretched out his arm into the hollow tree, where the water was.'
15. Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun; $3: R$ feel crab $3: R$ one $3: R$ stay there inside-CST tree that 'He felt a crab, which was there inside that tree.'
16. mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a

3:R hold-3s 3:R throw take.off-TR-3s
'then he grabbed it and threw it away'
17. mo de "Niko hosun om nak-i-a racu ro? 3:R say 2 s that $2 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ kill-TR-3s man PRG 'and said "Are you the one who has been killing people? ...'
18. Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi!" now poss-2s day 3 :R end:DUP now
'... This is your very last day today!"'
19. Ale, kam sna wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu, then 1Ex:R come week 3:R one tree that 3:R burnt 'Okay; then we let a week go by, and the tree got burnt!'
20. viha hosun mo ciha.
tree that $3: \mathrm{R}$ disappear
'It just disappeared!'
21. Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia, mo re ce re no-no paua. now place that man 3:R stay there 3:R PFT NEG some POSS-3S power 'Nowadays, that place is inhabited, it has lost all of his (the devil's) power.'
22. Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan. power poss-cst God 3: surpass-3s 3:R surpass-3s power poss-CST Satan 'The power of God is superior, it is superior to the power of Satan.'
23. Niosun mo iso.
that $\quad 3: R$ finish
'This (story) is finished.'

### 8.2. Tales of devils and animals

### 8.2.1. The Coconut Crab

The next tale was recorded by us in the village of Sope (Araki), in April 1998, and transcribed with the help of Vevuti Lele Moli; the narrator is Ropo, a man of many stories who was born in 1921.

It is the story of an evil spirit (ramare), who changed himself into a coconut crab, and played a bad trick on a couple of men precisely looking for coconut crabs; that is when the hunter becomes the prey. Following widespread beliefs in the area, the worst thing with devils is their ability to transform themselves into anything they like, either a person or an animal, to get closer to their victims; this is how they 'lie' (kode, \#18) to people.

The scene takes place in Rahuna, a spot in the western bush of Araki, where coconut crabs abound. This hunting activity is still popular on the island, since this animal is renouned for its taste.

1. Kesi nam po-i-a vada na pa store store-ni cau. now 1S:R like-TR-3s when $1 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ SEQ tell story-cst coconut.crab 'Right now, I would like to tell the story of the coconut crab.'
2. Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. man NUM two 3:R go.down R. 3:R say 3p:I seek:DUP (crab) 'Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.'
3. Mo sivo mo vari-a ai, mo vari-a as, 3: go.down 3:R hold-3s water 3:R hold-3s rope 'They had taken water, they had taken ropes,'
4. m̈ara vada mo dogo re cau lo pede viha kaura, because when $3:$ R hear some (crab) Loc top tree above 'so that, if (one of them) heard a coconut-crab at the top of a tree,'
5. lo pede vinini, co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as LOC top palmtree $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1 \mathrm{SEQ}$ do-3s water $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ wet-TR-3s rope '.. at the top of a palmtree, he could wet the rope with the water ...'
6. co pa sihevi ni-a co sa lo pede vinini

3s:I SEQ climb obl-3s 3s:I go.up LOC top palmtree
'... and use it to climb up to the top of the palmtree,'
7. co pa vari-a cau kia.

3s:I SEQ take-3s (crab) there
'... and seize the crab up there.'
8. Ale, mo rapudo dua mo v̈anov̈ano mo sivo, then 3:R Hum.Num two $3:$ realk:DUP 3:R go.down 'So, as the two fellows were walking along,'
9. mo ce les re cau lo lep̈a. 3: R NEG see some (crab) LOC ground 'they did not see any crab on the ground.'
10. Va racu mo tapdogo lo laho vinini mo dogo the man 3:R listen LoC trunk palmtree 3:R hear 'One man listened carefully to the trunk of a palmtree, and heard ...'
11. racu mo hese mo kadum-i-a laho vinini, man $3:$ one $3: R$ scrape-TR-3S trunk palmtree '... somebody scraping the trunk of the palmtree!'
12. mo de pana cau.

3: R say maybe (crab)
'he thought it could be a coconut crab.'
13. Ale, mo vadai rapala-na mo de: then 3:R tell friend-3s 3:R say 'So he said to his friend:'
14. "O roho ro! Cau mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura. 2 S : I stay sug (crab) 3:R one 3:R PFT climb 3:R go.up above '"Don't move for a second! A coconut crab's climbed up there.'
15. Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna, 1S:I SEQ go.up 1s:I SEQ catch-Tr-3s 1S:I SEQ throw-TR-3s come 'I will climb up, catch it and throw it to you here.'
16. inko o pa polo hap o pa taur-i-a!" $2 \mathrm{~s} \quad 2 \mathrm{~s}: I$ SEQ light fire $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ SEQ hold-TR-3s 'As for you, you will light a fire, and roast the crab.'
17. Ale, rap̈ala-na mo sihevi mo sa, mo sihevi mo sa sa sa. then friend-3s 3:R climb 3:R go.up 3:R climb 3:R go.up up up 'So his friend began to climb up, up and up and up ...'
18. Ramare roo kode!
devil 3:R lie
'But this was the trick of a devil!'

"Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs ... (Araki, April 1998)
19. Mo vari va racu roo sa kaura, roo han povi-a visiho-no!

3:R hold the man 3:R go.Up above 3:R eat all-3s meat-3S
'He caught the man, took him to the top, and devoured him to the marrow!'
20. Mo mare, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na.

3: R dead skin-3s only with-3s bone-3s
'He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.'
21. Mo vadai rap̈ala-na mo de "Ee! O polo re hap lapa!" $3: R$ tell friend-3s $3: R$ say hey $2 s: 1$ light some fire big '(The devil) shouted to his fellow "Hey! You should light a huge fire!"'
22. Mo vari-a dau vinini mo ma mo hasan-i-a mo ug lap̈a. 3: take-3s leaf palmtree 3:R come 3:R light-Tr-3s 3:R burn big 'He took a palm-leaf of the palmtree, and made a big fire with it.'
23. Mo dogo paru-n rap̈ala-na mo dapas kaura 3:R hear head-CST friend-3s 3:R bounce above
'Suddenly he heard the head of his friend bounce onto the branches ...'
24. mo sivo mo vcan-i-a.

3:R go.down 3:R bump-TR-3s
'... fall down and bump on the ground.'
25. Mo klaz̈as mo les paru-n / naho-n rap̈ala-na. 3:R watch $3: \mathrm{R}$ see head-CST face-CST friend-3s 'He watched and recognised the face of his friend;'
26. Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo hani-a 3:R know-3s 3:R say devil 3:R eat-3s
'He understood that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.'
27. mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle, mo sa lo ima. 3:R flee 3:R run 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R go.up LOC house 'So he fled without further ado, running back up to his home.'
28. Mo m̈arahu m̈ara ram̈are mo re hani-a rap̈ala-na mo iso. 3:R fear because devil 3:R pFT eat-3s friend-3s 3:R finish 'He was terrified because his fellow had just been devoured by a devil.'
29. Mo ravur mo sa

3:R get.up 3: go.up
'He fled straight away ...'
30. mo ce com̈com̈ rap̈ala-na mo re mare mo iso. 3: R NEG think friend-3s 3:R PFT dead 3:R finish '... without thinking any more about his friend's death.'
31. Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau. 3s 3:R get.up 3:R run 3:R go.back 3:R NEG again seek:DUP (crab) 'Yes, straight away he fled, without looking any more for coconut crabs!'
32. Mo mle mo sa mo rkel-i-a ima.

3:R go.back 3:R go.up 3:R reach-TR-3s house
'And finally he managed to go all the way back home.'

### 8.2.2. The Rat and the Octopus

The following tale was told to us by Lele Moli, in December 1997, in his house in Luganville (Santo). It is a long, pleasant narration of Mr Rat's misadventures with his fellow creatures: first, with animals of the air and especially the Hawk (Circus approximans); and then animals of the sea, above all the Octopus.

This story consists of several parts:

- 1-30: the Rat is paddling in his canoe, but several birds harass him, wanting to embark with him (this gives the tale its song); the boat nearly sinks.
- 31-57: while on the boat, the Rat steals a piece of yam belonging to the Hawk; the Hawk takes his revenge by making the boat sink.
- 58-94: the Rat swims to escape death, and asks for the help of a shark, of the Turtle, of the Dolphin, and finally the Octopus accepts to carry him. But when the Octopus realises the Rat is laughing at him, he tries to kill him.
- 95-104: the last part is an etiological reflection about how this story accounts for nowadays rats and octopuses.
We believe this version probably mingles more than one traditional plot: in particular, the first part (1-30) is a crescendo which should naturally result in the boat sinking, but the episode of the hawk (31-57) brings in a new suspense; on the other hand, the story with the octopus could form a whole tale per se. ${ }^{208}$

The result of this assortment is a pleasant, poetic and lively tale, in which each animal is endowed with its own human-like psychology and world. The personification of animals is patent in the many details of the story (for example the rat is going to have lunch with his Mum, or the birds threaten him with telling everything to their Dad when he comes back home), but it is also visible linguistically, through their genitive and object marking. ${ }^{209}$ Our translation follows carefully these rules, as is shown by the English pronouns ('he' v. 'it'), the uppercase letters (for example 'the Octopus' v . 'the octopus') and the use of articles (for example v. 'the Turtle' v. 'a shark').

[^120]1. Na pa sodosodo m̈ara-ni Hadiv nida-ni Huira. 1S:I SEQ talk:DUP because-CST rat with-CST octopus 'I am going to talk about the Rat and the Octopus.'
2. Hadiv nida-n Huira: lo dan mo hese, Hadiv mo de rat with-CST octopus LOC day 3:R one rat 3:R say
'So, the Rat and the Octopus... One day, the Rat said:'
3. "Na $\ddot{\text { va }}$ na hanhani lo peli-n pua". 1s:I go 1s:I eat LOC place-CST Mum "'I am going to have lunch at my Mum's!"'
4. Ale, mo rai-a aka-na: mo vari-a hapasi via, then $3: \mathrm{R}$ cut-3s canoe-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ take-3s stem wild.taro 'So he started to cut himself a boat: first he took a stem of wild taro ...'
5. nohoni mo roho ro lo hudara, that $\quad 3:$ R stay PRG LOC bush
'... the one which grows in the bush, you know,'
6. via v̈alalapa dau-na ra v̈alalap̈a.
(taro) big:many leaf-3s res big:many
'... those huge taros with huge leaves.'
7. Mo vari-a mo rai-a aka ini-a, mo v̈e otom̈e sohe aka. 3: R take-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ cut-3s canoe $\mathrm{OBL}-3 \mathrm{~s} \quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ do well like canoe 'He cut his boat out of it, doing everything just like for a real canoe.'
8. Mo vari-a mo sua mo v̈a,

3: R take-3s 3 : R paddle 3: R go
'Finally he put it out and started to paddle his way,'
9. máaci re mo lesi-a mo de "Nica dua!". bird some $3: \mathrm{R}$ see-3s $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $\operatorname{liNC}$ two '... when some birds saw him and cried out "Let's go together!""
10. Mo vadai mo de "Ha dua!"; mo dua mo vari-a mo v̈a. 3:R tell 3:R say 2P:I two 3:R two 3:R take-3s 3:R go '"That's OK for the two of you", said he, and both took their seat in the boat'
11. Mo les re mo vari-a mo v̈a mo les re mo vari-a ... 3:R see some 3:R take-3s 3:R go 3:R see some 3:R take-3s
'Should he see one (bird), he would take him aboard; should he see another one, he would take him too ...'
12. Mo vari-da mo v̈a aka-na mo ra hetehete, 3: R take-3p 3:R go canoe-3S 3:R RES small 'He took so many of them, that his boat became small:'
13. aka-na mo colo.
canoe-3s 3: R sink
'his boat was sinking!'
14. Re m̈aci vavono mo le rigo mo de "Co dua!"
some bird other 3:R again ask $3: R$ say liN:I two
'Other birds came to ask "Let's be together!"'
15. mo de "Aka-ku mo moru!"

3:R say canoe-1s 3: (narrow)
'but he exclaimed "Too narrow ${ }^{210}$ is my boat!""
16. Mo sodo sohe-na "Aka-ku mo moru."

3:R talk like-3s canoe-1s 3:R (narrow)
'And he would go on saying "Too narrow is my boat!"'
17. M̈aci mo de "Nko v̈a! Na , ta co mule na pa vadai-a ni-a." bird 3: R say 2 s go 1 s Dad 3s:I be.back 1s:I SEQ tell-3s obl-3s ""Very well", said the birds, "Go on your way!
As for me, when Dad comes back, I will tell him everything!""
18. Mo vavere sohe nene mo de:

3: R sing like this $3: \mathrm{R}$ say
'And they began to sing like this:'
19. Tata ha mae $\sim$ ha vitia hinia
ha re lici horo lag ~horo lag
tam re mae $\sim$ tam re mae

> 'Dad shall come $\sim$ I shall tell him
> let the wind blow $\sim$ the wind blow
> and when you go back $\sim$ when you go ...' 211
20. Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu
rat $3: \mathrm{R}$ feel $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $3: \mathrm{R}$ fear
'The Rat felt seized with fear'
21. mo de "Ale! Codo o sna, codo o sna o vici!"

3: R say alright okay $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ come okay $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ come $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ embark 'and exclaimed "Okay! It's alright, come in, you may come aboard!"'
22. Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo v̈a

3: R embark-TR-3S 3:R take-3S 3:R go
'Takes them on board, carries them along ...'
23. mo lesi-a maci vavono mo de "Co rolu!"

3:R see-3s bird other 3:R say $1 \mathbb{N}: I$ three
'Then he saw other birds again shouting at him "Let's all be together!""
24. Hadiv mo de "Aka mo moru".
rat 3:R say canoe 3:R (narrow)
'And the Rat repeated once again "Too narrow is my boat!"'
25. Mo v̈a; va m̈aci mo le vavere mo de:

3:R go the bird 3:R again sing 3:R say 'and they went on like this ... The birds started to sing again:'
26. Tata ha mae $\sim$ ha vitia hinia
ha re lici horo lag ~horo lag
tam re mae $\sim$ tam re mae
'Dad shall come $\sim$ I shall tell him
let the wind blow ~ the wind blow
and when you go back ~ when you go ...'

[^121]27. Hadiv mo de "Codo o sna! O vici co rolu!" rat 3:R say okay 2s:I come $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ embark 1iN:I three
'So the Rat replied: "It's alright, come aboard!
Come in, we shall be together!""
28. Mo si mo rolu, mo v̈ei-a sohe mo シ̈a, 3:R go.down 3:R three 3:R do-3s like 3:R go
'So they went down to join the others; they did so again and again ...'
29. aka mo ra hetehete.
boat 3:R Res small
'... until the boat became really too small for them all.'
30. Mo vari-a m̈aci mo de mo rahol mo vari-a mo v̈a ... 3:R take-3s bird 3:R say 3:R straight 3:R take-3s 3:R go 'When he invited a new bird, he would pretend everything was fine, and would just take them aboard ...'
31. Mo v̈a mo hanhan, mo v̈a mo sua mo v̈a lo m̈asaйa, 3:R go 3:R eat 3:R go 3:R paddle 3:R go Loc open.space 'They were having their lunch on board, and were paddling on and on until they went out into the open sea.'
32. hina... Hadiv mo de "Re co pele sna co holo aka! thing rat $3: \mathrm{R}$ say some $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ in.turn come $3 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ straighten canoe 'Now ... the Rat said "Let someone replace (me) to man the boat! ...'
33. Na na sa na hanhan."

1s 1s:I go.up 1s:I eat
'... As for me, I am going to have lunch."'
34. M̈ala mo de "Na na sa na pele vari-a cada-m!" hawk 3:R say is 1s:I go.up 1s:I in.turn take-3s place-2s 'The Hawk answered " I can come and take your post!"'
35. M̈ala mo sivo mo pele holo aka, hawk 3:R go.down 3:R in.turn straighten canoe 'So the Hawk went down to man the boat,
36. Hadiv mo sa mo de co hanhan. rat 3:R go.up 3:R say 3s:I eat 'and the Rat went up to have lunch.'
37. Mo sa mo lesi cam ha-ni M̈ala, mo hani-a.

3:R go.up 3:R see yam Food-cst hawk 3:R eat-3s
'But as he went, he saw a piece of yam belonging to the Hawk, and ate it.'
38. Mo hani-a pani... cam di cam hahada.

3: eat-3s but yam ANA yam red
'Yes, he ate it. But the trouble is, this yam was red yam.'
39. Mo hani-a mo han povi-a, mo le sna mo de 3:R eat-3s 3:R eat all-3s 3:R again come 3:R say
'Once he had eaten it all, he came back saying:'
40. "Na na le sna na vari-a cada-ku!"

1s 1s:I again come 1s:I take-3s place-1s
'"Let us come back and take my post again!""
41. M̈ala mo de "Ale o sna, o pele o le vari-a cada-m, hawk 3:R say okay $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ come $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ in.turn $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ again take- 3 s place- 2 s 'The Hawk said "Perfect! You come back and take your post ...'
42. na na si na pele hanhan."

1s 1s:i go.down 1s:I in.turn eat
'... for now it is my turn to have lunch!"'
43. M̈ala mo sivo mo lesi-a ha-na hina mo re ciha. hawk 3:R godown 3:R see-3s food-3s thing 3:R pfT disappear 'The Hawk went down and realised his food had disappeared.'
44. Mo de "E! Dai m̈aci mo hani-a ha-ku hina!" 3:R say hey PL bird $3: \mathrm{R}$ eat-3s Food-1s thing 'He went "Hey! The birds have eaten all my food!""
45. Nda povi mo de "Kam ce levsei se mo hani-a." 3p all 3:R say $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ Neg know who $3: \mathrm{R}$ eat-3s 'They replied all together "We do not know who ate it!"'
46. Mo de "Ale, kam̈im po ha gigisa, ha gigisa na lesi hoco-m̈im, 3:R say okay 2 P all 2P:I smile 2P:I smile 1s:1 see teeth-2P 'He replied "Come on, all of you, smile! Smile so that I can see your teeth,'
47. vada se mo hani-a ha-ku hina". if who 3:R eat-3s Food-1s thing '(and know) who ate my food.'
48. M̈ara cam di cam hahada.
because yam ANA yam red
'This is because this yam was red yam.'
49. Mo gigisa nida povi; Hadiv mo de co gigisa. 3: R smile 3 P all rat 3:R say 3s:1 smile 'So they all smiled, and the Rat too got ready to do so.'
50. M̈ala mo kla च̈a mo lesi-a cam di hawk 3:R watch go 3:R see-3s yam aNA 'When the Hawk looked at him, he saw the yam, ...'
51. hudahudara-n cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no. dirt:DUP-CST yam ANA $3: \mathrm{R}$ stay PRG LOC teeth-3s '... small particles of the yam which had got caught in his teeth.'
52. Mo de "Nko om hani-a ha-ku cam!

3:R say 2 S 2S:R eat-3s FFOD-1s yam
'He said "So it's you who ate my piece of yam! ...'
53. Hede na pa p̈isu cudug-i-a aka-ca!" today 1s:I SEQ prick pierce-TR-3s canoe-1in:P '... I am going to prick and make a hole in our boat!"'
54. Mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, 3:R take-3s finger-3s 3:R put-TR-3s 3:R go.down LoC stem (taro) 'The Hawk clenched his claws into the taro stem,'
55. mo macudu, rasi mo saha lo lolo-no. 3:R torn sea 3:R go.up LOC inside-3s 'and tore it apart, letting the sea water in.'
56. Aka di mo colo, aka-n Hadiv. canoe ANA 3 : s sink canoe-CST rat 'The boat was sinking! Yes, the Rat's boat!'
57. M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi; Hadiv mo kadu.
bird 3:R fly 3p all rat 3:R swim 'The birds flew away, all of them; and the Rat began to swim.'
58. Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu kadu, rat 3:R swim swim swim swim swim 'And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam'
59. mo lesi-a p̈ahe mo de "P̈ahe, o com̈i-á!" 3:R see-3s shark 3:R say shark $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1 \mathrm{sad}-1 \mathrm{~s}$ '... until he saw a shark: "Hey, Shark", said he, "take pity on me!"'
60. P̈ahe mo de "Ham rolu v̈ev̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?" shark 3:R say 2P:R three do:DUP thing 2P three who 'The shark replied "But who have you been with?"'
61. Mo v̈a; mo le kadu mo v̈a mo les Ivua.

3:R go 3:R again swim 3:R go 3:R see Turtle
'So on he went; and after swimming a little further, he saw the Turtle.'
62. Mo de "Ivua, o comìi-á!"

3:R say turtle $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{I}$ sad-1s
"'Hey, Turtle", said he, "take pity on me!"'
63. Ivua mo de "Ham rolu v̈ev̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?" turte $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $2 \mathrm{P}: \mathrm{R}$ three do:DUP thing 2 P three who 'The Turtle replied "But who have you been with?"'
 3:R go 3: R see dolphin 3:R say dolphin $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1 \mathrm{~s}$ sad-1s
'So he swam further on and saw the Dolphin:
"Hey, Dolphin", said he, "take pity on me!""
65. Kue mo de "Ham rolu v̈ë̈e hina, kam̈im rolu se?" dolphin 3:R say 2P:R three do:Dup thing 2 P three who 'The Dolphin replied "But who have you been with?"'
66. Mo v̈a mo les Huira, mo de "Huira, o comii-á!" $3: \mathrm{R}$ go $3: \mathrm{R}$ see octopus $3: \mathrm{R}$ say octopus $2 \mathrm{~s}: 1$ sad- 1 s
'So he swam further on and saw the Octopus:
"Hey, Octopus", said he, "take pity on me!""
67. Huira mo de "Ale, o sna sadai lo pili-ku!" octopus 3:R say okay 2s:I come sit LOC shoulder-1s "'Alright" said the Octopus, "come sit on my shoulders!"'
68. Mo sa mo sadai lo pili-na, mo vari-a mo v̈a mo v̈a. 3:R go.up 3:R sit LoC shoulder-3s 3:R take-3s 3:R go 3:R go 'So (the Rat) sat up on his shoulders, and was carried away.'
69. Mo lesi-a pilo-ni Huira n-re dan...

3:R see-3s bald.head-cST octopus obl-some day
'From time to time, he would see the bald head of the Octopus:'
70. Ras mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a
sea $3: \mathrm{R}$ say $3: \mathrm{R}$ come $3: \mathrm{R}$ hit-TR-3s
'Every time the waves hit it ...'
71. mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu mo macim̈acihi-ha. $3: R \quad$ change $3: R$ black $3: R$ come $3: R$ white $3: R$ colourful- $\mathbb{N T}$ '... it would change from black to white, it was full of colours.'
72. Hadiv mo lesi-a mo m̈an pala ro. rat 3:R see-3s 3:R laugh (at) PRG
'When the Rat saw this, he burst out laughing.'
73. Huira mo de "Om m̈an p̈ala sa ro?" octopus 3:R say $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh (at) what PRG ""What are you laughing at?" asked the Octopus.'
74. mo de "Nam m̈an p̈ala m̈enum̈enu honi mo sale ro lo rasi." 3:R say 1s:R laugh at small.leaves there 3:R float PRG LOC sea 'The Rat replied "I am laughing at those small leaves which are floating on the sea."'
75. Mo シ̈a mo le v̈a v̈a v̈a m̈akomo... Mo le m̈ana mo v̈a... 3:R go 3:R again go go go a.bit 3:R again laugh 3:R go 'As they swam a bit further on, he started to laugh again!'
76. Huira mo de "Om m̈an p̈ala sa?" octopus 3:R say $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh (at) what '"What did you laugh at?" the Octopus asked.'
77. mo de "Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa

3:R say 1s:R see-3s wavelet PRG 3:R take-1INC 3:R go.up
'I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up ...'
78. mo sivo mo sa hosu nam m̈ana ro m̈ara-n."

3:R go.down 3:R go.up that $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh PRG because-3s
' $\ldots$ and down and up again, this is why I am laughing.'
79. Mo de "A, mo holo-ho",

3:R say oh 3:R good-INT
'"Well, that's alright.", said (the Octopus).'
80. mo v̈a च̈a mo च̈a rkel-i-a tarauta mo huden-i Hadiv. 3:R go go 3:R go reach-Tr-3S shore $3: \mathrm{R}$ put.down-TR rat 'And on they went again, until they finally reached the shore; this is where the Octopus was dropping the Rat.'
81. Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta lo sule, rat 3:R leap 3:R go.up 3:R sit LoC shore LOC stone 'In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore, on a rock,'
82. mo de "Huira! Om de nam m̈an p̈ala sa ro? $3:$ say octopus $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ say $1 \mathrm{~S}: \mathrm{R}$ laugh (at) what PRG 'and said "Hey, Octopus! What did you think I was laughing at ...'
83. nahade cam m̈a ro?" today $1 \mathbb{N}:$ : come PRG '... while we were on our way here?'
84. Mo de "P̈ala pilo-m! Nam lesi-a pilo-m 3:R say (at) bald.head-2s 1s:R see-3s bald.head-2s 'and he added "At your bald head! I was looking at your bald head ...'
85. mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu, 3: R change-3s colour-3s $\quad 3: \mathrm{R}$ black $3: \mathrm{R}$ white '... changing its colour from black to white.'
86. hosu nam m̈an pala-ko ro".
that 1s:R laugh (at)-2s:R PRG
'Actually, I was laughing at you!"'
87. Huira mo lolokodu mo de co pa naki-a.
octopus 3:R angry 3:R say 3s:I SEQ kill-3s
'The Octopus went mad with anger, and wanted to kill him!'
88. Hadivi mo sihiri mo sa ...
rat 3:R run 3:R go.up
'The Rat began to run towards the bush ...'
89. Huira mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo de co lceg Hadiv, octopus 3: R take-3s branch TREE-ironwood 3:R say $3 \mathrm{~S}: 1$ strike rat 'The Octopus took a branch of ironwood to strike the Rat with it,'
90. Huira mo sihiri mo sa
octopus 3: run 3:R go.up
'he ran towards the bush'
91. mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo sadi-a;

3: R take-3S branch TREE-ironwood 3:R spear-3S
'and threw the branch of ironwood at him.'
92. daga vi-adu di mo vcan-i-a lo cidi-n Hadiv. branch TREE-ironwood ANA $3:$ R bump-tr-3S LOC arse-CST rat 'The branch struck the Rat's backside!'
93. Hadiv di mo vari va daga vi-adu mo sa ... rat ANA 3:R take the branch Tree-ironwood 3:R go.up 'Our Rat went on running, with that branch of ironwood (behind him) ...'
94. Mo maco lo hudara.

3: R enter LOC bush
'... until he finally entered the bush.'
95. Om lesi-a kesi hadivi, om lesi-a vici-n hadiv 2 s : s see-3s now rat $2 \mathrm{~s}: \mathrm{R}$ see-3s tail-CST rat 'Nowadays, you can see rats, you can see their tails,'
96. nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu.
that 3:R like branch TREE-ironwood 'how they look just like a branch of ironwood.'
97. Mo sohe vici hadiv raholo

3: R like tail rat straight
'This is why rat tails are so stiff:'
98. hosu mo de Huira mo sadi Hadivi ni-a.
that 3 :R say octopus 3 :R spear rat Obl-3s
'... it recalls how the Rat was speared by the Octopus.'
99. Kesi mo dua medesai, hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai. now 3:R two enemy rat with-CST octopus 3:R enemy 'Nowadays, both are enemies: rats and octopuses hate each other.'
100. Vada o vari-a hadiv ro sivo o plan-i-a lo rasi, when 2S:I hold-3s rat SUG down 2S:I throw-TR-3s LOC sea 'Suppose you throw a rat down into the sea:'
101. co de re huira co roho ro raholo lo cada di, 1N:I say some octopus 3 s:1 stay PRG straight LOC place ANA 'if there is an octopus right in the same place,'
102. o lesi-a huira co sa kia co taur-i-a co vari-a. 2s:1 see-3s octopus 3s:I go.up there 3s:I seize-Tr-3s 3s:I hold-3s 'you will see the octopus jump at it, seize it and shake it.'
103. M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da mo sna nahade. from period that $3: \mathrm{R}$ see bad OBL-3p $3: \mathrm{R}$ come today 'Since that moment, they have been hating each other until today.'
104. Stori nohosu mo hilu hosu. story that $3:$ end there 'This is the end of this story.'

## 9. Araki - English dictionary

### 9.1. Foreword to the dictionary

The following pages include a small Araki-English dictionary, containing 939 lexical entries and subentries. It was built out of our short corpus gathered on the field; most of its vocabulary, especially the examples, procede from our oral literature database, of which a selection was presented in Chapter 8. An English Araki finderlist will be provided in Chapter 10 p. 320.

### 9.1.1. The structure of lexical entries

Although each entry will provide different kinds of information, the sample below gives an idea of how most entries are being organised, following a strict pattern of morphosyntactic and semantic description.
m̈audu ~ maaudi ~ mau. vi. (1) alive, living, v. dead (m̈are). • Mo m̈are vo mo m̈audi ro? Is he dead or is he still alive?
(2) (esp) revive, come back to life. - Ralmeape nia ralme racu mo m̈are mo (le) maudu. Ralmeape is the devil for all the people who have died and who have come back to life.
(3) [plant+] grow. - Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse man. Even if it rained, your taro couldn't grow (because you didn't plant it properly ...).
[PNCV*ma?uri 'live, life'; POc*maquri(p)]

The various elements within this entry provide the following kinds of information:

| m̈audu | entry form |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\sim$ m̈audi $\sim$ m̈au | allomorphs of the same form |
| $v i$ | part of speech (here intransitive verb) |
| alive, living, v. ... | semantic definition for this sub-sense |
| - Mo m̈are vo ... | example corresponding to the meaning described |
| Is he dead or ... | translation of the example |
| (esp) | semantic label commenting on the status of the sub-sense, especially with regard to the preceding one |
| [plant+] | indication on the typical subject associated with this meaning. Sign + means that other subjects are possible |
| [PNCV*ma?uri ...] | etymology of the main entry, when known (see below) |

The next sample provides other important elements, absent from the preceding:
voli vt. (1) buy, purchase. - Nam de na voli-a paniavu nohoni. I'd like to buy this pineapple.
(2) (esp) lit. 'buy (a woman)': [man] give money and presents to o.'s future father-in-laws, in order to acquire <a woman> as a wife; marry <a woman>. See lahi 'married'.

$$
\text { [PNC } V^{*} \text { voli; } P O C \text { *poli] }
$$

| voli | entry form |
| :--- | :--- |
| lit. 'buy (a woman)' | indication on the literal meaning of a phrase when it helps <br> understand the semantics of the sub-sense |
| [man] | typical subject associated to this meaning <br> indication on the typical object of a transitive verb |
| See lahi | cross-reference to another entry within this dictionary, when |
| useful for understanding the structure of the semantic domain |  |

Finally consider the third sample:
$\mathbf{r e}_{1} \quad$ art. marker for non-specificity of the noun phrase ...

* asp. [between Subject clitic and Verb] already: aspectual marker for Perfect. Indicates a completed action ... Mo re ce-re no-no paua. [with negation] Its power (of the bewitched tree) does not exist any more. ... \| Combined with mo iso, re indicates that the process has reached its preconstructed term (English 'already'). (Cf. Grammar)

| $\mathbf{r e}{ }_{1}$ | entry form, followed by a rank number, in case of homonymous lexemes |
| :---: | :---: |
| * | stands for the main lexical entry, but corresponding to a different part of speech |
| [between Subject clitic and Verb] | syntactic restrictions associated with this meaning |
| Mo re ce-re no-no paua. | a small word may be underlined if this helps reading the example (for example out of two 're', only one is concerned) |
| [with negation] | external information relative to the example |
| $\\|$ Combined with mo iso, ... | secondary information, either of linguistic or anthropological interest |
| ( $C$ f. Grammar) | the item is being more developed in the present grammar: see Table p. 341 and Index p. 343. |

Finally, notice the use of brackets in the translation of examples: square brackets [ ... ], with or without the label 'lit.', indicate a literal meaning, thus closer to Araki than to English expression. On the contrary, round brackets ( ... ) give some extra information when necessary, or a more idiomatic English translation, if it helps reading the example. Thus compare:

> Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi. Elders used to call [the name of this place 'Leruvahi'. • Racu nohoni mo sle naru-na isa-n pira nohoni. That man gave his child to that woman (he got her pregnant). - Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. Yesterday, I heard someone else sing [lit. take] the same song (as you).

There are a few other conventions used systematically throughout this lexicon (for example scientific name for fauna and flora ...), but they should be transparent enough for the reader to understand them without further explanations.

### 9.1.2. Abbreviations and phonetics

The spelling used for Araki words is the same which has been used throughout the present grammar. Below is a reproduction of Table. 2-14 (p.20):

The alphabet of Araki, with corresponding phonemes

| $\boldsymbol{a}$ | $\boldsymbol{c}$ | $\boldsymbol{d}$ | $\boldsymbol{e}$ | $\boldsymbol{g}$ | $\boldsymbol{h}$ | $\boldsymbol{i}$ | $\boldsymbol{k}$ | $\boldsymbol{l}$ | $\boldsymbol{m}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{m}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a | ts | $\boldsymbol{r}$ | e | $\mathrm{\eta}$ | h | i | k | 1 | m | $\ddot{\mathrm{~m}}$ |
| $\boldsymbol{n}$ | $\boldsymbol{o}$ | $\boldsymbol{p}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{p}}$ | $\boldsymbol{r}$ | $\boldsymbol{s}$ | $\boldsymbol{t}$ | $\boldsymbol{u}$ | $\boldsymbol{v}$ | $\ddot{\boldsymbol{v}}$ |  |
| n | o | p | $\ddot{\mathrm{p}}$ | r | s | t | u | $\beta$ | $\ddot{\mathrm{v}}$ |  |

Throughout this dictionary, special abbreviations will be used as labels for parts of speech. These are presented in the following table:

| adj. | adjective | phr. | phrase |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| adv. | adverb | pl.n. | place name |
| art. | article | pos. | possessive classifier |
| asp. | aspect marker | pp.s. | personal possessive suffix |
| aux. | auxiliary | pred. | predicative word |
| conj. | conjunction | prep. | preposition |
| dem. | demonstrative particle | ptc. | particle |
| dir. | directional particle | rad. | radical |
| excl. | exclamatory particle | rel. | relative word |
| ind.pp. | free personal pronoun | sbj. | subject clitic |
| inter. | interrogative word | sf.adj. | suffixable adjective |
| mod. | modal particle | sfn. | suffixable (inalien.) noun |
| $n$. | (alienable) noun | suf. | suffix |
| $n-p r$. | noun-like preposition | v.ad. | adjunct to the verb |
| num | numeral | vi. | intransitive verb |
| obj. | personal object suffix | $v-p r$. | verb-like preposition |
| pf. | prefix | vt. | transitive verb |

Other examples used in the lexical entries include semantic labels:

| anc | archaic use | gen | broader (general) sense |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| esp | especially; narrower <br> hypoc | hypocoristic term |  |
| euph | sense <br> euphemism | met | metaphorical extension |
| figurative sense | vulg | vulgar |  |

and other abbreviations:

| Ant. | antonym | Syn. | synonym <br> Morph. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| morphological analysis |  |  |  |
| Red. | reduplicated form | transitivised form (verb) |  |
| hum | human (subject, possessor) |  |  |

Finally, notice the convention we adopted regarding hyphenation. In current texts (examples ...), all morpheme breaks are indicated with a hyphen, for example hasan-i-a 'he burnt it'. In lexical entries, a hyphen indicates that the entry is an affix, either a prefix (ha- 'ordinal') or a suffix (-ha 'intensifier'). We have chosen to distinguish from these affixes, those lexemes which are radicals, but
which are always followed by a suffix: for example inalienable nouns, possessive classifiers, suffixable adjectives. Instead of a hyphen, we mark these words with the symbol $\sim$ stuck to the radical: for example ha~ 'food classifier', ram̈a~ 'father', tilavo~ 'deprived of'. Although the tilde is also used to indicate allomorphism, these uses must be distinguished: for example -ha $\mathbf{7}_{7} \sim$-ho 'intensifier', exceptionally hini $\sim$ ini ~ ~ ni~ 'preposition'.

### 9.1.3. Semantic field wordlists

When a given word has two or three semantically related items (synonyms, antonyms ...), they are cross-referenced within the entry paragraph. But if these are more numerous, they are presented in the form of a wordlist in a box. The following index will help the reader find these wordlists, each one being in the close vicinity of the relevant entry (generally a hyperonym for the semantic field):

| Title of wordlist | ... under entry |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Parts of a canoe | aka | canoe |
| Main parts of the body | ep̈e | body |
| Words connected with fire | hapu | fire |
| The four winds | lagi | wind |
| The hand and arm | lim̈a | arm, hand |
| Parts of the head | paru | head |
| Internal organs of the body | rali | guts |
| Lower parts of the body | sadi | leg, foot |
| Verbs connected with navigation | sua | paddle |
| Parts of the mouth | vava | mouth |
| Parts of trees | viha | tree |

### 9.1.4. A note on etymology

When it is reasonably sure, the etymology of each lexical entry is given. It appears between bold, square brackets, at the end of the entry block, immediately preceding the next entry. The proto-languages cited are generally poc 'Proto Oceanic' or PNCV 'Proto North-Central Vanuatu'; the references include Ross (1988) for POc forms, and Clark $(1985,2000)$ for PNCV. We have endeavoured to harmonise each author's orthography, thus adopting $\mathbf{g}$ (instead of Clark's $\mathbf{q}$ ) for [ ${ }^{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{g}$ ], and $\boldsymbol{g}$ (instead of $\mathbf{g}$ ) for [ $\left.\mathfrak{g}\right]$. For other conventions, see the authors cited.

The meaning of the reconstructed form is given only if it is different from the Araki entry, for example

Toholau pl.n. east, east wind.
[PNCV*tokalau(r) 'northerly wind']
In a few cases, modern languages from Vanuatu are cited. If we believe the Araki term is a loanword from this language, it appears alone:

Tahuna ~Rahuna. pl.n. south, south wind.
[Tangoa tahu-na 'its back = south end of the island']
If we believe that Araki is only cognate with, but not borrowed from a word in another language, then it is preceded by the tag ' Cf .', as in:
> sohon vt. put way, put into a bag or basket (food, object).

[Cf. Mota sogon 'bring together, pack, stow'; PNCV*soko 'add, join (?)']
This was done when the similarity between modern languages was more convincing or better established than the proto-form. References for these other languages include Ray (1926), Tryon (1976), Charpentier (1982), Clark (2000).

When no etymon can be found in our sources, but we personally have strong evidence for positing a (putative) ancient form in Pre-Araki - according to regular sound correspondences with other languages, and so on - this is done with the symbol ' $<{ }^{\circ} \ldots$ '. as in the following:
comana ptc. 'plus': particle used in counting ...
[ ${ }^{\circ}$ domwa-na 'extra bit']
Finally, loanwords from European languages are presented the same way as when they come from within Vanuatu. Although these words have generally transited through Bislama, we do not mention it - unless it is made important by some significant semantic change:
pedeti $n$. bread, of European origin ...
[English bread]
ale a polysemic discourse particle ...
[fr. allez]
sut vi. go suddenly, hurry up ...
[Bisl. sut 'go off' ; English shoot]

### 9.2. Kinship terms

Before the dictionary itself, come three diagrams focussing on reference kinship terms. Table $9-51$ gives the main terms for consanguine relations across seven generations; the gender of Ego here is kept undifferentiated, except for a few terms which are marked by a specific symbol ( $\Delta$ for Ego male, ${ }^{\circ}$ for Ego female). The
two following charts give a blow-up on close consanguinity and affine relations (corresponding to the square box in the first table). Because terms differ a lot according to the gender of Ego, two distinct tables are proposed on this criterion: Table 9-52 for Ego male, Table 9-53 for Ego female.

All our conventions are summarised in the chart below:
© Gender of item: man ( $\mathbf{(}$ ) - woman ( $\boldsymbol{\bullet}$ ) - neutral ( $\boldsymbol{\square}$
elua- alienable term, always followed by a possessive suffix; non-hyphenated terms (for example 'ta') require General Classifier no-.
ta + there are other terms for the same relationship, but we only indicate one; the others can be found elsewhere in the chart.
$\Delta_{\text {ta }} \quad$ this term is used if EGO is male $\left({ }^{\Delta}\right) \mathrm{v}$. female $\left(^{( }\right)$
1 v .2 Relative age with EGO : born before (1) v. after (2) him italics kinship term used exclusively for affine relations
... this kin relation is being developed in the following tables

* relationship involved in marriage rules regarding widows (see for example entry elua $\sim$ in the dictionary)

The three tables for kinship terms are given below, and are immediately followed by the Araki-English Dictionary.

Table 9-51 Kinship terms: consanguine relations



Table 9-53 Kinship terms: close consanguinity and affines - Ego Female


Araki - English dictionary

### 9.3. Araki - English dictionary

## A - a

$-\mathbf{a}_{1} \quad$ obj. him, her: 3rd singular Object personal suffix. - Mo vari-a levu di mo hani-a. [inanimate object] They take the breadfruit and eat it. $\cdot \mathbf{N a}$ lpo lesi-a racu mo hese hosun. [animate object] I'll try and see that man. - Ha huden pultan-i-a paru-mim! [plural referent] Put all your heads together!
-áa ${ }_{2}$ obj. me: 1st singular Object personal suffix. • Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á? So it was you who insulted me yesterday? || It is a brief stressed $/ \mathrm{a} /$, opp. 3rd singular unstressed suffix $l-\mathrm{a} /$.

$$
\left[P O C^{*} \text {-au }\right]
$$

aco $n$. a big fish, unidentified.
aco cigo-hese $n$. lit. 'single-beak aco': marlin or swordfish, huge fish with a long pointed nose (cigo). Xiphiidae spp.
ai $n$. water.
(1) fresh, drinkable water, collected from rain or from rivers (v. rasi, saltwater). • Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho. Heat some water until it is really boiling! - Co pa ÿei-a ai co wet-i-a as. He'll wet the rope. [lit. He'll make some water wet the rope]
(2) a place with fresh water: stream, river, lake. - Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai? Why don't you like bathing in the river?
ai v̈adug $n$. lit. 'hot water': hot drink of western origin: coffee, milk chocolate, and esp. tea. • Ruai, ham levse inu ai v̈adug? In olden times, did you use to drink tea?
ai m̈ara~ sfn. lit. 'eye water': tears.
[POc*waiR ‘water’]
aiole excl. yippee! great! Children's exclamation of joy. Aiole, aiole, vulum̈am co sohe-na! Yippee, we want red hair like him!
aka sfn. (1) boat. • Re co pele sna co holo aka! Someone come and man the boat!
(2) (esp) outrigger canoe. • Mo rai-a aka ini-a, mo v̈e otome sohe aka. He carved himself a canoe, just as if it were a real canoe.

$$
[P O C * \text { waga }(\mathrm{n})]
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ale ptc. a polysemic discourse particle.
(1) okay, well. Expresses acceptation or resignation. - Huira mo de 'Ale,
o sna sadai lo pili-ku!' 'Okay', said the octopus, 'come and sit on my shoulders.' - 'Na lpo si na lesi-a ra.' Ram̈a-na mo vadai-a mo de 'Ale, o Ipo si!' 'I'd like to go and see him.' His father answered 'Okay, go and see him!' Syn. codo.
(2) and then, later. Introduces a new event, esp. in a story. - 'Ta, nam po-i-a vada 0 rai re aka-ku.' Ale, ram̈a-na mo rai-a aka-na. 'I'd like you to carve me a canoe.' And so his father carved him a canoe. - Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo m̈a mo m̈a. He put (the flower) on his head, then set off.
(3) now. Marks a logical pause in speech, introducing a new argument. • Mo v̈a ro; ale p̈ira mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle $\mathbf{v a}$. He went on his way; now there was a woman who lived on the other side of the cape.
(4) so, I was saying. Reverts to an idea one had dropped temporarily. - Ale, mo mare mo rud lo paisa sala ... So, there was (this tree) that was standing dead by the wayside.
(5) finally, lastly. Presents the last of an enumeration, or the conclusion of a story. •Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈a-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na; ale mo rai-a vose mara co pa sua nia. He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs; lastly he carved an oar with which to paddle. - Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na. And it was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean. • Ale, kam sna wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu, viha hosun mo ciha. Finally after one
week, that tree ended up in flames, and disappeared.

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\text { [ } F r \text {. allez] }
$$

alo n. sun.
aloalo $v i$. (impers) be sunny; late in the morning. - Hede, na pa rudu co aloalo. Today I'll get up when the sun's up high (I'll have a lie-in).
[PNC ${ }^{*}$ yalo]
alovi $v$ t. beckon, wave to <s.o.>. - Nam lesi rapala-ku nam alovi-a. $I$ saw a friend, and I waved to him. || This is done by raising the arm horizontally, and then folding the hand downwards, towards the body; the meaning is 'Come here for a second!'.
alovi-ha~ sfn. (met) lit. 'waving to my food [ha~]': uvula. || Its name compares it with the gesture of a waving hand.

$$
\left[P N C V^{*} \text { ?alo-vi; } P O C * \text { qalo(p) }\right]
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alua vi. go out (from a place). •Nam alua, usa mo sivo ro. When I went out, it was raining. Syn. m̈alue.
[ $P N C V, P O C$ *lua 'out, away']
aparavusa $n$. Pink squirrelfish, bsl. Redfis: reef fish, 16 cm Sargocentron tieroides.
aru conj. if, suppose. Can have a Counterfactual value, as well as refer to a possible event in the future. - Aru mo usa, mo pa re ai. If it had rained [last week], we would have water. - Aru mo usa, co pa re ai. If it rains [next week], we will have water. Syn. vada; co de. (cf. Grammar)
asi ~ as. n. (1) any kind of natural liana or climbing plant.
as nadenade $n$. probably a second name for kaulu, the 'sensitive'
grass (bsl. Grass-Neel). Mimosa pudica.
as mara $n$. lit. 'snake rope': tree liana. Entada pursaetha.
as Merika n. lit. 'American rope': k.o. liana, of quick growth. Mikania micrantha. || Its name recalls that it was introduced during World War Two, when the Americans had settled on Santo island.
2) rope, string, thread. - Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia. He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmeree with it to catch the coconut crab.

* sfn. (esp) rope for [canoe]: ties knotted around wooden pegs (laku) which hold fast the outrigger (cam̈a) to the horizontal poles (evua) of the canoe (see aka). - Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈a-na. He carved a canoe, made the ropes, and then the outrigger.

$$
[P O C * \text { wasi }(\mathrm{n})]
$$

Auta pl.n. north, north wind. I| Probably a place-name.
avai ~ ava. n. rayfish, stingray. Dasyatididae spp.

$$
\left[P N C V^{*} \text { vaRi; } P O C * \operatorname{paRi}(\mathrm{q})\right]
$$

avu vi. Red. avuavu.
(1) [bird] fly. • M̈aci mo avuavu nda povi. The birds all took flight.
(2) (hence) [s.th.] fly away, soar, glide. •Vivada mo avu lag mo vari-a. The reed flies away, taken up by the wind.
mäaci avuavu $n$. lit. 'flying animal': bird, v. fish. Periphrase to distinguish between two meanings of the word m̈aci, both 'fish' and 'bird'.
avulai ~ avlai. vi. glad, happy. - Nanaru-ku mo avulai m̈ara vada mo usa. My children are happy when it rains. - Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko. I'm very glad to have met you.

$$
\mathbf{C}-\mathbf{c}
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-ca ~ -co (after $/ 0-$ ). . obj. us (Inclusive): 1st plural Inclusive Object suffix. - Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa. I watch the ripples swaying us to and fro. - Mo sovi-ca ro. He's waiting for us.

* pp.sf. our (Inclusive): 1st plural Inclusive possessive suffix. - nnaru-ca our children

$$
\left[P O C^{*}-\mathrm{da}\right]
$$

cada sfn. (1) place. • Daki, lo cada mo
hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi. ... in Araki, in a place called Leruvahi. - Ras mo roho cada vono. The sea is far away [stays remote place] - lo cada tade everywhere
(2) country, (s.o.'s) land, village. • lo cada-m in your country Syn. peli.
(3) (s.o.'s) post, place during an activity. - Na na sa na vari-a cada-m. I'm coming to replace you [take your place].
(4) place usually dedicated to
(object, action). • cada velu dance area • cada ruvaruva waist [place to gird oneself]
(5) designates the present situation, e.g. in weather phrases. - Cada mo vadug! It's hot! [the place is hot] - Cada mo m̈am̈asa. It's dry, we're having a heatwave.
[PNCV*zara 'village clearing']
cai ~ca. sfn. blood. •Cai-na mo dodo. He's bleeding. [his blood is flowing] [PNCV*daRa; POC*draRaq]
cam $_{1} \quad$ sbj. we (Inclusive): 1st inclusive plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. - Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro. We cannot see him, yet he exists. See $\mathrm{ca}_{1}$.
cam $_{2}$ n. yam, the traditional staple food. Dioscorea spp. • isa cam field of yams •M̈ala mo lesi-a huda-udara-ni cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no. The hawk saw pieces of yam stuck between (the rat's) teeth. - Mo v̈ei-a m̈ada mara mo tilavo cam. [in case of hunger] They prepare breadfruit-biscuit (mada) whenever they lack yam.
cam hahada $n$. lit. 'red yam': one of the many varieties of yam, with reddish flesh.
[PNCV*damu]
cam̈a sfn. outrigger of a canoe. - Mo rai-a aka, mo rai-a cam̈a-na. He carved a canoe, then the outrigger. See aka.
[PNCV*zama; POC*saman]
carauta ~ tarauta. n. shore, beach, bank. •Huira mo च̈a rkel-i-a tarauta mo hudeni hadiv. The
octopus finally reached the shore, where it left the rat. - Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta. They dig a hole on the shore. See onono 'sand'.
[Tangoa tarauta]
cau n. coconut crab. Birgus latro. - Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs. || Anthr. This terrestrial crustacean is highly appreciated for its flesh, and traditionally hunted (cf. ele).
[PNCV*daweRu]
$\mathbf{c e}_{1}$ mod. no: negation, placed between the Subject and the verb or predicate. - Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m. You shall not marry nor shall you have any children. - Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a. Men don't eat dogs. • Mo ce na hosun nam nak-i-a racu. (lit.) It's not me who killed this man. •Lo mäaudi-ku, nam ce misi han re. [with misi] I'd never eaten any before in all my life. See kan 'Prohibitive'. (cr. Grammar)
$\mathbf{c e}_{2} \quad$ vi. defecate. || Instead of $\mathbf{N a}$ sa ce. 'I'm going to shit', one says more politely $\mathbf{N a}$ va lo hudara. 'I'm going into the forest'.
cece v.ad. for good; part. in a negative sense. - Sule mo ciha cece. The stone has disappeared for ever. - Nida mo m̈are cece. They are dead for good.
ce-re pred. || Synt. Always preceded by a subject clitic, Realis mo or Irrealis co. Morph. ce + re (there is). (cf. Grammar)
(1) not be there, not exist. $\cdot$ Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce-re no-no paua. Today that place is inhabited, because its power (that of the
bewitched tree) no longer exists. • Store m̈ara mo ce-re hanhan mo hilu hosu. This is the end of the story about food shortage. [lit. the story about there-is-no food] • Nanovi, nam de na v̈a na rai re viha; mo ce-re dip̈a, nam pa ce v̈a. Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but as I didn't have an axe, I didn't go. • Nko pa ce lahi co ce-re naru-m. You shall not marry nor shall you have any children. [lit. there won't be your child]
(2) no. Word-sentence indicating a negative reply to a question. - Rav̈alu wik, co pa usa vo co ce-re? Will it rain next week or not? - Mo ce-re! No! See voni.
ceu vt. (1) pass by, overtake. • Va racu Supe mo re ceu-ca mo iso! That man Supe has overtaken us!
(2) outstrip, outmatch. • Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan. The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.
(3) [after a first verb] forms the comparative. - Nam levosai mo ceu-ko. I am more intelligent than you. - Mo suiha mo ceu nohosu nam com̈comin-i-a. He is stronger than I thought. (Cf. Grammar)
cici $n$. penis. • Cici-m mo ra lap̈a! [strong abuse to a man] lit. You big cock! See pile 'female genitals'. [PNCV*Zizi]
cida sfn. sperm.
cida-na! excl. lit. 'his/its semen!': swear word uttered by men, in a situation of anger: cf. English 'fuck'.
cidi sfn. [hum, animal] bottom, backside. •Daga vi-adu di mo
vcan-i-a lo cidi-n hadiv. Casuarina's branch reached the rat's bottom. See ravuhi cidi 'buttocks'.
cigo sfn. (1) [animal] snout, bill. • aco cigo-hese swordfish [single-beak fish]
(2) (rare) [hum] mouth, esp. from outside. • cigo-ku my mouth see vava 'mouth (inside)'.

* n. cape, sea promontory. - Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia rav̈al cigo. Another man lived over there on the other side of the cape.
[PNCV*zino]
ciha vi. (1) disappear, vanish. • Ha-ku hina mo re ciha! My meal's vanished! - Sule mo ciha cece. The stone has disappeared for ever.
(2) (euph) pass away, die. - Nam sohani-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo ciha. I sent this letter the day my grandfather passed away.
cihi n. croton, bsl. Nangaria. Codiaeum variegatum.
ciliv n. pot, recipient; partic. earthenware pot still made in the west of Santo - but not in Araki. - ciliv lep̈a earthenware pot
civi n. Rainbow Lorikeet, Coconut Lory, bsl. Nasiviru: k.o. multicoloured lory flying in noisy flocks. Trichoglossus haematodus.
[PNCV*siviri]
co $_{1}$ sbj. he, she: 3rd singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. - Co pa vei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia. He will wet the rope, and will climb to the top of the palm tree to catch the coconut
crab. - Re co pele sna co holo aka! Let someone come and man the boat! - Vulu-m̈am co sohe-na! [plural referent] (we want) our hair to be like that! See mo; -na.
$\mathbf{C O}_{2} \quad s b j$. we (Inclusive): 1st inclusive plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. - Nia deci, co ce levse dogo. He's far away, we can't hear him. - Nre dan co pa シ̈anö̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila. One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster! See cam; -ca.
co de conj. lit. 'let's say': suppose, if. seede.
$-\mathrm{CO}_{3}$ pp.sf. our (Inclusive): allomorph of the possessive suffix -ca following a vowel /o/. • no-co sodo our language (i.e. Araki)
- obj. our (Inclusive): allomorph of the Object suffix -ca following a vowel /o/. • Ta mo dogo-co vo mo ce-re? Did dad hear us?
coco $n$. (1) cloud, partic. a dark raincloud. • coco usa a cloud of rain
(2) night. • Lolo coco mo pa usa. Last night it rained
\& vi. [impersonal] be night, be dark. - Nanov nam pa hanhan mo re coco. Yesterday, it was already dark/ night when I had dinner.
* adj. black, dark. • Mo hada coco. It's dark red see vidiha 'black'.
* v.ad. perform an action V until it is night (coco), hence: all day long, without stopping. • Nanovi, mo usa coco. Yesterday, it rained all day long.
[PNCV*dodo 'dark cloud'; POC *rodo(y)
'rain cloud']
cocole sfn. throat. - Cocole-ku mo hac-i-á. I've got a sore throat.
[PNCV*dolo (?) 'swallow']
codiha adj. yellow, orange. Morph. -ha (?).
codo phr. okay, no problem. Expresses acceptation or resignation. • Codo o sna, codo o sna! Okay, okay, you may come. Syn. ale.
cohi $n$. turmeric. Zingiber sp.
colo vi. (1) [ship+] sink. •Aka mo colo. The boat is sinking.
(2) [hum] get drowned. •Niko pa colo lo rasi. You'll end up drowning in the sea. - Mo nak pilai va pira honi mo si mo colo. He killed the young woman in one blow, and she sank (to the bottom of the water).
colog vt. close, shut, stop a hole. - O colog-i-a botel nohoni! Cork up that bottle!
* $n$. cork, lid of a bottle. • Nene mara vahuden-i-a colog botel. This is for taking corks out of bottles.
comana ptc. 'plus': particle used in counting items from 11 to 19, between the word for 'ten' (sagavulu) and the numeral for units. It is not used for other multiples of ten (see gavulu). - racu mo sa-gavulu ten people - racu mo sa-gavulu comana mo hese eleven [ten plus one] people • racu mo sa-gavulu comana mo $\mathbf{\text { vari}}$ fourteen [ten plus four] people • racu mo gavul dua (*comana) mo rolu twenty-three [10x2, three] people (Cf. Grammar)
[< © domwa-na 'extra bit']
comil vi. sad; sorry. • Nam comii. I'm sorry!
\& vt. (1) be sad because of <s.o.>, regret. • Nida mo comin naivou-da, m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro. They are sad because of their wives, who left home with (the men from the other island) dancing.
(2) take pity on, sympathise with <s.o.>. • Nam comïi-ko. I sympathise with you.
(3) aid, help, assist <s.o.>. - O comini-á! Help! [lit. take pity of me] See ruen 'help'.
$\because$ sfn. (1) mind, thought, ideas.
(2) state of mind (good or bad). - Comini-na mo ce holo-ho. [his mind was not good] He was anxious. - Comini-m co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono. You will lose the joy of living [your mind will be bad], you will be a wretched man.

> [PNCV*domi 'think (about), love']
com̈icom̈i ~ com̈com̈. vt. think. || Reduplicated form of comi.
(1) think, reflect; believe that. • Mo suiha mo ceu nohosu nam com̈com̈-i-a. $H e$ 's stronger than I thought. - Mo ravur mo sa mo ce com̈com̈ rap̈ala-na mo re m̈are mo iso. He ran away at once, without thinking of his friend's death. Syn. de.
(2) be sad about; mourn <s.o.>. - Kam pa mis comiicomii ram̈amam. We are still mourning our father. See ragi-si-.
com̈com̈ $n$. thought, idea; plan, project; meaning. - Nam poe na pa v̈ei-a no-ku com̈com. I want to make my dream/plans come true.
covi vi. fall, fall down. Often followed by Directional vb sivo '(go) down'. • Mo ran-i-á nam covi. He pushed me over. - Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. A man brings a stone, throws it up in the air and waits for it to fall down on the ground.

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\left[P N C V^{*}\right. \text { zovi ‘fall (on)'] }
$$

cu adj. good, nice; in good shape or in good health. • Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu. I heard your voice, and thought to myself that it might be a beautiful boy. - Mo ce re epe-na cu. His body was not healthy. Syn. holo.
cudi vt. pull, drag <canoe> to the water; put out to sea. - Mo cudi-a aka-na mo sua mo ÿa mo च̈a mo v̈a. He dragged his canoe down to the water, and started to paddle and paddle.
[PNCV*zuri 'let go, leave, put down']
cudug $v t$. $\pi$ r cudugi-. perforate, make a hole in <a surface>. • Hede na pa pisu cudug-i-a aka-ca! [the hawk] I'm going to make a hole in this canoe with my claws!
cue sfn. heel. • cue-ku my heels
cuga~ pos.cl. share, piece (belonging to s.o.). Possessive Classifier designating either a share of food within a group, or a catch (fishing, hunting). • cuga-ku viha my piece of firewood (I am carrying) - cuga-m maci your catch of fish or the bird you shot • Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso. My piece of pudding (opp. yours) is already cooked. (c. Grammar)
cuge $n$. (1) outside.
(2) (esp) [house] in front of the house; private space outside the home situated in front of the family dwelling. • Ra vadi mo mia mo dodo lo cuge ima honin. The children came to play here in front of the house.
cuha vi. move, change places. - Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo masavàa m̈ara-na. [myth of Araki] It was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean. - $\mathbf{O}$ cuha! Move over! See tipa 'move'.
cuhu sfn. back. • Cuhu-ku mo hac-i-á. My back aches. Syn. liuha.
cuhuvoru n. Black sweetlips, bsl.

Tiklips: reef fish, 50 cm Plectorhynchus gibbosus. See cuhu 'back'.
culi sfn. shoot of a plant, esp. taro or banana, used in horticulture. - culi pera taro shoot

$$
\left[P N C V^{*} \text { suli; } P O C^{*}(\mathrm{~s}, \mathrm{j}) \mathrm{uli}(\mathrm{q})\right]
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cum n. Picassofish, bsl. Strongskin: reef fish, 34 cm Balistes aculeatus.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ sumu 'triggerfish']
cuma sfn. chest, sternum. - Cuma-na mo hac-i-a. She has a pain in her chest.
[PNCV *rumwa 'chest'; POC*Ruma]
cuvu n. grass; generic term.

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\mathbf{D}-\mathbf{d}
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da $_{1}$ pf. leaf of. Derivative prefix allowing to form certain names of leaves from the name of corresponding species. -da-pera taro leaf •da-holo coconut palm see dau.
da-ha n. generic name for leaves, used when no specific species is meant. See ha ${ }_{3}$.
[PNCV*rau; POC* raun 'leaf']

- $\mathrm{da}_{2} \sim$-do (after 10 ). obj. them: 3rd plural Object suffix. • Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui. There's another kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui. See nida.
* pp.sf. their: possessive suffix 3rd plural. • Racu mo hese nda-n venaru-na, mo ro ha lo ima-da.

There was a man and his daughter, who were living in their house. • Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo maudi-da. Several signs reveal their destiny to people. - Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi. [with adj. hase~ 'alone'] Only the inhabitants of Tanna eat dogs.

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\text { [POC }{ }^{*} \text {-dra] }
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daca sfn. [hum, animal] ribs. - daca-ku my ribs $\cdot$ ha-ku daca po my pork ribs [for eating]
daga n. branch of a tree; stick. • daga vi-adu a branch of Casuarina • Daga viha mo lare. The branch broke. See hapasi 'stem'; dau 'leaf'. [PNCV*ra(r, y$) \mathrm{a}$; POc *raqan 'branch']
daga pahuda n. lit. 'branch of tamanu (vi-p̈ahuda)': Oriental sweetlips,
bsl. Yelo tiklips: reef fish, 50 cm Plectorhynchus orientalis.
dagodago $n$. Blackfin barracuda, bsl. Sofis: reef fish, 60 cm Sphyraena genia.
dai ~da. art. [ + noun $N]$ plural article. - Dai maci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina! The birds have eaten my meal! • Mo च̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun. He did all those things. • Ham̈ali, ima-na da racu povi. The nakamal is the house for all men. $\bullet$ Nam sovi dai naru-ku ro. I'm waiting for my children. || This article is optional, and often plurality of the referent is left implicit. (cr. Grammar)
dai nohosu rel. those who. • Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. Those who remained on the mainland can hear their voices.
daisi n. rice. Imported from overseas, and on the verge of becoming a daily diet throughout Vanuatu. - Kesi hanhan vutiana: pedeti; daisi; hina vutiana - pan ruai mo ce re hanhan. Nowadays, there is plenty of (different sorts of) food: bread, rice, many things; but in olden times, there was no food (like that).
[English rice]
Daki pl.n. Araki, a small island situated off Tangoa (Rago), of about a hundred inhabitants. Among them, only about ten people still speak the language of Araki. - sodosodo-ni Daki the language of Araki • Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈aha-sun Okava. Before, Araki was over there, in Hog Harbour.

- Daki mo rov nosun mo de Ralme-ä̈e. In Araki, (this devil) is called 'Ralme-ape'. || Myth. A myth relates how the island of Araki, formerly situated near Hog Harbour (Okava), one day broke away from the east coast of Santo and ended up in the south.
dani $\sim$ dan. $n$. (1) day. •(lo) dan mo hese ... one day ... •dan tade every day - Rav̈al wik, co pa usa lo ha-lim̈a dan. It's going to rain on Friday [lit. the fifth day] of next week. Syn. pog. Ant. coco. See nahodani 'morning'; nre dan 'sometimes'.
(2) (day of s.o., no~) life, life span. - Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi! [tale] Your days are over today. (You're going to die!)
lo dani conj. lit. 'the day (when)': [+ Clause] when, as. - Nam sohan-i-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo pa mis mäaudu ro. I sent this letter while [lit. the day when] my grandfather was still alive. •Lo dan Daki mo de hanhan co pa ce-re ... Whenever Araki lacks food ...

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[P N C V, P O C * \text { rani }]
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dap̈as vi. bounce, rebound. - Mo dogo paru-n rapala-na mo dap̈as kaura mo sivo mo vcan-i-a. Suddenly he heard his friend's head bounce up into the tree and fall to the ground.
dau sfn. [plant] leaf, palm leaf. • dau holo coconut palm leaf [Syn. da-holo] - dau vinini palm-tree leaf - Via v̈alalap̈a, dau-na ra v̈alalap̈a. The big taro has big leaves. See da-.
[PNCV*rau; POC*raun 'leaf]
dauaro $n$. sago palm, bsl. Natangora.

Metroxylon warburgii. || Anthr. This plant is mainly used for thatching purposes.
[PNCV*rau + *ato; POc* ${ }^{\text {qatop 'sago }}$ palm, thatch']
dau-dada $n$. Oyena majorra, bsl. Silvafis: reef fish, 20 cm Gerres oyena. || Lit. 'leaves of Erythrina' (vi-dada), because of its moiré aspect.
dave $n$. hermaphrodite pig, of great customary value (bsl. narave). See po.
[PNCV*rave]
de $v t$. [de is the main verb of the sentence] say; hence refers to most mental relations between a subject (speaker, actor ...) and a given state-of-affairs: thought, will, habit, etc. (cf. Grammar)
(1) say, declare. • Om de sa? What did you say? • Hadiv mo de 'Aka mo moru'. And the rat said 'My canoe is tiny!' Syn. vadai; sodo.
(2) (esp) they say that; so they say. - Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo v̈ei-a hanhan mo hese Daki. One day there was a big feast in Araki, so they say. Syn. sodo.
(3) mean, signify, imply; be a sign (e.g. magic) that. - Vada mo avuavu mo le ma mo vodo lo vi-p̈aka, vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli. If (the reed) ends its flight by landing on a banyan tree, this means that you will be a chief. - Cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a. [myth of mountain Tumepu fighting against Araki island] The white scar we see reminds us of the blow it received from Araki. [lit. 'We see it's white, this tells that Araki hit it'].

- Radami-na mo de pira hosun co pa m̈alue nene. This signifies [The signification says] that this woman will leave this place. See radami.
(4) [+Realis] think, believe. • Om de nam m̈an p̈ala sa ro? What do you think I was making fun of? • Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu. $I$ could hear your voice, and thought it might be a good-looking boy. - Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau. Someone was there scratching the trunk of the palm tree no doubt a coconut crab, he thought. Syn. com̈com.
(5) [+Irrealis] want, wish, intend. - Nanovi, nam de na v̈a na rai re viha; mo ce re dip̈a, nam pa ce v̈a. Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but I didn't have an axe, so I didn't go. • Huira mo lolokodu mo de co pa nak-i-a. In a rage, the octopus wanted to kill him. Syn. poe; dogo.
(6) value of Prospective or Near Future. Hardly different from Irrealis alone. - Mo de co hanhan pedesi-á. (=Co hanhan pedesi-á) He's going to come and eat with me.
(7) (hence) marks a process as virtual, hypothetic or iterative: every time that, when, if. - Ras mo de mo mäa mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo mia mo lulu. Each time the waves hit it, (the octopus) changed colour, from black to white. [lit. the sea 'wanted' it came it hit ...] Syn. vada.
* conj. [Subj.+ de follows another verb, gen. with the same subject] Despite being conjugated in time and person, de functions as a verbconjunction. (Cf. Grammar)
(1) that. Introduces reported speech, whether direct or indirect, following verbs of speech. • Mo vadai mo de 'Ha dua!' He answered: 'Yes, you two!' • lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi in a place called Leruvahi [lit. one place they call-it they say $L$.] - Mo sodo nia so nene mo de racu mo sa kia ... They say that everyone goes to this place ... • Mo vavere sohe nene mo de ... And they started singing this song ... || Note. The conjunction mo de is optional in this case. Syn. vada.
(2) that. Introduces sentential clauses after verbs of thought. - Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a. He realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil. • Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo marahu. Hearing that, the rat was seized with fright [he felt he was frightened] - Mo lesi-a mo de pana racu vavono. She saw (and thought) that it was no doubt another man.
(3) that. Introduces sentential clauses after verbs of will. - Om poe-i-a o d'o pa racu lap̈a? You want to be [lit. that you become] an important person? - Mo v̈e lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a ha ce levsei nak-i-a nre dan. They try and kill him [try that they kill-him], but they never succeed. Syn. vada.
(4) [+Irrealis] so that, with the intention of, in order to. - Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to find crabs. - Mo m̈a mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia. (Araki island) came here, with the intention of settling between Tangoa and

Elia. Syn. m̈ara.
co de conj. lit. 'let us say': if, suppose. - Co de co v̈a m̈ara-n re cada o pa kaka gisa? If we left this place, when will you reach (the other side)? • Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan. If/When you stop crying, you can have your dinner. Syn. vada. Morph. co (1Inc:Ir) + de. (Cf. Grammar)
vada mo de conj. when, as; if, suppose. • Pani viha hosun mo rudu lo sala, vada mo de mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese. And one day when it was raining, from this tree standing in the road, a drop of water fell on someone.
deci pred. far away, remote. - Nia deci, co ce levse dogo. He's far away, he can't hear. Ant, ravui. See vono.
desi $\sim$ des. $n$. Great hog plum, bsl. Naos. Spondias cythera.
des tasale $n$. lit. 'foreign naos': pawpaw. Carica papaya.
dev̈e vt. (1) pull, draw, drag. • Mo rai-a da-holo, mo dev̈e mo sivo lo rasi. They cut coconut palms and drag them to the seashore.
(2) (esp) to fish, catch <fish>. - Mo sivo mo de dev̈edev̈e m̈aci, pani mo ce var re hina. He went fishing, but he didn't catch anything.
[PNCV*'rave 'pull']
di art. [following a noun N] optional definite article: the, this. • $\ddot{\text { Vapa di}}$ mo roho sahan kaura. That cave is up there in the hills. • Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu. The story (I am telling) ends here. - Huira mo roho ro raholo lo cada di. There's an octopus living right
in this place. Syn. va. (cr. Grammar)
dip̈a $n$. axe. •Nanovi, nam de na v̈a na rai re viha; mo ce-re dipa, nam pa ce ت̈a. Yesterday I wanted to go and cut some wood; but as I didn't have an axe, I didn't go. •Mo vari-a no-no dipa, no-no sï̈a, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe.
doco vi. Red. docodoco. sick, ill. •Lo wik mo v̈a mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa holo-ho. Last week I was sick; but now I'm well. •Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo m̈are. One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water fell on to a man, who fell sick and died.
dodo $_{1}$ vi. [liquid] run, flow. •Cai-ku mo dodo. I'm bleeding. [lit. my blood is running]
dodo $_{2}$ vi. play, have fun. • Ra vadi mo ma mo dodo lo cuge ima honin. The children came to play here in front of the house.
[Cf. Akei roro]
dogo vt. (1) hear <s.o., s.th.>. •Mo dogo leo-do ro, mo v̈a, mo ra hetehete, mo ce le dogo otomie. At first their voices could be heard; but little by little they died down so much that they could no longer be heard. - P̈ira hosun mo dogo mo le sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a. As soon as she heard him, the woman ran to look, and saw him. - Nam ce levsei dogo-ko. I can't hear you.
(2) feel physically <s.th.>. Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á. I feel the effect of kava. [lit. I feel kava is striking me]

- Om dogo cada mo v̈adug? Are you feeling [it is] hot?
(3) feel one way or another, feel well or ill. •Nam dogo leo-m, nam dogo mo holoho. I heard your voice and I felt good. • Om dogo mo holo ro? Do you feel alright? Are you okay? see roho.
(4) feel that, realise that s.th. is going on: [dogo + (conj. mo de) + Realis]. - Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo marahu. The Rat felt (that) he was frightened.
(5) feel like, fancy (doing): [dogo + (conj. mo de) + Irrealis]. - Nam dogo na inu re hae. I fancy drinking some kava. - Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo ras. They don't feel like coming to Araki any more, for fear of drowning in the sea.
$\left[P N C *^{*}\right.$ rojo 'hear, smell, feel' $;$
POC*
dovo vi. flee, escape, run away. - Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa 10 ima. When he realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil, he fled all the way home. Syn. sihiri.
[ ${ }^{\prime} N C V^{*}$ rovo ' $r$ run, flow, jump, fly'; POC*Ropok]
dö̈a n. (1) traditional wooden plate, esp. large dish used for preparing pudding (udeece).
(2) (gen) plate.
[Cf. Malo rova]
dua num. two.
(1) two. Always preceded either by a subject clitic (gen. mo), or by Numeral classifier (for human referent) rapudo. • Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha
elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs. - O huden-i-a v̈erali lo m̈asapazan dai cea nohosu mo dua. Put the bananas between these two chairs. - Co dua! Join me!/Let me join you! [lit. Let us be two!] •lo ha-dua dan on Tuesday [the second day]
(2) [following personal marker] appears in residual, optional forms of dual pronouns. - Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo. I met someone, and we (two) started talking. - Kesi mo dua medesai, hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai. Today
they (two) are enemies: the Rat and the Octopus are enemies. (cf. Grammar)
[ $P N C V, P O C *$ rua]
dudu n. clothes. • no-ku dudu my clothes
dudu sfn. the underside of (s.th). - O huden-i-a v̈erali lo dudu tep. Put the bananas underneath the table.
dukoko n. lit. 'going through holes': Blackedge thicklip wrasse, bsl. Tiklips blufis: reef fish, 50 cm Hemigymnus melaptarus.


## E-e

ecene $v t . T_{r}$ eceni-. sell, make business out of <s.th.>. • Lo nahodani nam ecen-i-a ratio mo rolu. This morning I sold three radios. - Nam ecene paniavu ro. [incorporated object] $I$ sell pineapples. Ant. voli.
ede vi. open, be open. • M̈arasala mo ede. The door is open. - M̈arasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho. This door doesn't open easily.

* vt. open <s.th.>. - Mo re ede m̈ara-sala-ku. He has opened my door.
[Cf. Tangoa roe]
edevu n. Imperata reed, bsl. Waetgras. Imperata cylindrica. See vivada.
ele vt. Red. elele.
(1) seek, search, look for. - Nam ele no-ku pen ro, om lesi-a vo mo ce-re? I am looking for my pen, have you seen it or not?
(2) go after, hunt for, look for. $\cdot$ Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs.
(3) learn. - Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku. I learnt your language by myself. [ ${ }^{2} \mathrm{NCV}^{*} \mathrm{le}$ ?o (?) 'wake up, open eyes']
Elia pl.n. Elia, a small islet close to Araki. - Mo m̈a mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia. (Araki island) came here, with the intention of settling between Tangoa and Elia.
elua~ sfn. Syn. lala; m̈ara~з; rahura~.
(1) $[\mathrm{Ego} \mathrm{M} / \mathrm{F}]$ uncle: brother of mother, or husband of aunt (tetei~, vuggo~). || Anthr. [Ego M] Several kin laws show my uncle elua~ to be a 'second me'. If I die, my uncle (or preferably my elder brother roha~) must take care of my wife, children
and properties; he becomes her new husband (rua~), with no need to buy her (voli). While I am alive, my uncle calls my wife his niece (velua~, see also sense 3 below). I consider his children [i.e. my cross-cousins] as my own children (tu~, naru~), and they treat me as a father (ta).
(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. See v-elua~ 'niece'.
(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. || Anthr. My husband's uncle, whom I also call my uncle (elua~), calls me his niece (v-elua~). If my husband dies, this man takes me as his wife; in which case he calls me naivou~ (wife).
[PNCV*aloa 'uncle, nephew'; POC* qalawa]
ep̈a sfn. pandanus mat, esp. used as a mattress on a bed. - Nanovi nam goro lo epa nene. Yesterday I slept on this mat. See sale. [PNCV*eba; POc* ${ }^{*}$ qebal 'pandanus mat'] ep̈e sfn. body, esp. with relation to health. - Mo ce re epe-na cu. His body was not healthy. • Inko kesin epe-m mo holo. But I can see your body is healthy.
[PNCV, POC*abe]

| Main parts of the body |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| epie-ku | my body |
| paru-ku ${ }^{\circ}$ | my head |
| lima-ku ${ }^{\circ}$ | my hands, arms |
| sadi-ku ${ }^{\circ}$ | my legs, feet |
| cuhu-, liuha-ku | my back |
| cuma-ku | my chest |
| rali-ku ${ }^{\circ}$ | my guts |
| sui-ku | my bones |
| hudi-ku | my skin |
| cai-ku | my blood |
| mani-ku | my veins |
| (Words marked by a ${ }^{\circ}$ display a more |  |
| detailed list of words in this lexicon) |  |

ese sfn. chin, lower jaws (between ears). • ese-ku my chin
[PNCV*ase; POC*qase]
evua sfn. canoe yoke: horizontal pole on canoe to which outrigger (cam̈a) is attached. - Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈a-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na. He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs. || Generally three per canoe, these yokes are fixed to the outrigger by means of small wooden pegs (laku), which are themselves fastened with ropes (asi). See aka.

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\mathbf{G}-\mathbf{g}
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gaga n. Java almond, bsl. Nangae. Canarium indicum. [ ${ }^{\circ}$ ๆaŋai; PNCV*?aŋaRi; $\left.P O C^{*}[\mathrm{ka}] \mathrm{paRi}\right]$
galsu sfn. nose. •galsu-ku my nose

- koko galsu-na his nostrils
[PNCV*ganisu (?)]
gavulu ~ gavul. num. [foll. by a numeral] ten times, tens. Forms all multiples of ten in counting,
except for 'ten' sa-gavulu. • racu mo <sa-gavulu> ten people $\bullet$ racu mo <sa-gavulu> comana mo dua twelve (10+2) people $\cdot$ racu mo <gavul dua> twenty (10x2) people -racu mo <gaval rolu> mo hese thirty-one (10x3 +1) people • racu mo <gavul sa-gavulu> mo sa-gavulu a hundred and ten $(10 \times 10+10)$ people ( $C$. Grammar)

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[P O \subset * \text { sa-napulu }(q) \text { 'ten'] }
$$

gigisa vi. grin, smile. - Kam̈im po ha gigisa, ha gigisa na lesi hoco-mim. Smile everybody, so that I see your teeth. See m̈ana 'laugh'.
[PNCV*nisa; POC*ninis]
gisa ~ agisa. inter. when, what time. - Co de co च̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka (a)gisa? If we left from the same spot, when will you arrive (the other side)?
[PNCV*na?isa; POC*naican]
godigodi sfn. upper lip, place between nose and upper lip. - godigodi-ku my upper lip [PNCV*nori 'edge, upper lip’]
gole $s f n$. gums. • gole-ku my gums
goro vi. sleep, be asleep. - Kam̈am rapudo rolu kama sivo goro. The three of us are going to sléep. - Nam re goro mo iso. I have slept already. - Nanovi nam goro lo epa nene. Yesterday I slept on this mat.
[PNCV, POC * ºra 'snore, grunt, breathe']
Got ~ God. n. the Christian God. - Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan. God's power is stronger, stronger than Satan's power. || The island of Araki was christianised mainly by the Presbyterian Church. Syn. Supe; Siotatai. See skul; Titiai.
[ English God]

## H-h

ha $_{1}$ sbj. you (Pl): 2nd plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • Ha $\mathbf{\text { va, ha }}$ 槑, ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho. (all of you) go and heat some water until it's really boiling hot! • Hoto! Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu mo sna mo ulo mo de 'Ciuciu', ale kamim ha sodo ha de 'Kodogkoto kodogkoto': Hermit-crabs! If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here and sing 'Tsiwtsiw', you will have to say 'Korongkoto korongkoto'! See ham; -mim.
$\mathbf{h a}_{2}$ sbj. they: 3rd plural Subject
personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. - Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo ras. They don't want to come to Araki any more, for fear they might drown in the sea. - Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko. [non-specific reference] If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you (i.e. You will be killed and eaten by someone). See mo; -da.
$\mathrm{ha}_{3} \mathrm{vi}$. (rare) go, to be found (in a particular place). Generally
accompanies the question $\ddot{\mathbf{v}}$ 'where?'. •Paniavu nohosu nam voli-a mo ha ve? The pineapple I bought, where did it go? Syn. roho. See シ̈a.
[Cf. Tangoa ca ' go ']
$\mathrm{ha}_{4} \mathrm{rad}$. (anc) tree, wood. Used when the name of the tree species is not specified. • vi-levu a breadfruit tree - vi-ha a tree • da-pera a taro leaf -da-ha a leaf $\|$ Generic term for plants, features in nouns vi-ha 'tree, wood' and da-ha 'leaf'.
[ $P N C V, P O C *$ kayu 'tree, (piece of) wood']
ha $\sim_{5}$ pos.cl. Possessive Classifier for food. •Hadiv mo lesi cam ha-ni mala, mo han-i-a. The rat saw a piece of yam (reserved) for the hawk, and ate it. - Dai maci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina! The birds have eaten my meal! - Verasi-ku mo ragisi ha-na, nam vari-a nam sle nia mo han-i-a. [used as a noun] My younger sister was crying for her food, this is why I gave her [the breadfruit biscuit] for her to eat. (Cf. Grammar)

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[P N C V, P O C * \mathrm{ka}-]
$$

ha- ${ }^{6}$ pf. Ordinal.
(1) prefix associated with numbers to form ordinals (e.g. second, third). • ha-rolu third •ha-vari fourth || Only with numbers from 2 to 5. see mudu 'first'.
(2) (esp) prefix forming to name the days of the week, starting with the second day Tuesday. - Lo ha-dua dan, na pa lahi. I will marry on (next) Tuesday. • Rav̈al wik, co pa usa lo ha-lim̈a dan. It will rain on Friday of next week. See pog. (cr. Grammar)
[POC *paka- (?) 'Causative']
-ha ${ }_{7}$ ~ -ho (after 1of). suf. Intensive suffix; combines with a handful of stative verbs, mainly in affirmative sentences. - Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho! This is really good! • Rasi mo macimacihi-ha. The sea is very colourful. || Found in combination with holo, vsovso, m̈acim̈acihi - and probably lumi-ha, vurivuria-ha, sui-ha; as well as colours vidi-ha, codi-ha, sovuso-ho. (C. Grammar)
hac $v$. $T_{r}$ haci-. [Subj: body part] hurt, ache; be painful. - Cocole-ku mo hac-i-á. My throat hurts.
[Cf. Tangoa cazia]
hacavua adj. (1) [+plural referent] a lot, plenty; too many. - Om v̈eシ̈e hina hacavua! You work too much [lit. you do (too) many things]
(2) [+generic, singular referent] a lot, very much; too much. - Nam comii hacavua. I am so sorry! Syn. vutiana; lap̈a.
hada adj. Red. hahada.
(1) red. • cam hahada red yam (k.o. yam) - Mo hada coco. It's dark red.
(2) [vulu 'hair'] red or blond. - Vulu-na mo hahada. His hair is blond. See pada 'white-haired'.
hadaho vi. [child, animal] crawl, walk on all fours. - Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hotou mo de 'Om hadaho malum!' One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!' See ̈̈anov̈ano 'walk'.
[PNCV*karaka 'climb, crawl'; POC*kaRaka]
hadivi ~ hadiv. $n$. rat. • Kesi hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai.

Today the rat and the octopus are enemies. - Om lesi-a vici-n hadiv nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu. You can see the rat's tail resembles a branch of Casuarina.
hadiv tasale $n$. lit. 'European rat': cat.
hadiv paudoudo $n$. kind of flyingfox. Notopteris macdonaldi. See kada.
[PNCV*karivi 'rat']
hae $n$. kava, a root from which a narcotic drink is extracted. Piper methysticum. • Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á. I feel the effect of kava. [lit. I feel kava is hitting me] • Kam̈am Daki kam ce levsei inumi-a hae. We, people of Araki, do not [know how to] drink kava. || Anthr. The use of drinking kava was never common on Araki island, or was lost a long time ago.
[POC*kawa]
haiono num. six.

> [POC**onom]
haipiru num. seven.
[POC *pitu]
haisua num. nine.

$$
[P O C * \text { siwa }]
$$

hali sfn. nape of the neck. • Hali-m mo hac-i-ko vo mo ce-re? Is [the nape of] your neck hurting [or not]? See ua 'neck'.
ham sbj. you (Pl): 2nd plural Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. - Ham holo ro? Are you alright? • Ham mece. Thank you [lit. Y'all are thanked]. See ha ${ }_{1}$.
ham̈ali ~ ham̈al. $n$. men's clubhouse (bsl. nakamal), where eminent men (racu lapa) traditionally meet
and take important decisions. - Ham̈ali, ima-na da racu povi. The nakamal is the house for all men. $-\mathbf{O m}$ re v̈a mo iso lo hamali? Have you ever entered the nakamal?

$$
[P O C * \operatorname{kamali}(\mathrm{R})]
$$

han $v t$. $\pi_{r}$ hani-. eat, devour. - Nica co pa han re sa? What are we going to eat? • Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi. Only the inhabitants of Tanna eat dogs. - Mo m̈arahu maara ram̈are mo re han-i-a rapala-na mo iso. He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil. - Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko. [oracle] If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) you will be killed and eaten (by your enemies). See ha 'PosCl for food'.

$$
[P O C * \text { kani }]
$$

hanhan vi. eat (intr.), have lunch or dinner. - Om re hanhan mo iso? Have you already eaten? - Mo de co hanhan pedesi-á. He wants to eat with me. Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan. If/When you finish crying, you can have your dinner.

* n. (1) food, anything edible. •Lo dan Daki mo de hanhan co pa ce-re ... Whenever Araki lacks food ... - V̈eral ne mo ce v̈eral hanhan. This banana is not edible [lit. not a foodbanana'].
(2) act of eating, dinner, esp. in a social group: hence party, feast. - Mo de lo dan mo hese, mo v̈ei-a hanhan mo hese Daki. The legend says that one day, there was a big feast in Araki.
[ ${ }^{\text {POC * }}$ kanikani]
hapa ~hapa (?). sfn. [bird] wing. [PNCV*kaba-u; POC *kapak]

| Words connected with fire |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| hapu | fire |
| viha | wood |
| pariavu | ashes |
| pasule | stone oven |
| kodu | dry, burnt |
| ugu | burn (intr.) |
| polo | make, light (fire) |
| hasan | set fire to (wood+) |
| suli | burn, roast |
| runu | cook |
| ku | heat up (liquid) |
| vali | be boiling |
| vadug | hot |

hapu ~hap. $n$. fire. • Hapu mo ug. The fire is burning. - O polo re hap lapa! Please light a big fire! • P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu. I burnt my fingers in the fire. [PNCV*kabu 'fire, firewood']
hapani $n$. sail of a boat.
[PNCV*kabani]
hapasi sfn. [plant] stem. - Mo vari-a hapasi via, mo rai-a aka-na inia. (The Rat) took the stem of a wild taro, and cut himself a canoe out of it. See daga 'branch'; laho 'trunk'; dau 'leaf.
hari $v t$. bite. • P̈ahe mo hari-a sadi-ku! My leg got bitten by a shark! •Mohi mo levse hari-a racu. Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite men].
[PNCV*kaRa-ti; POC*kaRat]

Harua pl.n. west, west wind.
Probably a place-name.
hasan $v t . \pi$ hasani. light, set fire to <wood+>. • Mo vari-a dau vinini mo mäa mo hasan-i-a mo ug lapa. He took a palm-leaf from the palmtree, and made a big fire with it. See suli 'burn s.th.'; hapu 'fire'.
hase~ sf.adj. Adjective always followed by a possessive suffix, and generally associated to a preceding noun or pronoun.
(1) alone, only. Restricts the predicate to the Subject only. - Mada Tanna haseda, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi. Only the people from/on Tanna are used to eating dogs.
(2) by himself; esp. with no external help. - Daga viha mo lare hase-na. The branch of the tree broke itself (was not brought about by anyone) • Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku. I learnt your language by myself.
haualu num. eight. - pog haualu in eight days' time
[POC*walu]
haura adj. (1) hard, solid. • Paru haura! stubborn, pigheaded see sui-ha 'strong'.
(2) difficult, arduous, tough. - M̈arasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho. This door's difficult, it doesn't open easily.
[PNCV*kayua (?) ‘strong']
haviha n. Malay apple, bsl. Nakavika. Syzygium malaccense.

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\text { [PNCV*kavika; } P O C * \text { kapika }]
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havu $v t$. Red. havhavu. cover, wrap. Syn, tahavu.
havhavu m̈ara~ sfn. lit. 'eye-covering': eyelid.
havhavu page~ sfn. lit. 'belly-
covering': diaphragm. Syn havhavu rali~ 'gut-covering'.
[PNCV*kavu-ti 'wrap food, make laplap']
hav̈e n. crab, generic term. - Mo dogo have mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun. He heard a crab, which was there inside that tree.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { kave; } P O C * \text { kape }\right]
$$

hav̈ehav̈e sfn. armpit.
[Cf. Malo have; $P N C V^{*}$ ?avi-ŋga]
heca adj. blue, green. • kede-heca [bluetail] Bluespot mullet, a fish $\cdot$ Mo heca. It is blue/green.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { keza }\right]
$$

hede adv. (1) today, esp. future ( $v$. nahade, today past or present). - Hede, om de o sodohi-a sa? What do you want to talk about today? - Hede, na pa rudu co aloalo. Today I'll get up when the sun's out (I'll have a lie-in).
(2) [aspectual] forms the near future (hodiernal), e.g. in threats or promises. •Hede na pa pisu cudug-i-a aka-ca! (In that case) I'll make a hole in this canoe!
heli $v$ t. dig, make a hole. • Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta. They dig a hole on the shore. See kode ${ }_{2}$.

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[P O C * \text { keli }]
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hese num. one, Numeral. Usually preceded by a subject clitic. •aco cigo-hese swordfish [fish with single beak] - Naru-ku mo hese. I have one child [my child is one]. || Synt. Contrary to other numerals, hese may lack its subject clitic when Irrealis, at least in some exceptional contexts: Nam de na han re v̈erali (co) hese. I'd like to eat one banana [no more]. See mudu
'first'.
mo hese phr. lit. 'one': refers to a specific, though gen. indefinite, referent (v. re indefinite, nonspecific article). (C. Grammar)
(1) (common) [noun $\mathrm{N}+$ mo hese] a, an: indefinite, specific article. - Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun. He felt (there was) a crab, grabbed it and threw it away. - Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho. Spoemalao is a man who is really clever. • Lo dan mo hese, mo v̈ei-a hanhan mo hese Daki. One day, there was a big feast in Araki. - lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi in a place called Leruvahi
(2) [used as a pronoun] one (of them); someone. • Mo hese, mo rov-i-a mo de Asvohinao. [subject] There's another one (devil), who is called Asvohinao. - Mo lesi mo hese mo ciha. [object] He noticed that one (of the kids) had disappeared.
(3) (esp) another one, someone else. - Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you). See vavono 'other'.
(4) [existential predicate] there is a ( N ). Esp. at the beginning of a story. - V̈apa mo hese, kesini ravui lo ima-ku. There is a cave, here close to my house. • P̈ira hetehete mo hese nida-n veroha-na. (Once upon a time) there was a small girl with her sister.
hetehete adj. (1) small, little. • no-m ta hetehete your paternal uncle [your little father] - Mo dogo leo-do ro, mo $\ddot{\mathbf{v}} \mathrm{a}$, mo ra hetehete, mo ce le dogo
otomie. At first we could hear their voices, but then they began to fade [become small] to such a point that we could no longer hear them. || For several small objects, the adjective vadidi is used, a kind of plural form of hetehete.
(2) (esp) child. The singular form, 'a child' substantivates the adjective 'small' using hina ('thing'), or esp. mada. - Mada hetehete mo hese mo rudu ro lo sala. There's a child in the road. - Se mo sle-ko hina hetehete nohoni? Whose child is this [who gave you this little thing]? || In plural form, 'children' is mada vadidi.
hica sfn. name of <s.o., s.th.>. • Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi. Elders used to call [the name of] this place 'Leruvahi'. - Hica-m se? What [lit. who] is your name? See rove.
[PNCV*kisa; POc*qasan 'name']
hilu ~ hil. vi. (1) stop during a movement. - Nam v̈a nam le hil nam le m̈a. I was going (in that direction), but suddenly I stopped and came back.
(2) [esp. speech, story] end, finish. - Sodosodo di mo hilu hosu. This story stops here. Syn. iso. Ant. tapulo.
hina $n$. (1) thing. - Hina nohosu om vei-a mo ce holoho. What you did is not good! •Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun. He did all those things.
(2) enables certain indefinite constructions, referring to inanimate objects: re hina 'something [nonSpec.]', hina mo hese 'something [Spec.]', hina salahese 'a lot (of things)', sava hina 'what (what
thing)', hina tade 'everything'. - O pa levsei lo dan hosu sava hina co pa ma isa-m. You will learn, that very day, everything that will happen to you.

- Hina tade mo holo-ho. Everything's alright (there's no problem). See sa. (cf. Grammar)
* excl. mark of hesitation: er, how do you say? • Hina - mala mo de/hadiv mo de ... Er - then the Hawk said/(sorry) the Rat said ...
[PNCV*kina-u]
hini~ ~ ini~~ni~. v-pr. oblique preposition. Seeni~.
[POC*kini- (?) 'prepositional verb: instrumental, refective']
-ho suf. Intensive suffixe. Allomorph of -ha after vowel /o/. •Mo holo-ho mo holo-ho! It's excellent! see-hay.
hoco $_{1}$ vt. wash, clean up. $\cdot$ Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo vidiha ro. I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black! • Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco. Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahu-den-i-a pidi-na ... [preparation of breadfruit biscuit ( $\left.{ }^{m} a d a\right)$ ] Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it goes away, they come to clean it. They remove the pith, as well as the seeds ... See kadu 'swim, bathe'.
hoco $_{2}$ sfn. tooth, teeth. - Ha gigisa na lesi hoco-m̈im! Smile, show me your teeth! • naho hoco-ku my front teeth (canines + incisors) •hoco po pig's tusk See pari 'molar'.
hodo $_{1}$ v.ad. cover, obstruct. Means that
the effect of an action $V_{1}$ is to block <a place>, hinder <s.o. else's movement>, prevent <s.o.> from doing s.th., etc. - Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a. They stood in the middle of the road [stoodblocked the road], with the intention of killing him. • Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo m̈ara-na. (The island of Araki settled there) but Mount Tumepu started to complain that it was blocking its view [lit. that it stayed-blocked its eyes].
[PNCV*koro 'surround, cover, obstruct']
hodo $_{2}$ sfn. [plant] root. • hodo-no its root
[PNCV*kaRo (?) 'vine, rope']
hohono adj. [plant+] wild, wild variety of (a given species). • pevu hohono k.o. wild yam (see pevu) • mol hohono lemon [lit. wild orange] See ila 'wild (animal)'.
holo ${ }_{1} n$. coconut, either the tree or the fruit. Cocos nucifera. • laho holo trunk of a coconut tree - Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia. (once the breadfruit has been laid down), the coconut palms are thrown over them. - Om re vidis lo holo? Have you already squeezed out coconut milk? See popo 'germinated coconut'; kavuda 'coprah'.
holo $_{2}$ adj. (1) straight. Syn. raholo. See holo $_{3}$ 'steer'.
(2) (common) good, correct. - Kodokodo mo ce holoho. Telling lies is not good. - Comìna mo ce holo-ho. [his thoughts were not good] He was worried. || Affirmative sentences always associate holo with the intensive suffix -ha (in its -ho
form).
(3) (esp) [s.o.] nice, kind, generous. - Nam levsei-a, nia mo holo-ho vutiana. I know him, he is a very nice person.
(4) [s.th.] nice, pleasant. • Vere hosun mo holo-ho. This song is pleasant. - Pona-m mo holo-ho. You smell nice [your smell is good].
(5) in good health; cured, recovered. - Om holo ro? - Nam holo-ho ro. Are you OK? - Yes, I'm very well. • Lo wik mo v̈a mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa holo-ho. Last week I was ill; but now I'm well. Ant. doco.
(6) easy. • M̈arasala nene mo haura, mo ce ede co holo-ho. This door's difficult, it doesn't open easily.
(7) [in clause-chaining structure] very, really. Intensive value. - Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho. Spoemalao is a man who is really clever. • Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho. Heat the water, until it is really boiling! See otome; lapa; vutiana 'Intensifier'.
holo $_{3}$ vt. pilot, man <a boat>. •Re co pele sna co holo aka! Someone come and man the boat! See holo ${ }_{2}$ 'straight'.
honi dem. that, there: demonstrative referring to the domain of the addressee, and combined with several affixes, e.g. no-honi 'that one', sivo-honi 'down there', etc. (CF. Grammar)
hosu dem. that, there: Demonstrative for spatial designation. (CF. Grammar)
hotou ~hoto ~hatou. $n$. Hermit crab, tiny crustacean which lodges
inside shells. Pagurus spp. • Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hotou mo de 'Om hadaho malum!' One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!'
[PNCV, POC*katou]
houoci $n$. k.o. banana, growing upwards. Musa spp. See v̈erali 'banana'.
hovi sfn. eczema or scabies, skin disease causing itching and serious skin lesion. • Hovi-na mo vsovso-ho mo tahav nia. [tale of scabies] His scabies was grimy and covered him all over.
* vi. Red. hovhovi. scabious, affected with scabies. - Pan racu hosun mo hovhovi, hovi-na mo hovi lagalaga. It happened that this man had scabies, which caused his skin to drop off in pieces.
[Cf. Mota gov 'a man full of sores']
huda n. Indian mulberry, bsl. Yalatri. Morinda citrifolia.
[POC*kurat]
hudara n. (1) dirt, filth. • Hudara mo tahav nia tep. The table was covered with filth. See hudaudara; lumiha.
(2) forest, bush, wild area (v. village). - Via nohoni mo roho ro lo hudara. The giant taro, that grows in the forest/in the mountains. See ila; hohono 'wild'.
hudara covo $n$. deep forest.
hudaudara sfn. crumbs, small particles of dirt. • Mala mo lesi-a hudaudara-ni cam di mo roho ro lo hoco-no. The hawk saw particles of yam stuck between his (the rat's) teeth. - Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a
hoco limiaa-mìim, pan lim̈a-m̆im mo lumiha, hudaudara mo roho ro nia. I told you to wash your hands, but they are still dirty, there is still some dirt on them. || Reduplication of hudara.
huden vt. (1) put, place; dispose, arrange. - Mo vari-a no-no dipa, no-no sipa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. He took his axe, his knife, his club and put them into his canoe. - Mo vari-a vida haviha mo huden-i-a lo paru-na. He picked an apple blossom and put it on his head. • Mo huden-i-a lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otome. He dragged (his canoe) down to the sea, and tied it fast.
(2) drop off, set down. - Mo v̈a v̈a mo $\ddot{\text { va }}$ rkel-i-a tarauta mo huden-i Hadiv. (The Octopus) continued to swim until he reached the shore, where he dropped off the Rat.
(3) put, lay <one's head, hand +> somewhere. - Ha huden pultan-i-a parum̈im. Arrange your heads to be all in the same place. -Mala mo vari-a pisu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu. [lit. the hawk took its fingers and put them on the branch ...] With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro branch and tore it to pieces.
hudi $n$. skin; [tree] bark. - Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na. He was dead, with nothing more than skin on his bones. • Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco. [preparation of breadfruit biscuit (m̈ada)] Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it drops off by itself, that's when it is cleaned.
[PNCV*kuli; POC*kulit]
hudi-vivi sfn. lit. 'skin of lips': lips. - hudivivi-ku karano my lower lip - hudivivi-ku kaura my upper lip (see godigodi) see hudi 'skin'; vivi 'lips (anc.).
huepe n. pigeon; more spec. Pacific Imperial Pigeon, 40 cm Ducula pacifica.
[< ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{Kueba}$; PNCV*kuiba 'Pacific pigeon'; POC*ku(i)ba]
hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai. Today the rat and the octopus are enemies.
[PNCV, POC*kuRita]
humi sfn. beard; moustache (?).
humi-da $n$. lit. 'their beard': Yellowstripe Goatfish, bsl. Mustasfis: reef fish, 22 cm Mulloidichthys flavolineatus.
[PNCV*kumwi; POC ${ }^{*}$ kumi 'beard']
huru n. louse.
[ $P N C V, P O C$ *kutu]
huira $n$. octopus, squid. • Niko, om sohe huira. You're like an octopus. (you are fickle, inconstant) •Kesi

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\mathbf{I}-\mathbf{i}
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-i suf. transitivising suffix affecting some verbs. (Cf. Grammar)
ila vi. [animal+] wild, from the bush. See hudara 'the bush'; hohono 'wild species'.

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[P N C V * i l a]
$$

ima sfn. house, home. • Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo sul-i-a. My house has been burnt down, the chief set fire to it. - Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima. One day, the people had left their children at home.
lo ima~ $n$-pr. lit. 'in the house of': at (s.o.)'s. • Va racu mo le mle, mo le v̈a lo ima-n ram̈a-na. The young man left and returned to his father's house. - Na kan sa lo ima-na. I should not go to his house.
ima hetehete $n$. lit. 'small house': toilet, lavatory.
ima rurunu n. lit. 'house for cooking':
kitchen: small house generally separate, in which each family prepares and sometimes takes its meals. •Racu mo hese lo ima rurunu. There's a man in the kitchen.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ yumwa; $P O O^{* R u m[w] a q] ~}$
ini $\sim v$-pr. oblique preposition. See ni $\sim$.
inu ~ in. $v t$. $\pi_{r}$ inu-; inumi-. drink. - Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua. $I$ want to drink two glasses of water. - Ruai, ham levse inu ai vadug? In olden times, did you use to drink tea? - Nam ce levsei inu-a/inumi-a hae. I don't usually drink [don't know how to drink] kava.

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[P O C * \text { inum }]
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isa $_{1}$ sfn. garden, field: piece of private farmland, esp. for food produce.

- isa cam yam garden see p̈ä̈a 'fence'.
isa $\sim_{2} \sim$ sa~. $n$-pr. (1) with (s.o.). •Nam
lug-i-a lim̈a-ku nam de na valum
isa-m. I am clenching my fists to fight with you. • M̈ara-m̈am lapa, co pa roho ro sa-n naru-m, Yugo Womtelo. Our biggest wish would be to stay (some time) with your son, Yugo Womtelo. Syn. nida~; pedesi~.
(2) to (s.o.), Dative. - Na pa sle-ko sa-n ram̈are co pa hani-ko. I will give you to a devil, who will devour you! - Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m. I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. [lit. say thanks to you] - Nam re vadai-a mo iso sa-n Grem. I've already told Graham. [said it to G.] (Cf. Grammar)
ma isa~ phr. lit. 'come to (s.o.)': [event] happen to (s.o), affect (s.o). • Sava hina co pa mäa isa-ku? What's going to happen to me, what will be my destiny?
iso vi. Red. isoiso.
(1) end, finish. - Kesi no-m dan mo isoiso kesi! [formula in tales] Your days will end today! (you're going to die) - Usa co iso, co pa v̈a inu hae. After the rain [when the rain stops], we'll go and drink kava. See hilu 'stop'.
(2) [after a first verb $V_{1}$ ] Terminative
aspect, pointing to the final phase of the process: 'finish doing s.th.'. - Om re hanhan mo re iso? Have you finished eating? - Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan. If you stop crying, you'll be able to eat. || Synt. Always conjugated in the 3rd person, whatever the subject of $\mathrm{V}_{1}$.
mo iso asp. [after a first verb phrase $V p_{1}$ marked as Perfect (re)] already. • Om re hanhan mo iso? Have you already eaten? • Nam re vadai-a mo iso sa-n Grem. I've already told Graham. - Mo m̈arahu mara ram̈are mo re han-i-a rapala-na mo iso. He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil. •lo wik mo $\ddot{\text { va }}$ mo iso last week [in the week that has passed] || Synt. The pattern is $<$ Subj re $\mathrm{VP}_{1}$ mo iso>. (cf. Grammar)
isoiso sfn. end of (s.th.). •Lo isoiso maudi-m o mas colo lo ras. At the end of your life, you must drown in the sea.
ivua $n$. turtle. - Mo le kadu mo via mo les Ivua. [tale] (The Rat) swam on a little, until he saw the Turtle.
[PNCV*?avua]


## $\mathbf{K}-\mathbf{k}$

kada n. flying-fox, kind of large fruit bat. see hadiv paudoudo.
kada hada $n$. lit. 'red flying-fox': k.o. flying-fox. Pteropus anetianus.
kada m̈anu $n$. kind of black and white flying-fox. Pteropus tonganus. Syn. m̈anu.
[PNCV*garai 'flying-fox']
kadai $n$. chief. One of the dignitary ranks in the customary society. See m̈ala; moli; racu lapaa.
kadu $_{1}$ vi. swim, bathe. - Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai? Why don't you like bathing in the river? - Nam ce dogo
na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara pahe. $I$ don't feel like bathing in the sea because of the sharks. - Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu kadu, mo lesi-a pahe. And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam ... until he saw a shark. See hoco 'wash'.
[< ${ }^{\circ}$ garu; $P N C V^{*}$ karu 'swim, bathe'; POC $\left.{ }^{*}(\mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}) \mathrm{aRu}\right]$
kadu $_{2} v t . \operatorname{Tr}$ kadumi-. scratch, scrape, rub. • Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini. Someone was scraping the palm tree trunk. - Mo vari-a pallace lo rasi, mo kadumi-a hovi-na. He went looking for sea coral, and rubbed his infected skin with it.
[PNCV*garu 'scratch']
kaka vi. reach, achieve one's goal. - Co de co シ̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa? Supposing we leave from the same point, when will you reach (the other side)?
kakato n. Brown Booby, sea bird, 75 cm Sula leucogaster.
kalaro n. Devil nettle, bsl. Nangalat. Dendrocnide sp.
[PNCV*galato; POC*jalatoy 'nettle tree']
kam $s b j$. we (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. - Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m. $I$, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. • Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo. [dual form] I saw a man, and we (two) had a chat. - Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo, kam sivo kam vadai-a nia. As we were going out of the church, we went down there and explained everything to
him.
kam̈a sbj. we (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. •Kam̈am rapudo rolu kam̈a sivo goro. The three of us are going to sleep. - Kam̈a opo-i vada kam̈a lesi naru-m. We would love to meet your son. See kam; --mam.
kam̈am ind.pp. our (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive independent pronoun. - kam̈am povi dai vuguvugu-ni Moli all of $u$, Moli's family • Kam̈am Daki kam ce levsei inumi-a hae. We, people of Araki, we do not usually drink kava. || Synt. Just like kam̈im, the pronoun kamam is also used as an object, instead of suffixes; however it behaves like an autonomous NP: Nia mo sov kan̈am ro. He is awaiting us. See-m̈am.
[PNCV*gam(am)i]
kam̈im ind.pp. you: 2nd plural independent pronoun. - Kamim po ha gigisa! Come on, all of you, smile! - Niko kam̈im rolu nanaru-m. You and/with your kids. || Synt. Just like kam̈am, the pronoun kam̈im is also used as an object, instead of suffixes; however it behaves like an autonomous NP: Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha va hoco limaa-mimim! I told you to wash your hands!. See-mim.
[PNCV*gamuyu]
kan mod. (1) must not, should not. $\cdot \mathrm{Na}$ kan sa lo ima-na. I should not go to his house.
(2) (esp) [2nd person] marks a negative order: Prohibitive. • Ha kan m̈an pala-i-á! Don't (y'all) make fun of me!
-O kan kode-i-á! - Nam ce kode-i-ko. Don't you lie to me! - I am not lying to you.
(3) [following verb of fear] for fear that, so that ... not; lest. - O kla ro co kan covi! Take care that he does not fall! (c. Grammar)
karano adv. down; underneath, under. •hudivivi-ku karano my lower lip • Mo vodo karano lo lepa. It fell down on the ground. Ant. kaura. See sivo 'go) down'.
[PNCV*tano 'earth, ground; on the ground, down'; POC* ${ }^{*}$ tanoq 'earth']
kaulu $n$. Sensitive, bsl. Blue-flower: herb. Mimosa pudica.
kaura adv. up, above. - Mo vurivuria-ha mo sa kaura. (the stone) soars up high in the sky. • V̈apa di mo roho sahan kaura. This cave is up there in the hills. - Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia. (after picking the breadfruit) they take coconut palms and throw them over it. - Kam opo-i vada o sohan-i-a lo adres sa-su-n kaura. We would like you to send it to the address mentioned above. • hudivivi-ku kaura my upper lip Ant. karano. See saha '(go) up'.
[POc *qutan 'bush, forest']
kavuda n. copra, i.e. the coconut fruit when it is sold overseas to extract its oil. Cocos nucifera. See holo 'coconut'.
kavula sfn. inedible pith in the middle of breadfruit (levu), to which the seeds (pidi-na) are attached. - Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a p̈idina ... [preparation of breadfruit biscuit
(m̈ada)] They take away the pith, take away the seeds ...
[PNCV*vule 'breadfruit flower or core']
kede $n$. Red. kedekede. bottom, tail. - kede-heca [blue-tail] Bluespot mullet, a fish • kedekede mara bags under eyes See vici 'tail'.
[PNCV*gere 'bottom, butt, tail']
kede-heca $n$. lit. 'blue tail': Bluespot mullet, reef fish, 50 cm Valamugil seheli.
kesi dem. (1) here, this: demonstrative close to speaker. (Cf. Grammar)
(2) now, nowadays. See kesikesi.
kesikesi ~ keskesi. adv. right now. - Nam pa lesi rasi-m kesikesi. I am meeting your brother for the first time [pa] right now. See kesi. (C. Grammar)
kia adv. there, at that place: anaphoric locative adverb. - Mada Naura lapa mo sivosivo velu ro kia. The people from Santo would go there to dance. - Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaru-na. This man was living there with his wife. • Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lapa, o levse sa kia. Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there (and ask the oracle).

* pred. Existential predicate for specific referent ( $v$. re 'nonspecific Existential'): there is. Used mainly in affirmations. - Lo cada-m, re ramare vo mo ce re? Ramare kia. In your country, are there devils or not? - Yes, there are. • Re paniavu lo ima rurun? - Nia kia. Is there some pineapple in the kitchen? Yes, there is.
kila ~ kla. vi. (1) [+directional marker ("̈̈a, ma, sa, si)] watch, look (in a certain direction). • Mala mo kla घ̈a mo lesi-a cam. The hawk looked and saw the piece of yam. • P̈ira hosun mo dogo mo le sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a. When she heard him, the woman ran to look, and saw him. See les 'see'.
(2) watch out, be careful (that: Irrealis; that not: kan + Irrealis). - O kla ro co kan covi! Take care that he does not fall!
(3) consider a future event, hope. - Kamam povi kam kila ro m̈ara in-re-pogi o pa le m̈a Daki. We all hope that you'll come back to Araki one day.
klav̈as vi. watch, look at. •Mo klav̈as mo les naho-n rapala-na. He watched and recognised the face of his friend. Morph. kila + シ̈a (?). See les 'see'.
klin adj. clean, healthy. • Hovi-na mo ciha povi, mo klin mo vokovoko. His scabies had totally disappeared, he was now clean and healthy. Syn. vokovoko.
[English clean]
-ko obj. you: Second singular Inclusive Object suffix. • Racu mo v̈ei-ko, nia Supe. The one who created you is God. - O kan kode-i-á! - Nam ce kode-i-ko. Don't you lie to me! - I am not lying to you. - Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re hina. I feel like giving you a present. See om; niko.
kode $_{1} \sim$ kodo. vi. Red. kodokodo.
(1) lie, tell lies. • Racu mo kodokodo mo ce holo-ho. It's bad to lie [That one
should lie is bad].
(2) (hence) deceive, trick s.o., act in a dishonest or deceitful way; disguise oneself to fool s.o. - Ram̈are mo kode. But this was the trick of a devil!
kodei- $v$ t. lie to, cheat <s.o.>.-O kan kode-i-á! - Nam ce kode-i-ko. Don't you lie to me! - I am not lying to you.
kode $_{2}$ vi. hollow out, remove substance, e.g. making a canoe. - Mo kode mo rai hototom̈e aka-na. He hollowed out (the wood), and made a perfect canoe. See heli 'dig'.
kodi $n$. yam stick, used when cultivating this tuber. See isa 'garden'.
kodogo adv. maybe, probably. • Pasta mo sna lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi. The Clergyman came here on a Sunday, probably like this one today. Syn. pana.
kodokodo $n$. liar: noun derived from verb kode 'lie'. • Kodokodo mo ce holo-ho. Liars/Lying is bad.
kodu adj. (1) [plant+] dry, dried. • Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu. He takes a dry reed.
(2) burnt, suffered from fire. - P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu. I burnt my fingers in the fire. - Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo suli-a. My house has been burnt down, the chief set fire to it. See ugu 'burn'.
(3) (met) [lolo 'inside' (of s.o.)] to be angry. See lokodu.
[PNCV*goru 'dry, esp. of vegetation']
koho vi. [tree] hollow, rotten. - Viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho, ai mo tup lolo-no. This
tree was small and hollow, always full of water. Syn. rugu-ha.
koko sfn. hole. •koko galsu-na his nostrils • Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta. They dig a hole on the shore. - Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia. The Clergyman stretched out his arm into the hollow tree, where the water was. See heli 'dig'.
koso vt. break, break into pieces <a fragile object>. • Om re koso no-ku botel. You've broken my bottle. See m̈a-koso 'broken'; lare.
[PNCV*koto-vi (?) 'cut, cross']
ku vt. warm up, heat up <liquid>. - Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho. Heat some water, until it is really boiling! See vadug 'hot'; vali 'boil'; runu; suli 'cook'.
-ku pp.sf. my: First singular possessive suffix. • Ta, nam po-i-a vada 0 rai re aka-ku. [on suffixable
noun] Dad, I would like you to carve me a canoe. - Dai maci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina! [on possessive classifier] The birds have eaten my meal! • Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku. [on suffixable adjective] I learnt your language by myself. • Sava hina co pa m̈a isa-ku? [on noun-like preposition] What will happen to me? See na; - $\mathbf{\text { á }}$.

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\left[P O C^{*}-\mathrm{gu}\right]
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kue $_{1}$ vi. jump, leap. • Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta. In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore.
$\mathbf{k u e}_{2} n$. dolphin. - Mo v̈a mo les Kue, mo de 'Kue, o comiri-á!' So (he swam) further on and saw the Dolphin: 'Hey, Dolphin', said he, 'take pity on me!' See kue $_{1}$ 'leap'.
kumal $n$. sweet potato, bsl. Kumala. Ipomoea batatas.
[Polynesian kumala]

## L-I

lagalaga v.ad. with ulcers: in several skin diseases (itch, scabies, hovi), lagalaga is used when the dead skin drops off in pieces. - Pan racu hosun mo hovhovi, hovi-na mo hovi lagalaga. Now, this young man had scabies, an ulcerous scabies.
[Cf. Malo layalaya-i maji 'fish scales'; PNCV *laya-i 'lift flat object from surface']
lagi ~lag. sfn. wind. •lagi-n Tahuna the southern wind • Vivada mo avu lag
mo vari-a. The reed flies away in the wind. [lit. it flies the wind takes it] • Lag co losu co pa usa. There will be a hurricane [lit. the wind will strike] and it'll rain.
[PNCV*lani]
lago fly.

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\text { [PNCV, POC *laŋo }]
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lahe $n$. Ankle rattle tree, bsl. Nalake. Pangium edule.
lahi vi. married, get or be married. • Na pa lahi pog rolu. I will marry in three
days' time. - Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m. You shall not marry nor shall you have any children. || Anthr. Traditional marriages consist of a man giving presents and money to his future in-laws, in order to 'buy' (voli) their daughter as his wife. For customary laws regarding widows, see elua~ and roha~.

* $n$. wedding, marriage. • No-ku lahi lo rav̈alu viru. My wedding is next month.

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\left[P N C V, P O C^{*} \text { laki }\right]
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## The four winds

Auta
Tahuna
Toholau
Harua
northern wind southern wind eastern wind western wind
laho sfn. [tree] trunk. • laho holo trunk of a coconut-tree •Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini. Someone was scraping the trunk of the palmtree. Syn. para. See hapasi 'stem'.
laku sfn. small forked wooden pegs fixing the outrigger (cama) to the horizontal pole (evua), and tied with vegetal ropes (asi). • Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈a-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na. He made the ropes (for his canoe), made the outrigger, carved the central yoke and the little pegs.
[PNCV*laqu 'outrigger struts']
lala $n$. hypocoristic term of address for 'uncle'. Syn. (v-)elua~; (ve-)rahura~, (ve-) m̈ara~s.
(1) $[$ Ego M] uncle: mother's brother.
(2) $[$ Ego $M]$ nephew, niece: sister's child.
(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. See elua~.
lamani $n$. boy, male; v. p̈ira (woman, female). •Lam̈ani vo pira? (Is he) a boy or a girl? Syn. racu.
[POC*mwaqane (?)]
lap̈a adj. (1) big, large. • Naura Lap̈a [the big isle] Santo island - Mo vadai rapala-na mo de 'Ee! $O$ polo re hap lapa!' He shouted to his fellow 'Hey! Please light a huge fire!' || Mostly singular; for several large objects, cf. v̈alalap̈a.
(2) abundant, bountiful. - Nam re rai-a viha lapa. I cut a lot of wood. Syn. vutiana; hacavua.
(3) (fig) important, e.g. symbolically. - racu lap̈a chief, community leader [lit. 'big man']

* v.ad. a lot, considerably. - Mo vari-a dau vinini mo m̈a mo hasan-i-a mo ug lap̈a. He set fire to a palm-leaf, which became a big fire [lit. it burnt big].

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[P N C V * \text { laba }]
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lare $v t$. break <a long object> in two, deliberately or not. - Nam lare sadi-ku. I broke my leg.

* vi. break (intr.), be broken. • Daga viha mo lare hase-na. The branch broke by itself. See m̈a-lare 'broken'; koso.
[PNCV*late]
lasa n. cup, glass, used to drink; esp. cup made out of a coconut halfshell.
[PNCV, POC*lasa 'coconut half-shell cup']
laso sfn. testicles.

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[P O c * \text { lasoR }]
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Iceg $v t$. $\pi$ rlcegi-. strike, hit. • Huira mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo de co leeg hadiv. The Octopus took a branch of ironwood to strike the Rat with it. Syn. nak. See vean 'bump'.
le asp. again.
(1) again, once again, back. - Va racu mo le mle, mo le v̀a lo ima-n ram̈a-na. The young man turned around and went back to his father's house. - Om re hanhan mo re iso, voni om de o le han re hina? Have you finished your meal? or do you still want to eat something? - Mo v̈ei-a च̈a vada uluvo mo le smat. He carried on this way until the young man became a beautiful boy once more. See misis 'still'.
(2) [with negation ce] (not) any longer. - Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki. When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more. - Mo ce le usa. It's not raining any more. (c. Grammar)
leo sfn. [animal, hum] voice. •Nam dogo leo-m, nam dogo mo holoho. $I$ heard your voice and I felt good. - Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. As they were dancing, those who were on the mainland (Santo) could hear their voices.
[PNCV*leo]
lep̈a ~ lepa. n. (1) ground, floor. •Mo vodo karano lo lepa. (the arrow) falls down on the ground. - Mo ce les re cau lo lepa. They see no coconut crab on the ground. See karano.
(2) earth, mud, as a substance. - ciliv lepa earthenware pot
[PNCV*leba 'mud, dirt']

Leruvahi pl.n. Leruvahi, a place on Araki island. || Anthr. This was where an oracle was pronounced: men threw a reed from this place and found out their destiny according to which tree the reed landed on.
lesi ~ les. vt. see; notice, come across. - Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina. He's blind, he can't see anything. - Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila. One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster! • ̈̈ala mo kla シ̈a mo lesi-a cam. The hawk looked and saw the piece of yam. See kla 'look'.
lesles te vi. lit. 'see bad': hate, resent (s.o., ni~). • M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da. Since that time, they have hated [looked bad at] each other. [PNCV*le?o-si ‘see, look at'; POC*leqos]
leta $n$. letter. • Na ul re leta co sivo sa-n pua. I must write a letter to [lit. which should go to] my mother.
[English letter]
levosai vi. Red. lelevosai. clever, wise, wicked. - Spoemalao nia racu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho. Spoemalao is a really clever man. See levse 'know'.
levse vt. (1) know <s.th., s.o.>. • Nam levse racu mo hese co pa ruen-i-ko. I know a man who can help you.
(2) understand, realise (that, mo de). - Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a. He realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil.
(3) know how to, be capable of (doing s.th.). • Nam levse velu. $I$ know how to dance.
(4) be able to, succeed in. - Nam ce levsei dogo-ko. I can't hear you. • Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina. He's blind, he can't see anything. - Mo ve lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a, ha ce levsei nak-i-a. They try to kill him but they do not succeed.
(5) be used to, (do s.th.) usually. - Mohi mo levse hari-a racu. Mosquitoes bite [lit. know how to bite men]. - Nam ce levsei inumi-a hae. I'm not used to [lit. I don't know how to] drinking kava.
levu ~vi-levu. $n$. breadfruit, either the tree or the fruit. Artocarpus altilis.

- Mada vadidi mo sivo mo sihevi lo levu. The children go and climb on the breadfruit-trees (to pick some). •Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a. They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo stem, cook it, and finally they take it and eat it. See kavula 'breadfruit pith'.
lig vt. $\operatorname{tr}$ ligi-. carry, take <s.o.> on a vehicle, esp. a canoe. - Mo vici va p̈ira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo masapa. He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep sea. $\cdot$ Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo シ̈a. He takes him (in his canoe) and goes on his way. Syn. vici.
[ ${ }^{2} N C V^{*}$ lini 'put, leave']
lim̈a num. five. • Nam lahi, dan mo lim̈a, lag mo pa losu. Just five days after my wedding, we were hit by a cyclone. •Rav̈al wik, co pa usa lo ha-lim̈a dan. It will rain on Friday of
next week.
* sfn. hand, arm; from shoulder to fingers. - Nam lug-i-a lim̈a-ku nam de na valum isa-m. I am clenching $m y$ fists to fight with you. • Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha và hoco lim̈a-m̈im! I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black!
lolo lima sfn. palm of the hand.
mavuhi lim̈a sfn. wrist. See mavuhi 'knot (bamboo)'.
[ $P N C V, P O \subset *$ lima]


## The hand and arm

lim̈a-ku
pili-ku
p̈ahaso-ku
suhu-ku
mavuhi lim̈a-ku
lolo lim̈a-ku
vadago-ku
pisu-ku
pudu pisu-ku
my arm, my hand
my shoulder
my biceps
my elbow
my wrist
my palm
my fingers
my fingers
my finger nails
lito vi.spit. - O kan lito! Don't spit!
litovi- vt. spit on <s.0>; fig. offend, reject, humiliate. • Nam litovi-a mo le mle. I humiliated him, and he went away. •Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á? So it was you who offended me yesterday?
[PNCV*loto-vi 'foam, spit']
liuha $s f n$. back. $\cdot$ Liuha-ku mo hac-i-á. Syn. cuhu.
livuha sfn. middle, in-between. - pis livuha the middle finger
[PNCV*livu-ka 'middle, between']
lo prep. (1) in, on, at: locative preposition, referring to space. - lo cada-m in your country •Mo
dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima. He fled without further ado, running back up home. - O sna sadai lo pili-ku. Come and sit on my shoulders.
(2) locative preposition, referring to time. - Lo Krismas mudu mo ce usa. Last Christmas, it didn't rain. • Lo maudi-ku, nam ce misi han re. $I$ had never eaten any in my whole lifetime.
(3) preposition for an oblique relation, esp. when the verb is intransitive, or the object slot is already taken by another NP (see sile 'give', vse 'show', sodo 'say', vidis 'squeeze'). - O sle-i-á lo hina nohoni! Give me that thing! [lit. provide me with that thing] • Om sodo lo sa? What did you say? [lit. you said of what?] - Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na. He wanted to try his canoe. [lit. try at his canoe] • Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese. $I^{\prime} d$ like to sing a song. [lit. to sing at a song] (Cf. Grammar)
lokodu vi. Red. lolokodu. lit. 'the inside burns': angry, cross (at, ni~/nida~). • Mo ragi mara mo levsei-a nam lolokodu nia. He's crying because he knows that I am angry at him. - Nia mo lolokodu nidan naivou-na. He's angry at his wife. Morph. lolo + kodu.
lolo sfn. (1) inner part, inside of ( +N ). - lolo lim̈a-ku my palms [the inside of my hands]
(2) (met) [hum] inward part of a person, seat of feelings, 'heart'. See lo-kodu 'angry'.

* $v$-pr. inside, in $(+\mathrm{N})$. Lolo coco
mo pa usa. During [lit. inside] the night it rained. - Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo roho kia lolo-n viha hosun. He heard a crab, which was there inside that tree.
[PNCV, POC*lolo]
losu vi. [wind lagi] create a hurricane. - Nam lahi, dan mo lim̈a, lag mo pa losu. Five days after my wedding, there was a hurricane [lit. the wind struck (?)]
[Cf. Malo losu 'hit, kill']
losulosu n. Broad-billed Flycatcher, small bird, 16 cm Myiagra caledonica.
lotu sfn. shin-bone. •Lotu-na mo mäa-lare. He broke his shin-bone. See sadi 'leg, foot'; sui 'bone'.
lpo vi. [+Directional $\ddot{\text { va, }}$ si] try to, endeavour: indicates a tentative or hesitating action. $\cdot \mathbf{N a}$ lpo si na lesi-a ra. - Ale, o lpo si! I shall try and see him. - Alright, you go! See v̈e les 'try to'.
lua vi. vomit.

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\text { [ } P N C V * \text { lua; } P O C * \text { luaq }]
$$

lug vt. Red. lulug. fold, bend; esp. clench <fist>. • Nam lug-i-a lim̈a-ku nam de na v̈alum isa-m. I am clenching my fists to fight with you.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ lulu-mwi 'to roll $u p$ '; POC*lumi 'fold, hem, crease']
lulu adj. white. • Ras mo de mo m̈a mo nak-i-a mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu. Each time the waves hit it, (the octopus) changed colour, from black to white. - Om lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo rav̈alu-na, cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a. [myth] You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the
other side; this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki. - racu lulu a white man, either European (tasale) or albino Ant. vidi-ha.
[PNCV*lulu 'barn owl']
lumiha vi. dirty. • Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo lumiha, hudaudara mo roho ro nia. I told you to wash
your hands, but they are still dirty, there is still some dirt on them. Ant. vokovoko. Morph. lumi -ha7 (?). See vsovso 'filthy'.
lumlum n. moss, seaweed; bsl. Nalumlum.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { lumu }\right]
$$

-m pp.sf. your: Second singular possessive suffix. • lo cada-m in your country • Niko mo ce re monohi-m! You have no brain! - Mada hetehete hosun mo sohe-m. This child looks like you.

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\left[P O c^{*}-\mathrm{mu}\right]
$$

maci sfn. leg's calf. • maci-na his calves See sadi 'leg, foot'.
maco vi. enter, go inside, penetrate. - Mo maco lo v̈apa. He enters the cave. - Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara. The rat ran back into the deep of the forest. Ant. malue.
macudu vi. torn; to break, split (intr.). - M̈ala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu. With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem and tore it to pieces. [lit. and it was torn] See lare; koso.
mada art. (Cf. Grammar)
(1) [+adjective 'small' hetehete (sg) ~ vadidi (pl)] a small one: a child. - mada hetehete mo hese $a$ child $[a$
small one] • mada vadidi children || Synt. The word mada (orig. 'child') cannot appear on its own, but needs an adjective; hence it may be reinterpreted as a substantiviser (see second use below).
(2) (hence) the people of (+place name): refers to the inhabitants of a place. •Mada Naura-lä̈a mo sivosivo velu ro kia. The people from Santo went there to dance. - Mada Tanna hase-da, nida mo levse han-i-a vidi. Only the people from/on Tanna are used to eating dogs. See dai.
[Cf. Tangoa mara Roma 'the Romans'; PNCV*mwera 'child, person-of']
malá n. Incubator Bird, a dark coloured bird similar to fowl. Megapodius freycinet. [PNCV*mwalau 'Megapode']
maladin $n$. mandarin. Citrus nobilis.
[English mandarin]
maluhu vt. roll, roll up.
maluhu naho~ $n$. (met) lit. 'rolls of the face': wrinkles.
mani ~ man. sfn. vein, nerve.

- mani-ku my veins • man vadidi little veins • man v̈alalap̈a large veins see cai 'blood'.
maniok n. manioc. Manihot esculenta. || Despite being introduced, this tuber is widely cultivated, along with yam (cam) and taro (pera).
manometo $n$. kind of pigeon. see huepe.
(1) Vanuatu Mountain Pigeon, bsl. Nawemba blong hil. Ducula bakeri.
(2) or maybe. White-throated Pigeon, Metallic Wood Pigeon. Columba vitiensis. Syn. rodo.
mape sfn. liver. See mavusa 'heart'. [PNCV'mwabwe 'Inocarpus chestnut; liver']
mara $n$. snake. • Mara mo hese mo hac-i-á! I got bitten by a snake!
mara ras $n$. lit. 'snake of the sea': Seasnake: a black and white, very dangerous snake living in the sea. Laticauda semifasciata.
[PNCV, POC*mwata 'snake']
marahuavi $n$. Rufous-brown Pheasant-Dove, 31 cm Macropygia mackinlayi.
masmasu sfn. sweat, perspiration.
* vi. sweat, perspire.
mavuhi sfn. [plant: bamboo+] knot, joint; fig. joint in the body. - mavuhi limäa-ku [my hand-joint] my wrist
mavusa ~ mavsa. sfn. (1) innards, guts. • raga mavsa-na his innards [his 'gut-bag'] Syn. rali. See page 'bell'; mape 'liver'.
(2) (esp) heart.
mavusa salesale sfn. lit. 'light heart': lungs. • mavusa salesale-ku my lungs
[PNCV*'vuso 'heart']
mece vi. [Subj: thanked person] to be thanked; mainly in thanking phrase om mece 'Thank you [You are thanked]'. • Ham mece. Thank you ( $p l$ ). • Om mece lapa m̈ara no-m v̈ev̈ehina lo sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki. Thank you (sg) so much for your work on Araki language. • Nia mo mece. Thank him!
* n. thanks, acknowledgment. - Kam sodo mece lap̈a m̈ara nunu om vari-a. We thank you very much for taking this photo. [we say a big thanks]
meco vi. [food, meal] cooked, well done. - Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso. My piece of pudding is already done. See miena 'ripe'.
[PNCV*maso-so 'cooked, done']
medesai $v i$. [Subj. plural] be enemies, hate each other. - Hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai. The rat and the octopus are enemies. See rapala~ 'friends'.
mle ~ mule. vi. (1) go or come back, esp. return home. - Mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima. He fled without further ado, running back up home. • Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia. As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything!
(2) go away, leave a place. • Om de se mo poi-ko? O mle! But who do you think loves you? Go away! See v̈a; dovo.
* dir. over (there). Directional,
sometimes combined with a second Directional $\ddot{\mathbf{v}} /$ /v̈ano. - P̈ra mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle v̈a. There was a woman who lived over there on the other side of the cape.
[PNCV, POC * mule 'return']
mo $s b j$. he, she, they: 3rd person ( $\mathrm{sg} / \mathrm{pl}$ ) Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. - Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo mare. One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man, who fell sick and died. (cf. Grammar)
mohi $n$. mosquito. • Mohi mo vutiana!
There are a lot of mosquitoes • Mohi mo levse hari-a racu. Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite people]
[PNCV*namu-ki (?); POC*ñamuk]
moli $_{1} \sim$ mol. $n$. orange. Citrus sinensis.
mol hohono $n$. 'wild orange', name for lemon or lime. Citrus aurantium.
[PNCV*moli ‘Citrus'; POC*molis]
moli $_{2} n$. chief, community leader. - Vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu lapa. The banyan means that
you will become a chief, an important person. - Moli mo roho ro $\mathbf{\text { ve? }}$ - Nia mo च̈a lo ham̈ali. Where is the chief? He went to the men's house. See racu lap̈a.
monohi sfn. brain. - Niko mo ce re monohi-m! You have no brain! (you are silly) See levosai 'clever'.
moru vi. (anc) small, narrow. Only in one archaic expression, found in the tale of the Rat and the Octopus. • Aka-ku mo moru. [tale] Too narrow is my boat! See hetehete 'small'.
mudu adj. (1) first (in order). - naivou-ku mudu my first wife - vodo-mudu firstborn, eldest child (C. vodo) See ha-6 'ordinal prefix'.
(2) last, the most recent in time. - Lo Krismas mudu mo ce usa. Last Christmas [it first Chr.] it didn't rain.
muhu $n$. earthquake.

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\left[P N C V^{*}\right. \text { muki] }
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mule vi complete form of mle.

## $\ddot{\mathbf{M}}-\ddot{\mathbf{m}}$

$\ddot{\mathrm{m}} \mathbf{a}_{1}$ vi. come.
(1) come. • Ra vadi mo mà mo dodo lo cuge ima honin. The children came to play here in front of the house. - Mo huden-i-a lo paru-na, ale mo m̈a mo m̈a. He put (the flower) on his head, then set off. Syn. ta; sna.
(2) [after a first verb] hither; indicates
the movement is towards the speaker (or the spot taken as reference). Corresponds either to the spatial movement of the subject or of the object. $\cdot$ Mo ku ai mo vali, mo de 'Ha vari-a ha ma!'' When they had made the water boil, he told them 'Bring it here!' liit. Take it and come] - Sodo ne mo sohan-i-a mo
ma Kanal. [tale said in Kanal] He sent the same message (from Araki) here in Kanal. Syn. sna.
(3) change into, become. • Asvohinao, nia mo posi-a naho-na mo m̈a sohe naho-m. Asvohinao (devil) can change his face to look like you. [lit. change his face it comes like your face]
$\ddot{m}$ isa~ $v$ t. happen to (s.o.), affect. See isa~.

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[P N C V, P O C * \text { mai }]
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$\ddot{\mathbf{m}} \mathbf{a} \sim_{2}$ pos.cl. Possessive classifier for drinkables. $\cdot$ Nam ce inu-a/inumi-a ma-ku ai v̈adug. I haven't drunk my tea. (Cf. Grammar)

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[P N C V, P O C * \mathrm{ma}-]
$$

$\ddot{m}^{\mathbf{m}}{ }_{3} p f$. detransitivising suffix with resultative meaning. || Note. This prefix, not very productive, is found combined with verbs like lare, koso. $C$. aussi masaga. (Cf. Grammar)

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\left[P O C^{*} \text { ma- }\right]
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m̈aca $n$. traditional wooden club, used especially to kill pigs. - Mo vari-a no-no m̈aca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na. He seized his club, and smashed its head with it.
[PNCV*mwaza 'spear, club']
maci $n$. small animal.
(1) bird. • Dai maci mo han-i-a ha-ku hina! The birds have eaten my meal! - Mäaci mo avuavu nda povi. The birds flew away, all of them. See avu 'fly'.
(2) fish. •Maci vadidi o levse vari-a vila. Small fish can be caught easily. - cuga-ku m̈aci my part of fish (which I caught/ I am carrying), my piece of fish.
maci buluk
n. lit. 'cow bird': Indian

Mynah, 25 cm Acridotheres tristis.
macihi sfn. colour (of s.th.). •Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu. I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white.
m̈acim̈acihi vi. multicoloured, variegated. •Mo posi mo vidiha mo m̈a mo lulu; mo macimäacihi-ha. It would change from black to white, it was full of colours. \| Reduplication of m̈acihi 'colour'.
m̈aconu n. Bluefin trevally, bsl. Blukarong: reef fish, 50 cm Caranx melampygus.
$\ddot{m a d a}_{1} \quad$ n. eel. Anguilliformes spp.
[PNCV*maraya]
$\ddot{m a d a}_{2} n$. breadfruit pit, a k.o. traditional biscuit made from breadfruit, and stocked as an extra food in case of hunger, due to low crops or hurricane. - Mo viei-a m̈ada m̈ara mo tilavo cam. They make breadfruit-biscuit when they lack yam.
[PNCV*mara 'preserved breadfruit']
m̈adaga vi. thin, puny. Ant. vadu.
[PNCV *mara?a 'light (in weight)']
m̈adau $n$. left, left hand. - podo m̈adau-ku my left ear Ant. m̈arua.
M̈adino pl.n. Marino, mountain situated between Tanoa and Tasmalu, to the west of Araki. - Om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na M̈adino vo om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na $\mathbf{O p a}$ a? Do you live near Marino (to the west) or near Opa (an islet east of Araki)? || In Araki, the island of Marino is considered a landmark to indicate the
west ( $c$ C. Harua).
magis vi. boastful, pretentious; brag.
m̈aharua n. Island cabbage. Abelmoschus manihot.
m̈akomo adv. a bit, a little. • Mo le v̈a makomo, mo le m̈ana. As they swam a bit further on, he started to laugh again.

* sfn. a bit of, a piece of. • makomo m̈asav̈a a small space - Kam re han-i-a sope-na m̈akomo-no. We ate a small piece of it. $\cdot \mathbf{O}$ sov ro makomo-no. Wait a little! [lit. wait a bit of $i t]$
m̈a-koso vi. broken, in pieces, esp. so that part of the object is missing. Intransitive verb derived from the transitive koso. - Botel mo ma-koso. The bottle is broken.
$\ddot{m a l a}_{1} n$. (1) Swamp Harrier, k.o. hawk, 55 cm Circus approximans. - M̈ala mo pisu cudug-i-a aka-n hadivi. With its huge claws, the hawk made a hole in the Rat's canoe.
(2) chief: name of a chiefly rank in traditional society. See supea; kadai; moli; racu lapa.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ mala 'hawk, bird of prey']
$\ddot{m}^{\boldsymbol{a l l a}} \mathbf{2}_{2} n$. picture. See nunu.
malalä̈ala-popodo $n$. lit. 'pictures of the dream (?)': a dream. • No-ku malamäala-popodo mo te! My dream was a bad one!
[PNCV*bore 'dream (n,v)']
m̈a-lare vi. broken in two, broken. Intransitive verb derived from the transitive lare. - Sadi-ku mo mäa-lare. My leg is broken.
m̈aloko adj. Red. m̈alokoloko.
(1) tired, exhausted. • Nam m̈aloko. I am tired. - Siho mo malokoloko mara mo ce hanhan. The kingfisher was exhausted, because it hadn't eaten anything.
(2) lazy.
[PNCV*malo 'lazy, tired, weak']
m̈alue vi. go out (of, lo); leave a place. - Na pa m̈alue lo ima nene. $I^{\prime} m$ going to go out of this house. - P̈ira hosun co pa malue nene. This woman will leave this place (Araki). - Kam skul malue kam sivo. We went out of the church. Syn. alua. Ant. maco.
[ PNCV $^{*}$ mwalu (?) 'come out']
malum vi. quiet, slow, weak. •Lo dan mo hese, Siho mo vadai Hatou mo de 'Om hadaho malum!' One day, Kingfisher said to Hermit-crab 'You crawl so slowly!'
roho malum vi. lit. 'stay quiet': keep quiet, be silent. - O vadai-a co roho malum! Tell him to keep quiet! Ant. シ̈aodo.
[ $P N C V, P O C$ *malumu 'soft, gentle, weak']
-m̈am pp.sf. our (Exclusive): First plural Exclusive possessive suffix. • Nko rapalala-m̈am. You are our friend. •Vulu-m̈am co sohe-na! (we want) our hair to be like that! See kañam.

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\left[P O{ }^{*}\right. \text {-mami] }
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m̈am̈asa vi. dry, parched. - Cada mo maamasa. It's dry, we're having a heatwave. Syn. kodu.
[POC*mamasa]
m̈ana ~ m̈an. vi. laugh. • Mo le $\ddot{\text { va }}$ makomo, mo le mana. As they swam
a bit further on, he started to laugh again. Ant. ragi.
m̈an p̈ala vt. laugh at, scorn. • Nam ce m̈an p̈ala-ko ro, nam m̈an p̈ala mada vadidi ro. I'm not making fun of you, I'm making fun of the children. • O kan m̈an p̈ala-i-á! Don't make fun of $m e$ !
[PNCV*mana]
manu $n$. kind of black and white flying-fox. Pteropus tonganus. See kada.
[PNCV *manu; POC *manuk 'bird']
mapu vi. (1) breathe, breathe out, during normal breathing (v. sodo, blow into s.th.). Syn. namasu.
(2) rest from an effort; take a holiday. - O map ra. Take a breather.

* sfn. (1) (s.o's) breathing, breath. - Siho mo m̈alokoloko, m̈apu-na mo petepete mo covi mo miare. The Kingfisher was so exhausted, breathless [his breath was short], that he collapsed and died.
(2) rest, holiday. - Sande, dan m̈apu. Sunday is a day of rest.
[PNCV*mabu-si 'breathe deeply, rest']
mapuhu vi. stink, have a bad smell. - viuru m̈apuhu 'stinkwood', Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum
mara ${ }_{1}$ sfn. (1) eye(s). •vuluvulu-da mara-ku my eyelashes
(2) sight, vision, look. • Pani Tumepu mo de mo ro hodo m̈ara-na. (The island of Araki settled there) but Mount Tumepu started to complain that it was blocking its view [lit. its eyes].
(3) (esp) plan, hope, wish. • Maram̈am lap̈a, co pa roho ro sa-n naru-m, Yugo Womtelo. Our biggest
wish would be to stay (some time) with your son, Yugo Womtelo.
[PNCV, POC*mata]
m̈ara ${ }_{2} n$-pr. || from m̈ara ${ }_{1}$. (cf. Grammar)
(1) from. - Co de co च̈a m̈ara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa? If we left from the same point, when would you arrive (on the other side)? - sodosodo mara-n Daki the language of [from] Araki
(2) because of. - Nam ce dogo na kadukadu lo rasi, m̈ara p̈ahe. I don't feel like swimming in the sea because of the sharks. - Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo masav̈a m̈ara-na. And that's why Araki moved out into the ocean. • mara sa? why? • Om mece lap̈a m̈ara no-m v̈ë̈ehina lo sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki. Thank you so much for your work on Araki language.
(3) about, regarding. - Na pa sodosodo m̈ara-n Spoemalao. I'm going to speak about Spoemalao. - sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki hosu this story about Araki ...
(4) in order to, for. - Sadi nene miara maci. This spear is for fish.
(5) [+verb] is used for, meant for. - Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel. This is used for taking corks out of bottles. - Na miara rara. [I am for cutting] My job is to cut wood, I'm a lumberjack.
* conj. (1) [+Realis] because. - Mo m̈arahu m̈ara ram̈are mo re han-i-a rapala-na mo iso. He was terrified at the idea that his friend had just been devoured by a devil. • Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo rasi. They no longer want to go to Araki because they say
they might drown in the sea.
(2) [+Irrealis] in order that, so that. - Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua nia. He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.
* adv. after, afterwards. - Na pa goro m̈ara. I'll sleep afterwards.
mara $\sim_{3}$ sfn. Syn. elua~; rahura~, lala.
(1) $[$ Ego M] uncle: mother's brother.
(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. See ve-m̈ara 'niece'.
(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. See elua~. [PNCV*matu?a 'mother's brother'; POC ${ }^{*}$ matuqa]
maraha $n$. laplap knife: traditional wooden knife, used in cooking. See sip̈a 'knife'.
marahu vt. Red. m̈aram̈arahu. fear, be frightened, afraid. • Hadiv mo dogo mo de mo m̈arahu. Hearing that, the rat was seized with fright. - Nam m̈aram̈arahu p̈ahe. I fear sharks.

> [PNCV*mataku; POc*ma-takut]
m̈arasala sfn. door. - Nam poe ima m̈arasala-da mo raha lap̈a. I like houses with big doors. - Mo re ede marasala-ku. He opened my door. || The door's possessor (suffix) is either the house or its owner.

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\begin{array}{r}
{\left[P N C V^{*} \text { mata-(ni)-sala 'door }=\right.\text { eye of }} \\
\text { road'] }
\end{array}
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m̈are ~ m̈ar. vi. die, be dead. • Ha pa nak-i-a co m̈are. They will strike him to death. [they will hit him he will die.] - Mo m̈are vo mo maudi ro? Is it dead or is it still alive? • Ale, mo mare mo rud lo paisa sala ... [tree] So, there was (this tree) that was standing
dead by the wayside ... Ant. m̈audu.
[PNCV, POC *mate]
marua sfn. right hand; right. • podo m̈arua-ku my right ear Ant. m̈adau.
[PNCV*matu? ]
miasa n. mushroom.
masaga $n$. Y-shaped or branching, forked, cloven. • naho masaga Cloven-face (name of a fish)
[PNCV, POc *sana 'fork, crotch']
m̈asä̈a ~ m̈asap̈a. sfn. (1) interval between two points, in-between. - O huden-i-a v̈erali lo m̈asapa-n dai cea nohosu mo dua. Put the bananas [in the interval between] between these two chairs.
(2) open space, on earth or at sea. - m̈akomo m̈asav̈a a small space
(3) (esp) open sea, deep sea. •Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo m̈asav̈a m̈ara-na. And that's why Araki moved out into the ocean. - Mo च̈a mo sua mo v̈a lo masav̈a. He continued to paddle, gradually moving further towards the sea.
[PNCV *masawa 'space, sky, open sea']
masoli $n$. variety of banana called 'apple-banana', large sized and not very sweet, used as a vegetable. See v̈erali.
maudi sfn. (1) life, lifetime. •Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce misi han re. $I$ had never eaten any in my whole lifetime.
(2) personal destiny, series of events that mark one's life, including one's death. • Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro $l o$ maudi-da. [oracle] Several indications reveal a man's destiny.
[PNCV*ma?uri; POc*maquri(p)]
m̈audu ~ m̈audi ~ m̈au. vi. (1) alive, living, v. dead (m̈are). •Mo m̈are vo mo maudi ro? Is he dead or is he still alive?
(2) (esp) revive, come back to life. - Ralmeape nia ralme racu mo mare mo (le) m̈audu. Ralmeape is the devil for all the people who have died and who have come back to life.
(3) [plant+] grow. - Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse m̈au. Even if it rained, your taro couldn't grow (because you didn't plant it properly ...).
[PNCV*ma?uri; POC*maquri(p)]
mavinuvinu adj. thin. Ant. vonoho.
[PNCV*manivinivi]
m̈eme sfn. tongue.
[PNCV*mea; POC*maya]
m̈ena $v i$. [fruit] ripe, full grown; ready to fall, about to rot. - Ale, hudi-na mo m̈ena, hudi-na mo v̈a vahude, mo sivo mo hocohoco. Then, when the (breadfruit) skin is ripe, when it falls off easily, that's when it is washed. Ant. pado.
[PNCV, POC*mena]
m̈enum̈enu $n$. small dead leaves, esp.
floating on water. $\cdot$ Nam m̈an pala m̈enum̈enu honi mo sale ro lo rasi. I am laughing about those small leaves which are floating on the sea. See daha 'leaf.
m̈ere vi. urinate. More familiar than tilatila.

* sfn. urine.
cada m̈ere sfn. bladder. cada mere-n po pig's bladder [ $P_{N C V}$ *meme-re]
-mim pp.sf. your (Pl): Second plural possessive suffix. - Ha gigisa na lesi hoco-mim! Smile, show me your teeth! See kam̈im.
misi ~ mis. asp. (1) [gen. with aspectual pa] still, still now. •Lo wik mo v̈a mo iso, nam docodoco, kesi nam pa misi doco. Last week I was ill; and I'm still not well today. Syn. le.
(2) $[$ with Negation ce] not yet. Auxiliary word followed by the verb. - Lo m̈audi-ku, nam ce misi han re. I'd never yet eaten any in my whole life. - Racu ne, mo ce m̈isi rai-a. This man has not yet been circumcised


## $\mathbf{N}$ - $\mathbf{n}$

na $_{1}$ ind.pp. I: First singular independent pronoun. - Na racu. $I$ am a man. • Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia. As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything! - Na na sa na vari-a cada-m. I am
coming to replace you.
$\%$ sbj. I: First singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. • Na lcegi-ko! I am going to hit you! • Co de na mäaci, na pa avu. If I were a bird, $\underline{I}$ would fly.

- Na lpo si na lesi-a ra. Let me try and see him. - Na pa mare sohe sa? How shall I die? see -ku.

$$
\left[P N C V{ }^{*} \text { nau }\right]
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-na ~-no (after 10 ). pp.sf. his, her, its: 3rd singular possessive suffix. - Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na. [on suffixable noun] He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones. - Mo vari-a no-no dip̈a, no-no sip̈a, maca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. [on possessive classifier] He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe. - Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈a-na, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na. [non-human possessor] He cut the ropes (of his canoe), made its outrigger, carved its central yoke and its little pegs. - Daga viha mo lare hase-na. [on suffixable adjective] The branch of the tree broke by itself (was not brought about by anyone).

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[P O C * \text {-ña }]
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nahade adv. today, esp. past or present ( v . hede, today in the future); fig. nowadays. - Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo masava mara-na. Mo roho mo sna kes nahade. And it was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean. And it has remained there until today. see kesi 'now, nowadays'.
naho sfn. face. •Mo klav̈as mo les naho-n rapala-na. He raised his eyes and recognised the face of his friend. - Asvohinao, nia mo posi-a naho-na mo m̈a sohe naho-m. Asvohinao (devil) can change his face to look like you.
naho hoco~ sfn. front teeth, includ-
ing canines and incisors. Ant. pari. lo naho~ n-pr. in front of. •lo naho-ku in front of me ant. lo cuhu.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ nako; $P O C$ nakon]
naho m̈asaga $n$. lit. 'forked face': Orangespine unicornfish, bsl. Yeloteil strong sikin: reef fish, 30 cm Naso lituratus.
nahodani $n$. lit. 'face of the day (?)': morning. - Nanov lo nahodani, nam rudu mo aloalo. Yesterday morning, I got up when the sun was out. - Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki. When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.
naivou~ sfn. [Ego M] wife. • naivou-ku mudu my first wife • naivou-ku parahu/v̈aha-dua my second wife - Nia mo lolokodu nida-n naivouna. He is cross at his wife. - Nida mo comì naivou-da, m̈ara nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro. They are sad because of their wives, who left home with (the men from the other island) dancing. || Anthr. For customary laws regarding widows, see elua~ and roha~. The hierarchy rule for a second husband is: roha~ > rasi~ > elua~. Ant. rua~.
nak $v$ t. Trnaki-.
(1) strike <s.o., s.th.>, hit. • Ras mo ma mo nak-i-a pilo-n huira. The sea would come back and strike the octopus's head. Syn. lceg.
(2) (fig) [esp. kava, alcohol] stupefy, have a strong effect upon <s.o.>. - Nam dogo hae mo nak-i-á. I feel the effect of kava [lit. I feel kava is hitting me ].
(3) hit <s.o.> with the intention of hurting or killing him; strike dead. $\cdot$ Racu nohosu ha pa nak-i-a, ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na. This man is going to be killed; he'll be killed in a fight or something like that.
(4) (gen) kill, in any way (e.g. through black magic). -Niko hosun om nak-i-a racu ro! [to a devil who bewitched s.o. to death] So it was you who killed this man!
nak raha m̈are vt. lit. 'strike-becomedead': kill. -Na pa nak raha mare-ko! I'm going to kill you [I'm going to strike-you-become-dead]
nam sbj. I: First singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. $\cdot$ Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko. I am really happy to have met you. •Nam ce levsei dogo-ko. I can't hear you. - O kan kode-i-á! - Nam ce kode-i-ko. Don't you lie to me! - I am not lying to you. - Nam comi. I'm sorry! See na ${ }_{1}$.
namasu vi. breathe. Syn, m̈apu.
nanovi adv. yesterday. - Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. Yesterday, I heard someone else sing the same song (as you). Ant. paivuho.
[PNCV*nanovi]
napdogo adv. (1) [+Realis] although. - Napdogo mo usa, pla-ku pera mo ce m̈au. Although it does/did rain, my taro is not growing properly.
(2) [+Irrealis] even if. See pdogo 'only, just'.
napdogo vada conj. lit. 'although that': [+Irrealis] even if. • Napdogo vada
co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse mäau. Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly. Syn. napdogo.
naru~ sfn. pl nanaru~.
(1) [Ego M/F] child of (s.o.). •Nko pa ce lahi co ce re naru-m. You will not marry nor will you have any children. •Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima. One day, the people had left their children at home. see mada vadidi 'the children'.
(2) $[E g o \mathrm{M} / \mathrm{F}]$ brother's child.
(3) [Ego F] sister's child. || For Ego M, the sister's children, are designated as nephews: elua~, lala, m̈ara~, or rahura~.
(4) [Ego M] child of the sister-in-law (ve-rahu~).
(5) [Ego M] child of the uncle (elua~), matrilateral cross-cousin.
(6) (esp) male child, son: v. ve-naru~ 'daughter'. • Naivou-ku mo viasui naru-ku. My wife has just given birth to my son. Syn. tu.
[PNCV, POC*natu-]
naura n. place/island (?). See udeude 'island'; cada 'place'.
Naura-lapa pl.n. lit. 'the big island': the island of Espiritu Santo, the largest island in the region. - Mo velu, dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura-Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. They dance, and the people of Santo hear their voices. - mada Naura-Lapa the people of Santo \| Corresponds to the 'mainland' for Araki islanders.
ne dem. first degree demonstrative. (cf. Grammar)
(1) [adverb] here. • P̈ira nohosu nam vadai-ko ro inia mo roho ro ne. The
woman' I talked to you about is here. - Lo dan mo hese, Pasta Sope mo sna ne Daki. One day, Pastor Sope came here in Araki. Syn. nene; kesi.
(2) [noun modifier] this. • V̈eral ne mo ce v̈eral hanhan. This banana is not edible.
nene ~ nene-n. dem. (1) [noun modifier] this. - Sadi nene m̈ara maci. This harpoon is for fish. • Nanovi nam goro lo epana nene. Yesterday I slept on this mat. Syn. ne; kesi.
(2) [NP-head] this, this one. •Nene mara vahuden-i-a colog botel. [NPhead] This is used for taking corks out of bottles. - Nohosu co olomia, nene co olö̈a, nene co olom̈a! (to children) Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head! Morph. no-2 + ne. (Cl. Grammar)
ni $\sim_{1} \sim$ ini $\sim \sim$ hini $\sim$. $v$-pr. preposition marking an oblique relation: at, to, towards+. • Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia. (after storing breadfruit) They take coconut palms and throw them over it. - Nam vadai-ko ro ini-a. I have told you about her. - (hi)n-re dani one day ... - Mo vari-a mo rai-a aka ni-a. He took (the taro stem) and carved a canoe out of it. • M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te ni-da. Since that time, they have been hating each other. [lit. looking bad at them ] (Cf. Grammar)
-ni $\mathbf{2}_{2} \sim$-n. suf. construct suffix: always followed by a noun phrase referring to possessor. - kam̈am povi dai vuguvugu-ni Moli all of us, Moli's family • Paua no-n God God's power • Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na. The child looks like his
mother. • Aka di mo colo, aka-n hadiv. The boat sank, Mr Rat's boat. - sodosodo m̈ara-n Daki hosu this story about Araki ... • Kesi hadiv nida-n huira mo dua medesai. Today the rat and the octopus are enemies. || The possessor is normally human (or a personified animal), or a place name. See-na. (Cf. Grammar)

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[P O C * n i]
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$-n i_{3} \sim-n$. suf. Assertive suffix, found on demonstratives. - O kan vari-a sule $\mathbf{\text { vahasasu}}$, o vari-a nene-n! Don't take that stone over there, (you'd better) take this one! || Seems to be mainly compatible with affirmative clauses (hence its tag as 'Assertive'). (Cf. Grammar)
nia ind.pp. he, she: 3rd singular independent pronoun. - Racu mo v̈ei-ko, nia Supe. He who created you is God. - Nia mo le sua mo च̈a lo ima-na. As for him, he went back home.
nica ind.pp. we (Inclusive): First inclusive plural independent pronoun. • Nica paivuho! [greeting] Good bye! [we tomorrow] See cam $_{1}$.
nida $_{1} \sim$ nda. ind.pp. they: 3rd plural independent pronoun. - Nida mo mare cece. They are dead for good. - Nda mo heli-a koko lo carauta. They dig a hole on the shore. • Miaci mo avuavu nda povi. The birds flew away, all of them. See-da; ha ${ }_{1}$.
nida $\sim_{2} \quad n-p r .| |$ Synt. Always followed by a human referent. (Cf. Grammar)
(1) with, together with <s.o.>. - Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaruna. This man was living there with his wife. • Nida-n verasi-na, nida mo
colo mo m̈are. lit. Together with her younger sister, they sank and died. Syn. isa~, pedesi~.
(2) against, at <s.o.>. •Daki mo v̈alum nida-ni Tumepu. So Araki struggled with Tumepu. - Nia mo lolokodu nida-n naivou-na. $H e$ is cross with his wife.
(3) [inside NP] with, and. • P̈ira hetehete mo hese nida-n vero-ha-na. There was a small girl with/and her older sister. • Hadiv nida-n huira mo medesai. The rat and [lit. with] the octopus are enemies. - Na pa sodosodo mara-n Siho nida-n Hatou. I'm going to tell the story of the Kingfisher and the Hermit-crab. • Nam sovi Ral nida-n Pen ro. I am waiting for Ralph and Ben. See rolu.
niko ~ nko ~ inko. ind.pp. you: Second singular independent pronoun. - Nko rap̈alam̈am. You are our friend. - Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á? So it was you who offended me yesterday? - Niko mo ce re monohi-m! [topic] You have no brain! (you are silly) - Vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu lapa. The banyan means that you will become a chief, an important person. See -ko; $\mathbf{0 m}$.

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[P N C V * \text { nigo }]
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no $\sim_{1}$ pos.cl. general Possessive classifier for inalienable possession. - no-ku dudu my clothes • no-m lahi your wedding • no-no ta his father - Paua no-n God God's power • Mo vari-a no-no dipa, no-no sipa, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his pirogue. (Cf. Grammar)
no-2 $\sim$ ne- (with ne). pf. prefix found on demonstratives: e.g. no-honi, no-hosu, and probably ne-ne. - No-hosu co olomia, ne-ne co oloma, ne-ne co olomia! Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head! \| Its effect seems to make it compatible with the NP-head position (similar to English 'one' in 'this one'), although it appears in other positions too. (Cf. Grammar)
$-\mathrm{no}_{3}$ pp.sf. his, her: allomorph of the pers. suffix -na following a vowel /o/. • hoco-no his teeth
novu $n$. scorpion. Scorpiones spp.
[POC*nopu]
nre dan adv. Morph. ni~ re dan.
(1) one day, in the future ( $v$. lo dan mo hese 'one day, in the past'). - Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anoz̈ano vila. One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!
(2) from time to time, sometimes. - Mo lesi-a pilo-ni huira nre dan. From time to time he caught sight of the octopus's head.
(3) [+Negation] (not) ever, never. • Mo ve lesi-a mo de ha nak-i-a ha ce levsei nak-i-a nre dan. They try and kill him, but they never succeed. Ant dan tade 'always'. (Cf. Grammar)
nudu ~ nud. vi. dive, jump in the water. • Mo sivo mo nud lo rasi, mo sivo mo vari-a pallace. He ran down the slope and dived into the sea, looking for coral.
nuenue $n$. rainbow.
nunu sfn. (1) silhouette, shadow (of
s.o); reflection (in water). •Nam lesi-a nunu-m. I can see your shadow.
(2) image, esp. photo. - Kam sodo mece lapa m̈ara nunu om vari-a.

We thank you very much for taking this photo.
[PNCV*nunu-a 'shadow, image, soul'; POc*nunu]

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o sbj. you: Second singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Irrealis mood. - Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku. Father, I want you to carve me a canoe. - O su o sna! Come towards me! [lit you paddle you come]
Okava pl.n. Hog Harbour, a city on the north-eastern coast of Santo I. - Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈ahasun Okava. Before, Araki was situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour. || A myth, known in Araki as well as in Hog Harbour, tells how the island left that area, and pulled away towards the southern shores of Santo ( $c x$. Daki).
[English Hog Harbour]
olomia vi. bend down, bow (o.'s) head. • Nohosu co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a, nene co olom̈a! Ha huden-i-a paru-m̈im lo cada mo hese! (to children) Let that one bow his head, let this one bow his head ... Arrange your heads to be all in the same place!
om $s b j$. you: Second singular Subject personal pronoun, associated to Realis mood. - Om holo ro? - Nam holo-ho ro. Are you OK? - Yes, I'm very well. - Om putu! You are crazy!

- Om de o hanhan? Would you like to have dinner? - Inko hosu nanov om litovi-á? So it was you who lit. who you] offended me yesterday?
onono ~ onon. n. sand, beach. See carauta.

Ö̈a pl.n. Opa, an islet east of Araki. - Om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na M̈adino vo om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na Opa? Do you live near Marino (to the west) or near Opa? || In Araki, the island of Opa acts as a landmark to indicate the east (cr. Toholau).
ori $n$. bunch (of bananas). See シ̈erali.
otom̈e ~hotom̈e. v.ad. Red. hototom̈e.
well, properly; sometimes carries intensive meaning. - Mo ce le dogo otome. They cannot hear well any more. - Mo rai-a aka inia, mo v̈e otome sohe aka. He carved himself a canoe, just as if it were a real canoe. [lit. he made it properly like a canoe].• Mo huden-i-a lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otom̈e. He dragged (his canoe) down to the sea, and tied it fast lit. tied it well].
ö̈a n. Eastern Reef Heron, 50 cm Ardea sacra; Egretta sacra.

## $\mathbf{P}-\mathbf{p}$

pa asp. (1) [preceded by other clauses] Sequential aspect: indicates a necessary relationship between two events, either in time or logical. • Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kam̈a pa $\mathbf{\text { v̈a }} \mathbf{l o}$ maket. I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then we shall go to the market. - Nanovi, nam de na v̈a na rai re viha; mo ce re dip̈a, nam pa ce v̈a. Yesterday $I$ wanted to go and cut some wood; but I didn't have an axe, so I didn't go.
(2) [in an independent clause] contrastive focus on time: ( V happened) at that specific moment, never before nor after. - Nam pa lesi rasi-m keskesi. I am seeing your younger brother for the first time.
(3) (hence) [+ Irrealis] Future reference, e.g. in a promise or a prediction. - Nica co pa han re sa? What are we going to eat? - Na pa lahi pog rolu. I will marry in three days' time. •Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko. [oracle] If (the reed) falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you. - Comini-m co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono. You will lose the joy of living, you will be a wretched man. - Kamam povi kam kila ro m̈ara in-re-pogi o pa le m̈a Daki. All of us here we hope that one day you will come back to Araki. (Cf. Grammar)
pada $_{1}$ sfn. white hair, esp. due to age.

* vi. [hair] be white; [person] have white hair, be white-haired, due to age. •Vulu-da mo pada. Their hair is white. • Nam re pada mo iso. I am already white-haired.
pada $_{2}$ n. spider. • Nam ce opo-i-da pada. I don't like spiders.
pado adj. (1)[fruit] green, unripe; raw, uncooked. - Nam poe nam de na voli re v̈erali pado. I want to buy some green bananas. Ant. m̈ena.
(2) (fig) new, incredible.
[PNCV*bwaro]
page sfn. belly, stomach. See raga ha~ 'stomach'.
[PNCV*bwaŋe]
palaho n. k.o. banyan. Ficus. See vi-p̈aka.
palaho hana m̈aci n. lit. 'Bird-eaten banyan': k.o. banyan. Ficus wassa.
palaho pupui n. k.o. banyan. Ficus granatum.
[< obalako]
paliha~ sfn. (1) [Ego M] father-inlaw, wife's father. || For Ego F, the husband's father is called as a grandfather (tapu~). see ve-paliha 'mother-in-law'.
(2) [Ego $M / F]$ son-in-law, daughter's husband.
[PNCV*bwalika 'affine']
pallace $n$. sea coral. • Mo sivo mo nud lo rasi, mo sivo mo vari-a pallace.

He ran down the slope and dived into the sea, looking for coral.

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\left[P N \subset V^{*} \operatorname{laz}(e, i)\right. \text { 'coral'; POc*laje] }
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pana ~ p̈ana. adv. [placed before the sentence focus] maybe, probably. - Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau. Somebody was there, scraping the trunk of the palmtree - no doubt a coconut crab, he thought. •Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo rasi. They no longer want to go to Araki because they say they might drown in the sea. See kodogo.
pani conj. but, however. Usually expresses a logical contrast between two clauses. - Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lị̈amim, pan lim̈a-m̈mim mo vidiha ro. $I$ told you to wash your hands, but they are still black! • Nam de na vari-a suka, pan nam petepete. I would like to take the sugar, but I am too short! - Cam ce levse lesi-a, pani nia mo roho ro. We cannot see him, yet he exists. (cc. Grammar)
paniavu n. pineapple. Ananas sativus. - Nam ecene paniavu ro. I sell pineapples.
pao n. Purple Swamphen, 36 cm Porphyrio porphyrio.
para sfn. trunk of a tree; hence the tree itself, v. its fruits (vae), or its other parts (see vi-ha). • Para levu mo hese mo rudu lo sala. There is a (trunk of) breadfruit tree standing along the road. - para-na its trunk Syn. laho.
parahu adv. after, afterwards. • Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kam̈a pa
v̈a lo maket. I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then [lit. after that] we shall go to the market. Syn. mara.
naivou(-ku) parahu sfn. lit. '(my) wife after': second wife. Syn. naivou~ シ̈aha-dua.
[PNCV*takuRu]
pariavu $n$. ashes.
[Cf. Malo batui-avu 'ashes'; PNCV*avu 'ashes, lime, dust'; POC* ${ }^{*}$ qapu]
paru sfn. [hum, animal] head. •Mo vari-a no-no m̈aca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na. He seized his club, and smashed her head with it. - Paru haura! You stubborn/naughty! [lit. hard head] • pis paru po thumb [lit. pig's head finger]
[PNCV, POC*bwatu]
Pasta n. pastor, Anglican priest.
[English pastor]
pasule n. traditional oven using stones (sule voso). See hapu 'fire'.
pau sfn. knee. • pau-ku my knee(s) See sadi.
[PNCV*bwau]
paua n. power, esp. occult or sacred power. - Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce re no-no paua. Today, people live there, because its power (that of the bewitched tree) has disappeared. • Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan. The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.
[English power]
pavu n. Flametail snapper, bsl. Jone: reef fish, 48 cm
pavu da-tavoa $n$. Humpback snapper, bsl. Pinkfis: reef fish, 45 cm Lutjanus gibbus. || Its name suggests leaves (da-) of Terminalia (see vosa).
[PNCV*tavoRa 'Terminalia']

| Parts |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| pa the head |  |
| paru-ku | my head |
| pogori-ku | my skull |
| pilo-ku | my bald head |
| vulu-ku | my hair |
| monohi-ku | my brain |
| naho-ku | my face |
| p̈enaho-ku | my forehead |
| シ̈asu-ku | my eyebrows |
| mara-ku | my eyes |
| galsu-ku | my nose |
| podo-ku | my ears |
| cigo-ku | my mouth (outside) |
| vava-ku | my mouth (inside) |
| ese-ku | my chin |
| humi-ku | my beard |
| ua-ku | my neck |
| hali-ku | my nape |

pdogo adv. (1) just, only. - Mo mare, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na. He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.
(2) (remain + ) idle, aimless. $\cdot \mathrm{Na}$ nam roho pdogo ro. I'll stay here and do nothing.
pede sfn. [tree, mountain] top, summit. - lo pede vosa at the top of a Terminalia • lo pede paka at the top of a banyan tree (vi-jaka) • Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia. He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmtree with it to catch the coconut crab.
pedepede sfn. heights, promontory above [sea+]. • Nia mo roho ro lo pedepede rasi, ravui lo rasi. She lived on the heights above the sea
pedesi~ ~ $\quad$ pedesi~. $v-p r . \quad$ with, together with <s.o., s.b.>; marks accompaniment rather than instrument. - Nam de na valum p̈edesi-ko. I'm going to fight with you. - Mo m̈are, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na. He was dead, having nothing more than his skin on [lit. with] his bones. Syn. nida~, isa~.
pedeti n. bread, of European origin, but now produced locally. - Kesi hanhan vutiana: pedeti; daisi; hina vutiana, pan ruai mo ce re hanhan. Nowadays, there is plenty of (different sorts of food: bread, rice, many things; but in olden times, there was no food (like that).
[English bread]
pedopedo vi. deaf. • Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo. He has bad ears, he is deaf. See podo 'ear'.
[ $P N C V$ *bwero 'ear']
peka n. Barn Owl, 34 cm Tyto alba.
pele asp. [between Subject and Verb] take o.'s turn (in doing s.th.); hence while, whereas. $\bullet$ Re co pele sna co holo aka! Let someone come and (take my place to) man the boat! - Ale o sna, o pele o le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan. Okay, come; while you come back to your place, I will go and have lunch. (Cf. Grammar)
peli sfn. dwelling place, usual place of (s.o.).
lo peli~ $n$-pr. at (s.o.)'s place. • Na v̈a na hanhan lo peli-n pua. $I^{\prime} m$
going to eat at my mother's.
pelo $n$. traditional slit gong. [PNCV*bwea (?) 'slitgong, drum']
pera $n$. taro. Araceae sp. da-pera taro leaf • culi pera taro shoot - Napdogo vada co usa, pla-m pera co ce levse mau. Even if it rains, your taro won't be able to grow properly.
pera tasale $n$. lit. 'white man's taro': Fiji taro, Hongkong taro. Xanthosoma sagittifolium.
pera ai $n$. lit. 'water taro': k.o. taro cultivated in taro swamps.
[PNCV*bweta]
petepete adj. (1) short. • viha petepete a short piece of wood Ant. p̈edavu. See hetehete 'small'.
(2) [hum] small, not tall. • Nam de na vari-a suka, pan nam petepete. I want to reach the sugar, but I'm not tall enough.
(3) (fig) [breath] short, breathless, such as in suffocation. - Siho mo m̈alokoloko, m̈apu-na mo petepete mo covi mo mare. The Kingfisher was so exhausted, breathless [his breath was so short], that he collapsed and died.
pevu n.k.o. yam.
pevuhohono $n$. k.o. wild yam. Dioscorea bulbifera. See suma 'wild yam'.
pilai v.ad. (kill) in one blow, outright. - Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo colo. He killed the young woman outright, and she sank (to the bottom of the water).
pili sfn. shoulder. • Huira mo de 'Ale, o sna sadai lo pili-ku!' 'Okay', said the octopus, 'come and sit on my
shoulders.' See lim̈a 'arm, hand'.
pilo sfn. bald head. - Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a m̈acihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu. [octopus] I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white. See pogori 'skull'.
piodo n. sandalwood. Santalum austrocaledonicum.
plane $\sim$ plan. vt. $\operatorname{Tr}$ plani-. throw, cast. - Mo vari-a sule mo sa kia mo plan-i-a lo cada di. Each one brings a stone up there, and throws it from that place. •Mo vari-a da-holo mo plan-i-a kaura hinia. They take coconut palms and throw them over (the breadfruit being stored). - Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna. I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it to you.
po n. pig. • pula-ku po my pig (I breed) - ha-ku po my piece of pork (to eat) see dave.
[PNCV*boe]
podo sfn. ear. • podo m̈adau-ku my left ear •Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo. He has bad ears, he is deaf. [PNCV* bwero]
poe ~opoe. vt. $\operatorname{Tr}(\mathbf{0})$ poi-; (o)poei-.
(1) appreciate <s.th.>; like, desire <s.o.>. • Nam po-i Daki vutiana. $I$ like Araki (island) very much. • Nam poe-i-a no-m sodo. I like your language. - Om de se mo po-i-ko? Who do you think loves you?
(2) [+ verb $V_{2}$; or (+ vada or mo de) + Irrealis] desire, want. • Ta, nam po-i-a vada 0 rai re aka-ku. Father, I want you to carve me a canoe. - Om poe levse vada maudi-m co pa iso
lo sava cada? Do you want to know in what kind of place you will end your life?
[Cf. Tangoa obo-i-a 'love him']
pogi ~ pog. $n$. (1) (rare) day. •Kam̈am povi kam kila ro m̈ara in-re-pogi o pa le m̈a Daki. All of us here we hope that one day you will come back to Araki. Syn. dani.
(2) $[+$ number $]$ forms adverbial phrases referring to a number of days in the future: 'in (x) days' time'. • pog dua in two days' time, the day after tomorrow •pog haualu in eight days' time - Na pa lahi pog rolu. I will marry in three days' time. See paivuho 'tomorrow'.
[PNCV, POC *boni]
pogori sfn. skull, bone of the head. See pilo 'bald head'.
polo $_{1} v t$. light <a fire>. - O polo re hap lapa! Please light a big fire! See hasan; hapu.
polo $_{2}$ n. Pencil-streaked rabbitfish, bsl. Yelotel-piko: reef fish, 30 cm Siganus doliatus.
pon $n$. smell. See dogo 'feel, smell'. pona sfn. smell of (s.o., s.th.). - Pona-m mo holo-ho. Your smell is nice.
[PNCV*bo-n(i, a) 'smell, scent, odour']
pono $n$. Quoy's parrotfish, bsl. Blufis: reef fish, 40 cm Scarus blochi.
popo $n$. germinated coconut, bsl. Navara. Cocos nucifera. See holo ${ }_{1}$ 'coconut'.
porio $n$. grasshopper.
posi ${ }_{1} \sim$ pos. vi. (1) [in navigating] tack,
turn, change direction. - Mo le v̈a シ̈a suri-a cigo hosun mo sivo mo pos mo v̈a lec. Again he sailed alongside the cape; after a while, he started tacking, and disappeared from the horizon.
(2) (fig) change aspect, transform oneself. • Posi-m mo posi. Your character is changing (you are fickle)

* vt. modify, change <s.o., s.th.>. - Mo levse posi-a naho dai pira sohe nosun om po-i-a ro. (This devil) knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love (in order to attract you). • Nam lesi-a pilo-m mo posi-a macihi-na mo vidiha mo lulu. [to the octopus] I was looking at your bald head, changing its colour from black to white.
posi ${ }_{2}$ sfn. fashion, style, typical manner of (s.o.); way, nature. •Pan nida mo re levsei-a mo de kesi posi-n Spoemalao kesi mo v̈ei-a kesi. But they realised that it was just like Spoemalao [it was his style] to have done such a thing.
povi $\sim$ pov $\sim$ po. adj. [affecting the subject] all, everybody. • Kamimim po ha gigisa! All of you, please smile! $\cdot$ Maci mo avuavu nda povi. The birds all took flight.
* v.ad. [affecting the object] (do V) totally, completely. - Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun. He did all those things entirely. •Mo han-i-a mo han povi-a. He ate it, he até it all up. II Synt. After a verb, the transitivity markers are transferred from the verb to povi. (C. Grammar)
pua ~ puá. n. (hypoc) Mum: address
term for mother (rarna~). • Na v̈a na hanhan lo peli-n puá. I'm going to have lunch at my mum's. • Na ul re leta co sivo sa-n pua. I must write a letter to [lit. which should go to] my mother.
pudu n. [egg, shellfish] shell. • pudu sile to shell of $a$ (hen's) egg
pudu pisu~ sfn. finger nails.
[PNCV*bura-ti 'shell, empty container']
pudupudu n. wood, timber, beam. see viha 'wood'.
pula~ ~ pla~. pos.cl. Possessive classifier referring to economical possessions, esp. plants and
possessed animals. - pula-ku holo my coconut tree (I planted) • pula-ku po my pig (which I feed) • Nam v̈ahani-a pla-ku to. I am feeding my fowls. (cf. Grammar)
pultan v.ad. together, in the same place. •Ha huden pultan-i-a parumim! Put all your heads together!
puro sfn. navel; umbilical cord. - Dokta mo ce misisi rai-a puro-no. The doctor hasn't yet cut his cord.
[PNCV*buto; POC*buton]
putu vi. mad, crazy. - Om putu! You are crazy!

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\ddot{\mathbf{P}}-\ddot{\mathbf{p}}
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p̈ahaso sfn. biceps. - O v̈ei-a sohe-na p̈ahaso-m co sosohoni. Show off your biceps! See lim̈a 'hand, arm'.
p̈aheu ~ p̈ahe. n. shark. • P̈ahe mo hari-a sadi-ku! My leg got bitten by a shark! • Hadiv mo kadu kadu kadu kadu kadu, mo lesi-a pahe. And the Rat swam, swam, swam, swam ... until he saw a shark.
[PNCV*bakewa]
paisa ~paisa. sfn. (1) [hum] side. $\cdot \mathbf{O m}$ sadai lo p̈aisa-ku. You are sitting beside me.
(2) (gen) side, edge, near to. - Viha di mo rudu lo paisa sala. This tree is on the side of the road.
p̈aivuho adv. tomorrow. - Nica p̈aivuho! [greeting] Good bye! [we tomorrow] Ant. nanovi. See pogi 'day'.
p̈aka sfn. a bow, to shoot with. • P̈aka nene, m̈ara vinavina. This bow is made for shooting arrows. $\cdot$ No-ku ta, $\mathbf{o}$ vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku. Father, make me a bow and some arrows. See vina 'arrows'; vi-p̈aka 'banyan'.
pala v.ad. preposition introducing the object of certain verbs, e.g. m̈ana 'laugh'. - Om m̈an pala sa ro? Pala pilo-m. What were you laughing at/about? - At your bald head! (cf. Grammar)
р̈ар̈ $n$. fence, esp. surrounding a garden (isa).
p̈apalihono n. wild kava. Macropiper latifolium.
pari sfn. molar tooth ( $v$. naho hoco 'front teeth'). See hoco ${ }_{2}$ 'tooth'.
[PNCV*bati '(upper canine) tooth']
p̈edavu adj. (1) long, stretched out horizontally; e.g. a cape (cigo) stretching far out to sea. - Mo v̈a lo rav̈al cigo v̈a-su cigo p̈edavu. He reached beyond the cape over there, that headland stretching out to sea.
(2) [hum+] tall, vertically long. Ant. petepete.
[PNCV*baravu 'long, tall']
p̈enaho sfn. forehead. See naho 'face'.
р̈ере $\quad$. (1) butterfly.
(2) Lined butterflyfish, reef fish, 35 cm Chaetodon lineatus.
[ $P N C V, P O C *$ bebe]
戸̈ер̈еi n. k.o. plant, bsl. Laslas. Polyscias scutellaria.
pidi sfn. [plant] seed; [fruit] stone. - Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahu-den-i-a p̈idi-na... [preparation of breadfruit biscuit ( $\ddot{m} a d a)]$ They take away the pith, take away the seeds.

> [PNCV*biri 'seed']
p̈ilahe ~ p̈ilahe hudara. n. Buffbanded Rail, a long-legged bird, 30 cm Gallirallus philippensis.
[PNCV*bilake 'Buff-banded Rail']
p̈ilahe rasi $n$. lit. 'seashore Rail': a bird.
(1) Asiatic Whimbrel, a bird with downcurved beak, 45 cm Numenius phaeopus.
(2) (or) Sharp-tailed Sandpiper, 20 cm Calidris acuminata.
p̈ile sfn. (vulg) female genitals, vulva.
[PNCV*bile]
p̈ira $n$. female, woman (v. lam̈ani ~ racu 'male, man'); [+Poss. Class.
no~] wife. • Racu vo pira? (Is it) a man or a woman? • P̈ira uluvo hosun mo roho ro rav̈al cigo. This young woman was living on the other side of the cape. - Mo levse posi-a naho dai pira sohe nosun om po-i-a ro. (This devil) knows how to transform women's faces into the one you love (in order to attract you). See naivou~ 'wife'.
pira hetehete $n$. lit. 'small woman': female child, girl. • P̈ira hetehete mo hese nida-n veroha-na. There was a small girl with her older sister.
p̈isu ~ p̈is. sfn. finger; [bird] claw. - P̈isu-ku kodu lo hapu. I burnt my fingers in the fire. • Mala mo vari-a p̈isu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu. With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem, and tore it to pieces.
pis paru-po $n$. lit. 'pighead's finger': thumb.
p̈is livuha $n$. middle finger.
p̈is tahada $n$. little finger.

* vt. $\operatorname{Tr}$ p̈isui-
(1) indicate, designate; point at. - Nam piisui Rago. I'm pointing at Tangoa.
(2) touch <s.th.> with a finger or a similar object (knife+), with the intention of pricking or making a hole. • Hede na pa pisu cudug-i-a aka-ca! [words of the hawk] With my claws, I'm going to make a hole in this canoe! [lit. I will prick-perforate]
[ PNCV'bisu 'finger, toe, nail'] $^{\text { }}$ ]


## $\mathbf{R}-\mathbf{r}$

$\mathbf{r a}_{1}$ adv. first, provisionally, at least (bsl. festaem). Sentence-final discourse particle, marking an action (esp. an order) as provisional, or as the substitute of some other action. - O v̈a ra! You go first (don't wait for me) - O m̈ap ra! You should have a rest (before anything else) - Na lpo si na lesi-a ra. - Ale, o lpo si! I'll try and see him. - Alright, you go! (Cf. Grammar)
$\mathbf{r a}_{2} \sim$ raha. asp. [+ Adjective or Verb] Resultative clitic (?). Derives a resultative adjective from a verbal or an adjectival root. - Mo vari-a vivada ra kodu. He takes a dry reed. [a reed become dry] - Mo v̈a, mo dogo leo-do, mo v̈a mo v̈a, mo ra hetehete. At first, their shouts could be heard; but eventually they became fainter and fainter. - Viha hosun mo ra lapa. This tree is huge. || Found only with a few adjectives, e.g. lapa 'big', hetehete 'small', kodu 'dry'. See m̈a'Detransitiviser'. ( $c$. Grammar)
racu $n$. (1) man or boy (v. p̈ira 'woman, girl'). • Va p̈ira mo dogo leo-n racu uluvo. The woman heard the young man's voice. •Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu. I could hear your voice, and thought it might be a goodlooking boy. Syn. lamanai.
(2) human being, man or woman; person. • racu vidiha a black person - Nko pa racu tilavono You will be a poor person.
(3) (gen) people: either an indefinite group of people, or people in general. - Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha. Today, there are people living there. - Dan mo hese, racu nanaru-da mo roho ro lo ima. One day, the people had left their children at home. - Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a. People don't eat dogs. - Mohi mo levse hari-a racu. Mosquitoes bite [know how to bite men]. - Racu mo kodokodo mo ce holo-ho. It's bad to lie [That one should lie is bad]. || Synt. Despite the plural meaning, the agreement is sometimes singular.
(4) any creature, not necessarily human; cf. English 'somebody'. - Racu mo hese mo kadumi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau. Somebody was scraping the trunk of the palm-tree - maybe a coconut crab. • Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui. There's another kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui. - Racu mo v̈ei-ko, nia Supe. The one who created you is God.
racu lä̈a n. lit. 'big man': chief, important person, an authority over a community (bsl. Bigman). - Om poe-i-a o pa moli, om poe-i-a o pa racu lap̈a? Do you want to be a chief, do you want to be someone important? See kadai; mala; moli 'chief.
radami sfn. meaning, significance, esp. symbolic or magic significance. •Radami-na mo de pira
hosun co v̈a co pa m̈are lo cada vavono. [oracle] This means [lit. its meaning says] that this woman will go and die abroad.
[PNCV*taRam(an)i 'allow, accept, agree']
raga $n$. basket, bag (generic term).
raga ha~ sfn. lit. 'container of my food': stomach. • raga ha-ku $m y$ stomach see page 'belly'.
raga mavsa~ sfn. lit. 'container of my viscera': entrails, intestines; stomach. See mavusa.

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[P N C V, P O C * \tan \mathrm{a}]
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ragi $\sim$ rag. vi. cry, weep. •Mada hetehete mo ragi. The child is weeping. - Co de o rag co iso, o pa hanhan. If/When you stop crying, you can have your dinner.
ragisi- $v t$. cry for <s.o.>, mourn. - Mo ragisi-a sa? - Mo ragisi no-no pua. What is he crying for? - For his mother (he misses her). See comicomi 'mourn'.
[PNCV*tani-si 'weep, mourn'; POC*tanis]
Rago pl.n. Tangoa, name of an island close to Araki, and close to southern coast of Santo. || After several decades of marriages between the two islands, the language of Araki has been totally replaced by the language of Tangoa.
rahisa sfn. fellow, member of the same village or social group (bsl. manples, wantok). • Nia rahisa-ku. He's from the same place as me. Syn. rap̈ala.
raholo ~rahol. adj. Red. raraholo.
(1) straight. •Mo sohe vici hadiv raholo hosu, mo de huira mo sadi hadivi nia. And so the rat's tail is
straight, because that's when the rat was harpooned by the octopus. See holo.
(2) correct, adequate. •Om v̈ev̈e hina raraholo. You do a good job • Hadiv mo vari-a m̈aci mo de mo rahol mo vari-a mo v̈a. The rat greeted the birds (in his canoe), thinking all was well, and pursued his route. Ant. te. See holo 'good'.

* adv. exactly, precisely, just, right. - Huira mo roho ro raholo lo cada di. An octopus lives right here in this precise place.
[PNCV*takolo 'straight']
rahu~ sfn. brother-in-law.
(1) $[$ Ego M/F] brother-in-law: sister's husband.
(2) [Ego M] brother-in-law: wife's brother.
(3) [Ego F] brother-in-law: husband's sister's husband (vuggo~).
[PNCV*tau-wia (?) 'brother in law']
Rahuna pl.n. Rahuna, a place on the west coast of the island. || Situated in the middle of the forest (hudara), this place is reputed for its coconut crabs (cau). See Tahuna.
rahura~ sfn. Syn. elua~; lala; m̈ara~.
(1) [Ego F] uncle: mother's brother. Respectful term.
(2) [Ego M] nephew: sister's son. See ve-rahura~ 'niece'.
(3) [Ego F] husband's uncle, uncle-in-law. See elua~.
rai ~ra. vt. Red. rara.
(1) cut, chop. P Puron narum, dokta mo rai-a mo ce holoho. Your son's navel cord has not been cut properly by the doctor. - Nam re rai-a viha lapa. I've cut a lot of wood. • Na m̈ara rara.
[I am for cutting] My job is to cut wood.
(2) cut or carve, build; e.g. build a canoe. • Nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku. I want you to carve me a canoe. - Mo rai-a asi-na, mo rai-a cam̈ana, mo rai-a evua-na, laku-na; ale mo rai-a vose. He cut the ropes (for his canoe) and the outrigger, carved the poles and the little pegs; lastly he carved an oar with which to paddle.
(3) (esp) circumcise. • Racu ne, mo ce misisi rai-a. This man has not yet been circumcised || Anthr. Circumcision was never widespread in Araki.
[PNCV*taRa-?i 'cut, chop'; POc*taRaq]
rali $\sim$ ral. sfn. guts, intestines. • rali-na his/her/its guts See page.
havhavu rali~ sfn. lit. 'gut-cover': diaphragm. See havu.
[Cf. Tolomako tali-n 'guts'; PNCV, POc *tali 'rope']
ram̈a~ sfn. [Ego M/F] father. - ram̈a-ku hetehete $m y$ 'small father' (father's brother) || For semantic details, see the address term ta.
[PNCV, POC *tama]
Ramapo pl.n. Malo, a big island south of Santo and not far from Araki. \| The language of Araki is evidently very close to that of Malo.
[Cf. Malo Tamambo]
ram̈are $n$. spirit of a dead man; devil, ghost. - Lo cada-m, re ram̈are vo mo ce re? - Ram̈are kia. In your country, are there devils or not? - Yes, there are. - Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a. He understood that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil. || Anthr. There are several kinds of such spirits, most of them being mischievous. They include

Ralme-ap̈e, Asi-dia, Asvohinao, Tui. See m̈are 'die'. [PNCV*?ata-mate 'dead person']

| Internal organs of the body |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| mavusa-ku | my heart |
| mavusa salesale-ku | my lungs |
| havhavu rali-ku | my diaphragm |
| raga ha-ku | my stomach |
| raga mavusa-ku | my stomach |
| page-ku | my belly |
| ravu | womb (?) |
| rali-ku | my guts, |
|  | intestines |
| mape-ku | my liver |
| vacivacia-ku | my kidneys |
| cada m̈ere-ku | my bladder |
| sui-ku | my bones |
| daca-ku | my ribs |
| cai-ku | my blood |

$\operatorname{ran}_{1} v t$. $\operatorname{Tr}$ rani-. hold, catch <e.g. a prey>. - Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna. I'll go up and catch it (the crab), and then I'll throw it to you.
$\operatorname{ran}_{2}$ vt. $\operatorname{Tr}$ rani-. push <s.o., s.th.>. • Mo ran-i-á nam covi. He pushed me (and) I fell down.
rapala $n$. (1) Grouper, family of reef fish. Serranidae.
(2) (esp) Honeycomb Grouper: reef fish, 20 cm Epinephelus merra.
rapala hahada $n$. lit. 'red Grouper': Lyretail grouper, bsl. Redlos: reef fish, 75 cm Variola louti.
[Cf. Mota taqale]
rapudo ptc. [noun + rapudo + numeral] optional numeral classifier for human referents. - Kam̈am rapudo rolu kam̈a sivo goro. The
three of us are going to sleep. • Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to look for coconut crabs. (cf. Grammar)
rapala~ sfn. friend, companion. • Nko rap̈alam̈am. You are our friend. - Nam lesi rapala-ku mo hese nam alovi-a. I saw a friend of mine, and I waved to him. Syn. rahisa. Ant. medesai.
rarna~ sfn. [Ego M/F] mother, reference term. - Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na. The child looks like his mother. • Rarna-da ram̈a-da mo m̈a, mo lesi dai mada vadidi. Their mothers and fathers came back and saw the children. Syn. pua. Ant. ram̈a.
[PNCV, POC*tina]
rasi ${ }_{1} \sim$ ras. $n$. (1) sea; sea water, salt water. - Mo ce dogo ha le sivo Daki mo de m̈ara pana ha colo lo ras. They don't feel like coming to Araki any more, for fear of drowning in the sea. - Ras mo m̈a mo nak-i-a pilo-n huira. The sea would come back and strike the octopus's head.
(2) salt.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { tasi; } P O \subset * \text { tasik }\right]
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rasi $\sim_{2}$ sfn. (1) $[$ Ego $\mathrm{M} / \mathrm{F}]$ younger brother (opp. roha~, elder brother). - Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m. I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. See vodo-rahu 'second-born'; ve-rasi~ 'younger sister'.
(2) [Ego M] husband of ve-rahu~ (sister of wife), if younger than Ego.
(3) $\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { Ego } & F\end{array}\right]$ younger brother of
husband (rua~). || Anthr. From the day I marry, I treat my husband's brothers as though they were mine; yet the age is in relation not with my age, but with my husband's: thus I may call rasi~ someone older than myself, if he's younger than my husband. In case the latter dies, I may become the wife of his elder brother (roha~) or, alternatively, of his younger brother (rasi~). See roha~, elua~.
[PNCV*tasi 'younger same-sex sibling'; POC*taci]
ravu sfn. belly, esp. woman's womb. See page 'belly'.
ravuhi $n$. flesh. See visiho 'flesh, meat'.
ravuhi cidi~ sfn. buttocks. • ravuhi cidi-m your buttocks
ravui adv. nearby, close, next to. - V̈apa mo hese, kesini ravui lo ima-ku. There's a cave here, close to my house. - Nia mo roho ro ravui lo rasi. He lives right next to the sea. Ant. vono.
ravur ~ ravu. vi. (1) get up, stand up. See rudu 'stand'.
(2) begin a new action. Suggests a sudden reaction to an event: sometimes translated as 'suddenly', 'immediately'. • Nia mo ravur mo dovo mo mle mo ce le elele cau. He [lit. got up and] immediately started running all the way home. - Mo ravu mo sihir mo sivo. She suddenly started running down the hill.
rav̈alu ~ rav̈al. sfn. (1) the (other) side of. - Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia rav̈al cigo. Another man lived there, beyond the cape. - Mo su-i-a mo va rav̈alu-na. He paddled until he
reached the other side.
(2) (fig) [time] the continuation of; next. • Rav̈alu wik, co pa usa. It's going to rain next week.
lo rä̈alu~ $n$-pr.
(1) the other side of; next to. - lo rä̈alu-ku by my side/next to me see paisa.
(2) (fig) after; next. - No-ku lahi lo rä̈alu viru. My wedding will be next month.
lo rav̈alu-na $a d v$. on the side of, towards. - Om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na M̈adino vo om roho ro lo rav̈alu-na Op̈a? Do you live towards Marino (to the west) or towards Opa (an islet east of Araki)?
[PNCV*tavalu 'side, moiety']
$\mathbf{r e}_{1}$ art. marker for non-specificity of the noun phrase. (cf. Grammar)
(1a) a, some. Partitive marking indefinite, non-specific objects. - No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku. Father, make me $\underline{a}$ bow and some arrows. - O polo re hap lapa! Please light a big fire! • Nam de na in re lasa ai co dua. I'd like to drink two glasses of water. [lit. drink some glasses of water which should be two] - Nica co pa han re sa? What are we going to eat? [lit. eat some what?] \| This re is incompatible with transitivising verb suffixes ( $\mathbf{- i}$ ).
(lb) [in an adverbial phrase, etc.] a, an. Partitive. • Co de co v̈a mara-n re cada, o pa kaka gisa? Suppose we left from some point, when would you arrive (the other side)?
(2) Existential partitive: it's an $X$, there's an $X$. Nam dogo leo-m nam de pana re racu cu. When $I$
heard your voice, I thought it might be a handsome man.
(3) [with negation ce] no, none. • Mo ce les re cau lo lepa. They see no coconut crab on the ground. - Nam ce les re rapala-ku. (/Nam lesi-a rap̈ala-ku mo hese) I have not seen any friend. (II have seen a friend)

* pro. (rare) used alone, without a noun, as a NP-head.
(1) [Object] one. Partitive referring anaphorically to an item present in the context. - Lo wik mo via mo iso, nam han-i-a cau mo hese; lo maudi-ku, nam ce misi han re. Last week I ate a coconut crab; it was the first time in my life I had ever eaten one. - Mo les re mo vari-a mo v̈a. If he found one, he'd take it with him.
(2) $[+$ adjective] one, someone. $\cdot$ O sile re vavon co han-i-a. Give it to someone else to eat.
(3) [Subject] someone. Non-specific indefinite, more likely with Irrealis mood. • Re co pele sna co holo aka! Let someone come (now) and man the boat! See nre dan 'sometimes'.
* pred. there is. - Lo cada-m, re ram̈are vo mo ce re? Ram̈are kia. Do spirits exist in your country or not? Yes. • Ruai, Sope, ram̈are vutiana; kesi mo ce le re ram̈are. Before, there were many devils in (the village of) Sope; but nowadays, there aren't any more. II Synt. Re can be found in negative (see mo ce re) or interrogative, but never affirmative, sentences. The assertion of existence uses the anaphoric adverb kia, or position verbs (rudu 'stand', roho 'stay' ...). See ce-re. (Cf. Grammar)
* asp. [between Subject clitic and Verb] already: aspectual marker for Perfect. Indicates a completed action, considered in its effects in the current situation. - Ima-ku, moli mo re sul-i-a. My house was burnt down by the chief. - Mo re ede marasala-ku. He opened my door. - Mo re ce-re no-no paua. [with negation] Its power (of the bewitched tree) does not exist any more. - M̈ara p̈ra hosun mo re v̈ei-a mo re lokodu mo iso. Indeed, this woman had caused his anger. - Om re v̈a mo iso lo hamali? Have you ever in your life been inside a nakamal? || Combined with mo iso, re indicates that the process has reached its pre-constructed term (English 'already'). (Cf. Grammar)
[PNCV*tea 'one']
re $\sim_{2}$ sfn. faeces.
re po $n$. (fig) lit. 'pig shit': derogatory remark designating an object, in a given situation: rubbish, bullshit, trash. - Re po nene mo ce le ululu! [about a pen] This rubbish has run out of ink!

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { ta } ? \mathrm{e} ; P O C^{*} \text { taqe }\right]
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re hina $n$. (1) something, nonreferential indefinite (opp. hina mo hese, ref. indef.). •Nam de na sle-ko n-re hina. I'd like to give you something (a present). • Ha pa nak-i-a 10 vudo vo re hina sohe-na. He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind.
(2) [+negation] (not) anything, nothing. - Nia mo vuso, mo ce levse lesi re hina. He's blind, he can't see anything. - Mo ce le re hina, nia hosun. [conclusive formula] There's
nothing else [lit. there isn't anything any more], that's all. Morph. re + hina. (Cf. Grammar)
ren conj. (1) or. See voni.
(2) [+ vada] but if, and if. • Ren vada mo doco ... But if he is sick ...
reo sfn. [bird] nest. • reo-no its nest
ridivu ~ tidimpuka (?). $n$. 'bush-nut', bsl. Navele. Barringtonia edulis.
rigo vi. ask for, claim, beg. • Re maci vavono mo le rigo mo de ... Other birds asked the same thing, saying ...
rkel $v t$. $\operatorname{Tr}$ rkeli-. reach <place, thing>, touch. - Mo plan-i-a mo sivo mo de co pa rkel-i-a rasi. He threw the reed so that it drop into the sea. • Huira mo シ̈a rkel-i-a tarauta mo hudeni hadiv. The octopus finally reached the bank, and set the rat down. - Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo mare. One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man [lit. touched a man], who fell sick and died. See vcan; vodo.
ro $\mathbf{o}_{1}$ vi. do what: interrogative verb. See rodo.
$\mathbf{r O}_{2}$ asp. || Etym. Brief form of roho 'stay, be (doing)'. (Cf. Grammar)
(1) post-verbal aspectual particle, referring to an incomplete action; Progressive. • Mo vavere mo v̈a ro. He was (still) singing. - Mo sua mo च̈a; mo v̈a ro, ale p̈ira mo hese mo dogo leo-no. He began to paddle; and while he was paddling, a woman heard his voice. •Dai nohosu mo roho ro Naura Lapa mo dogo leo-do ro. Those who remained on the mainland
heard their voices.
(2) still, still now. Refers to a continued action. - Mo mare vo mo maudi ro? Is it dead or is it still alive? See minisi.
(3) [after order] indicates polite order. - O kla ro co kan covi! Please take care that he does not fall!
[PNCV*tok( $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{o}$ ); POC *toka 'sit, stay, be in a place']
rodo $_{1} \sim$ ro. vi. interrogative verb. (cf. Grammar)
(1) [+agentive] do what. - Mo rodo? What's he doing? || Synt. May combine with the homophonous particle $\mathbf{r o}_{2}$ 'Progressive' Om ro ro? What are you doing?. Syn v̈eia sa 'do what'.
(2) [-agentive] be how (good or bad). - Paru-n naru-m mo ro? How is your baby's head (is it still aching)?
(3) [impersonal] what happen. •Mo ro? What's going on?
moro inter. lit. 'what happens (so that)': why, for what reason. - Mo ro om ce opoe kadu lo ai? Why don't you like bathing in the river?
rodo $_{2} n$. White-throated Pigeon, Metallic Wood Pigeon, bsl. nataroa. Columba vitiensis. [PNCV*taroa]
roha~ sfn. (1) [Ego M/F] elder brother (opp. rasi~, younger brother). • Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m. I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. || Anthr. If I [ego M] die, my elder brother (or alternatively my uncle m̈ara~) must take care of my wife, children and properties; he becomes her new husband, with no need to buy her (See sense 3 below).

See vodo-mudu 'first-born'; ve-roha~ 'elder sister'.
(2) [Ego M] husband of sister-in-law (ve-rahu~), if older than Ego.
(3) [Ego F] elder brother of the husband (rua~). || Anthr. [Ego F] When I get married, I call my husband's elder brothers as though they were also mine (roha~, even if they are younger than me); they call me ve-roha~. If my husband dies, one of them may take me as his wife, in which case I call him rua~ (husband). An alternative is to be married to my husband's uncle: see elua~.
[PNCV*tuaka 'older same-sex sibling']
roho vi. (1) stay, remain in the same place; partic. stay whilst other people go away. - O pa roho ro! Goodbye! [lit. 'You'll stay'] • Ta mo ce opo-i-a co de na v̈a, mo de na roho lo ima. Dad doesn't want me to go out, he told me to stay at home.
(2) [hum] live (somewhere). • Racu hosun mo roho kia nida-n venaru-na. That man lived here with his daughter. •Kesi cada nosun racu mo roho kia ha, mo re ce re no-no paua. Today there are people who live here, because the (devil's) power has disappeared.
(3) be located permanently (somewhere). • シ̈apa di mo roho sahan kaura. This cave is situated up there in the hills. - Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia. The Clergyman put his hand in the tree hole just where the water was (stagnating).
(4) (gen) be (somewhere) at a particular time. • P̈ira nohosu nam
vadai-ko ro inia mo roho ro ne. The woman I talked to you about is here. II Note. In this case, roho is followed by the Progressive ro.
(5) $\left[+V_{2}\right]$ be doing something. $\cdot$ Nam roho sovi-a ro mo ce їa. I'm waiting for him, but he's not coming.
(6) be one way or another (well or ill). See dogo.
[PNCV*tok( $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{o}$ ); POC*toka 'sit, stay, be in a place']
rolu num. (1) three. • Mo ce usa viru mo rolu. It hasn't rained for three months. - lo ha-rolu dan on Wednesday [the third day]
(2) all together. Refers to a group of several people, often more than three. - O vici co rolu! Embark with us! [lit You embark we shall be three] - Mo comii naivou-da m̈ara naivou-da nida mo v̈a mo rolu mo velu ro. They were upset that their wives had left them and were now dancing together with (other men).
(3) $[+\mathrm{NP}$ referring to a person $]$ associates an individual with a group; rolu plays the role of a Comitative 'with'. • Niko kamim rolu nanaru-m. You and/with your kids. • Kamim rolu se? Who were you with? [lit. Y'all three who?] - Na rolu na rasi-ku, na roha-ku kam sodo mece sa-m. I, with my younger and elder brothers, we would like to thank you. (Cf. Grammar)
[PNCV, POc*tolu]
rove vt. Tr rovi-. call, name. • lo cada mo hese mo rov-i-a mo de Leruvahi in a place called [lit. they call it] Leruvahi - Ale, mo hese racu vadi, mo rov-i-da mo de Tui. There's another
kind (of devil), small individuals: people call them Tui. See hica 'name'.
rovu $n$. sugarcane. Saccharum officinarum.

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\left[P O c^{*} \text { topu }\right]
$$

rua~ sfn. [Ego F] husband. Ant. naivou~.
[PNCV*tua 'sibling, friend']
ruai adv. (1) before, beforehand. - Ruai, Sope, ram̈are vutiana; kesi mo ce le re ram̈are. Before, there were many devils in (the village of) Sope; but nowadays, there aren't any more.
(2) in olden times, a long time ago; esp. before western colonisation. - Na pa sodo-hi-a miaudi ruai. I am going to talk about life in ancient times. - Ruai, Daki mo roho ro v̈ahasun Okava. Before, Araki was situated over there, in (front of) Hog Harbour.
[PNCV*tuai; PEO*tuaRi 'ancient, long time']
ruarua sfn. member of a group of people.
(1) some, certain. - Ruarua mada Nauralap̈a mo m̈arahu. Certain inhabitants of Santo were afraid.

- Ruarua-da mo pa lesi-a. Some of them have seen it.
(2) friend, companion; company, group. • Nam sovi dai ruarua-ku ro. I'm waiting for my friends.

> [PNCV*tua (?) 'sibling, friend']
rudu ~ rud. vi. (1) [hum] stand, stand up; get up. • Mo pa le rudu lo nahodani mo ce le lesi Daki. When they got up again in the morning, they could not see Araki any more.
(2) (gen) [vertical objects] be there, be somewhere. -Viha mo hese
sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala. There's a tree over there, along this road.
rudu hodo $v$. stand in front of, hinder. • Om rudu hodo mara-ku. Standing in front of me, you're blocking my view.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \mathrm{tu} ? \mathrm{u}-\mathrm{ru} ; P O C^{*} \text { tuqur }\right]
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ruen $v t$. $\operatorname{Tr}$ rueni-. help <s.o.>. • Nam levse racu mo hese co pa ruen-i-ko. I know someone who can help you. • $\mathbf{O}$ ruen-i-á! Help! [help me] See comii 'assist'.
rugana $n$. moment, time, era. • M̈ara rugana hosu ... And since that time ...
ruguha vi. [tree] be hollow, have a water hole. -Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala mo ruguha. There's a tree down there, standing in the middle of the road, and
it's hollow. Syn. koho. Morph. rugu + ha.
[PNCV*tuyu 'pool of water']
runu vt. Tr runi-. cook <s.th.>. • Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a. They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo stem, cook it, and finally they take it and eat it.
rurunu vi. cook (intr.), do the cooking. • ima rurunu kitchen [house of cooking]
[PNCV*tunu 'roast, set on fire'; POc*tunu]
ruva $n$. belt.
cada ruvaruva sfn. lit. 'place to gird (o.s.)': waist.
[PNCV*tuva 'belt']

$$
\mathbf{S}-\mathbf{s}
$$

$\mathbf{s a}_{1}$ inter. [NP head] what. - Om de sa? What did you say? • Nica co pa han re sa? What are we going to eat? • Mo ragisi-a sa? - Mo ragisi no-no pua. What is he crying for? - For his mother (he misses her). See sava 'what kind of $+N^{\prime}$. (Cf. Grammar)
mara sa inter. lit. 'for what': why. - M̈ara sa om sadai ro lo tep? Why are you sitting on the table? Syn. rodo ${ }_{1}$. sohe sa inter. lit. 'like what': how, in what manner? • Na pa mare sohe sa? How shall I die?

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { sava; } P O C^{*} \text { sapa }\right]
$$

$\mathbf{s a}_{2} \quad$ vi. go up. || Brief form of saha.
(1) go up, ascend. - Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna. I will go up (the palm-tree), catch (the coconut crab) and throw it to you. • Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa. I am watching the wavelets which are swinging $u s$ up and down and up again. Ant. sivo.
(2) go from the sea towards the inland; [in the sea] go closer to the shore. •Vada om poe-i-a 0 d' $o$ pa racu-läpa, o levse sa kia. [site of an oracle uphill] Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go (up) there. - Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara. [from the seashore] The
rat ran back into the deep of the forest.
(3) [in serialisation, after a first verb] upwards, up. Systematically accompanies any movement in the upward direction, e.g. climb. - Co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia. He will climb up to the top of the palmtree to catch the coconut crab. - Mo vurivuria-ha mo sa kaura. (the reed) soars up high in the sky. • Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta. The Rat leapt (up) and sat on the shore. - Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. A man brings a stone, throws it up [throws it, it goes upl in the air and waits for it to fall down on the ground. || Synt. Corresponds either to the subject or the object of the preceding verb.
(4) (gen) go up, go. The idea of movement ('go') is sometimes translated by the neutral verb $\mathbf{v a}$, but more often by si /sivo (downwards) v. sa/saha (upwards). •Na na sa na vari-a cada-m. I'm coming to replace you.
(5) go east; go from Araki to Santo, esp. to Kanal. - Mo levsei-a mo de ram̈are mo han-i-a mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima. [from west to east within Araki island] When he realised that (his friend) had been devoured by a devil, he fled all the way home. - Mo sohan-i-a sodosodo sohe-na mo sa Pikpei. [from South Santo eastwards] He sent the same message to Big Bay [it went 'up' to BB].

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[P N C V, P O C \text { *sake ' } u p, \text { go up'] }
$$

sadai $\sim$ sada. vi. sit, sit down. - O sna sadai lo pili-ku. Come and sit on my shoulders. • Hadiv mo kue mo sa mo sada lo tarauta. In a single leap, the Rat went to sit on the shore. • M̈ara sa om sadai ro lo tep? Why are you sitting on the table?
sadi $_{1} n$. spear, harpoon, used especially for fishing. - Sadi nene mara maci. This harpoon is for fish.

* vt. spear <s.o., s.th.> with a sharppointed weapon. • Mo sihiri mo sa mo vari-a daga vi-adu mo sadi-a. He ran, holding a branch of Casuarina in his hand, and shot at his enemy.

$$
[P N C V * \text { sari }]
$$

sadi $_{2}$ sfn. leg, foot. - Om re suli-a sadi to? Have you cooked the chicken legs? - Sadi-ku mo m̈alare. I broke my leg. [Cf. Nokuku seri-na 'leg, foot'; PNCV*sari
'appendage']
sagavulu ~ sagavul. num. ten. • racu mo sagavulu ten people • racu mo sagavulu comana mo hese eleven [ten plus one] people $|\mid$ Multiples of ten use the radical gavulu (+multiplicative numeral), e.g. racu mo gavul dua 'twenty people'; this suggests sa-gavulu to be $t$. 'one ten'.
[POC*sa-yapulu(q)]
saha ~ sa. vi. go up. \| Appears generally under its brief form sa. See sa.

* dir. up. || Less frequent than the verb sa, which is preceded by a subject clitic.
(1) up.
(2) eastwards. • Nida mo roho ro saha-sun Sope.
[PNCV, POC*sake]

| Lower parts of the body |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| sadi-ku | my legs, my feet |
| vadago sadi-ku | my toes |
| cue-ku | my heels |
| vääevu-ku | my ankles |
| lotu-ku | my shin-bone |
| maci-ku | my calves |
| pau-ku | my knees |
| vose-ku | my thighs |
| cada ruvaruva-ku | my waist |
| puro-ku | my navel |
| cidi-ku | my buttocks |
| cici-ku | my male genitals |
| p̈ile-ku | my female |
|  | genitals |

sahada vi. hold out o.'s hand. • Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun, ai mo roho kia. The priest reached out his hand and put it into the hole in the tree where water was stagnating.
[PNCV*soka-ri 'reach out (hand), extend']
sahani dem. up there. - V̈apa di mo roho sahan kaura. That cave is up there in the hills. See saha 'go up'. (cf. Grammar)
sala n. road, path, way. - Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala. There is a tree over there, in the middle of the road.
[PNCV sala; POC* ${ }^{*}$ jalan]
salahese adj. lit. 'one single way $=$ together (?)': several, numerous. - Nanovi, nam uli-a leta salahese. Yesterday I wrote several letters. - Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro 10 maaudi-da. Several signs reveal their destiny to people. See dai 'plural'.
sale $_{1}$ vi. [boat+] float on the water. - Nam m̈an pala m̈enum̈enu honi
mo sale ro lo rasi. I'm laughing at these dead leaves floating on the water.
[ $P N C V^{*}$ sale]
sale $_{2} n$. coconut-leaf mat (?). See epa 'pandanus mat'.
salesale vilight, not heavy.
mavusa salesale sfn. lit. 'light heart': lungs.
[PNCV*ma-salesale 'light (in weight)']
sande $n$. Sunday. - Sande, dan mapu. Sunday is a day of rest. See skul.
[English Sunday]
sava inter. [+ noun] which, what kind of. - O pa levsei sava hina co pa m̈a isa-m. You will know what kind of thing will happen to you. - Om poe levse vada maaudi-m co pa iso lo sava cada? Do you want to know in what kind of place you will end your life? See sa 'what'.
[POc*sapa]
se inter. who. - Kam ce levsei se mo han-i-a. We don't know who ate it. - Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila. One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster! • Hica-m se? What [lit. who] is your name? (C. Grammar)

$$
[P O C * \text { sei }]
$$

sere vi. [wind] blow. • Lag mo sere lare daga viha. The wind blew (so hard that $\left.{ }^{i t}\right)$ broke the branch.
[PNCV*sere]
Setan n. Satan, the Devil in Christian tradition. •Paua no-n God mo ceu-a, mo ceu-a paua no-n Setan. The power of God is stronger, stronger than the power of Satan.
si vi. go down. || Brief form of sivo.
sihevi vi. climb <tree, hill>; esp. climb <a tree> in order to pick up its fruits. - Cau mo hese mo re sihevi mo sa kaura. A coconut crab has climbed up there. • Mada vadidi mo sivo mo sihevi lo levu. The children go and climb on the breadfruit-trees (to pick up the fruits).
sihiri ~ sihir. vi. run, run away; flee, escape. • P̈ira hosun mo dogo mole sihir mo sivo mo kla si mo lesi-a. Hearing him, the woman ran to have a look, and saw him. - Hadiv mo sihiri mo sa mo maco lo hudara. The rat ran back into the deep of the forest. Syn. dovo.
siho $n$. White-collared Kingfisher, 23 cm Halcyon chloris. || This bird is the hero of a tale in which he opposes the Hermit crab (hatou).
[PNCV*siko]
sile ~ sle. vt. (1) give <s.th.> (to s.o., [i]sa~); provide <s.o.> (with s.th., [i]ni~ or lo). - O sle-i-á lo hina nohoni! Give me that thing! • Nam dogo na sile-ko n-re hina. I feel like giving you a present. - Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan. I'm waiting for my wife to feed the kids [give the children some food]. - Na pa sle-ko sa-n ram̈are co pa hani-ko. I will give you to a devil, who will devour you! || Synt. The tendency is to code human referents as the object, whether it is the Patient (the thing given) or the Beneficiary (to whom the thing is given). (C. Grammar)
(2) (fig) [man] get a woman pregnant, lit. give <a child> to (a woman)/provide <a woman>
with (a child). •Racu nohoni mo sle naru-na isa-n p̈ra nohoni. That man gave his child to that woman (i.e. he got her pregnant). - Se mo sle-ko hina hetehete nohoni? - Naru-n moli mo sle, mo sle-i-á ini-a. Who gave you that child? (who's the father?) - The chief's son did, he gave it to me.
sile $_{2}$ sfn. egg. • pudu sile to an egg shell [of $a$ hen]
[PNCV*?atolu; POC * ${ }^{\text {qatoluR (? ? ) ] }}$
Siotatai n. God, in Christian tradition. syn. Supe; Got.
sip̈a $n$. knife, esp. big knife. • Mo vari-a no-no dip̈a, no-no sip̈a, m̈aca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. He took his axe, his knife, his club and put them all into his canoe. See maraha 'traditional wooden knife'.
[PNCV*siba]
sivo $\sim \operatorname{siv} \sim$ si. $v i$. Red. sivosivo.
(1) go down. - Mo nak pilai va p̈ira honi mo si mo coll. He killed the young woman in one blow, and she sank straight to the bottom (of the water). Ant. sa.
(2a) go from the land seawards (v. towards the heights of the island); go from a place near the coast towards the open sea. - Ale mo le vari-a aka-na mo cudi-a mo sivo. He then took his canoe and dragged it down to the sea once more. - Ale Daki mo pa cuha mo sivo lo masaväa mara-na. It was after these events that Araki moved out into the ocean.
(2b) (esp) go from Santo to Araki. - Mada Naura-lapa mo sivosivo velu ro kia. The people from Santo
went there to dance. • Vinano nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha $\mathbf{\text { ve lesi-a }}$ maudi-da, mo sa. Strangers who come (to Araki), and who want to know their destiny, go there (to Leruvahi).
(3) [in serialisation, after a first verb] downwards, down. Systematically accompanies any movement in the downward direction, e.g. fall. - Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. Someone takes a stone, throws it up in the air, and it falls down. [he throws it, it goes up, it falls it goes down] - Vivada mo avuavu mo si mo rkel-i-a mo colo lo rasi. The reed, in its flight, reached the sea and drowned. \|| Synt. Corresponds either to the subject or the object of the preceding verb.
(4) (hence) [sivo + locative prep. lo] onto, on, upon. - Supemala mo sure va ai v̈adug mo siv lo paruda. Spoemalao poured the boiling water over their heads. • M̈ala mo vari-a pisu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu. [the hawk took his fingers and placed them on the twig] With his huge claws, the hawk seized the taro branch and tore it up.
(5) (gen) go down, go. The idea of movement ('go') is sometimes translated by the neutral verb $\mathbf{v a}$, but more often by si/sivo (downwards) v. sa/saha (upwards). • Ale $o$ sna, o pele $o$ le vari-a cada-m, na na si na pele hanhan. While you go back in your place, I'll go [down] and eat. • Na sivo goro. I'm going to sleep. See sa.
(6) go west. - Racu rapudo dua mo sivo Rahuna mo de ha elele cau. Two men went to Rahuna to look for
coconut crabs. Ant. sa.

* dir. Directional, without a subject clitic.
(1) low down, down below. • Pasta mo sahada sivo lo koko-n viha nosun. The clergyman put his hand into this tree hole. - Mo si mo kla si. She went down to look.
(2) westwards. - Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala Misin. There's a tree over there to the west, on the road to Misin. • Mo ma mo roho kia mo de co roho Rago sivo Elia. (Araki island) came here, intending to settle between Tangoa and Elia. Ant. sa.
[POC*sipo]
skul n. (1) church, Christian place of worship frequented especially on Sundays; mass or communion, religious service.
(2) school.
* vi. go to church, attend mass. - Kam skul m̈alue kam sivo. Once mass was over, we went out.
[English school]
smat vi. [boy] good-looking. - Mo
 went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.
[English smart]
sna ~sina. vi. come.
(1) come. - O sna! Come here! • Na pa sna p̈aivuho. I will come tomorrow. - Pasta mo sna lo Sande, kodogo so-n kesi. The Clergyman came here on a Sunday, probably like this one today. - Re co pele sna co holo aka! Someone come and man the boat! Syn. m̈a.
(2) [after a first verb] hither; indicates
the movement is towards the speaker (or the spot taken as reference). Corresponds either to the spatial movement of the subject or of the object. - O su o sna! Come here in your canoe [lit. You paddle you come]! • Mo vari-a levu di mo sna. They bring the breadfruit here [lit. they take the br. they come]
(3) (fig) [in time] come closer to now; hence until (now). •Mo tapulo lo no-ku lahi mo sna, mo ce usa. Since my wedding [lit. starting from my wedding and comingl, it has not been raining. - M̈ara rugana hosu mo lesles te nida mo sna nahade. Since that moment, they have been hating each other until today. Syn. m̈a; ta.
* dir. [without subject clitic] hither, coming closer to the speaker. - Na pa sa na pa ran-i-a na pa plan-i-a sna. I will climb up, catch it (a coconut crab) and throw it [so that it comes (to you)]. •Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu sna ... If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here ...
so $n$-pr. like. Variant of sohe.
sodo vi. Red. sosodo; sodosodo.
(1) [water, geyser] spurt out, spring up, gush forth. • Rasi sosodo. [the sea gushes forth] $A$ geyser explodes.
(2) [hum] blow, puff. See sere '(wind) blow'.
(3) (common) talk (about, -hi-); say s.th. (+ lo). • Om de o sodo-hi-a sa? - Nam de na sodo-hi-ko. What do you want to discuss? - I want to talk about you. • Om sodo lo sa? What did you say? See vadai; de 'say'.
* vt. (1) blow into <s.th.>, e.g. to
play music. • Nam sodo vipue. I am blowing into the bamboo (flute). See sere.
(2) shoot <s.o.> with a gun. $\cdot$ Na pa sodo-ko. I'm going to shoot you. - Nam sodo maci nam vodo. I shot at the birds and I hit them.
* n. (1) throw, projection.
(2) (hence) rifle. - Sodo ne, m̈ara sodo maci. This rifle is for shooting at birds.
(3) (common) spoken word, speech. - Mo sohan-i-a sodo sohe-na mo sa Sakbe. He sent the same message to Shark Bay.
(4) language, dialect. $\cdot$ Nam ele no-m sodo na hase-ku. I learnt your language by myself.
[CF. Malo soro 'breathe, puff'; PNCV*soro-vi 'snort, grunt at']
sodohi- $v t$. speak of, mention. Transitive form of sodo 'speak'. - Hede, om de o sodohi-a sa? What do you want to speak of today? • Nam ce sodohi-ko. I'm not talking about you.
sodosodo vi. Reduplication form of sodo.
(1) talk, chat, converse (with, isa~). - Nam lesi-a racu mo hese, kam dua sodosodo. I met someone, and we began to talk. - Nam dogo na sodosodo isa-m. I feel like chatting with you.
(2) speak about a specific topic, tell a story (about, m̈ara). - Na pa sodosodo m̈ara-n Hadivi nida-n Huira. I'm going to tell the story of the Rat and the Octopus. 5yn. store.
* n. (1) speech, story. - sodosodo mara-n Daki hosu this story about Araki ... Syn. store.
(2) talk, language. • sodosodo-ni Daki the language of Araki Syn. sodo.
sohan $v$. send <s.th.> to s.o. (+ movement verb). • N -re-dan, om de o sohan-i-a diksoneri co sina, voni re hina vavono ... One day, if you wish to send us your dictionary, or anything else ... •Mo sohan-i-a sodosodo sohe-na mo sa Pikpei. He sent the same message to Big Bay [lit. it went up to $B B]$.
sohe ~ so. adj. resemble, be like (s.o, s.th.). Followed by personal suffixes if they refer to people. - Mo sohe vi-ha. That looks like a tree. - Om sohe huira. You are (fickle) like an octopus. - Mada hetehete mo sohe-n rarna-na/mo sohe-m. The little one looks like his mother/looks like you. (C. Grammar)
* n-pr. (common) like, in the same way as. • Mo rai-a aka inia, mo च̈e otome sohe aka. He carved himself a canoe, doing his best to make it like a (true) canoe.
sohe sa adv. lit. 'like what': how, in what manner? • Na pa mare sohe sa? How shall I die?
sohena adv. lit. 'like it': this way, thus. - Vulu-m̈am co sohe-na! (we want) our hair to be like that! • Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na. He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind. [lit. s.th. like that] - No-no ta mo v̈ei-a sohe-na mo vadai-a nia sohe-na. His father did exactly as he had said he would. Morph. sohe -na.
[PNCV*soko (?) 'add, join']
sohon vt. put way, put into a bag or
basket (food, object). •Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a, naivou-na mo sohon-i-a, mo vari-a mo v̈a v̈a. They stand up in the middle of the road to kill him (Spoemalao), but his wife hides him (in a bag), and carries him off!
[Cf. Mota sogon 'bring together, pack, stow'; PNCV*soko 'add, join (?)']
sohori~ sfn. sister: variant of ve-sohori~.
solo sfn. sore, esp. in skin disease.
Sope $_{2}$ n. Sope.
(1) an Anglican priest who evangelised the island of Araki.
(2) (hence) name of one of the villages on the island of Araki.
sope sfn. half, piece. - sope to half a chicken - Kam re han-i-a sope-na makomo-no. We have eaten a small piece of $i t$.
[ ${ }^{2} N C V^{*}$ sobwe 'piece, to join pieces']
sosohoni vi. swell, swell up. •Nam v̈ei-a sohe-na p̈ahaso-ku mo sosohoni. I'm swelling my biceps.
[Cf. Nounese sogoni-a 'gather, congregate'; PNCV*soko 'add, join']
sovi $\sim$ sov ~ so. vt. Red. sosovi. wait for, await. - O sov ro makomono. Wait a second! • Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kam̈a pa $\mathbf{\text { va }}$ lo maket. $I^{\prime} m$ waiting for my wife to feed the kids, then we shall go to the market.
sovusoho adj. grey. Morph. -ha ${ }_{7}$.


## Spoemalao ~Supemala ~Supemalao ~

 Spoemalau ~ Supe. n. Spoemalao, name of a popular character in tales, a trickster. - Spoemalao niaracu mo hese mo levosai mo holo-ho. Spoemalao is a man who is really clever.
[PNCV*subwe 'big man, graded society']
store $n$. tale, story. - Store m̈ara mo ce-re hanhan mo hilu hosu. This is where the tale of the shortage ends. Syn. sodosodo.

* vt. relate, narrate. - Kesi nam po-i-a na pa store store-ni cau. Now let me narrate the story of the Coconut Crab. Syn. sodosodo.
[English story]
su dem. demonstrative radical, combined to several prefixes, e.g. sivo-su-n 'down there', v̈aha-su-n 'over there', no-su 'that one' etc. See honi; hosu. (Cf. Grammar)
sua vi. row, paddle. - Mo $\mathbf{\text { ra }}$ mo sua mo v̈a lo m̈asav̈a. He continued to paddle, gradually moving further towards the sea. • Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua nia. He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.

| Verbs connected with |  |
| :--- | :---: |
| navigation |  |
| cudi | put out to sea |
| vici | embark (intr./tr.) |
| sua | paddle (intr./tr.) |
| holo | man (a boat) |
| lig | carry aboard |
| sale | float |
| colo | sink |

sui- vt. paddle <a canoe>. - Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na co su-i-a. He wanted to try his canoe and paddle it.

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[P N C V, P O C * \text { sua }]
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suhu elbow.
[PNCV*siku 'corner, elbow'; POc*sikun] suhusuhu $n$. wavelets, small waves of the sea. - Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo varica mo sa mo sivo mo sa. I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down and up again.
sui sfn. bone, skeleton. • sui sadi-ku the bone of my leg(s) - Mo mare, hudi-na pdogo pedesi-a sui-na. He was dead, with nothing more than his skin on his bones.
[PNCV, POC*suRi]
suiha vi. strong. • Nam suiha nam ceu-ko. I am stronger than you. See sui 'bone'.
sule $n$. stone.
(1) rock. - Om lesi-a sule mo lulu sivosu lo cuhu-n Daki, hosun mo de Tumepu mo nak-i-a. You can see the rock is white behind Araki, down there: this recalls how it was struck by Титери.
(2) stone. • Racu mo vari-a sule mo plan-i-a mo sa mo covi mo sivo. [oracle] Someone takes a stone, throws it up in the air, and it falls down.
sule voso $n$. oven stones, used in traditional oven (pasule).
suli vt. (1) burn <s.th., s.o.> accidentally or not. - Om sul Ralph, om ce lesi-a? Can't you see you burnt Ralph? • Ima-ku mo re kodu, moli mo suli-a. My house has been burned down, the chief set fire to it. See kodu 'burn o.s.'; hapu 'fire'.
(2) (esp) cook, grill. • Om re sul-i-a sadi to? Did you grill the chicken legs? see runu 'cook'.
[PNCV*sulu 'shine light on, apply fire to']
suma n. wild yam. Dioscorea bulbifera. See cam 'yam'; pevu hohono 'wild yam'.
supe $n$. $\sim$ supea.
(1) supreme chief; high dignitary in ancient society. See moli; m̈ala; racu lap̈a.
(2) Supe: God, in Christian tradition. - Racu mo v̈ei-ko, nia Supe. The one who created you is God. Syn. Siotatai; Got.
[PNCV*subwe 'big man, graded society']
sure $_{1}$ vt. pour. - Supemala mo sure va ai v̈adug mo siv lo paruda. Spoemalao poured boiling water over their heads.
sure $_{2} v t$. $\pi r$ suri-. follow, go alongside.

- Mo le v̈a v̈a sur-i-a cigo hosun. Again, he set out alongside the cape.
[POc* *suRi (?) 'follow']
susu sfn. breast; milk.
[PNCV, POC*susu]
sut vi. go suddenly, hurry up. - Nia mo sut mo dovo, mo dovo mo mle mo sa lo ima. So he fled without further ado, running back up home. Syn. ravur.
[Bisl. sut 'go off' ; English shoot]

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\mathbf{T}-\mathbf{t}
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ta $_{1}$ vi. [locative phrase] come, come from. $\cdot$ Om va lo ham̈ali vo om ta ve? Have you been in the men's house, or what? [ $\ldots$ or where are you coming from? ${ }^{\text {Syn. }} \mathbf{\text { ma; }}$ sna.
$\mathbf{t a}_{2}$ n. (1) [Ego M/F] dad, father: term of address. - No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku. Father, make me a bow and some arrows.
(2) father: reference term, together with ram̈a~. $\cdot \mathbf{N a}$, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia. As for me, when dad comes back, I will tell him everything!

- Racu nosun mo ta nen mo vadai no-no ta mo de ... This man came and said to his father ...
(3) (esp) [Ego M/F] father's brother, paternal uncle. Sometimes called ta hetehete, 'little dad'. • no-no ta
hetehete [his little dad] his paternal uncle
(4) [Ego M/F] husband of mother's sister (puá hetehete).
(5) [Ego M] son of paternal aunt (tetei~), patrilateral cross-cousin. || Note. This cousin whom I call 'dad', calls me his son (naru~).
tade adj. all, every. - Hina tade mo holo-ho. Everything's alright (there's no problem). • Racu tade mo sivo ro kia. All the men still go there. - dan tade every day •lo cada tade everywhere (Cf. Grammar)
* adv. always; every day, each time. - Mo usa tade. It rains all the time.
* conj. whenever. •Tade mo usa, mada vadidi mo avulai. Every time it rains, the children are happy.
(CF. Grammar)
tahavu ~tahav. vi. cover, be all over (a place, ni~). • Mo hovhovi hovi-na mo tahav nia. He was scabious, and his scabies covered him all over. - Hudara mo tahav nia tep. The table was covered with filth. See havu.

Tahuna $\sim$ Rahuna. pl.n. south, south wind.
[Tangoa tahu-na 'its back = south end of the island']
taicudu $n$. Least Frigatebird, sea bird, 75 cm Fregata ariel.
takomahi vi. piled up, heaped up. - Rarna-da ram̈a-da mo m̈a, mo lesi dai mada vadidi mo takomahi lo cuge ima mo mare. As their mothers and fathers came back, they saw the children piled up outside the house, dead.
tapai $v t$. find, meet. - Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai-ko. I'm very glad to have met you.
tapdogo vi. listen carefully. - Va racu mo tapdogo lo laho vinini mo dogo ... The man listened carefully to the trunk of the palmtree, and heard ... See dogo 'hear'.
tapu~ sfn. (1) [Ego M/F] grandparent: grandfather, grandmother. - Nam sohani-a leta nene lo dani tapu-ku mo ciha. I sent this letter the day my grandfather passed away.
(2) [Ego M/F] grandson, granddaughter.
(3) [Ego F] husband's parents: father-in-law, mother-in-law. || For Ego M, see paliha.
(4) [Ego $M / F]$ daughter-in-law,
son's wife. || My daughter-in-law's brothers and sisters are called the same.
tapu~ ت̈aha-dua sfn. lit. 'grandparent twice': great grandparent; great grandson. - tapu-ku v̈aha-dua $m y$ great grand-father/great grand-son
[PNCV, POC*tubu- 'grandparent']
tapulo vi. start, begin. Ant. hilu.
mo tapulo lo ... phr. lit. 'starting from ...': since. • Mo tapulo lo no-ku lahi mo sna, mo ce usa. Since [lit. starting from] my wedding, it has not rained.
tarav̈adoko $n$.
Bluehanded surgeonfish, bsl. Renbofis: reef fish, 39 cm Acanthurus lineatus.
tasale $n$. foreigner, partic. Westerner, European, 'white man'. Esp. used to refer to modern or introduced items. - pera tasale taro Fiji, Xanthosoma [lit. European taro] • hadiv tasale cat [lit. European rat] • des tasale pawpaw [lit. European Spondias] See vinano 'stranger'.
taur vt. Tr tauria. seize, grasp, catch, take hold of; esp. grasp firmly, shake. • Huira mo lesi-a hadiv mo taur-i-a mo vari-a. As soon as she sees the rat, the octopus catches it and shakes it about. See vari 'take'.
[Tangoa tauri]
tavadi $n$. sweetyam, bsl. Wovile. Dioscorea esculenta. See cam 'yam'.
tavtavu adj. rich, who has plenty of money or goods. - Niko racu tavtavu, m̈ara no-m vatu vutiana. You are a rich man, because you have a lot of money. Ant. tilavono.
te adj. bad, in bad condition or of
bad nature; ugly, etc. • Podo-no mo te, nia mo pedopedo. He has bad ears, he is deaf. - Comimim co pa te, nko pa racu tilavono. You will lose the joy of living [your mind will be bad], you will be a wretched man. Ant. holo.
tep $n$. table. • M̈ara sa om sadai ro lo tep? Why are you sitting on the table?
[English table]
tetei~ sfn. [Ego M/F] aunt: father's sister. || Note. This aunt treats her nephews like her own children (naru~). The wife of the maternal uncle (elua~) has a different name ( $C$. vuggon).
tilatila vi. urinate. More polite term than mere 'pee'.
tilavo~ sf.adj. deprived of, lacking $(+N)$. Mo v̈ei-a mäada m̈ara mo tilavo cam. They prepared breadfruit biscuit because they had no more yams.
tilavono adj. lit. 'deprived of it ': poor, miserable, wretched. • Comii-m co pa te, niko pa racu tilavono, co ce re no-m hina. You'll lose the joy of living, you'll become a wretched man, you will not have anything. Ant. tavtavu.
tipa $_{1}$ vi. move. • han tipatipa temples [move when you're eating?]
$\mathbf{t i p a}_{2} n$. Vanuatu (Yellow-headed) Fruit Dove, 30 cm Ptilinopus tannensis.
tipo $n$. anus.
Titiai pl.n. TTI 'Tangoa Training Institute': name of an ancient bible school situated on the south coast of Santo; the centre of evangelisation in the region.

- Pasta Sope mo roho ro Titiai, ruai. Pastor Sope was staying in TTI, a long time ago.
to $n$. fowl, hen; chicken. • sile to $a$ [hen's] egg
to varia n. Red Jungle Fowl, k.o. wild hen. Gallus gallus.

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\left[P O C^{*} \text { toqa }\right]
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Toholau pl.n. east, east wind. [PNCV*tokalau(r) 'northerly wind']
tovo $v t$. measure, count; read. •Nam de na tovo leta nam vari-da. I would like to read the letter which I received.
[PNCV*tovo 'measure']
traim vt. try (s.th., lo). • Mo poe mo de co pa traim lo aka-na co su-i-a. He wanted to try his canoe and paddle it. Syn. lpo; ÿe les.
[English try]
tu~ sfn. [Ego M/F] son, kid. Address term corresponding to naru~. See ve-tu~.
tudusi sfn. [water+] drop. - Mo usa, tudusi-na mo covi mo sivo mo rkel-i-a racu mo hese mo doco mo mare. One rainy day, a drop of (stagnant) water dripped on to a man, who fell sick and died.
[PNCV*turu 'drip, drop']
Tumepu pl.n. mountain south of Santo, or mountainous island (?) situated off Tangoa. $\cdot \mathbf{O m}$ lesi Tumepu mo lulu lo rav̈alu-na, cam lesi-a ro mo lulu mo de Daki mo nak-i-a. [myth] You can see Tumepu, how it is white on the other side; this white colour we see recalls how it was struck by Araki. || Myth. The myth of Araki relates how the Tumepu
mountain fought the island of Araki, which had settled before it after leaving the east coast of Santo (see Okava). Araki was forced to move out again to the sea.
tup vi. [liquid] be full to the brim; fill completely (a place). • Pan viha hosun, viha hetehete, mo roho pan mo koho, ai mo tup lolo-no. This tree was small and hollow, always full of water.

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\mathbf{U}-\mathbf{u}
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ua sfn. neck.
[POC*Ruqa]
ude sfn. (anc) island. • Ude-lapa 'the Big Island', the island of Urelapa
udeude sfn. island. •Daki udeudeku. Araki is my island.
udeece $n$. a traditional pudding (bsl. laplap) made from grated starch dough (manioc, yam), and cooked in a stone oven (pasule). - Verasi-ku mo v̈ei-a udeece ro. My younger sister is cooking pudding. - Cuga-ku udeece mo re meco mo iso. My piece of pudding is already cooked.
uep̈e n. Polynesian chestnut, bsl. Nawemba. Inocarpus edulis. Syn. vice.
ugu ~ug. vi. burn, consume, be caught in the flames. - Mo vari-a dau vinini mo ma mo hasan-i-a mo ug lap̈a. He took a palm-leaf off the palmtree, and made a big fire with it. [lit. he set fire to it, it burnt big] • Ima nohosu nam vodo ro mo re ug. The house where I was born has burnt down. See kodu.
uli ~ulu ~ ul. vt. write. • Nanovi, nam uli-a leta. Yesterday, I wrote a/some letter(s).
ululu ~ uliuli. vi. write (intr.), be able
to write. • No-ku pen mo ce le ululu. My pen is not writing any more.

- Na pa uliuli lo sodosodo-ni Daki. I will write in [the language of] Araki.
ulo vi. shout, call out. • Hoto! Vada ham dogo Siho mo avu mo sna mo ulo mo de 'Ciuciu', ale kam̈im ha sodo ha de 'Kodogkoto kodogkoto'! Hermit-crabs! If you happen to hear a Kingfisher fly here and shout 'Tsiwtsiw', you will have to say 'Korongkoto korongkoto'! C. rove 'call'.
uluvo adj. young. • P̈ira uluvo hosun mo roho ro rav̈al cigo. This young woman lived on the other side of the cape.
* $n$. young man, young woman. - Mo v̈ei-a v̈a vada uluvo mo le smat. He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.
usa n. rain. - coco usa a cloud of rain - Usa co iso, co pa v̈a inu hae. After the rain [when the rain stops], we'll go and drink kava.
* vi. rain. • Mo ce le usa. It's not raining any more. • Rav̈al wik, co pa usa lo ha-lim̈a dan. It will rain on Friday of next week.
[PNCV*usa; POc*qusan]


## V - v

$\mathbf{v a}_{1}$ art. the. Optional marker for definiteness, pointing to a referent already mentioned in the close context. - Va racu Supe mo re ceu-ca mo iso! That man Supe has overtaken us! •Mo vici va p̈ira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo masap̈a. He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep. sea. Sym. di. (C. Grammar)
$\mathbf{v a}-2$ pf. prefix for several bird names. C. vapune, valalaha, vakalao, vasohi, vasarkele, va-civcivi. || Some names seem derived from names of other species: va-kadakada 'swiftlet' < kada 'flying-fox'.
vacaha n. elders, ancestors. - Cada velu, cada vacaha mo velu ro kia. The dancing area is the place where elders used to dance. • Nda vacaha mo rov-i-a hica cada hosu mo de Leruvahi. Elders used to call [the name of this place 'Leruvahi'.
vacivacia sfn. kidneys.
vacivcivi $n$. Cardinal Honeyeater, small bird, 12 cm Myzomela cardinalis. See civi.
[PNCV*sivi(u) 'shore bird sp.']
vada $v t$. tell, say. See vadai.

* conj. (1) if, suppose. Refers to a possible event in the future. - Rav̈alu wik, vada lag co losu, co pa usa. Next week, if there is a hurricane, it will rain. - Vada om poe-i-a o d' o pa racu-lapa, o levse
sa kia. Suppose you want to become a chief, you can go there (and ask the oracle). Syn. co de; aru.
(2) when, in the past or the future. - Vada mo tapulo usa ro, co mule. When it begins to rain, we shall go back home.
(3) so that, until. • Mo シ̈ei-a シ̈a vada uluvo mo le smat. He went on (rubbing) until the young man became handsome again.
(4) that: vada optionally introduce sentential clauses after verbs of will. $\cdot$ Ta, nam po-i-a vada o rai re aka-ku. [lit.] Dad, I want that you carve me a canoe. • Nam sovi naivou-ku ro vada co sle mada vadidi lo hanhan, parahu kam̈a pa va lo maket. I'm waiting for my wife to feed [lit. waiting that my we feeds] the kids, then we shall go to the market. (cr. Grammar)
vadago $s f n$. finger. See p̈isu.
vadago sadi~sfn. lit. 'foot fingers': toes.
vadai vt. (1) talk to, address <s.o.>; tell <s.o.> about (ni~), tell <s.o.> that (+ de). $\cdot$ Mo vadai rapala-na mo de ' ... ' So he said to his friend '... '• Na, ta co mule na pa vadai-a nia. When dad comes back, I will tell him about it. Syn. sodo; de.
(2) tell <s.o.> to do s.th. (+ de + Irrealis). • Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha v̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-mimim mo vidiha ro. I told you to
wash your hands, but they are still black!
[PNCV*vara 'speak, ask']
vadidi adj. small, little. Normally with a plural value, v. hetehete. - M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila. Small fish can be caught easily. •man vadidi the small veins Ant. ت̈alalap̈a.
mada vadidi $n$. the children, the kids. - Tade mo usa, mada vadidi mo avulai. Every time it rains, the children are happy. || Plural of mada hetehete 'a child'.
vadu vi. [hum, animal] fat. Ant. m̈adaga.
vae sfn. fruit of (a tree). • vae-na its fruit [ $P N C V^{*}$ vua; $P O C$ *puaq]
vae-as n. lit. 'fruit of a liana [as]': passion fruit. Passiflora edulis.
vaha $n$. lightning.
vahuden $v t$. reject, eject; remove, tear off. - Nene m̈ara vahuden-i-a colog botel. This is for removing corks from bottles. - Mo dogo hav̈e mo hese mo vari-a mo plan vahuden-i-a. Feeling the presence of a crab, he seized it and threw it out. •Mo vahuden-i-a kavula-na, vahuden-i-a pidi-na ... [preparation of breadfruit biscuit ( $\left.\left.{ }^{m} a d a\right)\right]$ They remove the pith, take out the seeds ... See huden 'put'.
vakadakada n. Swiftlet. || This name may be related to kada 'flying-fox'.
(1) White-bellied Glossy Swiftlet, 9 cm Collocalia esculenta.
(2) White-rumped Swiftlet, 10 cm Aerodramus spodiopygius.
(3) Uniform Vanikoro Swiftlet, entirely black, 13 cm Aerodramus
vanikorensis.
vakalao n. Melanesian Cuckooshrike, Melanesian Graybird, 37 cm Coracina caledonica.
valalaha $n$. White-eye, bsl. Nalaklak: a small bird with eyes circled in white.
(1) Vanuatu Yellow White-eye, yellowish and green, 12 cm Zosterops flavifrons.
(2) Grey-backed White-eye, yellowgreen and grey, 13 cm Zosterops lateralis. [PNCV*laka(laka) 'whiteye, Zosterops']
vali ~ val. vi. [liquid] boil, be boiling. - Ha ku re ai co val co holo-ho. Heat some water until it is really boiling! See ku 'heat up'; シ̈adug 'hot'.
vaparu sfn. [house] roof: traditionally, a thatch made with sago-leaves (dauaro). - vaparu ima-ku the roof of my house See paru (?) 'head'.
vapune $n$. Red-bellied Fruit Dove, 24 cm Ptilinopus greyii. See tipa ${ }_{2}$.
[ $P N C V, P O C$ *bune]
vari ~ var. vt. (1) [hum] hold in o.'s hands. • Racu mo vari-a vivada ra kodu mo vari-a mo sa kia. A man holds a dry reed in his hand, and takes it away. Syn. taur.
(2) catch hold of, not necessarily with o.'s hands. - Co pa vei-a ai co wet-i-a as co pa sihevi nia co sa lo pede vinini co pa vari-a cau kia. He will wet the rope, and then climb up to the top of the palmtree with it to catch the coconut crab. - M̈aci vadidi o levse vari-a vila. Small fish can be caught easily.
(3) take <s.o.> with o.s., allow s.o. (esp. on o.'s means of transport).
- Mo vici va pira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo masapa. He brought the woman on board, and took her out to sea.
(4a) [+vb 'go'] take away <s.th.>, <s.o.>. • Mo vari-da mo v̈a aka-na mo ra hetehete, aka-na mo colo. He took so many of them, that his boat became small: his boat was sinking! - Mo rudu hodo sala mo de ha nak-i-a, naivou-na mo sohon-i-a, mo vari-a mo च̈a v̈a. They are standing in the middle of the road with the intention of killing him, but his wife hides him (in a bag), and carries him away!
(4b) [+vb 'come'] bring <s.th.>, <s.o.>. - Mo ku ai mo vali, mo de 'Ha vari-a ha maa!' They heated the water until it was boiling, then he said 'Bring it here!'
(5) (fig) [natural power+] take away, carry. - Vivada di nia mo avu lag mo vari-a. The reed flies away in the wind. [lit it flies the wind takes it] - Nam lesi-a suhusuhu ro mo vari-ca mo sa mo sivo mo sa. I am watching the wavelets which are swinging us up and down and up again.
(6) provide o.s. with <s.th.>, to use it later. - Mo sivo mo vari-a ai, mo vari-a as. They had taken water, they had taken ropes (to use them). - Mo vari-a no-no dipa, no-no sip̈a, maaca, huden-i-a lo aka-na. He took his axe, his knife and his club and put them into his canoe.
(7) [if the vb $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ follows immediately] take, use. Introduces an object (e.g. instrument) or a person into the
clause, in order to integrate it into another action; hence by means of, with. - Hadiv mo vari-a hapaasi via, mo rai-a aka inia. The rat took a stem of wild taro, and cut a boat out of it. - M̈ala mo vari-a pisu-na mo huden-i-a mo sivo lo hapasi via, mo macudu. With its huge claws, the hawk seized the taro stem, and tore it into pieces. [lit. he took his fingers and put them down on the stem] - Mo vari-a mo sua mo v̈a. He took his canoe and started to paddle. || Synt. Here the verb vari, which cannot always be translated by 'take', allows the introduction of an additional participant into a complex process.
(8) (fig) take, acquire, receive; assume. Extended usage for vari, similar to those of English 'take'. - Nam vari-a nunu. I took a photo. - Na na sa na pele vari-a cada-m! $I$ can come and take your post! • Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. Yesterday, I heard someone else sing [lit. take] the same song (as you).
* aux. [followed by a verb $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ ] start again, re-do. ' 'O le vavere!' Mo var vavere. 'Sing another song!' And he started singing again. [he took to sing] See tapulo 'begin'.
vasarkele n. small bird with a black breast band on white throat. ॥| Etym. "bird (va-2) who flies up (sa) to reach (rkele) [its prey]' (?).
(1) Grey Collared Fantail, bird with long, well-spread fantail, 15 cm Rhipidura fuliginosa.
(2) or maybe: Vanuatu Buff-bellied Flycatcher, 15 cm Neolalage
banksiana. See vasohi.
vasohi $n$. small bird with a white stripe on their black wings.
(1) Long-tailed Triller, black and white bird, 18 cm Lalage leucopyga.
(2) or maybe. Vanuatu Buff-bellied Flycatcher, 15 cm Neolalage banksiana. See vasarkele.
vasohi udeece-च̈erali $n$. lit. 'vasohi (colour of banana-pudding': Golden Whistler, Thickhead, a goldenyellow bird, 17 cm Pachycephala pectoralis.

| Parts of the mouth |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| cigo-ku | my mouth (outside) |
| vava-ku | my mouth (inside) |
| hudivivi-ku | my lips |
| godigodi-ku | my upper lip |
| hoco-ku | my teeth |
| p̈ari-ku | my molars |
| naho hoco-ku | my front teeth |
| gole-ku | my gums |
| maeme-ku | my tongue |
| alovi ha-ku | my uvula |
| cocole-ku | my throat |

vava sfn. mouth, esp. inside of the mouth. See cigo 'snout, mouth (outside)'.
[POC*papa]
vava hahada $n$. lit. 'red mouth': name of certain fish.
(1) Blackspot emperor, bsl. Blakspot Redmaot: reef fish, 42 cm Lethrinus harak.
(2) Longnose emperor, bsl. Redmaot: reef fish, 70 cm Lethrinus miniatus.
vavaua $n$. Topsail drummer, bsl.

Bigbel: reef fish, 35 cm Kyphosus cinerascens.
vavere vi. sing (s.th., lo + N), sing a song. - Nam de na pa vavere lo vere mo hese. I'd like to sing a song. -'O le vavere!' Mo var vavere. 'Sing again!' - so he sang once again. || Etym. Former VP with incorporated object: vari 'take' + vere 'song'.
vavono adj. another, other; different. - Mo lig-i-a mo vari-a mo v̈a mo lesi-a maci vavono ... He took them on board, carried them along; then he saw other birds again ...
hina vavono $n$. lit. 'another thing': something else. $\cdot \mathbf{N}$-re-dan, om de o sohan-i-a diksoneri co sina, voni re hina vavono ... One day, if you wish to send us your dictionary, or anything else ...
racu vavono $n$. lit. 'another man': someone else. - Racu vavono mo hese mo roho kia rav̈al cigo. Another man/Someone else lived over there on the other side of the cape.
lo cada vavono adv. lit. 'in another place': elsewhere, somewhere else; esp. in a foreign country, abroad. - Radami-na mo de pira hosun co v̈a co pa mare lo cada vavono. [oracle] This sign means that this woman will die abroad.
[Cf. Akei vavono 'other']
vcan vt. Trveani-
(1) [Subject: falling object] hit, touch, fall on (lo). •Vivada mo vean-i-a lo vinini. The reeds fall into a palm-tree. See rkel 'reach'.
(2) (esp) hit the ground. • Mo dogo paru-n rapala-na mo dap̈as kaura
mo sivo mo vcan-i-a. Suddenly he heard his friend's head bounce up into the tree and fall to the ground.
(3) [Subject: person throwing the object] throw or drop <s.th.> so as to hit (s.th. else, lo); strike. - Mo vari-a no-no m̈aca, mo vcan-i-a lo paru-na. He seized his club, and smashed her head with it.
ve- pf. prefix forming female kin terms out of the corresponding male term: e.g. rasi~ 'younger brother' - ve-rasi~ 'younger sister'. (C. Grammar)
veculu vi. Red. vecuveculu. whistle. - Mo pa dogo Supemalao mo vecuveculu v̈ahasu mo v̈a. Then they heard Spoemalao who was singing over there!
velu vi. dance, esp. perform traditional village dances. •Kam ce levse velu. We don't know how to dance. - Cada velu, cada tiu velu vacaha mo velu ro kia. The dancing area is the place where elders used to dance.
[PNCV*velu 'dance']
velua~ sfn. Syn. lala; ve-m̈ara~, ve-rahura~.
(1) [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. Morph. ve-+ elua~
(2) [Ego M] 'niece-in-law': nephew's wife. || Anthr. I treat my nephew's wife as my niece, and she calls me her uncle (elua~). If my nephew dies, I may take his place in his family; his wife becomes my wife (naivou~), at least if she and/or the chiefs agree.
ve-m̈ara~sfn. [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. Syn. lala; velua~, verahura~. See m̈ara~ 'uncle, nephew'.
ve-paliha~ sfn. [Ego M] mother-inlaw, wife's mother. || For Ego F, the mother-in-law is called as a grandmother (tapu~). See paliha~ 'father-in-law'.
ve-rahu~ sfn. [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife's sister. See vuggo~.
ve-rahura~ sfn. [Ego M] niece: sister's daughter. Syn. lala; velua~, ve-m̈ara~.
ve-rasi~ sfn. (1) [Ego M/F] younger sister, younger female parallelcousin. - Ve-rasi-ku mo v̈ei-a udeece ro. My younger sister is cooking pudding. Ant. ve-roha~.
(2) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of younger brother (rasi~), whatever her age. || Anthr. If my younger brother dies, I normally take his place in his family: his wife, whom I call ve-rasi~, normally becomes my own wife (naivou~). See vuggo~'sister-inlaw (Ego F)'.
(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (rahu~), if she is younger than Ego.
vere $n$. a song. The construction for 'sing a song' is either a transitive one with vari (It. 'take a song'), or an oblique one with vavere ('be singing'). • Vere hosun mo holoho. This song is wonderful. - Nam de na vavere lo vere mo hese. I'd like to sing a song. - Nanov nam dogo racu mo hese mo vari-a vere nohoni. Yesterday, I heard someone else sing [lit. take] the same song (as you). See vavere 'sing'.
[PNCV*veti 'speak, say']
ve-roha~ sfn. (1) [Ego M/F] elder sister; elder female parallelcousin. Ant. ve-rasi~.
(2) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of elder brother (roha~), whatever her age. || Anthr. I call my elder brother's sister as my elder sister, and she calls me as her younger brother (rasi~) - irrespective of our age. If my elder brother dies, I may take his wife, who then becomes mine (naivou~). See vuggo~ 'sister-in-law (Ego F)'.
(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (rahu~), if she's older than Ego.
ve-sohori~ ~ sohori~. sfn. sister.
(1) (gen) [Ego M/F] sister, female parallel cousin. Generic term, including younger (ve-rasi~) and elder (ve-roha~) sisters.
(2) (esp) $\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { Ego } & M]\end{array}\right.$ sister-in-law: brother's wife.
(3) [Ego M] sister-in-law: wife of brother-in-law (rahu~).
ve-tu~ sfn. [Ego M/F] daughter. Hypocoristic term of address for ve-naru~. Seetu~.
vi- pf. a prefix forming most plant names, e.g. vimele, violas, viha, etc. (Cf. Grammar)
via $n$. wild taro. Alocasia macrorrhiza. - Via v̈alalapă, dau-na ra v̈alalap̈a. The big taro has big leaves. See pera 'taro'.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { via; } P O C^{*} \text { piRaq }\right]
$$

vi-adu ~ adu. n. She-oak, bsl. Oktri. Casuarina equisetifolia.
[PEO*yaRu]
viapu n. Fish-Poison-tree, bsl. Navele
blong solwota. Barringtonia asiatica. [PNCV**uabu]
vi-ca ~ ca. n. Taun, a plant, bsl. Nandao. Pometia pinnata.

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[P N C V * \mathrm{dau}]
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vi-ce ~ce. $n$. Polynesian chestnut, bsl. Namambe. Inocarpus edulis. Syn. uepe.
vici $i_{1}$ vi. embark, climb in (a boat). - Codo o sna o vici! Okay, you can come aboard! See maco 'go in'.

* vt. embark <s.o.> on a boat. • Mo vici va p̈ira mo vici mo vari-a mo lig-i-a mo sa lo m̈asap̈a. He brought the woman on board, and took her out towards the deep sea. Syn. lig.
vici $_{2}$ sfn. [animal] tail. $\cdot$ Om lesi-a vici-n hadiv nohoni mo sohe daga vi-adu. You can see the rat's tail resembles a branch of Casuarina. See kede 'bottom, tail'.
vi-cogo $n$. mangrove tree, bsl. Natongtong. Rhizophora sp.
[PNCV*toyo; POC *toyoR 'mangrove']
vi-cudulace $n$. a tree, bsl. Namemiwa. Securinega flexuosa.
vida $n$. [plant] flower. • vida-na its flower • Mo vari-a vida haviha mo huden-i-a lo paru-na. He picked a Malay apple-tree blossom and put it on his head.
[PNCV**ira]
vi-dada $n$. Indian coral tree, bsl. Narara. Erythrina variegata. • dau dada leaves of Erythrina (name of a shining fish)
[PNCV*rara-vi; POC*rarap]
vidi $n$. dog. - Vidi, racu mo ce han-i-a.

People don't eat dogs.
[Cf. vkiviriu; PNCV*kuriu (?)]
vidiha adj. (1) black. • racu vidiha a black man, a Melanesian (v. tasale) - Mo posi mo vidiha mo mia mo lulu; mo macim̈acihi-ha. It would change from black to white, it was full of colours. Ant. lulu.
(2) black with dirt, dirty. • Nam vadai kam̈im nam de ha シ̈a hoco lim̈a-m̈im, pan lim̈a-m̈im mo vidiha ro. I told you to wash your hands, but they are still black! Syn. lumiha; vsovso-ho.
vidis vi. to milk, squeeze out coconut cream (+ preposition lo). - Om re vidis lo holo? Have you already squeezed out coconut milk?
[PNCV**iri 'twist, plait, braid; wring coconut cream'; POc *piri 'twist']

| Parts |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| of trees |  |
| hodo-no | its roots |
| laho-no | its trunk |
| para-na | its trunk |
| hudi-na | its bark |
| dau-na | its leaves |
| vae-na | its fruits |
| pidi-na | its seeds |
| vida-na | its flowers |
| daga | a branch |
| mavuhi | a joint |
| pede-na | its tip |
| as | a liana |
| pudupudu | timber, beam |
| viha | wood |

viha $n$. tree, wood. -Viha mo hese sivo-sun mo rudu lo sala. There is a tree down there, in the middle of the
road. - Na miara rai viha. I cut timber (as a job). Morph. vi- + ha ${ }_{4}$.
[PNCV, POc*kayu]
vi-kum̈aro n. New Guinea basswood, whitewood. Endospermum medullosum.
[Cf. Aulua (South Malakula) ngumar]
vila adv. (1) fast, quickly. - Nre dan co pa v̈anoz̈ano, co lesi-a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila. One day we'll have a race, and we'll see who's the faster!
(2) easily. • M̈aci vadidi $\mathbf{o}$ levse vari-a vila. Small fish can be caught easily.
vi-madi $n$. wattle tree, bsl. Namariu. Acacia spirorbis.

> [PNCV*mariu]
vi-mele n. cycad, bsl. Namele. Cycas circinnalis.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { mwele }\right]
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vi-mialavo $n$. tree fern. Cyathea; Dickinsonia.
vi-mali $n$. Dragon plum, bsl. Nakatambol. Dracontomelon vitiense. [PNCV *mali 'Spondias dulcis']
vi-m̈arala n. Puzzle-tree, bsl. Namatal. Kleinhovia hospita.
[PNCV*matala]
vina sfn. Red. vinavina. arrow. Formerly used, with the bow (p̈aka), either to fight (see vudo), or to hunt (see ele). • No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku. Father, make me a bow and some arrows.
vinavina vi. shoot with bow and arrows. • P̈aka nene, mara vinavina. This bow is designed for shooting.
[PNCV*vana-i 'shoot with bow and arrow'; POC *panaq 'bow, to shoot']
vinano $n$. stranger, foreigner, esp. with relation to Araki or local island. - Vinano nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha v̈e lesi-a maudi-da, mo sa. Strangers who come (to Araki), and who want to know their destiny, go there (to Leruvahi). See tasale 'European'.
vi-naru ~ naru. n. (1) Red silkwood, bsl. Naduledule. Burckella obovata.
(2) avocado. Persea americana.
[ $P$ oc* ${ }^{\text {natu(q) }}$ ) Burckella obovata']
vi-nini $n$. palm-tree. Veitchia; Clinostigma sp. - Racu mo hese mo kadu-mi-a laho vinini, mo de pana cau. Somebody was scraping the trunk of the palm-tree - maybe a coconut crab. $\cdot$ Mo vari-a dau vinini mo m̈a mo hasan-i-a mo ug lapa. He took a palm-leaf of the palmtree, and made a big fire with $i t$.
vi-olas n. Marking-out, a poison tree, bsl. Naolasia. Semecarpus vitiensis.
[Cf. Ninde (South Mal.) na-walas]
vi-pakus n. Namalaos, a plant. Garuga floribunda.
vi-pisu n. Bead tree, bsl. Bisa. Adenanthera pavonina.
[PNCV*bisu 'bead tree']
vi-pue $n$. (1) bamboo. Bambusa sp.
(2) object made of bamboo, e.g. a flute or a container. - Nam sodo vi-pue. I am blowing into a bamboo (as a flute). - Mo vari-a levu di mo huden-i-a lo vi-pue mo run-i-a mo vari-a mo han-i-a. They take the breadfruit, put it in a bamboo, cook it, and finally eat it.
vipue da-pera n. lit. 'taro-leaf bamboo': soft bamboo.
vipue vono $n$. lit. 'deep bamboo': hard bamboo.
[PNCV*bue '(object of) bamboo']
vi-p̈ahuda n. tamanu, bsl. Nambangura. Calophyllum inophyllum.
[PNCV*bakura]
vi-paka n. banyan. Ficus sp. - Vi-p̈aka mo de nko pa moli, niko pa racu lapa. The banyan means that you will become a chief, an important person. See paka 'bow (and arrows)'.
[ $P N C V, P O C$ *baga]
vi-rodo $n$. Island-teak or ironwood, bsl. Natora. Intsia bijuga.

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[P N C \vee * \text { tora }]
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viru $n$. (1) star. Syn. viru sadasada.
(2) moon.
(3) month. • Mo ce usa viru mo rolu. It has not been raining for three months. - No-ku lahi lo rav̄alu viru. My wedding will be next month.
viru sadasada $n$. star.

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\text { [PNCV*vitu?u; } P O \subset * \text { pituqun] }
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visa inter. [always preceded by subject clitic] how many. • Naru-m mo visa? -Naru-ku mo dua. (iit.) How many are your children? - My children are two.
[PNCV*visa; POC *pican]
visi vt. tie, bind, fix together; e.g. tie up the parts of a canoe. - Mo huden-i-a aka-na lo rasi mo visi-a mo visi-a otom̈e. He dragged his canoe down to the sea, then tied it up fast. [PNCV*vivi-si 'wrap, bind']
visiho sfn. flesh, meat. - Om re han re visiho sip mo iso? Have you ever eaten lamb? - Mo han povi-a visiho-no. (The devil) devoured his flesh completely.

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\left[P N C V^{*} \text { visiko; } P O C * \text { pisiko }\right]
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viso n. Edible cane, bsl. Naviso. Saccharum edule.
[PNCV*viso]
vi-tapea $n$. Sea trumpet, bsl. Burao blong solwota: tree. Cordia subcordata.
vi-toma n. milkwood. Antiaris toxicaria.
viuru n. a plant, unidentified.
viuru mapuhu $n$. stinkwood, a toxic tree. Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum.
vi-vada $n$. kind of reed, bsl. Waelken. Miscanthus floridulus. See edevu.
vivi sfn. (anc) lips. See hudi-vivi~.

* n. Napoleonfish, reef fish, 120 cm Cheilinus undulatus. || It takes its name from its remarkably thick lips.
vi-vila n. Blue water, bsl. Navilae. Pterocarpus indicus.
vi-v̈a n. seashore tree, bsl. Burao. Hibiscus tiliaceus. see vusalalao.
[ $P_{N C V *}{ }^{*} \mathrm{vaRu} ; P O C^{*}$ paRu]
vodai sfn. brother.
(1) $[$ Ego M/F] brother: generic term, including elder (roha~) and younger (rasi~) brothers. • Nam levsei-a racu mo hese, vodai-na mo lulu, nia racu vidiha. I know a man whose brother is white, yet he is black. || Includes parallel cousins, either on the father's or the mother's side. Ant. ve-sohori~.
(2) [Ego M] husband of sister-in-law (ve-rahu~).
(3) $[$ Ego F] brother of husband (rua~). \|| Anthr. If my husband dies, one of his brothers will take his place,
and take me as his wife (naivou~). See roha $\sim$, elua~.
[Cf. Malo vorae 'brothers (old word)'; PNCV** vora 'be born']
vodo $_{1} v t$. reach, achieve its goal. $\cdot$ Nam sodo maci nam vodo. I shot at a bird and hit it. Syn. rkel.
* vi. reach the ground (?), hence be born. - Nam vodo Daki. I was born on Araki
vodo-mudu $n$. first-born. See roha~ 'elder brother'.
vodo-rahu n. second-born. Syn. vodo-dua. See parahu 'after'.
vodo-dua $n$. second-born. syn. vodo-rahu.
vodo-rolu $n$. born third.
vodo-ïari $n$. born fourth. See rasi~ 'younger brother'.
[PNCV*vora]
vodo $_{2}$ vt. make; do; build <house>. - No-ku ta, o vodo re p̈aka-ku, re vina-ku. Father, make me a bow and some arrows.
voko ~ woko. vt. do, make, build. syn. シेe.
[English work]
vokovoko adj. clean, healthy; free from illness. • Hovi-na mo ciha povi, mo klin mo vokovoko. His scabies had totally disappeared, he was now clean and healthy. Ant. lumiha.
[Cf. Malo vokevoke 'clean, white, innocent'; PNCV*voge 'whitish, albino']
voli vt. (1) buy, purchase. • Nam de na voli-a paniavu nohoni. I'd like to buy this pineapple.
(2) (esp) lit. 'buy (a woman)': [man] give money and presents to o.'s
future father-in-laws, in order to acquire <a woman> as a wife; marry <a woman>. See lahi 'married'.
[PNCV*voli; POC *poli]
vomahi $n$. Green-winged Ground Emerald Dove, 26 cm Chalcophaps indica.
voni ~ von ~ vo. conj. (1) or. • Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na. He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind. • Mo marare vo mo maudi ro? Is it dead or is it still alive?
(2) [after a first clause in a question] introduces question-final tags; i.e., for yes/no questions: '...or not?'; and for Wh- questions: '...or (who/what/when+)?'. • Ravalu wik, co pa usa vo co ce re? Will it rain next week or not? • Ta mo dogo-co vo mo ce-re? Did dad hear us? [he heard us or not] •Om v̈a lo ham̈ali vo om ta v̈e? Have you been in the men's house, or what? [ ... or where are you coming from?] (cf. Grammar)
vono adj. (1) far, remote. - Rasi mo roho cada vono. The sea is far from there). Syn. deci. Ant. ravui.
(2) deep. • vipue vono 'deep bamboo' (k.o. big bamboo)
vonoho adj. thick. Ant. m̈avinuvinu. Morph. -ho.
[PNCV *vono-ti (?) 'blocked up, filled in, solid, dense']
vosa $n$. Sea almond, bsl. Natapoa. Terminalia catappa. • Vada mo sivo lo pede vosa, nko ha pa nak-i-ko ha pa hani-ko. [oracle] If (the reed)
falls on to a Terminalia tree, (this is the sign that) they will kill you, they will eat you.
vose $_{1} n$. oar, paddle, used with the canoe (aka). • Mo rai-a vose m̈ara co pa sua nia. He carved an oar so that he could paddle with it.
[PNCV*vose; POc *pose]
vose $_{2}$ sfn. thigh.
vse vt. inform <s.o.> (about s.th., lo); show, reveal to <s.o.>. - Hina salahese mo vse-i-a racu ro lo maaudi-da. [oracle] Several signs inform people of their destiny.
vSovso vi. filthy, very dirty. • Nam m̈a nam lesi-ko hovi mo vsovso-ho om te! I came and saw you: your scabious skin is filthy, you are awful! || Usually takes suffix -ha, under the form -ho. Syn. lumiha. See hudara 'dirt'.
vudo $n$. fight, battle, war. - Ha pa nak-i-a lo vudo vo re hina sohe-na. He will be killed during a battle, or something of the kind. See valum 'fight'.
vuduvudu $n$. bat, bsl. nakarae. Emballonuridae spp. || The children of Araki love to play with these small black bats, esp. around the huge cave (テ̈apa) in Sope village.
vuggo~sfn. || Anthr. This relationship involves a high degree of mutual respect.
(1) [Ego F] sister-in-law: husband's sister; brother's wife.
(2) [Ego M] aunt: wife of maternal uncle (rahura~, elua~).
vuguvugu~ sfn. [Gen. with plural marker dai] relative, member of the same
family．•dai vuguvugu－ku my family，my relatives • kam̈am povi dai vuguvugu－ni Moli all of us，Moli＇s family See rahisa～．
vulu sfn．hair；［bird］feather．• Vulu－da mo pada．They have white hair． －Vulu－na mo hahada．Her hair is blond．• vulu mo hese a hair
vuluvulu sfn．body hair． －vuluvulu－da m̈ara－ku my eyelashes ［PNCV＊vulu；POC＊pulu］
vurivuria adj．high，steep，like a mountain（vuruvuru）；going very high．－Mo vurivuria－ha mo sa kaura．（The stone）soars up high in the sky．｜｜Receives suffix－ha．
［PNCV＊vuti＇mountain＇］
vuruvuru $n$ ．mountain，hill．
[PNCV*vuti]
tiliaceus．See vī̈a．
vuso adj．blind．• Nia mo vuso，mo ce levse lesi re hina．He＇s blind，he can＇t see anything．see pedopedo＇deaf．
vutiana adj．many．
（1）［＋plural referent］a lot，plenty；too many．• hina vutiana many things －Mohi mo vutiana．There are many mosquitoes！［ m ．are numerous］• Niko racu tavtavu，m̈ara no－m vatu vutiana．You are a rich man，because you have a lot of money．See hacavua ＇too many＇．
（2）［＋generic or singular referent］a lot， very much．Intensifier of Adject－ ives：very．$\bullet$ Nam poi Daki vutiana． I love Araki very much．• Nam avulai vutiana nam tapai－ko．I am really happy to have met you．Syn．lapa；holo ${ }_{2}$ ．
vusalalao n．flower of Burao．Hibiscus

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\ddot{\mathbf{V}}-\ddot{\mathbf{v}}
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 （1）go（somewhere）．－Va racu mo le mle，mo le và lo ima－n ram̈a－na． The young man turned round and went back to his father＇s house．－Ha va，ha シ̈a，ha ku re ai．Go on，go and fetch some water．See sa；si．
（2）［after vb of mvt ］towards，in the direction of．－Nia mo le sua mo v̈a lo ima－na．He started paddling again in the direction of his house．
（3）keep going in a certain direction， pursue one＇s route；continue a movement．－Nko vala Go on，keep on your track（since you don＇t want to take
me with you）• Mo le kadu mo v̈a mo les ivua．He swam on a little，until he saw the Turtle．• Mo シ̈a シ̈a mo च̈a rkel－i－a tarauta．He went on swimming，until he reached the shore．
（4）［after a verb $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ ］continue an action， with or without a spatial movement．－Mo vavere mo v̈a ro． He carried on singing．－Mo si mo rolu，mo v̈ei－a sohe mo v̈a，aka mo ra hetehete．Whilst travelling all together，they carried on（bringing aboard other passengers），until the canoe became too small for them all．
（5）remain in the same situation， letting a certain time go by；hence
later．－Mo v̈a lo dan mo hese，mo le sa mo vadai no－no ta．（he was sad） He remained in this state［lit．helit went］，and one day he decided to go home and speak to his father．｜｜Synt．It is unclear whether the subject of $\mathbf{v a}$ is the agent of the action（＇he went on like this＇）or the action itself（＇it went on like this＇）．See sna．
（6）［impersonal phrase］（ $\mathbf{m o}$ v̈a）a long time later，eventually．－Mo v̈a，mo dogo leo－do，mo v̈a mo ÿa，mo ra hetehete．（they danced）Their shouts could be heard while they continued to dance；eventually they became fainter and fainter．
（7）［time］pass，go by．• lo wik mo v̈a mo iso last week［in the week that has passed］
＊dir．used as a Directional，without a subject pronoun．
（1）over there，in the distance． Directional marking distance， combined with deictics．• P̈ira mo hese mo roho rav̈al cigo mle ÿa． There was a woman who lived over there on the other side of the cape．
（2）Directional referring to an outward movement（v．m̈a）and forward（v．sa＇upward＇，si ＇downward＇）．• M̈ala mo kla シ̈a mo lesi－a cam．The hawk looked in front of him and saw a yam．\｜This directional is combined with certain verbs（kla＇look＇，lpo＇try＇）and others．
（3）Directional referring to a continuous movement，an action going on．－Mo avuavu v̈a mo m̈a ma，mo le vodo karano lo lepa．（the reed）continues its flight，comes closer until it reaches the ground．－Mo v̈ei－a
va vada uluvo mo le smat．He went on（acting）this way，until the young man became a beautiful boy again．

シ̈a lec vi．（1）go by，pass through（a place），go（somewhere）．$\cdot \mathbf{O}$ v̈a lec ve？－Na và lec v̈aha－sun．Where will you go through？－I＇ll go that way．
（2）make a detour，move away from the main track，disappear out of sight．－Mo le v̈a v̈a sur－i－a cigo hosun mo sivo mo pos mo va lec． Again he sailed alongside the cape；after a while，he started tacking，and disappeared．See シ̈a．
v̈adav̈ada $n$ ．Twin apple，bsl．Tufrut． Ochrosia oppositifolia．
v̈adug adj．［obj，place］hot．•ai vadug ［lit．hot water］tea，coffee（see ai）• Cada mo vadug！It is hot！［the place is hot］ See ku＇heat up＇；hapu＇fire＇．
シ̈aha ${ }_{1}$ pf．（1）（ $n$ ）times．Multiplicative prefix，counting times an action is repeated．－Nanov，mo usa v̈aha－dua．Yesterday，it rained twice．
（2）prefix deriving ordinals from the corresponding cardinal．－naivou －na シ̈aha－rolu his third wife • tapu －ku v̈aha－dua my great grandfather ［ $m y$ twice－grandfather］，my great grandson Syn．ha－4．See mudu＇first＇． （c．Grammar）
［POc＊paka－＇Causative＇］
シ̈ahani ${ }_{2}$ vt．feed．•Nam v̈ahani－a pla－ku to．I am feeding my fowls．－Ela mo v̈ahani Ral．Ela is feeding Ralph． Morph．hani．
［Cf．Tangoa thacani］
v̈alalap̈a adj．big，large，esp．when plural or collective．－raha vala－
lapa big ones，those that are big－Via v̈alalapa，dau－na ra valalapa．The big taro has big leaves．See lap̈a＇big＋ singular＇．
v̈alum vi．fight，have a quarrel（with， nida～or p̈edesi～）．－Nam de na valum p̈edesi－ko．I＇m going to fight with you．－Daki mo valum nida－ni Tumepu．So Araki struggled with Tитери．
［Cf．vki valum＇fight＇； PNCV＊vakalo（？）＇fight（n，v）＇］
シ̈ano～̈̈a．vi．walk．｜｜Complete form of $\ddot{\text { va．}}$
v̈anov̈ano vi．walk intensively，hence walk quickly，have a race．－Nre dan co pa v̈anov̈ano，co lesi－a se co pa v̈anov̈ano vila：One day we＇ll have a race，and we＇ll see who＇s the faster！
[PNCV*vano; POC*pano]
v̈aodo vi．Red．च̈av̈aodo．make noise，be noisy．－Nam ce poe－i－a mada vadidi mo v̈av̈aodo．I don＇t like it when the kids are noisy．Ant．roho m̈alum（＜m̈alum）．
［Cf．Tangoa thathaore＇trouble＇］
v̈apa～vapa．$n$ ．（1）cave．• V̈apa mo hese，kesini ravui lo ima－ku．There is a cave，here close to my house．｜｜The village of Sope has a very large cave， full of small black bats（vuduvudu） that children play with．
（2）extended family clan，a major social unit in Araki．｜｜To each clan， is supposed to correspond one of the villages in the island of Araki：e．g．the village of Sope belongs to Lele Moli and his extended family（シ̈apa）：i．e． his sons，their wives and children．
v̈ap̈evu sfn．ankle．

シ̈ari num．four．• ha－v̈ari dan the fourth day，Thursday • racu mo gavul v̈ari forty people

$$
\text { [PNCV*vati; } P O C * \text { pati] }
$$

च̈asusu vt．$T_{r}$ v̈asui－（？）．［woman］beget， give birth to．－Naivou－ku mo v̈asu－i naru－ku．My wife has just given birth to my baby．
［PNCV＊vasusu＇give birth，lay egg＇］
$\ddot{\mathbf{v}} \mathrm{e}_{1}$ inter．（1）where．Interrogative adverb of place．－Moli mo roho ro ve？－Nia mo v̈a lo hamaali．Where＇s the chief？－He＇s gone to the nakamal． － O च̈a lec $\mathbf{~ v e ? ~ - ~} \mathrm{Na}$ च̈a lec v̈aha－sun． Where will you go through？－I＇ll go that way．
（2）［after verb＇come＇］from where． －Om v̈a lo ham̈ali vo om ta $\mathbf{v}$ e？ Have you been in the men＇s house，or what？［ ．．．or where are you coming from？］

$$
[P O C * \text { pai }]
$$

シ̈e lesi vt．（1）lit．＇make（and）see＇：try， attempt．－Mo シ̈e lesi－a mo de ha nak－i－a ha ce levsei nak－i－a nre dan．They try and kill him，but they never succeed．
（2）test，question，try out．• Nida mo sivo mo poe mo de ha v̈e lesi－a maudi－da．［oracle］They come here（to Araki），because they want to test their destiny．
$\ddot{\mathbf{v}} \mathbf{i}_{2} \sim \ddot{\mathbf{v}} . v t$ ．Red．$\ddot{\text { vevee．make．}}$
（1）make＜s．th．＞．• Mo rai－a aka inia， mo v̈e otom̈e sohe aka．He carved himself a canoe，and made it just as if it were a（real）canoe．• Racu mo v̈ei－ko， nia Supe．The one who created you is God．
（2）（gen）do，act．－Om ÿei－a sa ro？

What are you doing? - Mo v̈ei povi-a dai hina hosun. He did all these things.
(3) $[+$ (mo de +) Irréel] see to it that; be the cause of <s.th.>; provoke. Factitive value. • Ram̈are mo v̈ei-a mo de co ce usa. The spirits are the cause that [lit. are making] there is no rain. - Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as. He'll wet the rope. [lit. He'll make that some water wet the rope] - Mara p̈ira hosun mo re v̈ei-a mo re lokodu mo iso. Because that woman had already made him so angry. [made that he was angry]
v̈ë̈e hina vi. lit. 'do things': work. - Mo v̈ë̈e hina hacavua. He works too much. - Om v̈ev̈e hina raraholo.

You're doing a good job. See woko.
[PNCV*vai 'make, do, be']
v̈erali $n$. banana. Musa sp. •V̈eral ne mo ce v̈eral hanhan. This banana is not edible. • verali tasale [white man's banana] long, sweet banana, especially appreciated by Europeans \| There are a large number of varieties of bananas in Vanuatu, most of which are not very sweet, and are used mainly as a vegetable. See ori 'bunch (of bananas)'; m̈asoli ‘apple-banana’; houoci.
[PNCV**etali]
v̈ev̈e $n$. pandanus. Pandanus sp.
[PNCV**eveo]
wet $v$. $\operatorname{Tr}$ weti-. [liquid] wet, make <s.th.> wet. - Co pa v̈ei-a ai co wet-i-a as. He'll wet the rope. [lit. He'll make some water wet the rope]
[English wet]
wik $n$. week. • lo wik mo $\mathbf{~ v a}$ mo iso last week $[$ in the week that has passed] • (lo) rav̈alu wik next week • Ale, kam sna
wik mo hese, viha hosun mo kodu, viha hosun mo ciha. Finally, after one week, that tree ended up in flames, and disappeared.
[English week]

## 10. English - Araki finderlist

Following is an English - Araki finderlist. As is traditionally the case, this list should not be used as a full reverse dictionary, but only as a way to find the adequate Araki entry for an English term. Each Araki form corresponds to an entry in the Araki - English dictionary (Chapter 9), and should be easily found there.

The small number after the radical - for example $\ddot{m} a r a_{2}$ - indicates the rank of the entry in case of homonymous lexemes; the number given in parentheses - for example comii (3) - refers to one of the sub-senses of a polysemic entry. If reference is made to a subentry in the dictionary, then we indicate where it can be found. For example,

> a, an mo hese, Cf. hese; re.
means that the English indefinite article $a$, an may receive two translations in Araki: one is mo hese (but the reader should check under the main entry hese 'one'); the other translation is re (appearing first in the dictionary, before $\mathbf{r e}_{2}$ ).

Scientific names for animals and plants are written in italics.
a, an mo hese, Cf. hese; re ${ }_{1}$.
Abelmoschus manihot m̈aharua.
about $\ddot{m} a r a_{2}$ (3).
above kaura.
abundant lap̈a.
Acacia spirorbis vi-madi.
Acanthurus lineatus taraüadoko.
ache hac.
acknowledgment mece.
Acridotheres tristis m̈aci buluk.
Adenanthera pavonina vi-pisu.
Aerodramus spp. vakadakada.
afraid $\ddot{m} a r a h u$.
afterwards $\ddot{m}_{a r a}{ }_{2}$; parahu.
again le.
against nida $\sim$.
aid $\operatorname{comi} i(3)$.
alive $\ddot{m} a u d u$.
all povi; tade.
almond gaga.
Alocasia macrorrhiza via.
alone hase~.
already mo iso, Cf. iso.
alright ale (1); codo.
although napdogo.
always tade.
for ~ cece.

Ananas sativus paniavu.
ancestors vacaha.
and nida $\sim \sim_{2}$.
angry lokodu.
ankle $\ddot{\text { äp̈evu. }}$
~ rattle tree lahe.
Antiaris toxicaria vi-toma.
anus tipo.
any $r e_{1}$.
~-thing re hina (2).
Araceae spp. pera.
Araki Daki.
Ardea sacra oüa.
arm lï̈a.
armpit hav̈ehav̈e.
arrange huden.
arrow vina.
Artocarpus altilis levu.
ashes pariavu.
ask for rigo.
assist comii (3); ruen.
at $l o ; n i \sim \sim_{1}$.
attempt $\ddot{v}$ e lesi.
aunt tetei~; vuggo~ (2).
avocado vi-naru (2).
await sovi.
axe dip̈a.
back cuhu; le; liuha.
bad te.
bag raga.
bald pilo.
Balistes aculeatus cum.
bamboo vi-pue.
banana houoci; m̈asoli; $\ddot{v e r a l i .}$
bank carauta.
banyan palaho; vi-p̈aka.
bark hudi.
barn owl peka.
Barracuda dagodago.
Barringtonia asiatica viapu.
Barringtonia edulis ridivu.
basket raga.
bat vuduvudu.
battle vudo.
be there mo hese, Cf. hese; kia;
$r e_{1}$.
beach carauta; onono.
bead tree vi-pisu.
beam pudupudu.
beard humi.
beat ceu; сеu (1).
because $\ddot{m a r a}_{2}(1)$.
$\sim$ of $\ddot{m a r a} \mathbf{2}_{2}(2)$.
beckon alovi.
become $\ddot{m} a_{1}(3) ; r a_{2}$.
bed ep̈a.
before ruai.
beg rigo.
beget $\mathrm{v} a s u s u$.
begin tapulo.
believe com̈icö̈i; de (4).
belly page; ravu.
belt ruva.
bend lug.
~down olom̈a.
better ceu (3).
biceps pahaso.
big lä̈a; $\mathbf{v a l a l a p ̈ a . ~}$
bind visi.
bird $\ddot{m} a c i$ (1).
Birgus latro cau.
birth (give ~) vaasusu.
bit (a ~) m̈akomo.
bite hari.
black vidiha.
bladder cada m̈ere, Cf. m̈ere.
blind vuso.
blond hada (2).
blood cai.
blow sere; sodo (2).
blue heca.
boast $\ddot{m} a g i s$.
boat aka.
body ep̈e.
boil vali.
bone sui.
booby kakato.
born (be ~) vodo ${ }_{1}$.
bottom cidi; kede.
bounce dap̈as.
bow (n.) $\ddot{p} a k a$.
boy lam̈ani.
brag magis.
brain monohi.
branch daga.
branching m̈asaga.
bread pedeti.
breadfruit levu.
$\sim$ biscuit prepared in case of hunger $\ddot{m} a d a_{2}$.
$\sim$ pith kavula.
break koso; lare.
breast susu.
breath $\ddot{m} a p u$ (1).
breathe $\ddot{m} a p u$; namasu.
bring vari (4b).
broken $\ddot{m} a-k o s o ; \ddot{m} a-l a r e$.
brother vodai.
elder ~ roha~.
younger ~ rasi $\sim$.
~-in-law rahu~.
Buff-banded rail p̈ilahe.
build vodo ${ }_{2}$.
bump vcan.
bunch of bananas ori.
Burckella obovata vi-naru (1).
burn suli.
burnt kodu; ugu.
bush hudara (2).
$\sim$ nut ridivu.
but pani.
butterfly $\ddot{p} e \ddot{\text { ëe }}$ (1).
$\sim$ fish $\ddot{p} e \ddot{p} e ~(2)$.
buttocks cidi; ravuhi cidi~, Cf. ravuhi.
buy voli.
cabbage $\ddot{m} a h a r u a$.
Calidris acuminata p̈llahe rasi (2).
call rove; ulo.
Calophyllum inophyllum
vi-p̈ahuda.
Canarium indicum gaga.
canoe aka.
~ outrigger cä̈a.
~pegs laku.
~ poles evua.
$\sim$ ties asi.
cape cigo.
Caranx melampygus m̈aconu.
careful kila.
Carica papaya des tasale, Cf. desi.
carve rai (2).
cast plane.
Casuarina equisetifolia vi-adu.
cat hadiv tasale, Cf. hadivi.
catch ran ${ }_{1}$; taur; vari.
cause $\ddot{v} i_{2}$ (3).
cave च̈apa (1).
Chaetodon lineatus $\ddot{p}$ ёе e (2).
Chalcophaps indica vomahi.
change posi $i_{1}$.
chat sodosodo.
cheat kodei-, Cf. kode ${ }_{1}$.
Cheilinus undulatus vivi.
chest cuma.
chestnut uep̈e; vi-ce.
chicken to.
chief moli ; racu lä̈a, Cf. racu;
supe.
rank of $\sim$ kadai; $\ddot{\text { mala }}{ }_{1}$ (2).
child hetehete (2); mada; naru~; $t u \sim$.
children mada vadidi, Cf. vadidi.
chin ese.
church skul (1).
Circus approximans mala ${ }_{1}(1)$.
club (traditional wooden ~)
$\ddot{m} a c a$.
claw p̈isu.
claypot ciliv.
clean klin; vokovoko.
$\sim$ up hoco $_{1}$.
clench lug.
clever levosai.
climb sihevi.
close ravui.
clothes $d u d u$.
cloud coco.
cloven m̈asaga.
coconut holo ${ }_{1}$.
$\sim$ crab cau.
germinated ~ popo.
Codiaeum variegatum cihi.
coffee ai v̈adug, Cf. ai.
Collocalia esculenta vakadakada.
colour $\ddot{m} a c i h i$.
Columba vitiensis manometo (2); rodo $_{2}$.
come $\ddot{m} a_{1} ; s n a ; t a_{1}$.
$\sim$ across tapai.
considerably lä̈a.
convey lig.
cook ku; runu; suli.
cooked meco.
copra kavuda.
Coracina caledonica vakalao.
coral pallace.
Cordia subcordata vi-tapea.
cork colog.
correct holo ${ }_{2}$; raholo.
count tovo.
country cada (2).
cousin naru~ (5).
cover havu; hodo ${ }_{1}$; tahavu.
crab hav̈e.
coconut ~ cau.
crawl hadaho.
crazy putu.
cross lokodu.
croton cihi.
crumb hudaudara.
cry ragi.
cup lasa.
cut rai.
cycad vi-mele.
dad $t a_{2}$.
dance velu.
dark coco.
daughter ve-tur.
$\sim$-in-law tapu~ (4).
day dani; pogi.
all ~ long coco.
deaf pedopedo.
deceive kode $_{1}$.
declare de.
deep vono (2).
defecate $c e_{2}$.
Dendrocnide sp. kalaro.
deprived tilavo~.
desire poe.
devil rä̈are.
diaphragm havhavu page $\sim$, Cf.
havu; havhavu rali~, cf. rali.
die ciha (2); $\ddot{\text { mare }}$.
different vavono.
difficult haura.
dig heli.
~ out kode $_{2}$.
dignitary racu lap̈a, Cf. racu.
Dioscorea bulbifera pevu hohono,
Cf. pevu; suma.
Dioscorea esculenta tavadi.
Dioscorea spp. cam $_{2}$.
dirt hudara (1); hudaudara.
dirty lumiha; vidiha; vsovso.
disappear ciha; va lec (2).
dispose huden.
dive nudu.
do voko; $\ddot{v e} i_{2}$.
$\sim$ what rodo $_{1}$.
dog vidi.
dolphin kue $_{2}$.
done (well ~) meco.
door m̈arasala.
dove marahuavi; tipa ${ }_{2}$; vapune.
down karano; sivo.
Dracontomelon vitiense vi-m̈ali.
drag cudi.
dream m̈alä̈ala-popodo, Cf.
mala ${ }_{2}$.
drink inu.
drop tudusi.
drown colo.
drum pelo.
dry kodu; $\ddot{\text { määasa. }}$
Ducula bakeri manometo (1).
Ducula pacifica huep̈e.
dwell roho.
Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum viuru m̈apuhu, Cf. viuru.
ear podo.
earth lep̈a.
~-quake muhu.
easily vila.
east Toholau.
~-wards saha.
eastwards $s a_{2}$ (5).
easy holo $_{2}$.
eat han; hanhan.
eel $\ddot{m} a d a_{1}$.
egg sile ${ }_{2}$.
eight haualu.
elbow suhu.
elders vacaha.
embark $v i i_{1}$.
end hilu; iso. $\sim(\mathrm{n}$.$) isoiso, Cf. iso.$
Endospermum medullosum vi-kum̈aro.
enemy medesai.
Entada pursaetha as mara, Cf. asi.
enter maco.
Epinephelus merra rapala (2).
Erythrina variegata vi-dada.
escape dovo; sihiri.
European tasale.
even if napdogo vada, Cf. napdogo.
ever nre dan (3). for ~ cece.
every tade; povi.
exhausted m̈aloko.
exist mo hese, Cf. hese; re ${ }_{1}$.
eye $\ddot{m} a a_{1}$.
eyelid havhavu $\ddot{m} a r a \sim$, Cf. havu.
face naho.
faeces $r e \sim_{2}$.
fall covi.
family vuguvugu~; ̈̈apa (2).
far deci; vono (1).
fashion posi $i_{2}$.
fast vila.
fat vadu.
father $r a \ddot{m} a \sim ; t a_{2}$.
~-in-law paliha~; tapu~ (3).
fear m̈arahu.
feed üahani $i_{2}$.
feel $d o g o$.
fellow rahisa; rap̈ala~; ruarua (2).
female p̈ira.
fence $\ddot{p} a \ddot{p} a$.
fern (tree ~) vi-m̈alavo.
Ficus sp. palaho; vi-p̈aka.
field is $a_{1}$.
fight $\mathbf{v} a l u m$.
filthy vsovso.
finally ale (5).
find tapai.
fine holo $_{2}$.
finger $\ddot{p i s u}$; vadago.
finish hilu; iso.
fire hapu.
set $\sim$ to hasan.
first $m u d u$.
~ (adv.) $r a_{1}$.
$\sim$-born vodo-mudu, Cf. vodo ${ }_{1}$.
fish m̈aci (2).
catch ~ dev̈e (2).
$\sim$-poison tree viapu.
five limia.
fix visi.
flee dovo; sihiri.
flesh ravuhi; visiho.
float sale $_{1}$.
floor lepa.
flow dodo ${ }_{1}$.
flower vida.
flute vi-pue (2).
fly avu; lago.
flycatcher losulosu.
flying-fox hadiv paudoudo, Cf.
hadivi; kada; m̈anu.
fold lug.
follow sure ${ }_{2}$.
food $h a \sim$; hanhan.
foot sadi2.
for $\ddot{m} a_{2} a_{2}$ (4).
forehead p̈enaho.
foreigner vinano.
forest hudara covo, Cf. hudara.
forked $\ddot{m} a s a g a$.
four vari.
fowl $t$.
Fregata ariel taicudu.
friend rahisa; rapala~; ruarua (2).
frightened $\ddot{m} a r a h u$.
from $\ddot{m} a r a_{2}(1)$.
front (in ~of) lo naho~, of. naho.
fruit vae.
full tup.
Gallirallus philippensis pilahe.
Gallus gallus to varia, Cf. to. garden is $a_{1}$.
Garuga floribunda vi-pakus.
genitals
female $\sim$ p̈ile.
male $\sim$ cici.
Gerres oyena dau-dada.
get up ravur; rudu.
ghost ram̈are.
girl p̈ira hetehete, Cf. p̈ira.
give sile.
~ birth $\ddot{\text { vasusu }}$.
glad avulai.
go $h a_{3} ; \ddot{v a}$.
$\sim$ away mle.
~back mle.
$\sim$ down sivo.
$\sim$ in maco.
~ on $\ddot{v} a$ (3).
~ out alua; $\ddot{\text { malue }}$.
$\sim$ through $\ddot{v}$ a lec.
$\sim u p s a_{2}$.
goatfish humi-da, Cf. humi.
God Got; Siotatai; supe (2).
good cu ; holo ${ }_{2}$.
$\sim$-looking smat.
grandparent tapu~.
grandson tapu~.
grasp taur.
grass cuvu.
grasshopper porio.
green heca; pado.
grey sovusoho.
grill suli.
grin gigisa.
ground lep̈a.
group ruarua (2).
grouper fish rapala.
grow $\ddot{m} a u d u$.
gums gole.
guts mavusa; raga mavsa~, Cf.
raga; rali.
hair vulu.
white $\sim$ pada $_{1}$.
Halcyon chloris siho.
half sope.
hand lim̈a.
handsome smat.
happen to $\ddot{m} a$ isa $\sim$, Cf. $\ddot{m} a_{1}$.
happy avulai.
hard haura.
hate lesles te, cf. lesi.
have vari.
hawk $\ddot{\text { mala }}{ }_{1}$ (1).
he $c o_{1} ; m o ; n i a$.
head paru.
healthy cu ; holo 2 ; klin; vokovoko.
heaped up takomahi.
hear dogo.
heart lolo; mavusa.
heat up $k u$.
heel cue.
help com̈i (3); ruen.
Hemigymnus melaptarus dukoko.
hen $t$.
her $-a_{1} ;-n a$.
here kesi; ne; su.
hermit crab hotou.
heron oüa.
Hibiscus tiliaceus vi-v̈a; vusalalao.
high vurivuria.
hill vuruvuru.
him $-a_{1}$.
hinder hodo $_{1}$.
his -na.
hit lceg; nak; vcan.
hither sna.
hold taur, vari.
$\sim$ out o.'s hand sahada.
hole koko.
hollow
$\sim$ tree koho; ruguha.
$\sim$ out kode .
Honey-eater vacivcivi.
hope kila.
$\sim(\mathrm{n}.) \ddot{\mathrm{m} a r a} \mathrm{a}_{1}(3)$.
hot v̈adug.
house ima.
men's club-~ hä̈ali.
how sohe sa, Cf. sohe.
~many visa.
humiliate litovi-, Cf. lito.
hunt ele (2).
hurricane losu.
hurry sut.
hurt hac.
husband rua~.

I na $a_{1}$ nam.
idle pdogo.
if aru; de (7); co de, Cf. de; vada mo de, Cf. de; vada.
ill doco.
immediately ravur (2).
Imperata cylindrica edevu.
important lä̈a.
in $l o$; lolo.
in-between $\ddot{m} a s a \ddot{a} a(1)$.
indicate $\bar{p} i s u$.
innards mavusa; rali.
Inocarpus edulis uep̈e; vi-ce.
inside lolo.
intelligent levosai.
Intsia bijuga vi-rodo.
Ipomoea batatas kumal.
ironwood vi-rodo.
island udeude, Cf. ude.
it $-a_{1} ; c o_{1}$.
its -na.
joint mavuhi.
jump kue ${ }_{1}$.
junior rasi~2.
just pdogo; raholo.
kava hae.
wild ~ p̈ap̈alihono.
kidneys vacivacia.
kill nak; nak raha m̈are, Cf. nak.
kingfisher siho.
kitchen ima rurunu, Cf. ima.
Kleinhovia hospita vi-m̈arala.
knee pau.
knife sï̈a.
traditional ~ for pudding m̈araha.
knot mavuhi.
know levse.
kumala kumal.
Kyphosus cinerascens vavaua.
lake $a i(2)$.
Lalage leucopyga vasohi (1).
land cada (2).
language sodo (4); sodosodo.
laplap udeece.
large lap̈a; v̈alalap̈a.
laslas $\ddot{p} e \ddot{e p i}$.
last mudu (2).
Laticauda semifasciata mara ras, Cf. mara.
laugh $\ddot{m} a n a$.
$\sim$ at $\ddot{m} a n \ddot{p} a l a$, Cf. $\ddot{m} a n a$.
lay down huden.
lazy $\ddot{m} a l o k o$.
leaf $d a_{-1}$; dau.
leap $k u e_{1}$.
learn ele (3).
leave mle.
left hand $\ddot{m} a d a u$.
leg sadi ${ }_{2}$. $\sim$ 's calf maci.
lest kan.
Lethrinus sp. vava hahada.
liana asi (1).
liar kodokodo.
lid colog.
lie kode $_{1}$.
life $\ddot{m} a u d i$.
light
$\sim$ (adj.) salesale.
~(tr.) hasan; polo ${ }_{1}$.
lightning vaha.
like poe; sohe.
lip hudi-vivi.
upper ~ godigodi.
listen tapdogo.
little hetehete; vadidi.
$\mathrm{a} \sim \ddot{m} a k o m o$.
littoral carauta.
live $\ddot{m} a u d u$; roho.
liver mape.
long p̈edavu.
look kila; klav̈as.
~ for ele.
lory civi.
lost ciha.
lot (a ~) hacavua; vutiana.
louse huru.
love poe.
lungs mavusa salesale, cf. mavusa.
Lutjanus fulvus pavu.
Lutjanus gibbus pavu da-tavoa, cf. pavu.

Macropiper latifolium pääalihono.
Macropygia mackinlayi
marahuavi.
mad putu.
make vodo ${ }_{2}$; voko; $\ddot{\text { vei }} i_{2}$.
male lä̈ani; racu (1).
Malo island Rä̈apo.
man lam̈ani; racu.
mandarin maladin.
mangrove vi-cogo.
manioc maniok.
many hacavua; vutiana.
marlin aco cigo-hese, cf. aco.
marriage lahi.
marry lahi.
mat epa; sale $_{2}$.
mate rahisa; rap̈ala~.
maybe kodogo; pana.
me $-\dot{a}_{2}$.
meal hanhan.
mean de (3).
meaning radami.
measure tovo.
meat visiho.
Megapodius freycinet malá.
men's clubhouse ham̈ali.
mention sodohi-.
Metroxylon warburgii dauaro.
middle livuha.
Mikania micrantha as Merika, cf. asi.
milk susu.
Mimosa pudica as nadenade, Cf. asi; kaulu.
mind com̈i; cö̈cö̈, Cf. com̈ісот̈i.
Miscanthus floridulus vi-vada.
modify posi $i_{1}$.
molar p̈ari.
moment rugana.
month viru (3).
moon viru (2).
more ceu (3).
Morinda citrifolia huda.
morning nahodani.
mosquito mohi.
moss lumlum.
mother pua; rarna~. $\sim$-in-law tapu~ (3); ve-paliha~.
mountain vuruvuru.
mourn com̈icomï (2); ragisi-, Cf. ragi.
mouth cigo (2); vava.
move cuha; tipa ${ }_{1}$.
much vutiana.
mullet fish kede-heca.

Mulloidichthys flavolineatus
humi-da, Cf. humi.
multicoloured m̈acï̈acihi.
Musa sp. houoci; verali.
mushroom m̈asa.
muzzle cigo (1).
my -ku.
Myiagra caledonica losulosu.
Myzomela cardinalis vacivcivi.
nail pudu p̈isu~, Cf. pudu.
nakamal hä̈ali.
nakavika haviha.
nalake lahe.
namambe vi-ce.
nambangura vi-pahuda.
name hica; rove.
nandao vi-ca.
nangae gaga.
nangalat kalaro.
nangaria cihi.
naos desi.
nape of the neck hali.
Napoleon-fish vivi.
narrate store.
Naso lituratus naho m̈asaga.
natangora dauaro.
natapoa vosa.
natora vi-rodo.
navara popo.
navel puro.
nawemba uë̈e.
near ravui.
neck $u$ a.
Neolalage banksiana vasarkele; vasohi.
nephew elua~; lala; m̈ara $\sim_{3}$;
rahura .
nerve mani.
nest reo.
nettle kalaro.
never nre dan (3).
next raüalu (2).
nice $c u$; holo $_{2}$.
niece lala; velua~; ve-m̈ara $\sim$;
ve-rahura~.
night coco.
nine haisua.
no ce ${ }_{1}$; ce-re.
$\sim$ longer le (2).
noisy $\mathbf{v a o d o}$.
north Auta.
nose galsu.
not exist ce-re.
not yet $\ddot{m} i s i(2)$.
Notopteris macdonaldi hadiv
paudoudo, Cf. hadivi.
now ale (3); kesi; kesikesi.
Numenius phaeopus pilahe rasi (1).
numerous hacavua; vutiana.
obstruct hodo.
ocean rasi.
Ochrosia oppositifolia च̈adaüada.
octopus huira.
of $-n i_{2} ; n o \sim_{1}$.
offend litovi-, Cf. lito.
okay ale (1); codo.
old vacaha.
on $l o$.
$\sim$ and $\sim \ddot{v} a(4)$.
one hese.
only pdogo.
open ede.
~ sea m̈asä̈a (3).
or ren; voni.
orange moli ${ }_{1}$.
other vavono.
our

$$
\sim(\text { Excl })-\ddot{m} a m .
$$

$$
\sim(\mathrm{Incl})-c a .
$$

out (go ~) alua.
outrigger cam̈a.
outright pilai.
outside cuge.
outstrip ceu.
oven (traditional stone ~) pasule.
overtake ceu.
owl peka.
Pachycephala pectoralis vasohi udeece-v̈erali, Cf. vasohi.
paddle

$$
\sim(\text { n. }) \text { vose } e_{1} .
$$

$\sim$ (v.) sua.
Pagurus sp. hotou.
palm of the hand lolo lim̈a, Cf. lim̈a.
palm tree vi-nini.
pandanus v̈eüe.
Pangium edule lahe.
parrot civi.
~fish pono.
party hanhan.
Passiflora edulis vae-as.
passion fruit vae-as.
path sala.
pawpaw des tasale, Cf. desi.
penis cici.
people racu (3).
perhaps pana.
person racu.
photo nunu.
Picassofish cum.
picture $\ddot{m} a l a_{2} ;$ nunu .
piece $\ddot{m} a k o m o ;$ sope.
pierce cudug.
pig po.
hermaphrodite ~ dave.
pigeon huë̈e; manometo; rodo $_{2}$; tipa $a_{2}$, vapune; vomahi.
piled up takomahi.
pilot holo $_{3}$.
pineapple paniavu.
Piper methysticum hae. pit (breadfruit ~) $\ddot{m} a d a_{2}$. pity (take~on) comí (2).
place cada; naura; peli.
plan cö̈cö̈, Cf. comicom̈i;
$\ddot{m a r a} a_{1}(3)$.
plant $h a_{4}$.
plate doüa.
play dodo $_{2}$.
Plectorhynchus gibbosus
cuhuvoru.
Plectorhynchus orientalis daga $\ddot{p} a h u d a$.
plenty hacavua; vutiana.
plus comana.
point at $\ddot{p} i s u$.
poke cudug; p̈isu.
Polyscias scutellaria p̈ep̈ei.
Pometia pinnata vi-ca.
poor tilavono, Cf. tilavo ~.
Porphyrio pao.
post cada (3).
pot ciliv.
potato (sweet ~) kumal.
pour sure ${ }_{1}$.
power paua.
pray skul.
precisely raholo.
pretentious m̈agis.
prick cudug; $\ddot{p} i s u$.
probably kodogo.
promontory pedepede, Cf. pede.
properly otome.
provide sile.

Pterocarpus indicus vi-vila.
Pteropus anetianus kada hada, Cf. kada.
Pteropus tonganus kada m̈anu, Cf. kada; $\ddot{m} a n u$.
Ptilinopus greyii vapune.
Ptilinopus tannensis tipa ${ }_{2}$. pudding udeece.
puff sodo (2).
pull deüe.
$\sim$ canoe cudi.
puny $\ddot{m} a d a g a$.
purchase voli.
push ran $_{2}$.
put huden.
$\sim$ into sohon.
question $\ddot{\text { ve lesi }}$.
quick sut.
quickly vila.
quiet $\ddot{m} a l u m$.
rain usa.
rainbow nиепие.
rat hadivi.
raw pado.
rayfish avai.
reach kaka; rkel; vodo ${ }_{1}$.
read tovo.
realise levse.
really holo $_{2}$.
recent mudu (2).
red hada.
reed edevu; vi-vada.
reflection nunu.
regret comii.
reject litovi-, Cf. lito; vahuden.
relative vuguvugu~.
remain roho.
remote deci; vono (1).
remove vahuden.
resemble sohe.
rest $\ddot{\text { mapu }}$.
return mle.
reveal vse.
Rhipidura fuliginosa vasarkele (1).

Rhizophora vi-cogo.
rib daca.
rice daisi.
rich tavtavu.
rifle sodo (2).
right hand $\ddot{m} a r u a$.
ripe $\ddot{m} e n a$.
river ai (2).
road sala.
rock sule.
roll up maluhu.
roof vaparu.
root hodo $_{2}$.
rope asi.
row sua.
run
~ away dovo; sihiri.
$\sim$ (liquid) dodo $_{1}$.
Saccharum edule viso.
Saccharum officinarum rovu.
sad comi.
sago dauaro.
sail hä̈ani.
salt rasi $_{1}(2)$.
sand onono.
sandalwood piodo.
Santo island Naura-lap̈a, Cf.
naura.
Sargocentron tieroides aparavusa.
Satan Setan.
say de; vadai.
scabies, scabious hovi.
scalp pilo.
Scarus blochi pono.
school skul (2).
scorn m̈an p̈ala, Cf. $\ddot{m} a n a$.
scorpion novu.
scrape $k a d u_{2}$.
scratch $k a d u_{2}$.
sea rasi ${ }_{1}$.
go ~-wards sivo (2a).
search ele.
sea-snake mara ras, Cf. mara.
seaweed lumlum.
second-born vodo-rahu, Cf. vodo ${ }_{1}$;
vodo-dua, Cf. vodo ${ }_{1}$.
Securinega flexuosa vi-cudulace.
see lesi.
seed pidi.
seek ele.
seize taur, vari.
self (my~) hase~.
sell ecene.
Semecarpus vitiensis vi-olas.
send sohan.
sensitive grass kaulu.
Serranidae spp. rapala.
seven haipiru.
several salahese.
shadow nunu.
shark $\ddot{p} a h e u$.
she $c o_{1} ; m o ; n i a$.
shell pudu.
she-oak vi-adu.
shin bone lotu.
shoot
~(tr.) sodo (2).
$\sim$ of plant culi.
shore carauta.
short petepete.
shoulder pili.
shout ulo.
show vse.
shut colog.
sick doco.
side p̈aisa; raüalu.
Siganus doliatus polo ${ }_{2}$.
significance radami.
silent roho $\ddot{m} a l u m$, Cf. $\ddot{m} a l u m$.
silhouette nunu.
similar sohe.
since mo tapulo lo ..., Cf. tapulo.
sing vavere.
sink colo.
sister ve-sohori~.
elder ~ ve-roha~. younger ~ ve-rasi . ~-in-law ve-rahu~; ve-rasi~; ve-roha~; ve-sohori~; vuggo~ (1).
sit sadai.
six haiono.
skin hudi.
dead $\sim$, ulcer lagalaga.
skull pogori.
sleep goro.
slim m̈adaga.
slitgong pelo.
slow m̈alum.
small hetehete; vadidi.
smell pon; pona, Cf. pon.
smile gigisa.
snake mara.
snapper pavu.
snout cigo (1).
so ale (4).
$\sim$ that $\ddot{m} a r a_{2}(2)$.
soar avu (2).
solid haura.
some re $_{1}$; ruarua.
~-one mo hese, Cf. hese; re ${ }_{1}$.
~-thing re hina.
~-times nre dan.
son naru~; tu~.
~-in-law paliha~.
song vere.
sore solo.
sorry comii.
south Tahuna.
space $\ddot{m} a s a \ddot{v} a$.
speak vadai.
spear sadi.
speech sodo (3); sodosodo.
sperm cida.
Sphyraena genia dagodago.
spider pada ${ }_{2}$.
spirit ram̈are.
spit lito.
Spondias cythera desi.
spring up sodo (1).
squeeze out coconut cream vidis.
squid huira.
squirrelfish aparavusa.
stand up rudu.
star viru sadasada, Cf. viru.
start tapulo.
~ again vari.
stay roho.
steep vurivuria.
stem hapasi.
stiff vurivuria.
still $\ddot{m} i s i ; \mathrm{ro}_{2}$ (2).
stingray avai.
stink $\ddot{m} a p u h u$.
stomach page; raga ha~, Cf. raga.
stone sule.
oven ~ sule voso, Cf. sule.
stop hilu.
$\sim$ a hole colog; hodo $_{1}$.
story sodosodo; store.
straight holo ${ }_{2}$; raholo.
stranger vinano.
strike lceg; nak; vcan (3).
string asi.
strong suiha.
style posi $i_{2}$.
suddenly ravur (2).
sugarcane rovu.
Sula leucogaster kakato.
summit pede.
sun alo.
Sunday sande.
sunny aloalo, Cf. alo.
surgeonfish taraüadoko.
swallow vakadakada.
swamphen pao.
sweat masmasu.
sweet yam tavadi.
swell sosohoni.
swift sut.
swiftlet vakadakada.
swim $k a d u_{1}$.
swordfish aco cigo-hese, Cf. aco.
sympathise with com̈i (2).
Syzygium malaccense haviha.
table tep.
tack posi $_{1}$ (1).
tail kede; vici ${ }_{2}$.
take vari.
~ away vahuden; vari (4a).
tale store.
talk sodo (3); sodosodo; vadai.
tall p̈edavu (2).
tamanu vi-p̈ahuda.
Tangoa island Rago.
taro pera.
wild ~ via.

tear ai m̈ara~, Cf. ai.
tell store; vadai.
tempest losu.
ten gavulu; sagavulu.
Terminalia catappa vosa.
test $\ddot{v} e$ lesi.
testicles laso.
thank mece.
that honi; hosu; vada (4).
the $d i ; v a_{1}$.
their $-d a_{2}$.
them $-d a_{2}$.
then ale (2).
there honi; hosu; kia.
over ~ $\ddot{v} a$.
they $h a_{2} ; m o ; n i d a_{1}$.
thick vonoho, Cf. vono.
thigh vose $_{2}$.
thin $\ddot{m} a d a g a ; \ddot{m} a v i n u v i n u$.
thing hina.
think comicom̈i; de (4).
this kesi; ne; nene.
thought cö̈i; cö̈cö̈, Cf.
com̈icomi.
thread asi.
three rolu (1).
throat cocole.
throw plane.
thrust sadi.
thumb $\ddot{p} i s$ paru-po, Cf. $\ddot{p} i s u$.
thus sohena, Cf. sohe.
tie visi.
timber pudupudu.
time rugana; $\ddot{v} a h a_{1}(1)$.
tip pede.
tired $\ddot{m} a l o k o$.
to $i s a \sim \sim_{2} ; n i \sim_{1}$.
today hede; nahade.
toe vadago sadi~, Cf. vadago.
together pultan; rolu (2).
tomorrow p̈aivuho.
tongue $\ddot{m} e \ddot{m} e$.
tooth hoco ${ }_{2}$.
top pede.
torn macudu.
totally povi.
touch rkel.
tough haura.
towards $n i \sim_{1} ; \ddot{v} a(2)$.
transport lig.
tree $h a_{4}$; viha.
Trichoglossus haematodus civi.
trick kode.
trunk laho; para.
try lpo; traim; ve lesi.
turmeric cohi.
turn posi $i_{1}$ (1).
turtle ivua.
twin apple $\ddot{v} a d a \ddot{v} a d a$.
two dua.
two-fruit $\ddot{v} a d a \ddot{v} a d a$.
Tyto alba peka.
ugly $t e$.
uncle elua~; lala; $\ddot{m} a r a \sim 3$; rahura~.
under karano.
underneath $d u d u$.
understand levse.
unripe pado.
until vada (3).
up kaura; saha; sahani. go ~ $s a_{2}$.
urinate $\ddot{m} e r e ; ~ t i l a t i l a . ~$
urine $\ddot{m} e r e$.
us (Incl) $-c a$.
use vari (7).
uvula alovi-ha~, Cf. alovi.
Valamugil seheli kede-heca.
vanish ciha.
Variola louti rapala hahada, Cf. rapala.
vein mani.
very holo ${ }_{2}$; vutiana.
village cada (2).
vine asi (1).
violently pilai.
voice leo.
vomit lua.
vulva pile.
waist cada ruvaruva, cf. ruva.
wait sovi.
walk $\ddot{\text { vano. }}$
want de (5); dogo (5); poe.
war vudo.
wash hoco ${ }_{1}$.
watch kila; kläaas.
water ai.
salt ~ rasi ${ }_{1}$.
wattle vi-madi.
wave
~(n.) suhusuhu.
$\sim$ to alovi.
way posi $i_{2}$ sala.
we
~(Excl) kam; kä̈a; kä̈am.
$\sim\left(\right.$ Incl) cam $_{1} ; c o_{2} ; n i c a$.
weak $\ddot{m} a l u m$.
wedding lahi.
week wik.
weep ragi.
well ale (1); codo; otom̈e.
west Harua.
~-wards sivo (2).
western tasale.
wet wet.
what $s a_{1}$.
when lo dani, Cf. dani; de (7);
vada mo de, Cf. de; vada (2).
~ (Interr.) gisa.
whenever de (7); vada mo de, Cf.
de; tade.
where $\ddot{v}_{1}$.
which sava.
while pele.
whimbrel pilahe rasi (1).
whistle veculu.
white lulu.
who $s e$.
why mo ro, Cf. rodo $_{1}$; $\ddot{\text { mara sa, Cf. }}$ $s a_{1}$.
wicked levosai.
wife naivou ; pira.
wild ila.
~ area hudara (2).
$\sim$ variety of a plant hohono.
will $d e$ (5).
wind lagi.
wing hapa.
wise levosai.
wish de (5).
with isa $\sim 2$; nida $\sim 2$; pedesi $\sim$; rolu
(3); vari (7).
woman p̈ira.
womb ravu.
wood $h a_{4}$; pudupudu; viha.
word sodo (3).

wovile tavadi.
wrap havu.
wrasse dukoko.
wrinkles maluhu naho~, Cf.
maluhu.
wrist mavuhi lï̈a, Cf. lim̈a.
write uli.

Xanthosoma sagittifolium pera tasale, Cf. pera.
yam cam $_{2} ;$ pevu.
sweet $\sim$ tavadi.
wild ~ pevu hohono, Cf. pevu; suma.
~ stick kodi.
yellow codiha.
yesterday nanovi.
you
$\sim(\mathrm{Sg})-k o ;$ niko; o; om.
~ (Pl) ha $a_{1}$, ham; kä̈m.
young uluvo.
your
$\sim(\mathrm{Sg})-m$.
$\sim(\mathrm{Pl})-\ddot{m i m}$.

Zingiber sp. cohi.
Zosterops valalaha.

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## List of abbreviations

Below is a list of abbreviations, which are mainly used in our word-to-word translations. We also provide the page number in which the corresponding element is presented in detail: the reader may use this as a second index.
1/2/3s first/second/third person singular ..... p. 41
$2 / 3 \mathrm{P} \quad$ second/third person plural ..... 41
1EX first person exclusive (plural) ..... 41
1in first person inclusive (plural) ..... 41
...:I Irrealis mood clitic (for example ..... 421Ex:I)
...:R Realis mood clitic (for example ..... 42 1EX:R)
3:R third person realis, $\mathrm{sg} / \mathrm{pl}$ ..... 41
ANA anaphora ..... di ..... 52
ASS assertive (on deictics) ..... $-n(i)$ ..... 77
COM comitative suffix ..... $-n(i)$ ..... 43
CST construct suffix ..... 96
DETR detransitiviser $\ddot{m} a-$ ..... 146
DRINK classifier for drink possession $\ddot{m} a-$ ..... 98
DX deictic (of grade $1,2,3$ ) ..... 69
DUP reduplication of the radical ..... 37
ECON classifier for economical possession pula- ..... 98
FOOD classifier for food possession ha- ..... 98
INT intensifier for some adjectives ..... -ha ..... 92
LOC Locative preposition ..... 156
NEG negation ..... 162
NUM human numeraliser rapudo ..... 86
OBL oblique preposition (ni-) ..... 159
PERS personal nominaliser mada ..... 53
PFT Perfect aspect ..... re ..... 122
PL plural marker dai ..... 54
POc Proto Oceanic
POSS general possessive classifier ..... no- ..... 97
PRG progressive aspect ..... ro ..... 126

| PROH | Prohibitive/'lest' | kan | 168 |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| REL | relativiser |  | 174 |
| RES | resultative auxiliary (+ adjectives) | raha | 93 |
| SEQ | Sequential/Future aspect | pa | 118 |
| SUG | Suggestive | ro | 128 |
| TR | transitivising suffix | $-i$ | 131 |

## Index

The following index is designed for the use of both Oceanic linguists and typologists. All the remarkable facts we state about Araki are listed here, together with a reference to other languages and typological insights.

Numbers in bold typeface refer to a page in which the item is more specifically detailed, or is of particular interest for general linguistics; numbers in italics refer to tables and recapitulative data. Cross-references within this index are indicated by a right arrow $(\rightarrow)$. Finally, notice the use of the sign ' $\sim$ ' referring to the main entry. For example, the entry

```
verb
    ~ of movement 64, 137, 180 }->\mathrm{ directional adverbs
```

must be read: 'Verbs of movement' are mentioned on pp.64, 137 and especially on p.180; but see also the page numbers on the entry 'directional adverbs'.
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[^0]:    Although we did not meet him, we also know of the Pastor Varisipiti Livo, who was involved in translation work, and was highly concerned with the survival of his language Araki (see Varisipiti and Bogiri-Vari 1998). Unfortunately, he passed away in 1999, at the age of sixty two.

[^1]:    2 See Tryon (1976, 1996)

[^2]:    3 This figure appears in Miller (1990), who wrote a detailed history of how the Presbyterian Church first settled among the islands of Vanuatu.
    4 For all these social and sociolinguistic data, I am most grateful to H. Bogiri-Vari for her precious help; a great part of the present introduction will be based on her information (BogiriVari 2000).

    5 The history of Sope, as well as the origin of its name, appear in a holy legend which we give at the end of this book ( 88.1 .2 p.205).

[^3]:    6 The name of some of them were mentioned in our Foreword. Future sociolinguistic survey should provide more precise information about each speaker individually.

[^4]:    7 See Wurm (1991) and Dixon (1991), among many other studies on this issue.
    8 In fact, the grammar sketch which was written by Ray (1926) shows that the two languages are quite distinct from each other, especially from the syntactic point of view. References to Tangoa will be made throughout this study - see our Index, 'other languages'. On the other hand, the little documentation we have been able to find on neighbouring languages (e.g. Clark 2000) suggests Araki is profoundly close to - or is even a dialect of - the language of Malo.

[^5]:    ${ }^{10}$ Interestingly, we observed a very similar situation in the northern area of Vanuatu, more precisely in Vanua Lava (Banks Is). In the village of Mosina, the younger generations have shifted to the use of Vüres, which is becoming the dominant language on the island, with about 400 sp.; the traditional language of Mosina, in turn, is dying out, with only eight speakers left. Once again, the reason for this language death has nothing to do with colonisation or modern creolisation, but is assigned to the dissymmetry of inter-community marriages across the last generations (information provided by Chief Tevêt of Mosina, June 1998).
    ${ }^{11}$ The name of this institute features as Titiai ('TTI'), in the holy story of the missionary Sope -

[^6]:    14 Tryon himself is aware of this possibility, as he points out in a footnote: 'Phonetic transcription of lists [Tangoa] and [Araki] is uncertain' (1976:13).
    ${ }^{15}$ Our own lexicon (Chapter 9 below) shows competing forms for such words as vapa ~ vapa 'cave', lep̈a ~ lepa 'earth'.

[^7]:    16 The total size of our transcribed corpus is 3990 words (see fn. 189 p .189 ). The reader will find a more detailed presentation of our oral corpus, together with a selection of literary texts, in $\S 8$ p. 201 .

[^8]:    ${ }^{17}$ See Tryon (1976:52).

[^9]:    $\overline{18}$ Araki /ts/ has merged two distinct POc phonemes, $*^{n} d$ (e.g. /tsai $<{ }^{*^{n} d a R a q}$ 'blood') and at

[^10]:    19 Phonetic correspondences are almost systematic between TGO /t/ and ARK /r/ (<*t), on the one hand, and TGO /r/ and ARK /r/ (< * $r$ ), on the other hand; e.g. TGO/turu/ = ARK /ruru/ 'stand'.
    20 The sociolinguistic background of this sort of phonological simplification was described in §1.2.1 p.5.

[^11]:    ${ }^{21}$ From the historical point of view, Araki has generally lost POc glides (*waiR > ai 'water'; *kayu > ha 'tree'); conversely, what may be heard as a phonetic glide, and which we claim to be phonemically a cluster of two vowels, corresponds historically to sequences of different syllables, sometimes through loss of certain consonants: ua < *Ruqa 'neck', sui < *suRi 'bone', leo < *leqo 'voice'.

[^12]:    22 On the other hand, some sequences of three vowels like -aia-, normally stressed on $\mathrm{i} /$, were sometimes heard as two syllables ['aja], with a stress apparently moving to preceding low vowel; this point needs checking.
    ${ }^{23}$ This convention recalls certain (American) dialects of English, e.g. ladder pronounced /'lærəI/.

[^13]:    24 The example chosen here is nevertheless non-ambiguous, since ragis is the allomorphic form of ragi ~ rag 'cry', appearing only when combined with the -i suffix to form a transitive form (see pp.131, 134). Other verbs may be less clear.

[^14]:    ${ }^{25}$ For a similar explanation of final-vowel deletion in Paama, another language from Vanuatu, see Crowley (1982:19); but Araki facts are not necessarily the same as in Paama.
    ${ }^{26}$ Proto Oceanic also had final consonants, but these have subsequently been lost, in such a way that all lexemes ended in vowel, e.g. *kamaliR 'men's house' > *kamali (Ross 1998:17). The innovation we are mentioning here takes place after this stage, with a form like ARK hamal.

[^15]:    $\overline{27}$ From a typological point of view, the word-stress situation in Araki resembles pretty much the one in Spanish, both synchronically and diachronically:-V words are usually stressed on the penultimate syllable (Sp. mesa 'table'), while most -C words, which often originate in the loss of a former final vowel, bear stress on their final vowel (Sp. sentir < Lat. sentīe 'feel').
    28 With the help of Mwotlap na-diy 'coconut crab', we can attempt to reconstruct a (POc-level) root **n daúRu>(pre-Araki) *tsa'uu > $\mid t s a^{\prime} u l^{\prime}$; indeed, Ross Clark (2000) proposes *daweRu for PNCV. Of course, the final $/ \omega /$ of cau, since it is stressed, is not concerned by final-vowel deletion.

[^16]:    $\overline{30}$ This is more accurate than to speak about vowel harmony, since what is being propagated is not just a phonological feature (rounding, etc.), but the vowel itself; and because it involves no more than one syllable each time, not the whole word.

[^17]:    31 The complete paradigms will be presented in §5.4.2 p.132.

[^18]:    32 There are also two different transitive forms for these two meanings of the verb sodo (see Table $5-44$ p.131); this suggests that they correspond to two homophonous verbs sodo 'blow, spring, shoot at' v. sodo 'talk'. The semantic metaphor which is perceptible between them is either a matter of diachrony, or just an optic illusion.

[^19]:    34 The conditions under which noun predicates may take subject clitics are discussed in §6.1.1 p.151.

[^20]:    35 Numerals will be reviewed in $\S 4.5 .4 \mathrm{p} .80$, including a discussion on dual forms.

[^21]:    ${ }^{36}$ Similar facts were reported for other Oceanic languages, like Port-Sandwich in Vanuatu (Charpentier 1979:180), Hoava in the Solomons (Ross 1998:26) or Saliba in PNG (Margetts 1999). See our discussion in fn. 137 p. 149.

[^22]:    ${ }^{37}$ Pacific languages generally show similar semantic values for reduplication (Lynch 1998).

[^23]:    ${ }^{38}$ In fact, it is possible that the first step of the noun-adjective derivation does not involve reduplication, cf. sui 'bone' $\rightarrow$ sui-ha 'strong' (fn. 83 p. 92 ); then the adjective *macihi(-ha) 'coloured (?)' duplicates for an intensive meaning: m̈acimacihi(-ha) '(very) colourful'.

[^24]:    ${ }^{40}$ Such abstract nouns referring to verbal notions are often used as noun-modifiers, like in the 'cooking-house' example. Other examples of this structure are given in §4.2.2 p.48.

[^25]:    ${ }^{41}$ Our corpus shows no simple sentence of the type 'This is me.', with a free pronoun filling in the predicate slot. This suggests such identifications use other strategies than equational pattern.
    ${ }^{42}$ It is a suffix and not a clitic because it affects the stress of the preceding word: 'niko $\rightarrow$ ni'ko-ni (see §2.3.1 p.21).

[^26]:    The syntax and semantics attached to these two categories will be discussed in $\S 5.2$ p. 105 .
    ${ }^{44}$ Most interestingly, this kind of alternation between vowel-ending clitics for Irrealis (e.g. na, o, ha) and their Realis counterpart taking a nasal consonant (resp. nam, om, ham) certainly

[^27]:    ${ }^{46}$ These prepositions will be presented in §6.2.1 p.156.

[^28]:    7 More will be said about prepositions in §6.2.1 p.156.

[^29]:    ${ }^{48}$ The key to this use lies in the etymology of mada, which is no doubt PNCV ${ }^{*}$ mwera 'child, person of (a place)'; Ross Clark (2000) reports a similar use in Malo. As the word mada grammaticised into an empty nominaliser (cf. mada Tanna), the adjective 'small' became obligatory in the phrases for 'child'. Although it has not been reported for other adjectives, mada cannot be used alone in modern Araki, and is therefore no longer a noun.

[^30]:    ${ }^{49}$ French is even more drastic on these restrictions, since it systematically forbids sentences like
    *Une femme habite là-haut; instead it will use two-clause strategies, like lly a une femme qui habite là-haut, or Je connais une femme, elle habite là-haut 'I know a woman, she lives up there'.

[^31]:    ${ }^{50}$ An alternate syntactic analysis of this sentence would consider the adverbial (locative) phrase lo ima rurunu as being the predicate, thus leaving <racu mo hese> as the subject: see §6.1.2.4 p. 154.

[^32]:    51 This is perfectly consistent with the high development of clause-chaining strategies in Araki (see §7.3 p.189).
    ${ }^{52}$ Exceptionally, the Irrealis subject clitic co is optional with hese, though obligatory with other numerals: ... na han re v̈erali hese/co hese - but ... na han re v̈erali *dua/co dua ('... two bananas').

[^33]:    53 And from a typological point of view: 'Perhaps the most common way of marking indefinites explicitly is by the use of the numeral 'one' to mark referential-indefinites' (Givón 1984:432).

[^34]:    54 The operation coded by re is different from definite non-specific (i.e., generic) reference, which globally points to the abstract notion, without taking a sample (e.g. 'a spear to shoot fish with'). We would never have re in this case.

[^35]:    ${ }^{56}$ See §5.3.6 p.122.

[^36]:    $\overline{57}$ From the typological point of view, the very same semantic process occurs in Mandarin Chinese, with the predicate you 'there is/have' also being a perfect marker. In fact, English have (e.g. I have a car - I have slept) shows a similar cognitive path.

[^37]:    ${ }^{58}$ This phonological process was described in §2.4 p.26.

[^38]:    59 This correlation between negation and non-specificity of the referent is strongly supported by typological evidence (Givón 1984:331, 391).

[^39]:    61. In these strategies, the predicate can be mo hese 'one' ( $\$ 4.3 .5 .2$ p.56), or a locative phrase ( $\S 6.1 .2 .4$ p.154): e.g. Dipipa mo hese ( 10 ima-m). 'There is an axe (in your house)'.
[^40]:    62 See §4.3.1 p. 51 and §4.3.2 p. 52 respectively.

[^41]:    63 According to us, it would be erroneous to describe this three-fold contrast in terms of physical distance as is traditionally done - e.g. proximate, intermediate, distant (Lynch 1998). All the Vanuatu languages we know of organise their system rather with relation to the person, in a way similar to Latin hic, iste, ille. The evidence which rules out the 'physical distance' interpretation, at least in Araki, is that the third-level demonstrative can be used in a very close location (e.g. on the speaker's body): this strategy is used when the speaker points at a spatial spot - wherever it is - instead of referring to somebody's abstract 'sphere'.
    ${ }^{64}$ Our corpus actually shows an extra form nio-su-n, which we suspect to be a variant of some form in Table 4-39.
    ${ }^{65}$ The two elements ni 'DX2' and -n(i) 'Assertive' must be carefully distinguished from each other.

[^42]:    ${ }^{66}$ See $\S 2.5 .1 \mathrm{p} .28$. Notice that a similar kind of vowel assimilation is suggested by the parallel between hosu/no-hosu and ne/ne-ne.
    ${ }^{67}$ For directional verbs and adverbs, see fn. 196 p. 193.

[^43]:    ${ }^{69}$ An alternate analysis would consider the whole NP to be the predicate: ima nohosu 'it is this house (in which ...)'. Such sentences are quite difficult to interpret correctly.
    ${ }^{70}$ More will be said about relative clauses in $\S 7.2 .1$ p.173.
    ${ }^{71}$ See discussion in $\S 4.7$ p. 96.

[^44]:    72 Araki has retained the decimal system of Proto Oceanic, contrary to several other Vanuatu

[^45]:    languages which have turned to a quinary organisation - e.g. Mota in the north (Codrington 1885:302), Port-Sandwich (Charpentier 1979:119) in the centre, Lenakel in the south (Lynch 1998).

    Compare them also to the second sentence in the next paragraph: Dan co rolu co iso ...

[^46]:    'The two of you, do you want to eat something?'

[^47]:    75 This myth is reproduced in §8.1.1 p.202.
    ${ }^{76}$ This tale can be found in $\S 8.1 .1$ p. 212 .

[^48]:    This marker (mo) hese was studied in §4.3.5 p.54.

[^49]:    ${ }^{8}$ Adjuncts were defined in §3.1.5 p.35.
    ${ }^{79}$ It is possible that the form povia contains the suffix -i-; however, since the radical already ends in $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and this cannot be checked, we decided not to represent it in the gloss (see $\S 5.4 .2$ p.132).

[^50]:    ${ }^{80}$ The specificity feature also proves to be crucial in other points of Araki grammar: see $\S 4.3 .7$ p.68, §5.4.3.3 p.139.

[^51]:    ${ }^{81}$ It changes to -ho after a radical vowel/o/: see §2.5.2.1 p.28.
    82 Its syntactic behaviour is very similar to the adverb hěn in Mandarin Chinese, traditionally glossed as 'very', which is required in assertive sentences, but generally ungrammatical in others.

    83 This pair also exists in Tangoa, suggesting to Ray (1926:362) a suffix -ha, spelt $c a$, which would 'add an abstract meaning' to the root. Obviously this definition is not sufficient.

[^52]:    ${ }^{84}$ Another case is suggested by the double pair holo 'straight, good'/raholo 'straight, rigid', whose origin is *takolo. The Tangoa form TGO tataholo, which corresponds to the reduplicated
    (?) form raraholo in Araki is reported by Ray to bear a prefix $t a$ whose presence 'is not definitely made out' (1926:362).

[^53]:    Their paradigm was presented in §4.1.4 p.46.
    ${ }^{86}$ Our corpus shows a couple of dubious forms, where a human possessor is preceded by the third person suffix -na instead of -n(i); yet these two suffixes must be distinguished, since they did not merge in Araki, contrary to many other languages of Vanuatu.

[^54]:    87 The marking of transitivity follows exactly the same categories as the suffix -ni: human NPs and proper nouns + personified animals + place names. See §5.4.3.4 p.141.

[^55]:    Independent pronouns do not appear here, because instead of being a part of a NP, they usually

[^56]:    behave as global NPs themselves.
    The nature and ordering of such possessive bundles was presented in $\S 4.7 .2$ p.97.

[^57]:    90 They will all be reviewed in §6.1 p.151; see also a summary in Table $6-48$ p. 155 .
    91 We speak about verb phrases because subject clitics most often associate with verbs; but it should be kept in mind that other parts of speech may take the position of a verb: see §5.1.1 p. 103 .

[^58]:    92 See $\S 7.3$ p.189. Verb serialisations are exposed in $\S 5.5$ p.147.
    ${ }^{93}$ For a general presentation of this semantic opposition on a typological perspective, see Givón (1984:284).

[^59]:    ${ }^{94}$ Givón, somehow misleadingly, considers yes/no questions to be 'obligatorily irrealis in their modality' (1984:286); Araki proves this statement to be incomplete.

[^60]:    95 We showed that Irrealis forms are almost systematic with the non-specific/partitive quantifier re 'some', which does not point to any object in particular, but has a virtual reference. Therefore this quantifier is compatible with an Irrealis sentence like English I want to write a letter, but it is not with Realis I wrote a letter (see §4.3.6.2 p.60).
    ${ }^{96}$ For an event to be semantically non-specific, as for an object, implies that reference is not made to any actual event already existing (e.g. I went there last week $\rightarrow$ Realis), but to a still virtual action in the future or in someone's imagination (e.g. I wish I could go there $\rightarrow$ Irrealis). The semantic and pragmatic properties of such non-specific events are totally different from Realis events, though we shall not insist on this point here.

[^61]:    97 'If the main clause is true, then the complement clause must also be true' (Givón 1984:124; 1990:520).

    98 This sentence was mentioned, together with its Realis counterpart, in our study of mo hese 'one': see §4.3.5.1 p. 55 'Indefiniteness and modality'.

[^62]:    99 With 123 instances out of 3990 words, de comes just after mo (830): see fn. 189 p.189.

[^63]:    $\overline{100}$ This issue is presented in $\S 4.3 .6 .7$ p. 65 and $\S 6.3 .3$ p.164.

[^64]:    ${ }^{101}$ The linguistic mechanism of pa corresponds exactly to the Bislama word jas ~ jes; e.g. Oli tokbaot finis long 1985, gogo i kasem 1990 wok i jes stat. 'It was discussed in 1985, but it was only in 1990 that work commenced' (Crowley 1995, emphasis mine). This structure results from the adaptation of English just to a pa-type structure in certain Vanuatu languages.

[^65]:    $\overline{102}$ In our presentation of Irrealis ( $\S 5.2 .1 .2$ p.107), we mentioned that although a simple Irrealis may translate our Future, this is usually done with the particle pa.

[^66]:    ${ }^{104}$ This proves that the subject of iso is not that of the first verb (e.g. ${ }^{*}$ I have slept I finished), but the event itself: e.g. I have slept it finished.

[^67]:    105 This is, according to us, not only the semantic description of Araki mo iso, but also of Bislama finis (<English finish): e.g. the translation in Bislama of both sentences above would be, respectively, Kakae blong mi i lus! and Kakae blong mi i lus finis! In other terms, ARK iso and BSL finis both presuppose that the event itself was pre-constructed in the speaker's mind, and therefore cannot be informative.

[^68]:    106 To draw a relation between the verb stay and the progressive aspect is typologically very common, especially in the Oceanic area; cf. Bislama stap, in Hem i stap long Vila 'He is in Vila' and Hem i stap trink kava 'He is drinking kava'. As for the phonological reduction roho > ro, see §2.3.5 p.25.
    ${ }^{107}$ In our literary corpus, 19 out of 42 instances of ro are with the verb roho.

[^69]:    ${ }^{108}$ As a consequence, the test with ro cannot be used to recognise object incorporation. The situation is different in other languages of Vanuatu like Mwotlap, in which VP-final clitics keep direct objects out of the verb phrase; this makes it easy to recognise incorporated objects, since they do not belong to the same side of the boundary.

[^70]:    ${ }^{109}$ These were listed in Table 4-33 p. 45.

[^71]:    ${ }^{112}$ This is usually described as a case of 'thematic consonant' (Lynch 1998).
    ${ }^{113}$ Knowing that ARK $/ \mathrm{h} /<\operatorname{POc} * k$, it would be tempting to explain this -hi- transitive ending on

[^72]:    sodo-hi-, as a possible instance of POc suffix *-aki(ni) 'remote object' (Pawley and Reid 1980); but just one example is too little evidence for such a hypothesis.
    ${ }^{114}$ Another problem with that suffix -i, is that it may disappear through productive phonological deletion rules (see $\S 2.3 .2 \mathrm{p} .21$, and fn.24): e.g. the transitive form of the verb nak 'strike' is nak-i; but it sometimes surfaces as nak, thus leading to a confusion with the unsuffixed form.
    ${ }^{115}$ There is no possibility, for a verb compatible with $-\mathbf{i}$, to take an object suffix directly: e.g. huden 'put down' can appear as huden, huden-i or huden-i-a, but never as *huden-a.

[^73]:    116 Just like verbs, some adjuncts cannot take suffixes for morphological reasons: e.g. hodo 'in a blocking manner' $\rightarrow$ Om rudu hodo mara-ku 'You are standing-blocking my eyes' (so that I can't see the TV, etc.) - we have hodo instead of *hodo-i-a.

[^74]:    $\overline{117}$ This important point was discussed in the chapter dedicated to re: see §4.3.6.2 p. 60 'Partitive re and transitivity issues'.
    118 As we said before, other verbs would be blind to such a contrast, for purely morphological reasons: e.g. if the verb ul 'write' was to be replaced by tovo 'read' in similar sentences, we would have respectively Na tovo re leta 'I shall read a letter' and Nam tovo leta 'I read a letter'.

[^75]:    ${ }^{119}$ See Givón $(1984: 72,414)$.
    ${ }^{120}$ See Hopper and Thompson (1980).

[^76]:    ${ }^{121}$ This was observed in our developments about the partitive article re ( $\$ 4.3 .6 .2 \mathrm{p} .60$ ), and about the distribution of moods in the sentence (see fn. 95 and 96 p .108 ).
    ${ }^{122}$ This correlation is general among languages: 'Human communication is by and large - or 'prototypically' - about real events [realis] and referential individuals' (Givón 1984:434).
    ${ }^{123}$ What looks like an exception, in fact, does not invalidate the general rule stated before, about the crucial role played by object referentiality. Rather, it suggests to refine this notion of referentiality by also considering the pragmatic level, in the continuity of T . Givón's typological observations: 'The morpho-syntactic marking systems in natural languages are sensitive to pragmatic referentiality rather than to semantic referentiality' (Givón 1984:427, emphasis mine).

[^77]:    ${ }^{124}$ Remarkably, the marking of possession with the Construct suffix -n(i) follows exactly the same categories as for transitivity, i.e., human NPs and proper nouns + personified animals + place names. See §4.7.1 p.96.

[^78]:    $\sqrt{125}$ Not only the word racu 'man' refers to any person, male or female, but it has also grammaticised as an indefinite word for 'somebody', referring to any animate subject. In the tale of the coconut crab, the presence of this animal is expressed with the same word: Racu mo hese mo kadumia laho vinini 'Somebody [ ${ }^{*}$ a man] was scraping the trunk of the palmtree ... (it was a coconut crab)'. This semantic generalisation reinforces the paradoxical tendency of the word racu not to be treated linguistically as human.
    ${ }^{126}$ This linguistic paradox, for a generic noun for humans to be treated like non-humans, appears in another language of the same area, Mwotlap (personal data): the noun et 'person', contrary to all other human nouns, behaves like non-human terms in the syntax of possession and argumenthood. This suggests that this phenomenon is more widespread/natural than would be expected.
    ${ }^{127}$ As we explained in §4.1.1.2 p.42, this does not concern First exclusive + Second plural persons, for which no object suffix is used: e.g. Nam ragis kamim ro 'I am crying for you [PL]'.

[^79]:    ${ }^{128}$ The question of ambiguous number marking was presented in $\S 4.5 .2$ p.79.

[^80]:    ${ }^{129}$ See Margetts (1999); Ross (1998:25) refers to POc 'anti-causative' prefix *ma-.
    ${ }^{130}$ The prefix v̈a comes from POc causativiser ${ }^{*}$ pa-/*paka- (Ross 1998:26).
    ${ }^{131}$ In this situation, it is likely that $\ddot{\text { vahani }}$ is no longer perceived as having a prefix, but it has lexicalised into a simple verb 'feed'.

[^81]:    ${ }^{132}$ In analysing Tangoa, Ray (1926:364) suggests that TGO tha- (ARK v̈a-) is the short form of the verb TGO thai (ARK v̈ei), both being used in causative structures; we do not believe this is correct.

[^82]:    ${ }^{133}$ These rules were presented in $\S 5.4 .3$, including a development about verb serialisations (p.137).
    ${ }^{134}$ The difference between 'verb serialisation' and 'clause chaining' corresponds to the contrast between 'nuclear-layer' and 'core-layer serialisation' in the terminology of several scholars: see fn. 188 p. 189.

[^83]:    ${ }^{135}$ See the discussion about the nature of nouns, in $\S 6.1 .1$ p.153.
    ${ }^{136}$ See $\S 4.5 .4 .4$ p. 83 for dual forms in subject clitics, and $\S 4.5 .4 .7$ p. 87 for trial.
    ${ }^{137}$ The so-called 'mobility' of the transitiviser $-i$ in several Oceanic languages, i.e., the fact that it can affect another word than the main verb, has led some authors (Margetts 1999; Ross 1998:26) to name it an 'enclitic' rather than a suffix at the level of Proto Oceanic. We do not subscribe to this point of view, since the only relevant criterion to distinguish between both these notions, is not mobility but behaviour with regard to stress (see Table $2-16$ p.21). In these languages probably, and at least in Araki, the bundle $-i+(-a)$ is a bunch of suffixes, not clitics, which simply affects the last element of the nuclear verb phrase - whether it is a verb or an adjunct.

[^84]:    138 . We include here real objects as well as incorporated ones, because we have found no syntactic test to show that the latter belong to another slot; however, we strongly suspect that incorporated objects are actually a kind of adjunct, thus fitting in slot nr.7.
    ${ }^{139}$ This includes common-noun phrases and proper-noun phrases. The only pronouns allowed in its position are kam̈am ' $1 \mathrm{EX}: P \mathrm{P}$ ' and kamim '2PL', for which no object suffix exists.
    ${ }^{140}$ We argue that the final limit of the VP in Araki can be indicated by the clitic ro: see §5.3.8.3 p. 129.

[^85]:    ${ }^{141}$ Objects are not considered here, since they belong syntactically to the VP, and were described in §5.4 p. 130.
    ${ }^{142}$ We have already alluded to noun phrase predicates (NPP): see $\S 3.1 .1 \mathrm{p} .33$ about the definition of nouns; §4.1.1.2 p. 42 about independent pronouns.

[^86]:    ${ }^{143}$ See $\S 5.6$ p. 149 and $\S 6.3 .1$ p. 162.

[^87]:    ${ }^{144}$ Demonstrative predicates were first presentend in §4.4.3.1 p.75.
    ${ }^{145}$ In this case, there is a change in the prosodic melody, which is remarkably iconic of the information hierarchy. Instead of the clause stress falling on the predicate (e.g. M̈a-ku ai KESI), it strikes the subject, leaving the predicate unaccented (e.g. M̈A-KU aI honi!). A less idiomatic way to say the latter sentence would be to use an extra-posited topic: Nohoni, ma-ku ai '(lit.) As for this, it is $m y$ water'.
    ${ }^{146}$ In the case of non-specific nouns, existential sentences use the partitive clitic re: see §4.3.6.7 p. 65.

[^88]:    ${ }^{147}$ We have not mentioned another predicative word, i.e., re (non-specific existential). Its behaviour is somewhat particular, since it takes subject clitics in negative and aspectualised sentences, but does not in questions. This point was detailed in $\S 4.3 .6 .7$ p.65; see also Table 4-37 p. 68 .

[^89]:    ${ }^{148}$ For the syntax of subject, see §4.1.1.2 p. 42 and $\S 5.1$ p.103; objects were detailed in §5.4 p. 130 .
    ${ }^{149}$ The same terminology is proposed for To'aba'ita in the Solomons (Lichtenberk 1991).

[^90]:    ${ }^{150}$ The reason why they cannot be considered as direct objects of the verb, is evidenced by the position of the post-clitic ro ( $\$ 5.3 .8 .3$ p.129).
    ${ }^{151}$ It would be wrong to interpret these directionals as verbs in a serialisation, because they appear after the object, not before it ( $\$ 5.5 \mathrm{p} .147$ ). Distributionally speaking, directionals are adverbs.
    ${ }^{152}$ See §7.3.2.2 p.193. See also fn. 196 p. 193 for statistical data comparing both structures: our corpus shows 17 cases of the adverbial construction, v .215 instances of the verbal one.

[^91]:    ${ }^{153}$ In the neighbouring language of Port-Sandwich, this noun-like preposition sa- $\sim$ isa- has grammaticised into a genitive marker for alienable nouns: e.g. $n$-öangg sa tata 'Dad's canoe', $n$-öangg isa-n 'his canoe', isa-ngg 'mine’ (Charpentier 1979:59).
    ${ }^{154}$ We personally suspect the preposition hini- ('dative, oblique ...') to result from the reanalysis of POc 'remote object' suffix *-aki(ni) (Pawley and Reid 1980); see also fn. 113 p. 134.

[^92]:    ${ }^{155}$ This will be discussed in §7.3.2.1 p.191.
    ${ }^{156}$ Notice that we treat man p̈ala- 'laugh at' as a transitivised verb (see Table 5-44), but $\ddot{\text { valum }}$ pedesi- 'fight against' as a <verb + preposition> bundle: this is explained in §5.3.8.3 p.129.

[^93]:    ${ }^{157}$ Verb phrases are bracketed in the following examples.

[^94]:    ${ }^{158}$ The case of prohibitive sentences (clitic kan) will be reviewed in §6.4.2 p.168.
    ${ }^{159}$ The same phenomenon was observed when NP predicates combine with aspect markers (§6.1.1 p.151). See also the explanation in $\S 5.6$ p. 149 .

[^95]:    ${ }^{160}$ This was suggested in our chapter about the clitic re ( $\S 4.3 .6 .7$ p.65).

[^96]:    ${ }^{161}$ For example, the aspect clitic le shows sometimes the predicate head to be RE alone (e.g. Mo ce le RE hina 'There is nothing any more'), and sometimes CE-RE as a whole (Mo le CE-RE hina), with the same global meaning. See §5.3.2.2 p.116.
    Mwotlap (pers. data), contrary to other languages in the Banks group, has grammaticised its partitive te as the second part of its negation. Robert Early (1994) shows that the particle re in Lewo is homophonous with a partitive, and provides evidence from other Vanuatu languages too.

[^97]:    ${ }^{163}$ We briefly alluded to this phenomenon in §5.2.2.2 p.111.
    ${ }^{164}$ This is an original feature of Araki, that clause chaining is a strategy used when European languages prefer subordination or adverbs. See §7.3.2.2 p.193.

[^98]:    ${ }^{165}$ From a typological point of view, it is a well-known fact that a negated sentence involves the non-referentiality of dependent noun phrases (Givón 1984:331, 391).
    ${ }^{166}$ See §4.3.6.2 p.60, and fn. 96 p. 108.

[^99]:    167 This use is called 'negative-purpose/precaution complementiser' by Lichtenberk (1991; 1995). ${ }^{168}$ See fn. 94 p. 106.

[^100]:    ${ }^{169}$ Demonstratives were detailed in $\S 4.4$ p.69; concerning uses of (no)hosu(n) as a relativiser, see also Table 4-40 p. 76.

[^101]:    $\overline{170}$ It is not rare typologically to have relative clauses with no subordinating morpheme except prosody. Tok Pisin (English-based pidgin of Papua New Guinea) has sentences like Mani em i stap arere long bokis em i bilong mi 'The money [which] is near the box belongs to me' (Dutton \& Thomas 1985:143).
    ${ }^{171}$ Dev̈e 'pull, fish' belongs to the set of transitive verbs ending in $/ \mathrm{e} /$, which do not take transitive or object suffixes ( $\$ 5.4 .2 \mathrm{p} .134$ ); but another verb would take them in this sentence: mo ce maci ne [nam var-i-a] 'it is not this fish I-grabbed-it'.

[^102]:    172 Its basic uses were presented in §5.2.2.3 p.112, and we will present its syntactic use as a conjunction, in §7.2.5 p. 184.

[^103]:    ${ }^{173}$ In the case of this particular sentence, notice also that the Realis interpretation (*'there was some water') is being blocked by the quantifier re, which cannot refer to any specific referent; this forces into a non-specific, counterfactual interpretation of the whole sentence (see §4.3.6.7 p.65).

[^104]:    $\overline{174}$ Vada is especially attested as a complementiser with volitional verbs: see $\S 5.2 .2 .2$ p.111.

[^105]:    $\overline{175}$ The same semantic consistency is found with Spanish aunque: it means 'although' with Indicative mood (e.g. Aunque está enfermo 'Although he is sick ...'), but 'even if' with Subjunctive (e.g. Aunque esté enfermo 'Even if he was sick ...').

[^106]:    ${ }^{176}$ In this regard, Araki pa is very similar to Mandarin Chinese jiü 'just, precisely; then ...'. Notice that the latter is also very common to introduce the consequence of a conditional, with no other marking on the protasis: Nǐ xiăng mäi, jiù măi ba! /you/think/buy/then/buy/IMP/ '(if) you want to buy it, then just buy it!'.
    ${ }^{177}$ More is said about the aspect particle pa in $\S 5.3 .5$ p.118.

[^107]:    $\overline{{ }^{178} \text { Cf. the adverb n-re-dan 'on some day > sometimes' (p.63), and its use in negative sentences, to }}$ translate English 'never' (p.163).
    ${ }^{179}$ Although Araki looks quite exotic on this point, it does recall a similar path of grammaticisation in ... English: verb will 'want' > aux. will 'Future' > past form would expressing repetition, e.g. Twenty years ago the streets would be empty on Sundays.

[^108]:    ${ }^{181}$ See fn. 189 p. 189.
    ${ }^{182}$ These semantic values were presented in $\S 5.2 .2 .3 \mathrm{p} .112$; the reader is reported to that paragraph in order to get an overall view of how the verb-conjunction de actually works in Araki.
    ${ }^{183}$ See also the 'verb-like complementizers' of To'aba'ita, Solomon Is. (Lichtenberk 1991:66).
    ${ }^{184}$ As far as transitivity marking is concerned, de belongs to a set of /e/-ending radicals which cannot be suffixed ( $\$ 5.4 .2$ p.132).

[^109]:    ${ }^{185}$ This kind of mood attraction is typically well known in Latin: under the scope of an Irrealis (subjunctive) clause, a verb which is semantically Realis is attracted to the adjacent Irrealis marking. In the next sentence from Plautus, the first clause has a subjunctive (ag-a-s 'you do + Irrealis') instead of an indicative (ag-i-s 'you do + Realis'), because it is attracted to the mood of the main clause: Quod ag-a-s, id ag-a-s! 'What you are doing, just do it!'.

[^110]:    ${ }^{187}$ For a semantic representation of these verbs as forming a cognitive scale, see Givón (1990:515-519).
    ${ }^{188}$ The contrast we draw between 'verb serialisation' and 'clause chaining' matches quite well the now classic division which Foley and Olson (1985:33-38) named respectively 'nuclear-layer serialisation' and 'core-layer serialisation'; this terminology was adopted by Crowley (1987) in his description of serial verbs in Paamese, as well as Early (1993) for Lewo and Sperlich (1993) for Namakir. Although these terms would fit Araki data as well, we personally prefer to separate neatly both structures; thus the tag clause chaining seems to correspond better to the high syntactic completeness of each clause, and their relative independency.

[^111]:    ${ }^{189}$ Our oral literature database shows up to 830 instances of this word mo, while the second most frequent word is de ('say, want') with only 123 items, the third word $\mathbf{l o}$ (preposition 'in') with a figure of 97 . Since our corpus has 3990 words, this means that mo occurs once every fifth word (20\%)!

    190 'The most iconic, natural way of coding, in narrative, a sequence of events that are thematically coherent as sub-parts of a single episode, is by presenting the events - each coded by a clause in the time-sequence in which they originally occurred' (Givón 1984:282).

[^112]:    ${ }^{191}$ See Givón (1991).
    192 It is not always possible to analyse such a sentence as a succession of two events $X$ hits $Y+$ $Y$ dies: in some contexts, including for this example, the verb nak does not mean anything but kill, i.e., give death to, regardless of the action involved (e.g. poisoning or black magic).
    ${ }^{193}$ For an extreme presentation of this idea, see the 'one-chunk-per-clause principle' of Givón (1984:258).
    194 This is also true of many other languages, e.g. Mwotlap (François 2000:31). For a typologicalfunctional insight on this issue, see Givón (1984:179) and Lemaréchal (1998:207).

[^113]:    We showed how negation can interfere with mood-marking in such structures ( $\$ 6.3 .5$ p.166).
    ${ }^{196}$ Since they take subject clitics, these verbs differ syntactically from directional adverbs, though they share the same forms ( $\$ 6.2 .1 .2 \mathrm{p} .157$ ). Notice that the verbal construction is much more frequent than the adverbial one, with respectively 215 v .17 items in our corpus (i.e., $93 \mathrm{v} 7 \$.$% ).$

[^114]:    ${ }^{198}$ These cases of syntactic and semantic asymmetry, more often than others, are likely to correlate with variation in modality marking (i.e., Realis v. Irrealis); this point was already discussed and illustrated in §5.2.2 p.109.

[^115]:    ${ }^{199}$ The syntax of numerals was seen in §4.5.4.3 p.82, but the issue of clause chaining was more specifically addressed about mo hese (' $a /$ one'), in $\S 4.3 .5 .3$ p.57.
    ${ }^{200}$ See $\S 4.8$ p. 101.

[^116]:    ${ }^{201}$ On this regard, Araki is reminiscent of other clause-chaining/serialising languages like Mandarin Chinese (Chao 1968) or some Central American languages (Longacre 1985). Closer to Vanuatu languages, and perhaps influent on their Proto Oceanic ancestor, several Papuan languages (Foley 1986:175; Longacre 1972) are famous for their clause-chaining/serialising patterns, in a way similar to Araki. This is the case of Chuave (Givón 1984:310) and Kalam (Pawley 1987; 1993); but notice that Araki, contrary to these languages, has no such rule as switch-reference, and associates each clause with its own mood-and-person marking. We have proposed a typological reflection about these issues of unmarked subordination and forms of interclausal dependency (François 1997); at that time we were not aware that Araki was so fascinating on this regard!

[^117]:    ${ }^{202}$ For another sentence with up to nine clauses, see p.179.
    ${ }^{203}$ The whole story is given in $\S 8.1 .2$ p.205.

[^118]:    ${ }^{204}$ See fn. 211 p. 215.

[^119]:    ${ }^{206}$ See the presentation we gave of this story in $\S 7.3 .4$ p.199.
    ${ }^{207}$ The Tangoa Training Institute - TTI, Titiai in the text - was founded by Reverend Dr. Joseph Annand in 1887, in order to train Bible teachers and future priests in the Presbyterian church. Its influence was always drastic upon the South Santo area, and is still today; it became the Presbyterian Bible College in the 1970s, and more recently the Talua Ministry Centre (BogiriVari 2000). Our main informant Lele Moli, as well as Varisipiti Livo, received the major part of their education there. The church activities of TTI, especially the Bible translations they carried out in the language of Tangoa, were fatal to the language of Araki (see §1.2.2.2 p.7).

[^120]:    ${ }^{208}$ This third part of the tale is very similar to a tale which was recorded in Ura, a dying language of southern Vanuatu (Crowley 1999:95-97): a rat lost in the sea is being helped by a turtle; but he defecates on the back of the turtle, who does not really appreciate it.

[^121]:    ${ }^{211}$ Like in many other islands of the area, the songs which are found in tales are seldom sung in the modern, local language (i.e., Araki as it is described in this book). Sometimes called a 'song dialect', it is a mixture of conservative forms and words from surrounding dialects, in a way similar to the Greek of Homer. In the present tale, Lele Moli hypothesised that the song was in the language of Malo, another island south of Santo; as usual in Vanuatu, the singer himself was uncertain what the words meant exactly.

