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Vitu Grammar Sketch

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and
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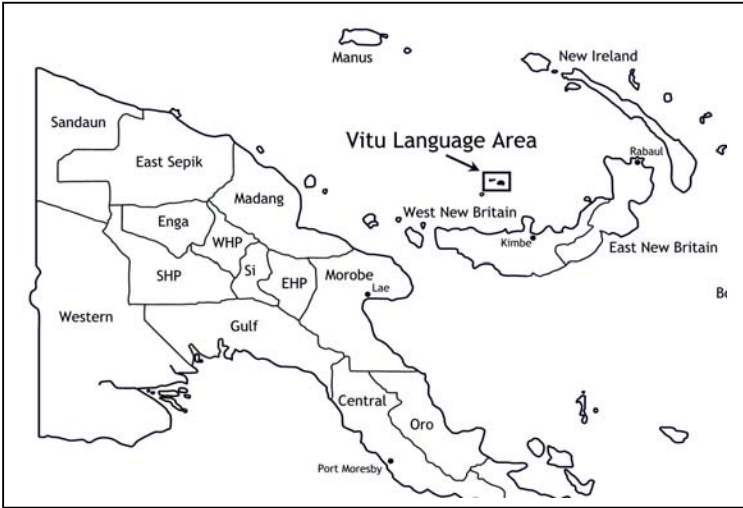
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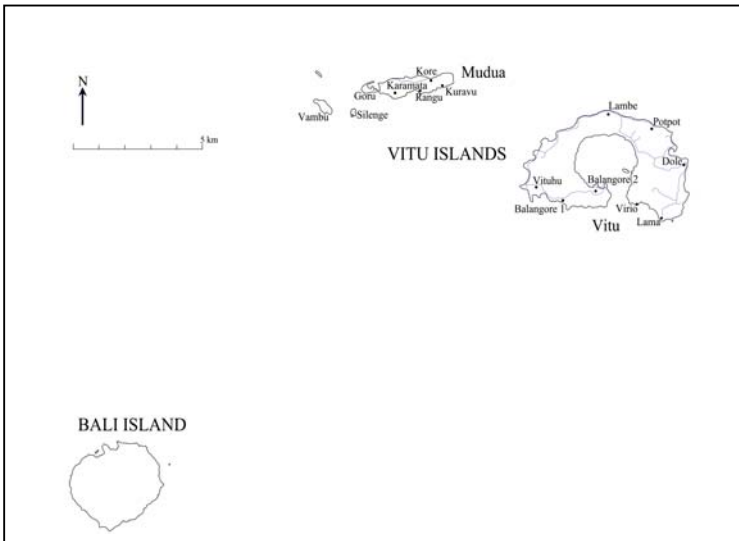
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Abbreviations

1	1 st person	NEG	negative
2	2 nd person	NOM	nominaliser
3	3 rd person	NP	noun phrase
Adj	adjective	Num	numeral
AdjP	adjective phrase	p, pl	plural
Adv	adverb	PASS	passive
AMS	aspect-mood- sequentiality	PC	possessive classifier
ART	article	PCF	possessive classifier for food items
CAUS	causative	PF	perfect
COLL	collective action	PLUR	plural
COND	conditional	PN	proper noun
CONT	continuity	PP	prepositional phrase
d, du	dual	PROG	progressive
Dem	demonstrative	PURP	purpose
DES	desiderative	Quant	quantifier
e, ex	exclusive	REC	reciprocal
FUT	future	RED	reduplication
HAB	habitual	s, sg	singular
i, in	inclusive	SEQ	sequentiality
IMM	imminent future	SUD	sudden action
intr	intransitive verb	SVC	serial verb construction
IRR	irrealis	R	realis
lit	literally	TP	Tok Pisin
loc	locative preposition	tr	transitive verb
N	noun	TR	transitiviser



Map 1: Papua New Guinea



Map 2: The Vitu language area in West New Britain province

1. Introduction

1.1 Location and speakers

The Vitu language is spoken by approximately 7,000 people on islands northwest from the coast of West New Britain in Papua New Guinea (see map 1). The distance between the largest island, Garove or Big Vitu, and the northern tip of the Willaumez (Talasea) peninsula is about 65 km.

Big Vitu (or Vitu for short) is geologically unusual. It is a volcanic island which has blown its top, leaving an outer edge of mountain ridges around a caldera. There is an opening in the mountains on the southern side about one km wide, which links the old crater lake to the sea. It is called *havana kapou*, ‘the big mouth.’ The island therefore has a horse-shoe shape with a large harbor in the middle. There have been other volcanic events on the island, as shown by stories recorded in 1974 (see Rhoads and Specht 1980). The mountain ridge rises fairly steeply from the sea, especially on the inner side of the island, although the highest point is only 368 m. The major villages on Vitu are all located around the outer edge of the island; their names are Balangore 1, Balangore 2 (the parish village of St Michael), Vituhu, Lambe, Potpot, Dole and Lama (see map 2).

Some eight km to the northwest of Vitu lies the island of Mudua (sometimes called Ningau or little Vitu) with its satellite islands Goru and Silenge, where a slightly divergent dialect of Vitu is spoken. Bali island, some 35 km to the southwest of Vitu, is home to a closely related language (see §1.3).

Another island further west is Naraha, which in the past had its own population and apparently its own dialect. Due to an epidemic, people fled Naraha and the island is now uninhabited and its speech variety extinct.

1.2 Language name

The language we refer to here as Vitu, traditionally spelled Witu, has also been called *Muduapa* (for instance, in the latest Ethnologue editions). This is acceptable to many speakers, but in actual language use the name is rarely encountered. In fact, *Muduapa* is the name given by the Bali people to Vitu island. In Vitu this has been

taken over as *Mudua*, although strictly speaking the word *Mudua* in Vitu refers to the island of Mudua northwest of Vitu. The Bali people refer to their own island (and their language) as *Uneapa*, which in the Vitu language is pronounced as *Unea*. To avoid further confusion, we propose to use the name *Vitu* for the language of the Vitu islands, *Mudua* for the Mudua dialect of Vitu, and *Bali* for the language spoken on the island of Bali. In the Vitu language itself, people refer to their own language as *pole matotoa*, literally ‘true speak’ or simply *pole Vitu*. In Tok Pisin, the language is referred to as *Tok Vitu*.

1.3 Affiliation and earlier studies

Vitu is an Oceanic Austronesian language and together with Bali, forms an isolate within the Meso-Melanesian cluster, itself a subgroup of Western Oceanic (Ross 1988; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002). Vitu is closely related to the neighbouring Bali language and the two are listed as ‘possibly [a] single language’ in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 883). Johnston (1980: 114) remarks that ‘Bali and Vitu islanders understand each other but do not have many common bonds or institutions to promote communication.’ The second statement is certainly true, but according to native speaker information on Vitu and our own comparison of Bali and Vitu, the speech varieties are sufficiently different to be considered separate languages. An unpublished sociolinguistic survey report on Bali also supports this conclusion (O’Rear 1989a). The cognate percentage between Bali and Vitu is 76-80%.

Earlier studies on the Vitu language are fairly limited. Some Vitu data appears in the comparative work on Proto-Kimbe done by Johnston (1982) and Goodenough (1996). The most extensive material on the language is a 25-page sketch of Bali-Vitu by Malcolm Ross in Lynch, Crowley and Ross (2002). Ross’s sketch is primarily a description of the Bali variety; with the appearance of this grammar sketch, adequate data on the language becomes available for the first time. Van den Berg and Bachet (2006) contains information on final consonants in Vitu, and van den Berg (2006) discusses the passive in Vitu. Both articles put the Vitu data in a wider comparative perspective.

Anthropological data on Vitu is also scarce. Rhoades and Specht (1980) contains some oral histories about the settlement of the island, while Lattas (2001) discusses the mythology of Bali. We have not been able to access other sources on Vitu, such as Blythe (1978) and Kraus (1980).

1.4 Dialects

Two dialects are spoken on the Vitu islands. The main dialect is spoken by people from Vitu and central and eastern Mudua, and is also well understood and spoken by people from western Mudua. The second dialect is confined to the western half of Mudua (specifically, the villages of Karamata and Ragu) and the islands of Goru and Silenge. The two dialects share 90-92% lexical similarity (O'Rear 1989b).

Within the main dialect of Vitu there are some subdialectal differences, but these are limited to intonation and differences in pronunciation. The most noteworthy of these phonetic differences is found in the villages on the north and east coast (Lambe, Potpot and Dole) which use the phoneme /l/ where the rest of Vitu uses /ð/. The villages Kuravu and Kore on Mudua share this feature. This sketch is based on the speech of the people in Balangore 1 and Balangore 2.

1.5 Language use and bilingualism

Three languages are spoken on the Vitu Islands: Vitu, Tok Pisin (Pidgin English) and English. Tok Pisin is widely understood by the population and mainly spoken in the following situations:

- when talking to people who have come to Vitu from outside, such as teachers, court officials and medical personnel;
- in families where one of the spouses is not from Vitu and has not learnt to speak Vitu;
- in church. Although there are some vernacular songs for Christmas and Easter, and some catechists use the vernacular in sermons during the Sunday services, most of the liturgy takes place in Tok Pisin;
- in court meetings;
- with plantation managers;
- when correcting children.

English is the language of instruction at the community school and is also used by expatriate plantation managers. People involved in the charismatic movement of the Roman Catholic Church sing a lot of English songs. In everyday situations, however, English is rarely used.

Since an estimated 95% of adults and children understand and speak Tok Pisin, this raises questions about the vitality and the future of the vernacular language. The first time one of the authors visited the Vitu area (in 1989), some people said that Tok Pisin was displacing the local language. However, over the past years we have

noticed that in daily communication Tok Pisin is only used about 5% of the time, mainly in the situations listed above or when there is an outsider present who does not know Vitu.

In Vitu, Tok Pisin is called *Pole Pago*, which is literally ‘language of the whiteskins.’ This demonstrates the lack of identification the Vitu people have with Tok Pisin. The Vitu people seem to appreciate their own language more than they are aware of. Nevertheless, Tok Pisin has more prestige than Vitu for the following reasons:

- teachers often use Tok Pisin in their household, because they have been away from the island for a long time for their training. Sometimes they have married someone from another language group, which causes them to speak their own language even less;
- Tok Pisin is used in church services;
- Tok Pisin is heard on the radio;
- if people go to Kimbe (the provincial capital on West New Britain), they need to know Tok Pisin in order to communicate;
- the only available newspapers are in Tok Pisin.

In spite of all this, it is safe to say that in daily life the Vitu language is very much alive. When involved in daily activities such as gardening, cooking and fishing, as well as talking about bush materials, one can communicate much more easily in Vitu than in Tok Pisin. Like many vernacular languages, Vitu is also much more specific than Tok Pisin. For instance, Vitu has a large number of different words expressing various ways of cutting and carrying. And those are extremely common activities in daily life!

Since there is widespread bilingualism and people are constantly exposed to Tok Pisin on the radio, it is not surprising that Tok Pisin is exerting a strong influence on the language. This is evidenced by the large number of loanwords (see § 2.8).

1.6 Use of the language in writing

Up until now the Vitu language has never been used in written communication. The first German priest who settled on Vitu (around 1947) composed quite a few songs in the Vitu language. These are still used, especially during Christmas and Easter. However, his way of spelling and choice of words in these songs are somewhat confusing.

More recently, the orthography of Vitu has been standardized (see chapter 2), and some literacy courses have been conducted in various villages during which stories were written. Many sentences from these stories have been used in this grammar. Vitu is now also taught in the first grades of the elementary schools, although a shortage of adequate resource materials (e.g. no curriculum and no dictionary) makes this a tough assignment for teachers.

1.7 Vitu culture

The following section offers a very brief account of some of the aspects of daily life on Vitu and a few comments on its culture.

Economy. Almost all Vitu people live off the land and the sea, working as farmers and fishermen. In the past some people found employment on coconut plantations. Garden crops for consumption include native yams (*malia*, *huvì*), although these are no longer very popular, sweet potato (*patete*), many varieties of taro (*kamo*), including the singapore taro, as well as tapiok (*tapioko*). In addition, people grow bananas (*beti*) and vegetables (*laulaua*). Other food items include rice, which is bought in trade stores. In the 1980s and 90s biscuits and bread were increasingly eaten, but due to economic hardship these items are no longer available. Fish, eggs and meat are mostly eaten on special occasions. The main drinks are coconut juice, water from rain and underground wells. Betelnut chewing is very common.

The main **cash crop** on Vitu is copra. In the past there were a few coconut plantations on the island (such as Meto, Ilia and Langu), which were set up by the Germans in the colonial period. When copra prices started falling in the 1980s, these plantations were no longer profitable and beginning around 1990 they fell into disuse. Individual villagers still grow coconut trees to make copra, which is shipped to the provincial capital Kimbe and sold there. On the whole, the island has been experiencing hard economic times since the early 1990s.

Transportation from Vitu to the provincial capital Kimbe on the West New Britain mainland is difficult. There are no scheduled boat connections, so planning a trip is a real challenge. From time to time a village owns a boat collectively, but these boats only travel sporadically, due to frequent engine trouble and unpredictable weather conditions out on the ocean. A sea voyage to Kimbe takes about 12-14 hours, depending on the weather. The main reasons for visiting Kimbe are business transactions (such as selling copra, buying building supplies), further schooling and

medical needs, as well as visiting relatives. There is also a small airstrip on Vitu. This was regularly used in the 1980s and 90s, but currently it is not in operation.

On Vitu itself inter-village transport takes place over sea (dugout canoes, motor boats) or over land. There are a few tractors on the island, but no cars.

Education is limited on Vitu. Almost every village has a community school (grade 1-6). In addition there are primary schools (i.e. a prep school up to grade 8) in Balangore, St Michael and Lambe. For secondary education students have to go to Kimbe, and for higher education to major towns in the country such as Lae, Madang or Rabaul. No figures are available on the number of students who have finished primary or secondary education, but in our estimate the latter is very low.

Religion. A Roman Catholic mission called Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, which was based in Rabaul, started work on Vitu in 1947. Their efforts were very successful and at one point 100% of the population on Vitu was Roman Catholic. Now some other denominations have established themselves; there are Seventh Day Adventist congregations in Lambe on the north coast and in Kuravu on Mudua, as well as small evangelical churches in some other villages.

Culture. Vitu society is divided into six clans or descent groups. These are called *boro* ‘pig’, *kaza* ‘k.o. plant’, *hadora* ‘cuscus’, *kulu* ‘breadfruit’, *ngepe* ‘k.o. tree with edible fruits’ and *kaniata*, an offshoot of *kaza*, the meaning of which is unclear. Each clan member is part of his/her mother’s clan and must marry outside of the clan (exogamous matrilineal descent). Traditional culture is still maintained in many customary rituals, including initiation rites, circumcision and certain dance festivals. These are usually performed in and around ceremonial buildings (the so-called *baikazoho* area). Participants in these ceremonies often wear masks (*namo*). Boys need to be properly initiated to attend and participate in these events.

1.8 Main typological features

In many ways Vitu is a fairly straightforward Oceanic language. With some exceptions, it appears to be phonologically and grammatically quite conservative. Typical Oceanic features are a relatively simple phonology, a complex pronominal system distinguishing a dual category (but no trial number as reported in Johnston 1982), direct and indirect possession on nouns and the use of two possessive classifiers. Verbal morphology is somewhat limited, covering transitivity, reciprocal, causative and nominalising affixes, in addition to compounding and reduplication. Word order is fairly strictly SVO.

What is unusual in Vitu is the absence of numeral classifiers, the sporadic emergence of root-final consonants, the presence of a clear passive construction and the widespread and multifaceted use of preverbal tense-aspect-sequentiality markers. All of these features will be described and illustrated in detail in this grammar.

Acknowledgements

This description is based on research by Peter and Wiljo Bachet conducted over a period of about 15 years under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL International. The Bachets learned to speak the language, collected stories, standardised the orthography, did literacy work and started a Bible translation programme. René van den Berg did research on the Vitu language as a linguistics consultant, working with Vitu speakers in Ukarumpa starting in 2004. He is responsible for a large part of the analysis and most of the write-up.

We acknowledge the help of Bob Bugenhagen, who commented on a preliminary draft of the Vitu grammar several years ago. We also wish to thank Lydia van den Berg and Laura Romer who proofread the manuscript. Grateful acknowledgement is made of the help of our Vitu village friends: Francis Goligoli, Clement Kanae, Raphael Komboli, Mark Baruku, Simon Keluku, Kunibert Keda, Berthol Gere, Augustin Laupu, Tobias Uva and especially Vena Erelieu, whose language skills are outstanding and without whom this grammar could not have been written. We present this grammar to all of you in appreciation of your patience and friendship.

2. Phonology

This chapter presents a brief outline of the phonology of Vitu, including phonemes and allophones, stress, syllable and word structure and morphophonemics. It also briefly addresses loan words. Segmental information with illustrative words is presented in Bachet and Bachet (1992) and not repeated here.

2.1 Phonemes and allophonic variation

Vitu has the following fourteen consonant phonemes as outlined in Table 1. The absence of the phoneme /s/ in native words is unusual for an Oceanic language; the sound is only found in loan words (see §2.8).

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>dental-alveolar</i>	<i>velar</i>
<i>voiceless plosive</i>	p	t	k
<i>voiced plosive</i>	b	d	g
<i>voiced fricative</i>	β	ð	ɣ
<i>nasal</i>	m	n	ŋ
<i>lateral</i>		l	
<i>trill</i>		r	

TABLE 1. VITU CONSONANT PHONEMES

The Vitu vowel phonemes are presented in Table 2:

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>high</i>	i		u
<i>mid</i>	ɛ		ɔ
<i>low</i>		a	

TABLE 2. VITU VOWEL PHONEMES

The most important allophonic variations are as follows.

a. The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ are normally prenasalised, especially when they occur between vowels. (Stress is marked by the symbol <'> preceding the stressed syllable).

/kabɛ/	[^l ka ^m bɛ]	'leg, foot'
/kɛdɔ/	[^l kɛ ⁿ dɔ]	'stone'
/βaga/	[^l βa ⁿ ga]	'boat'

At the beginning of an utterance, prenasalisation is often lacking, although in emphatic speech it can be heard:

/bɛu/	[^l bɛu] ~ [^l m ^b ɛu]	'no'
/dama/	[^l dama] ~ [^l n ^d dama]	'morning, day'

The voicing on the velar plosive /g/ is sometimes absent, especially between two occurrences of the vowel /a/:

/raga/	[^l ra ⁿ ga] ~ [^l ra ⁿ ka]	'jump'
--------	---	--------

b. The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ undergoes palatalisation before the vowel /i/ and is realised as the palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]:

/βeti/	[^l m ^b ɛtʃi]	'banana'
/katia/	[ka ^l tʃia]	'to make'
/titi/	[^l tʃitʃi]	'mother, madam, auntie' (term of address)

c. The high vowel /i/ desyllabifies to [y] before the suffix /-au/ 'me'. This appears to be obligatory with experiencer verbs (§4.3), but optional with prepositions and regular transitive verbs. Following the consonant /t/, the vowel /i/ first palatalises the /t/ to [tʃ], then desyllabifies to [y], and is subsequently lost in the transition from the palato-alveolar affricate to the vowel /a/.

/lɔlɔniau/	[lɔlɔ ^l nyau]	'I am tired'
/mazayitiau/	[mazayitʃ ^l ʃau]	'I am ill'
/marayɔtiau/	[marayɔtʃ ^l ʃau]	'I am thirsty'
/kamaniau/	[kamani ^l au] ~ [kama ^l nyau]	'with me'
/yubiau/	[yubi ^l au] ~ [yu ^l byau]	'hit me'
/batiau/	[batʃi ^l au] ~ [βa ^l tʃau]	'leave me'

2.2 Orthography

In the remainder of this sketch the following conventions will be used, following the orthography proposed for Vitu in Bacht and Bacht (1992):

v will be written for /β/,

z for /ð/,

h for /ɣ/,

ng for /ŋ/,

e for /ɛ/,

o for /ɔ/.

The allophonic variant [tʃ] of /t/ before /i/ will simply be written as *t*.

Some examples:

orthographic	phonemic	phonetic	gloss
<i>dazi</i>	/daði/	[¹ ndaði]	‘sea’
<i>hizu</i>	/ɣiðu/	[¹ ɣiðu]	‘nose’
<i>ngiti</i>	/ŋiti/	[¹ ŋitʃi]	‘smile, show one’s teeth’
<i>vago</i>	/βagɔ/	[¹ βa ⁿ gɔ]	‘to punt’

2.3 Stress

Stress regularly occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word, such that each vowel counts as a separate syllable. Stressed syllables seem to have a distinctly longer vowel, but this has not been measured acoustically. Notice in the following examples the stress shift when the root is suffixed:

<i>'mata</i>	‘eye’
<i>ma'tagu</i>	‘my eye’
<i>li'vuha</i>	‘body’
<i>livu'hana</i>	‘his/her body’

<i>'tangi</i>	'to cry'
<i>tangi'zia</i>	'to cry for'

The only case where stress appears to occur on the last syllable is when the second person possessive suffix occurs. Notice the following pair:

[^m dama]	'morning, day'
[ⁿ da'ma:]	'your forehead'

We analyse the form [ⁿda'ma:] to be made up of the root *dama* 'forehead' (homophonous with *dama* 'morning, day'), followed by the possessive suffix *-V* (a vowel copy) 'your'. Phonetically we are dealing with a long vowel. Phonologically the addition of the suffix creates an extra syllable which is responsible for the shift in stress. The orthographic representation is therefore *damaa* 'your forehead'. Other examples are *mataa* 'your eye', *hizuu* 'your nose', *talingaa* 'your ear', *humii* 'your lips' and *goo* 'your spouse'. These are the only occurrences of sequences of like vowels in the language. In the orthography proposed in Bachet and Bachet (1992), these sequences are written as simple vowels, e.g. *lima* 'your hand' instead of *limaa*, but in this grammar we write such sequences as double vowels.

If the penultimate vowel is high and the antepenultimate vowel is lower and there is no intervening consonant, the stress may shift to the antepenult. This is the case with sequences of *au*, *ai*, *ou* and *oi* (and presumably *ei* and *eu*, but we have no examples in that position):

<i>'rauna</i>	'its leaves'
<i>'kaua</i>	'dog'
<i>lo'hoia</i>	'think'
<i>'paido</i>	'coconut'
<i>vu'roua</i>	'mourning song'

An alternative analysis would be to treat these sequences as either diphthongs or as sequences of vowels in a single syllable (so Ross 2002:363 for Bali). We choose to give greater weight to the fact that virtually all vowel sequences are possible (see §2.5), that in full reduplication such sequences are treated as two syllables (see §2.7) and that a stress shift to a lower and therefore more sonorous vowel is phonetically plausible.

Finally, a few loan words show exceptional ultimate stress:

<i>pa'ter</i>	'priest'
<i>Pa'trik</i>	'man's name'

2.4 Syllable patterns and root structure

The only occurring syllable patterns in the language are CV and V. Final consonants and consonant clusters are not allowed (though see §2.8 for loan words).

The following chart shows examples of roots consisting of one to five syllables, illustrating the distribution of the two syllable types in the word. Notice that these are all roots; derivations showing affixation, reduplication or compounding are excluded.

1 syllable	V	<i>e</i>	‘yes’
	CV	<i>ve</i>	‘where’
2 syllables	V.V	<i>i.a</i>	‘he, she, it’
	V.CV	<i>i.ha</i>	‘fish’ (usually <i>hiha</i>)
	CV.V	<i>ma.i</i>	‘come’
	CV.CV	<i>be.le</i>	‘arrive’
3 syllables	V.V.V	<i>u.a.i</i>	‘oh no!’
	V.V.CV	-	
	V.CV.V	<i>a.ze.i</i>	‘who’
	V.CV.CV	-	
	CV.V.V	<i>ka.u.a</i>	‘dog’
	CV.V.CV	<i>ma.u.ri</i>	‘left side’
	CV.CV.V	<i>gi.li.o</i>	‘k.o. crab’
	CV.CV.CV	<i>ba.ri.ta</i>	‘old coconut, copra’

Examples of other polysyllabic roots:

4 syllables	CV.CV.V.CV	<i>ma.ri.a.ba</i>	‘clouds, sky’
	CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>ba.ra.da.gi</i>	‘squid’
5 syllables	CV.V.CV.CV.CV	<i>ba.i.ka.zo.ho</i>	‘area behind ceremonial hut’
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>ba.la.vu.tu.ka</i>	‘disappear’

What is striking is that the distribution of the two syllable patterns (CV and V) over the word is not equal. Vowel-initial roots (i.e. starting with a syllable consisting of a single V) are rare; close to 100% of all roots (and words) start with a CV syllable, but V syllables in second or third position in the word are quite common. Almost all of these vowel-initial roots appear to be grammatical words or

interjections. For monosyllables, this includes *e*, which has two meanings (1. ‘yes’ 2. realis marker for 3sg’), as well as the root *a* ‘article with proper nouns’. In addition to *ia* ‘he, she, it’, disyllabic roots of the V.V type include interjections such as *ai* ‘exclamation used to draw attention; hey!’, *au* ‘exclamation of surprise’, as well as the trisyllabic *uai* ‘oh no!’ and the question word *azei* ‘who’, which contains the article *a*. All in all, no more than a dozen words or so have an initial vowel.

There are, however, a number of content words which are sometimes pronounced with an initial vowel, especially in continuous speech. The word *hiha* ‘fish’, for example, is in isolation pronounced as [ɣiɣa], but in context often more like [yiɣa] or [iɣa]. The same is true for *hiza* ‘name’: its pronunciation varies between [ɣiða], [yiða] and [iða]. Since Proto-Oceanic *ikan ‘fish’ (from which *hiha* is derived) did not have an initial consonant, it appears that the language is creating a constraint against vowel-initial content words.

Although it was stated above that consonant sequences do not occur, there are occasional vowel elisions where consonant clusters appear. These usually involve polysyllabic words with initial *bari-* or *vari-* and/or reduplication, where a medial unstressed vowel is elided. The word *baritunutunua* ‘red’, is often pronounced *bartuntunua* (with two surface clusters *rt* and *nt*). Similarly, *varitihi* ‘painful’ is normally pronounced as *vartihī*. We consider these clusters to be surface phenomena of allegro speech that do not alter the analysis.

2.5 Vowel sequences

All possible combinations of vowels occur in Vitu (except *ie*), but sequences of like vowels are not permitted in Vitu roots. The exception is the verb *madii* (a variant of *madiri*) ‘to stand’. Also, as mentioned in §2.3, sequences of like vowels (phonetically one long vowel) are found in affixed forms when the 2nd sg possessive pronominal suffix *-V* is attached to inalienable roots, as in *limaa* ‘your arm/hand’, *ngepee* ‘your liver’ and *tuu* ‘your child’.

All other vowel sequences are shown in the following examples:

ie	-	
ia	<i>dia</i>	‘they’
io	<i>gilio</i>	‘k.o. crab’
iu	<i>miu</i>	‘you (plural)’

ei	<i>azei</i>	‘who’
ea	<i>vazalea</i>	‘beach’
eo	<i>vereo</i>	‘green frog’
eu	<i>beu</i>	‘no’
ai	<i>mai</i>	‘come’
ae	<i>rae</i>	‘there’
ao	<i>vao</i>	‘mango’
au	<i>zau</i>	‘far’
oi	<i>koi</i>	‘call’
oe	<i>goe</i>	‘shout’
oa	<i>toa</i>	‘punting pole’
ou	<i>kapou</i>	‘big’
ui	<i>lui</i>	‘dugong’
ue	<i>kue</i>	‘where’
ua	<i>bua</i>	‘betelnut’
uo	<i>Buo</i>	‘male name’

Sequences of three or four vowels occur, but they are fairly rare in roots:

aua	<i>kaua</i>	‘dog’
aia	<i>vaia</i>	‘collect’
aea	<i>vaea</i>	‘weave’
uae	<i>puae</i>	‘ashamed’
iae	<i>tiae</i>	‘shoo!’
eua	<i>beua</i>	‘disappointing’
oua	<i>kaloua</i>	‘news, report’ (a shortening of <i>kalohua</i>)
uaio	<i>uaio</i>	‘oh no!’ (variant of <i>uai</i>)

In derived words other vowel sequences are found as well:

oia	<i>lohoia</i>	‘thought’	(<i>lohoi-a</i>)
iau	<i>hubiau</i>	‘hit me’	(<i>hubi-au</i>)
eau	<i>vapoleau</i>	‘take me on board’	(<i>vapole-au</i>)
iua	<i>liua</i>	‘place to beach a canoe’	(<i>liu-a</i>)
uaea	<i>puaea</i>	‘shame’	(<i>puae-a</i>)
auaua	<i>kauaua</i>	‘dogs’	(<i>kaua-ua</i>)

2.6 Morphophonemics

Vitu has a class of nouns which can be directly affixed with possessive suffixes. These so-called inalienable nouns usually refer to body parts or kinship terms, or they are locative nouns (see §3.2.1). Vitu shows some interesting morphophonemic alternations in this class of inalienable nouns. If the root word ends in a consonant, the possessive suffixes undergo a number of changes. This section summarises the discussion in van den Berg and Bachet (2006).

In order to observe the morphophonemic changes in inalienable nouns, we first show the regular cases in which the suffixes are attached to the root without changes. The following three roots in Table 3 are all vowel-final and illustrate all of the singular and two of the eight non-singular possessive suffixes (these are representative of the remaining non-singular forms; see §3.8 for a full list). In the 3sg examples X stands for a proper noun. Notice that these roots normally do not occur on their own; they are typically possessed, as indicated by the hyphen following the root.

		MONO-SYLLABIC	DISYLLABIC	TRISYLLABIC
		<i>go-</i>	<i>kabe-</i>	<i>talinga-</i>
		‘spouse’	‘foot, leg’	‘ear’
1 sg	<i>-gu</i>	<i>go-gu</i>	<i>kabe-gu</i>	<i>talinga-gu</i>
2 sg	<i>-V</i>	<i>go-o</i>	<i>kabe-e</i>	<i>talinga-a</i>
3 sg	<i>-na</i>	<i>go-na</i>	<i>kabe-na</i>	<i>talinga-na</i>
3 sg + proper noun	<i>-ni</i>	<i>go-ni X</i>	<i>kabe-ni X</i>	<i>talinga-ni X</i>
1 du excl	<i>-miro</i>	<i>go-miro</i>	<i>kabe-miro</i>	<i>talinga-miro</i>
3 pl	<i>-dia</i>	<i>go-dia</i>	<i>kabe-dia</i>	<i>talinga-dia</i>

TABLE 3. SAMPLE PARADIGMS OF VOWEL-FINAL ROOTS

Consonant-final roots are illustrated in the following four examples in Table 4. Notice that all these roots contain two or more syllables; we have not yet found an example of a monosyllabic inalienable root with a final consonant.

	DISYLLABIC			TRISYLLABIC
	<i>lohor-</i> 'neck'	<i>tutur-</i> 'knee'	<i>banit-</i> 'shoulder'	<i>hanunuk-</i> 'shadow'
1 sg	<i>lohor-o-gu</i>	<i>tutur-u-gu</i>	<i>banit-i-gu</i>	<i>hanunuk-u-gu</i>
2 sg	<i>lohor-o</i>	<i>tutur-u</i>	<i>banit-i</i>	<i>hanunuk-u</i>
3 sg	<i>lohor-a</i>	<i>tutur-a</i>	<i>banit-a</i>	<i>hanunuk-a</i>
3 sg + proper n.	<i>lohor-i X</i>	<i>tutur-i X</i>	<i>banit-i X</i>	<i>hanunuk-i X</i>
1 du excl	<i>lohor-o-miro</i>	<i>tutur-u-miro</i>	<i>banit-i-miro</i>	<i>hanunuk-u-miro</i>
3 pl	<i>lohor-o-dia</i>	<i>tutur-u-dia</i>	<i>banit-i-dia</i>	<i>hanunuk-u-dia</i>

TABLE 4. SAMPLE PARADIGMS OF CONSONANT-FINAL ROOTS

Since Vitu does not allow consonant clusters, the language needs to deal with the clusters resulting from the combination of a consonant-final root and a consonant-initial suffix (e.g. *lohor-* + *-gu* and *lohor-* + *-na*). It does this in two different ways.

In the case of the 1sg and all the dual and plural suffixes an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the root and the suffix, the quality of which is identical to the last vowel of the root (e.g. *lohor-o-gu*, *banit-i-gu*). This same vowel can be observed in the 2sg forms (e.g. *lohor-o*), but here it is not an epenthetic vowel (for which there is no need), but rather an echo vowel which functions as a separate morpheme with the meaning '2sg possessive'. This is in agreement with the V-final bases, where this same morpheme occurs following vowels, e.g. *go-o* 'your spouse'. (As mentioned above, such words containing a 2sg possessive morpheme are actually the only sequences of like vowels in the language). For 3sg (*lohor-* + *-na*) we can posit a rule of consonant cluster reduction, such that *C-na* is reduced to *C-a*. The same reduction happens in the case of a following proper noun: *lohor-* + *-ni* becomes *lohori*. The rules of vowel epenthesis and of consonant cluster reduction both serve the same purpose: a 'repair mechanism' to get rid of undesired sequences of consonants. What causes the differential treatment of the two cluster types is not clear at this point.

This analysis means that in the case of a word like *banit-* 'shoulder' the vowel *i* has a threefold status within the possessive paradigm.

a. In the case of *banit-i-gu* 'my shoulder' and plural forms like *banit-i-dia* 'their shoulders' the *i* is an epenthetic echo vowel (and best considered part of the suffix).

b. In the case of *banit-i* 'your shoulder', *-i* echoes the last vowel of *banit-* and constitutes a separate morpheme 'your (sg)'.

c. In the case of *banit-i X* ‘the shoulder of X’, *-i* is an allomorph of *-ni* where the *n* has been deleted.

Table 5 below contains an alphabetical list of some frequent consonant-final inalienable roots, together with their 1sg, 2sg and 3sg forms. In the case of locative nouns such as *polok-* ‘inside’, we have included the general preposition *na* ‘in, on, at’.

ROOT	GLOSS	1SG	2SG	3SG
<i>baik-</i>	‘armpit’	<i>baikigu</i>	<i>baiki</i>	<i>baika</i>
<i>bizek-</i>	‘weight’	<i>bizekegu</i>	<i>bizeke</i>	<i>bizeka</i>
<i>hirip-</i>	‘side, edge’	<i>na hiripigu</i>	<i>na hiripi</i>	<i>na hiripa</i>
<i>hulit-</i>	‘skin’	<i>hulitigu</i>	<i>huliti</i>	<i>hulita</i>
<i>kozip-</i>	‘nail’	<i>kozipigu</i>	<i>kozipi</i>	<i>kozipa</i>
<i>livuk-</i>	‘cross-sibling’	<i>livukugu</i>	<i>livuku</i>	<i>livuka</i>
<i>palek-</i>	‘fruit’	<i>palekegu</i>	<i>paleke</i>	<i>paleka</i>
<i>polok-</i>	‘inside’	<i>na polokogu</i>	<i>na poloko</i>	<i>na poloka</i>
<i>pupur-</i>	‘bottom’	<i>pupurugu</i>	<i>pupuru</i>	<i>pupura</i>
<i>taur-</i>	‘underside’	<i>na taurugu</i>	<i>na tauru</i>	<i>na taura</i>
<i>tavik-</i>	‘cheek’	<i>tavikigu</i>	<i>taviki</i>	<i>tavika</i>
<i>vinek-</i>	‘relative’	<i>vinekegu</i>	<i>vineke</i>	<i>vineka</i>
<i>viuk-</i>	‘body odour’	<i>viukugu</i>	<i>viuku</i>	<i>viuka</i>
<i>votak-</i>	‘middle, center’	<i>votakagu</i>	<i>votakaho</i>	<i>votaka</i>

TABLE 5. CONSONANT-FINAL INALIENABLE ROOTS

2.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is common in Vitu. Its meaning ranges from pluralising (for nouns), intensifying (for adjectives), to continuous or durative action, as well as intransitivising (for verbs). This section focusses on the formal aspects of reduplication; for more information on its semantics, see §3.3.3 for nouns, §3.7.2 for adjectives and §4.5 for verbs.

Formally three types of reduplication can be distinguished: full, partial and medial.

a. Full reduplication is suffixing and disyllabic, i.e. the last two syllables of the root are copied. Notice that in the case of *kaua* and *lohoi* each vowel counts as a separate syllable for the purposes of reduplication:

<i>ruma</i>	<i>ruma-ruma</i>	‘houses’
<i>hanitu</i>	<i>hanitu-nitu</i>	‘evil spirits’
<i>kapiru</i>	<i>kapiru-piru</i>	‘children’
<i>kaua</i>	<i>kaua-ua</i>	‘dogs’
<i>gere</i>	<i>gere-gere</i>	‘play’
<i>hulo</i>	<i>hulo-hulo</i>	‘cook’
<i>lohoi</i>	<i>lohoi-hoi</i>	‘think’

b. Partial reduplication is prefixing and monosyllabic, i.e. the first syllable of the root is copied:

<i>mia</i>	<i>mi-mia</i>	‘sitting, living’
<i>pole</i>	<i>po-pole</i>	‘speaking’
<i>gere</i>	<i>ge-gere</i>	‘playing’
<i>madii</i>	<i>ma-madii</i>	‘standing’

Notice that combinations of full and partial reduplication do occur (see also §4.5 sub f):

<i>habi</i>	<i>ha-habi-habi</i>	‘singing’
<i>vazo</i>	<i>va-vazo-vazo</i>	‘planting’

c. Medial reduplication is infixing and monosyllabic, i.e. the second syllable of the root is copied inside the root. Medial reduplication has only been found on three human nouns, giving a plural or group meaning:

<i>tavine</i>	<i>ta<vi>vine</i>	‘the women’
<i>tamohane</i>	<i>ta<mo>mohane</i>	‘the men’
<i>paraha</i>	<i>pa<ra>raha</i>	‘the elders’

Our data contains one case of what might be called supernumerary reduplication, i.e. the reduplication of more than two syllables. The example is *katiu-katiu* ‘one each’ or ‘each one’, on the basis of *katiu* ‘one’. Note also *katiu-tiu* ‘one by one’, with regular full reduplication.

2.8 Loan phonology

Loan words from Tok Pisin (and possibly from other languages) have brought in non-native phonological patterns. This is shown in the introduction of the phoneme /s/, the presence of final consonants and the occurrence of consonant clusters. The following list presents some of these unadapted loans where these patterns can be observed:

<i>banis</i>	‘bandage; fence’
<i>brus</i>	‘tobacco’
<i>gras</i>	‘grass, lawn’
<i>hauskuk</i>	‘kitchen’
<i>hausik</i>	‘hospital’
<i>haus lotu</i>	‘church (building)’
<i>kar</i>	‘car, tractor’
<i>krismas</i>	‘year’
<i>kros</i>	‘angry’
<i>paiaman</i>	‘coconut drier’ (< fireman)
<i>sikau</i>	‘wallaby’
<i>sospen</i>	‘pan, pot, saucepan’
<i>string</i>	‘fishing line’
<i>susu</i>	‘milk’
<i>vik</i>	‘week’

However, a number of loans from Tok Pisin (TP) have an added final vowel *e* (or *i* in the case of verbs). These words presumably represent an earlier stage of borrowing, as a result of which they were more or less adapted into the native phonology.

<i>beke</i>	‘bag’	TP <i>bek</i>
<i>botole</i>	‘bottle, glass’	TP <i>botol</i>
<i>haine</i>	‘spear with iron head’	TP <i>ain</i>
<i>hate</i>	‘hat’	TP <i>hat</i>
<i>kiki</i>	‘play football’	TP <i>kik</i>
<i>naipe</i>	‘knife’	TP <i>naip</i>
<i>penia</i>	‘paint’ (v)	TP <i>pen</i>

Notice that *haine* has acquired an initial *h*; this confirms our hypothesis in §2.4 that the language has a constraint against content words with initial vowels.

A few words can be identified as loans from other (presumably Oceanic) languages. *Mon* means 'dugout canoe', and *sia* is the name of a dance but the source languages have not yet been identified. Another loan is *manok* 'chicken', primarily used as the cry to get chickens, pigs and fruit as barter when fishery ships from Madang appear in the Vitu harbour. Again, the history of this word is unclear.

3. Nouns and noun phrases

This chapter describes the structure of nouns and noun phrases, including pronouns, various noun classes, articles, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers and adjectives. The complex topic of possession is treated in some detail, but a discussion of relative clauses is kept for the chapter on complex sentences (§9.3).

3.1 Pronouns

There are three sets of pronominal elements in Vitu: free pronouns, object suffixes and enclitics, and possessive suffixes, as shown in Table 6.

		Free pronoun	Object suffix/enclitic	Possessive suffix
sg	1	<i>hau</i>	<i>-au / -u</i>	<i>-gu</i>
	2	<i>ho</i>	<i>-ho</i>	<i>-V</i>
	3	<i>ia</i>	<i>-a / ∅</i>	<i>-na</i>
du	1 ex	<i>miro</i>	<i>-miro</i>	<i>-miro</i>
	1 in	<i>toro ~ to</i>	<i>-doro</i>	<i>-doro ~ -do</i>
	2	<i>moro ~ mo</i>	<i>-moro</i>	<i>-moro ~ -mo</i>
	3	<i>hiro</i>	<i>-hiro</i>	<i>-hiro</i>
pl	1 ex	<i>hita</i>	<i>-hita</i>	<i>-hita</i>
	1 in	<i>tolu</i>	<i>-dolu</i>	<i>-dolu</i>
	2	<i>miu</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
	3	<i>dia</i>	<i>-dia</i>	<i>-dia</i>

TABLE 6. PRONOMINAL SETS

Formally, the non-singular sets are virtually identical across the three categories, with the exception of the first person dual and plural inclusive forms which have an unexpected *d*, shown in bold in the table. The short forms *to / -do* for ‘we (dual inclusive)’ and *mo* ‘you (dual)’ appear to be in free variation with the longer forms *toro / -doro* and *moro*. They tend to be more frequent in spoken language. Additional forms *niau ~ nau* for 1sg and *nihō* for 2sg are found following the prepositions *ni* and *kiri* (see §6.1), but are not included in Table 6.

The free pronoun set is used for subjects in verbal and verbless clauses. The object set is used for three purposes: a) objects of transitive verbs (see §4.2.1); b) experiencers of experiencer verbs (§4.3); and c) objects of prepositions (see chapter 6). The possessive set is found on inalienable nouns and on possessive classifiers (see §3.8).

3.2 Noun classes: an overview

There are various types of nouns in Vitu, distinguished on the basis of their morphosyntactic features. The two main distinctions are firstly the one between alienable and inalienable nouns, and secondly the one between proper and common nouns. These categories will be explained and illustrated below. We will first present a brief overview and a summary table (Table 7), followed by a detailed discussion of all the issues involved.

The distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns in Vitu is shown by the kind of possessive marking these nouns take. Inalienable nouns directly receive possessive suffixes such as *-gu* ‘my’ and *-na* ‘his, her, its’ (see table 6 above for a full list), whereas alienable nouns cannot be suffixed in this way. Rather, they use a separate possessive classifier *ka-* or *ha-* which is suffixed with the possessive markers (see §3.8). The membership of the class of inalienable nouns consists of body parts, kinship terms and locative nouns (see below for details). The contrast between these two types of nouns can be seen in the following example, where the possessive classifier is glossed as PC:

inalienable:	<i>baka-gu</i> head-1s	‘my head’	cf. <i>*ka-gu baka</i>
alienable:	<i>ka-gu ruma</i> PC-1s house	‘my house’	cf. <i>*ruma-gu</i>

The language makes a further refinement within alienable nouns based on the use of the possessive classifier. Most alienable nouns take the general classifier *ka-*, but nouns that refer to articles for consumption (items of food and drink) take the classifier *ha-*, glossed as PCF (‘possessive classifier for food’), as illustrated below:

alienable general:	<u><i>ka-gu</i></u> PC-1s	<i>vaga</i> canoe	‘my canoe’
alienable consumption:	<u><i>ha-gu</i></u> PCF-1s	<i>beti</i> banana	‘my banana(s)’

However, the distinction between these subtypes of alienable nouns is sometimes fluid, as shown in §3.8.3.

The second distinction in noun types is the one between proper and common nouns. Proper nouns are typically names and kinship terms. The distinction is shown by the choice of articles and prepositions. Common nouns, for instance, take the general locative preposition *na* ‘at, in, on’, but when used with proper nouns, the shape of this preposition is *ni*, glossed as loc:PN (‘locative preposition with proper nouns’). Several other prepositions and the 3sg possessive suffix are also sensitive to this distinction. The distinction between a proper and a common noun is illustrated in the following example:

common:	<i>na malala</i> loc village	‘in the village’	cf. * <i>ni malala</i>
proper:	<i>ni tama-gu</i> loc:PN father-1s	‘to my father’	cf. * <i>na tama-gu</i>

These two parameters alienable/inalienable and common/proper together divide up all the nouns, interacting in interesting ways. Common nouns can be either alienable or inalienable, whereas proper nouns are virtually always inalienable. (The one or two exceptions will be discussed in §3.2.2.) Table 7 below summarizes these facts.

		alienable / inalienable	common / proper	with preposition and possessive	membership
1	<i>baka</i> ‘head’	inalienable	common	<i>na baka-gu</i> ‘on my head’	body parts, locative nouns
2	<i>tama</i> ‘father’	inalienable	proper	<i>ni tama-gu</i> ‘to my father’	most kinship terms
3	<i>ruma</i> ‘house’ <i>vanua</i> ‘garden’	alienable	common	<i>na ka-dolu ruma</i> ‘at our house’ <i>na ha-dolu vanua</i> ‘at our garden’	all other nouns

TABLE 7. NOUN CLASSES

After this brief overview we will now discuss the details of each noun class. Since alienable nouns and common nouns represent the unmarked case, not much

more will be said about these. In addition to these types, we recognise two quantifying nouns (*habu* and *nuhu*), which will be discussed in §3.6.2.

3.2.1 Alienable and inalienable nouns

As stated above, most nouns in the language are alienable, while a sizable minority can be classified as inalienable. The distinctive mark of inalienable nouns is that a possessive suffix can be directly attached to them. Semantically, a number of groupings can be distinguished among inalienable nouns, illustrated here with the 3sg suffix *-na* (or its allomorph *-a* after consonants; see §2.6), since many or most of these nouns are bound roots which do not occur on their own. With the exception of the last group, these example lists are not meant to be exhaustive.

1. Kinship terms

<i>go-na</i>	‘his/her spouse’
<i>rava-na</i>	‘his/her in-law’
<i>tama-na</i>	‘his/her father’
<i>tazi-na</i>	‘his brother; her sister (same-sex sibling)’
<i>titina-na</i>	‘his/her mother’
<i>tu-na</i>	‘his/her child’
<i>vahapa-na</i>	‘his/her maternal nephew/niece/uncle/aunt’
<i>vidirik-a</i>	‘his/her offspring, descendants’

Exceptions:

<i>kana toto</i>	‘his/her aunt; father’s sister’	<i>*toto-na</i>
<i>kana kapiru</i>	‘his/her child’	<i>*kapiru-na</i> ¹
	(more usual: <i>tu-na</i> ‘his/her child’)	

Notice that all kinship nouns are also proper nouns, taking the preposition set *ni*, except *tu* ‘child’, which is sometimes also treated as a common noun (see §3.2.2).

2. Body parts

<i>hulit-a</i>	‘his/her skin’
<i>kabe-na</i>	‘his/her leg’
<i>lima-na</i>	‘his/her hand’
<i>livuha-na</i>	‘his/her body’

¹ Although *kapiru-na* is ungrammatical to refer to someone’s child, it can be used to characterise someone, as in *kapiru-na pole-a* ‘a talkative child’ (lit. child of words).

<i>muku-na</i>	‘his/her sore’
<i>ngepe-na</i>	‘his/her liver’
<i>poda-na</i>	‘his/her corpse’
<i>tori-na</i>	‘his/her shinbone’
<i>tutur-a</i>	‘his/her knee’
<i>vule-na</i>	‘his/her soul’ (the ‘soul’ which flees away when s.o. is startled)

Exceptions:

<i>ka-na hate vilivili</i>	‘his/her lung(s)’	<i>*hate-na vilivili; *hate vilivili-na</i>
<i>ka-na meme</i>	‘his/her genitals’	<i>*meme-na</i>
<i>ka-na purupuru</i>	‘his beard’	<i>*purupuru-na</i>

This group also includes body parts of animals, as well as parts of plants and trees:

<i>banit-a</i>	‘its shoulder, upper arm, its wings’
<i>hara-na</i>	‘its seeds’
<i>lalavi-na</i>	‘its tail feathers’
<i>liko-na</i>	‘its tail’
<i>mida-na</i>	‘its flesh’
<i>palek-a</i>	‘its fruit’
<i>rau-na</i>	‘its leaf’
<i>vuvu-na</i>	‘its trunk, its base’

3. **Things produced by the body** (and by extension also things produced by other objects)

<i>balunga-na</i>	‘the sound of his/her/its voice’
<i>bizek-a</i>	‘his/her weight’
<i>halinga-na</i>	‘its sound’
<i>hanunuk-a</i>	‘his/her shadow; his/her photograph’
<i>liuk-a</i>	‘his/her tears’
<i>memek-a</i>	‘his/her urine’
<i>ngingi-na</i>	‘his/her voice; its melody’
<i>tahe-na</i>	‘his/her faeces’
<i>topo-na</i>	‘his/her blood’
<i>viuk-a</i>	‘his/her body odour’

Exception:

<i>ka-na rorongo</i>	‘his/her sweat’	<i>*rorongo-na</i>
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4. Locative nouns

Locative nouns are best illustrated in combination with the general locative preposition *na*, which shows that they are common nouns. Although the English equivalent of these examples is sometimes a simple preposition, structurally these are full prepositional phrases in Vitu, comparable to English constructions such as ‘on top of’ and ‘on account of’. For the sake of clarity we provide examples with the 3rd person and 1st person singular possessive suffixes. For the morphophonemic processes involved, see §2.6.

<i>na hate-na</i>	‘in front of him’	<i>na hate-gu</i>	‘in front of me’
<i>na hirip-a</i>	‘besides, next to him/her/it’	<i>na hirip-igu</i>	‘beside me’
<i>na hudu-na</i>	‘on top of, on him/her/it’	<i>na hudu-gu</i>	‘on top of me’
(variant: <i>na hud-a</i>)			
<i>na kikit-a</i>	‘besides, next to him/her/it’	<i>na kikit-igu</i>	‘beside me’
(variants: <i>na kitak-a</i> , <i>na kitak-agu</i>)			
<i>na lama-na</i>	‘behind him/her/it’	<i>na lama-gu</i>	‘behind me’
<i>na mudu-na</i>	‘at the place occupied by s.t.’	<i>na mudu-gu</i>	‘at my place’
<i>na palaka-na</i>	‘at its place’	-	
<i>na palige-na</i>	‘at the other side’	-	
<i>na polok-a</i>	‘in, inside him/her/it’	<i>na polok-ogu</i>	‘in me’
<i>na taur-a</i>	‘underneath him/her/it’	<i>na taur-ugu</i>	‘under me’

When used in an absolute sense, some locative nouns are in fact treated as proper nouns and hence take the general preposition *ni*:

<i>ni muga</i>	‘at the front; in front’	<i>na muga-gu</i>	‘in front of me’
<i>ni muri</i>	‘at the back’	-	

5. Miscellaneous

<i>hiza-na</i>	‘his/her name’
<i>kuli-na</i>	‘his/her/its desire, wish’
<i>makolik-a</i>	‘his/her/its replacement’
<i>paraha-na</i>	‘his/her/its older relative’ (but <i>ka-na Paraha</i> ‘his/her Lord’)
<i>rua-na</i>	‘his/her friend’
<i>tamaninik-a</i>	‘his/her friends’
<i>taua-na</i>	‘his/her owner, master’

3.2.2 Proper nouns and common nouns

The difference between proper and common nouns is shown in four areas.

a. Proper nouns take the **article** *a*, while common nouns take the article *na*.

b. Proper nouns are preceded by **prepositions** ending in *i* (*ni* ‘general preposition’, *kiri* ‘to’, *kamani* ‘with’, *bukuni* ‘from’); common nouns by the corresponding prepositions ending in the vowel *a* (*na*, *kara*, *kamana*, *bukuna*). See chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of these prepositions.

c. When they occur in an **inalienable possessor phrase**, proper nouns trigger the 3rd sg possessive suffix *-ni* (or its allomorph *-i* after consonants); common nouns take *-na* (or its allomorph *-a*).

d. When they occur in a possessor phrase, alienable common nouns are preceded by the **possessive classifiers** *ka-* or *ha-* and the suffix *-na* (making *ka-na* and *ha-na*); proper nouns are preceded by the specific portmanteau forms *ke* or *he*. For a detailed discussion on possession, see §3.8.

Table 8 displays and illustrates these differences.

The following semantic categories can be distinguished within the class of proper nouns.

1. **Names of people**, both male and female (illustrated with the article *a*): *a Remo*, *a Sepa*, *a Vena*, *a Leni*, *a Patrik*.

2. **Names of places** (illustrated with prepositions): *ni Vitu* ‘on Vitu’ (**na Vitu*), *kiri Kimbe* ‘to Kimbe’ (**kara Kimbe*). Several place names are exceptional in that they are treated as common nouns for reasons which are unclear: *na Lambe* ‘in Lambe’ (**ni Lambe*)¹, *na Vituhu*, *na Lomu*, *na Zige*.

3. **Kinship terms** (illustrated with prepositions): *ni tama-na* ‘to his/her father’; *kiri go-gu* ‘to my spouse’. The word *tu* ‘child’ is also classified as a proper noun, though occasionally it is treated as a common noun: *kamani tu-gu* ‘with my child’, but also (though rarer) *kamana tu-gu*.

¹ The village of Lambe is located on the north coast at a position where there was no village in the past. We can speculate that *lambe* was originally a common noun which only recently turned into a proper noun. However, the word *lambe* has no meaning in Vitu (nor the word *zambe*; in Lambe *z* is pronounced *l*; see §1.4).

	common	example of common noun	proper	example of proper noun
a. article	<i>na</i>	<i>na ruma</i> ‘the/a house’	<i>a</i>	<i>a Naio</i> ‘Naio’
b. pre- position	<i>na</i> ‘locative’ <i>kara</i> ‘to’ <i>kamana</i> ‘with’ <i>bukuna</i> ‘from’	<i>kamana kaua</i> ‘with a dog’	<i>ni</i> ‘locative’ <i>kiri</i> ‘to’ <i>kamani</i> ‘with’ <i>bukuni</i> ‘from’	<i>kamani</i> <i>tama-gu</i> ‘with my father’
c. 3sg pos- sensitive suffix in inalienable possessor phrase	<i>-na</i>	<i>kabe-na kaua</i> ‘the dog’s leg’	<i>-ni</i>	<i>kabe-ni</i> <i>tama-gu</i> ‘my father’s leg’
d. 3sg pos- sensitive in alienable possessor phrase	<i>ka-na</i> ‘general’ <i>ha-na</i> ‘food’	<i>ruma ka-na</i> <i>kaua</i> ‘a dog’s house’ <i>beti ha-na</i> <i>kapiru</i> ‘the children’s bananas’	<i>ke</i> ‘general’ <i>he</i> ‘food’	<i>ruma ke</i> <i>Naio</i> ‘Naio’s house’ <i>beti he</i> <i>tama-gu</i> ‘my father’s bananas’

TABLE 8. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CORRELATES OF COMMON AND PROPER NOUNS

4. **Names of months:** *ni April* ‘in April’ (**na April*), but not with the word for month: *na lingabo April* ‘in the month of April’. Years can be either common or proper: *na ~ ni 1993* ‘in 1993’. The names of days (all borrowed) are always common nouns: *na Sande* ‘on Sunday’.

5. **Full pronouns:** *ni hita* ‘to us’, *kiri hiro* ‘to them’, *kama dia* ‘with them’. Full pronouns are exceptional for proper nouns in that they never take articles. In combination with the prepositions *ni* and *kamani* there are some unique forms, such as *ni niau* ‘to me’ (see §6.1). Also, pronouns behave in unique ways in the possessive system (see §3.8).

6. **Titles:** *ni taua* ‘to the master’, *ni pater* ‘to the priest’, *ni Deo* ‘to God’, *ni member* ‘to the member of parliament’. There appears to be quite a bit of variation in

the area of titles, most which are loan words. The word *pater* ‘priest’ is clearly a proper noun in that it takes the proper article *a*, as well as the possessive classifier *ke* in a possessor phrase (*ruma ke pater* ‘the priest’s house’) and usually the general preposition *ni*. But with at least one preposition it allows both forms: *kamani pater* ~ *kamana pater* ‘with the priest’. It is also exceptional in that it is one of two proper nouns which follows an alienable pattern (all other proper nouns are inalienable): ‘our priest’ is *ka-dolu pater*, with the possessive classifier *ka-*, rather than the expected **pater-dolu* with direct possession. Surprisingly, this phrase takes the common preposition *na*: *na kadolu pater* ‘to our priest’ (**ni kadolu pater*). The other alienable proper noun is *Deo* ‘God’, as shown by *a Deo* ‘God’, *ni Deo* ‘to God’, *kamani Deo* ‘with God’, *polea ke Deo* ‘the Word of God’; but *kadolu Deo* ‘our God’ (**Deo-dolu*). *Paraha* has the meanings of ‘older relative, elder, lord’ or ‘the Lord’. In the second sense it is often treated as a common noun: *polea kana Paraha* ‘the word of the Lord’, as against *baikazoho ke pararaha* ‘an ancestral ceremonial area’, which shows the classifier *ke* used for proper nouns. Not all titles are proper nouns: *tisa* ‘teacher’ is classified as a common noun: *na tisa* ‘a/the teacher’.

7. **Cardinal directions**, all of which are loan words: *ni nort* ‘in the north’, although *na nort* is also acceptable. The names of seasons and winds are treated as common nouns: *na rahi* ‘in the windy dry season’, *kamana havara* ‘with the north-western winds’.

8. **Names of animals as characters** in stories: *a toha* ‘the chicken’, *a hadora* ‘the cuscus’. This usage is rather inconsistent. In one story, for instance, a snake who is the main character is referred to as *a matabunu* (proper) and *na matabunu* (common). Similarly, in another story we find both *hizu-na hadora* ‘the nose of the cuscus’ with *-na* (for common nouns) and *liko-ni hadora* ‘the tail of the cuscus’ with *-ni* (for proper nouns).

9. **The question word *zei* ‘who’**: *a-zei* (with the article *a*), *ni zei* ‘to whom’, *kamani zei* ‘with whom’, *ke zei* ‘whose’, *he zei* ‘whose (edible item)’. See §8.5.2.

10. **Some other nouns** can occasionally be treated as proper nouns taking the preposition *kamani*: *kamani hanitu-nitu* ‘with the evil spirits’. This appears to be especially the case with reduplicated nouns having human or spirit references. See §6.4 for more discussion.

Although all the nouns listed above share the feature of being proper nouns, they differ in some important respects, especially in how they undergo possession. Most of the proper nouns cannot be possessed at all; this includes the names of people and places, months, days, full pronouns, cardinal directions and the word for ‘who’. These

nouns are left unspecified for the distinction between alienable and inalienable. Kinship terms, on the other hand, are almost always inalienable nouns, receiving direct possession. Finally, some titles such as *pater* ‘priest’ and *Deo* ‘God’ are alienable nouns which can receive indirect possession.

3.3 Complex nouns

Most nouns in Vitu are morphologically simple. Complex nouns are formed through affixation (mainly suffixation) or reduplication. There is one possible case of compounding, discussed in §3.3.4.

3.3.1 Prefixation

Prefixation on nouns is very rare. In our data it is limited to the prefix *vari-* (see also §4.4.2) in combination with the suffix *-Ci* on two nouns:

<i>vari-tazi-ni</i>	‘brothers; sisters’	<i>tazi</i>	‘same-sex sibling’
<i>vari-go-ni</i>	‘a married couple’	<i>go</i>	‘spouse’
(often: <i>varigoni rua</i>)			

3.3.2 Suffixation

There are several cases of suffixation with nouns.

a. Possessive suffixes on inalienable nouns (see §3.8.1).

b. The nominalising suffix *-a*, with allomorphs *-nga* and *-anga*. This suffix appears on simple verbal roots as well as on reduplicated stems (both partial and full reduplication). The basic form *-a* occurs following verbs ending in the vowels *i*, *o* or *u*. The resulting noun can denote the activity or event referred to by the verb (e.g. ‘fishing’), an abstract quality (e.g. ‘happiness’) or the location of the event (e.g. ‘place for fishing’). Illustrative examples:

<i>hani-hani-a</i>	‘party, feast’	<i>hani-hani</i>	‘eat’ (intr)
<i>hilohilo-a</i>	‘happiness’	<i>hilohilo</i>	‘happy’
<i>hozo-hozo-a</i>	‘end’	<i>hozo</i>	‘finished’
<i>lohu-a</i>	‘arrival’	<i>lohu</i>	‘arrive’
<i>manginu-nginu-a</i>	‘dream’	<i>manginu-nginu</i>	‘dream’ (intr)
<i>pati-a</i>	‘place for fishing’	<i>pati</i>	‘float; stop’
<i>pole-a</i>	‘word’	<i>pole</i>	‘speak’
<i>polo-polo-a</i>	‘gangplank, steps’	<i>polo</i>	‘go aboard’

<i>rumaka koko-a</i>	‘house of defecation, toilet’	<i>koko</i>	‘defecate’
<i>tapu-tapu-a</i>	‘fishing’	<i>taputapu</i>	‘fish’ (intr)
<i>vatomutomu-a</i>	‘circumcision’	<i>vatomutomu</i>	‘circumcise’ (intr)
<i>zuzu-a</i>	‘breastfeeding’	<i>zuzu</i>	‘breastfeed, suckle’

The allomorph *-nga* is used for verbs which end in *a*. In this way, the impermissible cluster *aa* is broken up:

<i>gala-nga</i>	‘work’	<i>gala</i>	‘work’
<i>mia-nga</i>	‘seat; life’	<i>mia</i>	‘sit, live’
<i>va-vana-nga</i>	‘trip’	<i>vana</i>	‘walk’
<i>varaga-raga-nga</i>	‘throwing’	<i>varaga</i>	‘throw’

There is one exception where *-nga* follows *i*:

<i>hani-nga</i>	‘food’	<i>hani-hani</i>	‘eat’ (intr)
		<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’ (tr)

The allomorph *-anga* was found on two verbs ending in *e*:

<i>make-anga</i>	‘ceremony’	<i>make</i>	‘hold a ceremony’
<i>mota have-anga</i>	‘clothes line’	<i>have</i>	‘hang’ (intr)

The suffix *-a* and *-nga* also appear in some other instances, where the categorial status is not clear:

<i>tazina muri-a</i>	‘his second brother’	<i>muri</i>	‘behind, later’
<i>tazina muga-nga</i>	‘the eldest brother’	<i>muga</i>	‘front’
<i>dala-nga-na</i>	‘way of using’	<i>dala</i>	‘road, way’

c. A number of nouns are derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-Ca*. As with the transitive suffix *-Ci*, the thematic consonant varies with the lexical root. The meaning of these derivations varies; see §3.7.2 for a full list and a detailed discussion of these forms.

<i>bize-ka</i>	‘his/her/its weight’	<i>bize</i>	‘heavy’
<i>bura-ta</i>	‘the old one’	<i>bura</i>	‘old’

3.3.3 Reduplication

For the formal aspects of partial, full and medial reduplication, see §2.7. Partial reduplication does not seem to occur on nominal bases. Full reduplication is frequent on nouns, signalling plurality and variety. It should be noted that that a simple noun can have both singular and plural reference, especially with inanimate referents, but the reduplicated form must have non-singular reference. *Boro*, for instance, is ‘pig, pigs’, but *boro-boro* means ‘pigs, a variety of pigs, a collection of pigs’. In the following list the singular and plural translations are therefore simplifications which should be interpreted in this light.

<i>goloa-loa</i>	‘things, possessions’	<i>goloa</i>	‘something’
<i>hanitu-nitu</i>	‘evil spirits’	<i>hanitu</i>	‘evil spirit’
<i>kapiru-piru</i>	‘children’	<i>kapiru</i>	‘child’
<i>kaua-ua</i>	‘dogs’	<i>kaua</i>	‘dog’
<i>polea-lea</i>	‘all kinds of talk’	<i>polea</i>	‘word, speech, talk’
<i>ruma-ruma</i>	‘houses’	<i>ruma</i>	‘house’

In a number of cases the reduplicated meaning is lexicalised:

<i>dama-dama</i>	‘early in the morning’	<i>dama</i>	‘day, morning’
<i>marigo-rigo</i>	‘pre-dawn; 4-5 a.m.’	<i>marigo</i>	‘night, evening’
<i>manu-manu</i>	‘people’	<i>manu</i>	‘bird’
<i>tahe-tahe</i>	‘rubbish’	<i>tahe</i>	‘excrement’

Finally, a number of nouns only occur in reduplicated form (normally written as one word, but here given with a hyphen):

<i>daba-daba</i>	‘wall’
<i>duli-duli</i>	‘dry banana leaves’
<i>duri-duri</i>	‘ant’
<i>gari-gari</i>	‘soil, earth, ground, land’
<i>hari-hari</i>	‘obsidian; broken glass’
<i>luba-luba</i>	‘ocean eel’
<i>mugo-mugo</i>	‘forest, bush’
<i>puru-puru</i>	‘beard’

Medial reduplication has only been found on three human nouns, giving a plural or group meaning:

<i>ta<vi>vine</i>	‘women’	<i>tavine</i>	‘woman’
<i>ta<mo>mohane</i>	‘men’	<i>tamohane</i>	‘man’
<i>pa<ra>raha</i>	‘elders’	<i>paraha</i>	‘elder, lord; the Lord’

3.3.4 Compounding

Compared to verbs, where compounding is extremely frequent, nominal compounding seems to be virtually non-existent. The only candidates for compounding are words which contain the root *habu*, meaning something like ‘a group (of relatives)’, as in *habu tazi-na* ‘his brothers; her sisters’ (*tazi-* ‘same-sex sibling’). Although the root *habu* does not occur by itself, we treat it as a special kind of quantifier; see §3.6.2.

3.4 Articles

Vitu has two articles, *a* and *na*. The article *a* occurs with proper nouns while *na* is found with common nouns. It is important to distinguish the common article *na* from two other free morphemes which also have the shape *na*: the locative preposition *na* ‘at, on, in’ (discussed in §6.2), and the irrealis marker *na* (discussed in §5.3). In addition there is the 3rd person singular possessive suffix *-na* ‘his/her/its’.

3.4.1 The proper article *a*

The distribution of the proper article *a* is not clear. There appears to be quite a bit of free variation in its usage among speakers. Some speakers and writers use it consistently, others employ it intermittently, without as yet clearly discernible patterns. The use of the article might indicate high prominence of the participant involved, but this needs further research. Examples of the article with names, kinship terms and titles:

- (1) *Livuk-ugu a Kalago.*
cross.sibling-1s ART K.
‘My brother Kalago.’
- (2) *Kaka katiu hiza-na a Kusak.*
person one name-3s ART K.
‘A man whose name was Kusak.’
- (3) *A Lama ia e malala matamuli.*
ART L. 3s R:3 village beautiful
‘Lama is a beautiful village.’
- (4) *A tama-na e lama.*
ART father-3s R:3 wake.up
‘Her father woke up.’

- (5) A *tu-hiro mata-na ia tuturuve.*
 ART child-3d eye-3s 3s sleepy
 ‘Their son became sleepy.’
- (6) *Pebarae, a dokta ki vota-hi-au.*
 therefore ART doctor CONT:3 cut.open-TR-1s
 ‘Therefore the doctor operated on me.’ (Lit. ‘...cut me open.’)
- (7) A *Deo beta ni lala kete vati-au.*
 ART God NEG IRR:3 HAB IMM leave-1s
 ‘God never leaves me.’

As mentioned in §3.2.2, in some cases there is free variation between *a* and *na*, especially with kinship terms and titles. In examples (4) - (5), for instance, the use of the common article *na* with the kinship terms *tama-na* and *tu-hiro* is also acceptable.

The following examples are all culled from unedited texts where the article does not appear before proper nouns. In all these places, marked by \emptyset , the article *a* can be supplied without a change in meaning. In (9) both *a* and *na* may occur.

- (8) *Vazira matoto, na malala koha-nga \emptyset Apungi,...*
 long.ago very loc village call-PASS A.
 ‘A long long time ago, in a village called Apungi....’
- (9) *Hiro ta vala na haroho ni taua-hiro.*
 3d R give ART fire loc:PN master-3d
 \emptyset *Taua-hiro e hilohilo matoto.*
 master-3d R:3 happy very
 ‘They gave the fire to their master. Their master was very happy.’
- (10) \emptyset *Aloisius ia \emptyset tu-gu tamohane.*
 A. 3s child-1s man
 ‘Aloisius is my son.’ (Lit. ‘A. is my male child.’)

The article *a* seems to be obligatorily absent in the following cases:

a. Following the vowel *a*, as in the second instance of (10) above, where the preceding *ia* constitutes a phonological block to the article. In this case the use of *na* is fine.

b. With vocatives: *John, mai!* ‘John, come here!’

c. After prepositions and 3sg possessive suffixes, which are already marked for a following proper noun by the final vowel *i* (see §3.2.2): *ni Peter* ‘to Peter’; *kamani Galiki* ‘with Galiki’; *tama-ni John* ‘John’s father’.

d. After the possessive classifiers *ke* and *he* which are also already marked as being followed by proper nouns (see §3.2.2 and §3.8): *ruma ke John* ‘John’s house’.

3.4.2 The common article *na*

As with the proper article, the meaning and distribution of the article *na* with common nouns is not easy to pin down. It is more often absent than present, and when *na* precedes a noun one needs to establish first whether it is the article *na* or the homophonous general preposition *na* ‘at, in, on’. In some cases this is less than straightforward, as with *na dama* ‘(on) the day’. The article *na* does not mark definiteness, as it can be used for new and unknown referents. In general it appears that *na* is never used in the following two syntactic contexts:

a. After a preposition: *kara vazalea* ‘to the beach’, but not **kara na vazalea*; *na malala* ‘in the village’ (or ‘the/a village’ with the article *na*), but not **na na malala*.

b. In dependent possessor phrases following the classifiers *ka-na* and *ha-na* (see §3.8 for details): *ruma ka-na kaua* ‘a dog’s house’, but not **ruma ka-na na kaua*.

The most frequent contexts where *na* occurs (although not obligatorily) are a) in titles of stories; b) with subjects of equative or existential clauses, and c) as objects. One possible hypothesis is that *na* is used with referential and highly topical noun phrases in a limited number of contexts. Extensive research on a large body of texts is needed to prove this hypothesis. Examples of *na*, all taken from texts, follow below:

- (11) *Na* *tavine katiu.*
ART woman one.

‘A woman.’ (Title of a story.)

- (12) *Hau ta havi-li-a na kaluha katiu.*
1s R hook-TR-3s ART shark one

‘I caught a shark.’

- (13) *Hau ta tani-a beta ni hiha, na kaluha kote.*
1s R say-3s NEG IRR:3 fish, ART shark small

‘I said it is not a fish, it is a small shark.’

- (14) *Na kaka na lama-gu.*
 ART person loc back-1s
 ‘The man is behind me.’ (Or: ‘There is a man behind me.’)
- (15) *Na potuna kua, na tamohane lapunu katiu e lala*
 loc mountain this ART man old one R:3 HAB
kete mi-mia vona.
 PURP RED-live loc:3s
 ‘On this mountain there lived an old man.’
- (16) *Na tavine kote kua, hiza-na a Galiki.*
 ART woman small this name-3s ART G.
 ‘This little girl, her name was Galiki.’
- (17) *Kaka katiu na malala kapou ti hada-vi-a na vaga.*
 person one loc village big PF:3 see-TR-3s ART boat
 ‘One man in the big village had seen the boat.’

From these examples it is obvious that *na* does not mark definiteness. In (16), the girl is definite, as shown by the demonstrative *kua*. Similarly, in (17) the boat is definite, since it has been the topic of a previous sentence. However, in (12) and (13) the shark is a referential but indefinite entity.

3.5 Demonstratives

The demonstrative system of Vitu is fairly straightforward. There are only three demonstratives: *kua* ‘this’, *kena* ‘that (near addressee)’ and *kuari* ‘that (over there)’. The last form appears to be a compound and has a more limited distribution.

3.5.1 *kua*

Kua is used in a number of ways, all of which relate to the notion of ‘nearness’, either in a physical, temporal or cognitive sense (as a topic in a discourse).

a. Physical proximity:

- (18) *Nazia kua?*
 what this
 ‘What is this?’ (Speaker points to an object within his/her reach.)

- (19) *Kua patete kua.*
 this sweet.potato this
 ‘This is a sweet potato.’
- (20) *Ruma ke zei kua?*
 house PC:PN who this
 ‘Whose house is this?’ (Speaker points to nearby house.)
- (21) *Na polok-a ruma kua*
 loc inside-3s house this
 ‘In this house...’
- (22) *Tai, botole kua, mai muga nu titi-ri-au.*
 brother glass this come first IRR:2 shave-TR-1s
 ‘Brother, here is a piece of glass, let me shave you first.’

Notice the syntactic distribution of *kua* in these examples. In (18), (19) and (20) *kua* functions as a pronominal demonstrative heading up a noun phrase. In (19) *kua* occurs both clause-initially and clause-finally; this is common with demonstratives, especially in equative clauses (see §7.3). In (21) *kua* functions as an adnominal demonstrative, modifying the noun *ruma*. In (22) *kua* functions as an identifying demonstrative, introducing a new object which is already on the scene.

In combination with the adverb *ri* ‘here’, *ri kua* means ‘here’ or ‘from here’:

- (23) *Da beta ve tolu kata hubi-a manumanu ri kua.*
 FUT NEG also 1pi PURP hit-3s people here this
 ‘We will no longer kill the people (from) here.’

b. *Kua* also signals temporal proximity. As a temporal adverb it means ‘now’ (see §7.11.4 for temporal adverbs):

- (24) *Na dazi ia e manilo kua.*
 ART sea 3s R:3 calm now
 ‘The sea is calm now.’
- (25) *Hita katane vano kua.*
 1pe IMM go now
 ‘We are about to go now.’

It is also found in combination with some other temporal adverbs, without a clear difference in meaning, e.g. *meni* and *meni kua* both mean ‘today’.

c. Thirdly, *kua* is used in discourse as a second-mention strategy for noun phrases. Typically, new referents are introduced as bare nouns or with the numeral *katiu* ‘one’. Subsequent reference to the same noun is with *kua*, as illustrated in the following two multi-clausal examples. In such cases *kua* marks the referent as known information to the hearer or reader. In English this can be translated either with the demonstrative ‘this’ or the definite article ‘the’.

- (26) *Boto katiu, na kapiru tavine kamani tama-na hiro ta mia*
 time one ART child woman with:PN father-3s 3d R live
na malala kote katiu. Na tavine kote kua, hiza-na a Galiki.
 loc village small one ART woman small this name-3s ART G.
 ‘Once there was a girl who lived with her father in a small village.
 This/the girl’s name was Galiki.’

- (27) *Hiro kene vazula kara palaka katiu, e kohanga ni Guhi.*
 3d SEQ paddle to place one R:3 call:PASS loc:PN G.
Hiro ta bele na palaka kua ...
 3d R arrive loc place this
 ‘Then the two of them paddled to a place/island which was called Guhi.
 When they arrived at this/the place/island’

3.5.2 *kena*

a. The basic meaning of the demonstrative *kena* is ‘that, there’, pointing to something that is closer to the addressee than it is to the speaker, or to something that is fairly close to both of them, but not within reach:

- (28) *Nazia kena?*
 what that
 ‘What’s that?’ (Speaker points to an object within sight but not within reach.)
- (29) *Na kawa kena!*
 ART dog that
 ‘That’s a dog!’ (Speaker points to a dog walking nearby.)
- (30) *Ia go-gu kena.*
 3s spouse-1s that
 ‘That is my spouse.’ (Speaker points to a person next to the addressee.)

Like *kua*, *kena* is also used to refer to definite referents in the discourse (people, places, times). The exact difference between *kua* and *kena* is not yet clear at this

point, although it seems *kena* is used less often for participants, and more frequently with temporal nouns and locative nouns:

- (31) *Na palaka kena...*
 loc place that
 ‘At that place ...’
- (32) *Dama kena...*
 day kena
 ‘That day...’

Again like *kua*, *kena* can also be repeated in an equative clause:

- (33) *Kena ka-hita ruma kena.*
 that PC-1pe house that
 ‘That’s our house.’

This repetition of the subject in the form of a demonstrative is probably not limited to equative clauses, as shown in the following examples:

- (34) *Ha-dolu hinihini kemi matoto kena.*
 PCF-1pi meat good very that
 ‘Our meat is very good.’
- (35) *Na beha kena e puae na voro kena.*
 ART flying.fox that R:e ashamed loc sun that
 ‘The flying fox was ashamed of the sun (= to see the sun again).’

In (34), *kena* refers back to the noun *hinihini* ‘meat, sidedish’. The final *kena* in (35) appears to modify *vororo* ‘sun’, but according to native speaker intuition it refers back to the flying fox, the subject of the clause. This makes such constructions with clause-final *kena* (and *kua*) structurally ambiguous.

b. A second important usage of *kena* is to modify a whole clause, which it marks as semantically subordinate or backgrounded.

- (36) *Hiro ka hoho na mugomugo kena, hiro ta kaze-kaze na*
 3d SEQ enter loc forest that 3d R search-RED ART
kaza.
 k.o. vine
 ‘When they entered the forest, they looked for *kaza* vines.’

- (37) *Hiro ta pala-pala pala-pala kena, katiu ia hule...*
 3d R cut-RED cut-RED that, one 3s ask

‘As they were cutting and cutting (vines), one of them asked...’

It might appear that in (36) *kena* modifies *mugomugo* ‘forest’. This is possible, as *mugomugo* appears in the previous clause as a new referent without any marking: ‘they went to a/the forest.’ However, the forest is a given entity on Vitu and there appears to be no need for it to be made definite. It seems best to analyse *kena* in (36) as modifying the whole clause. For further examples, see §9.5 on temporal clauses.

c. Finally, *kena* can also function as a complementizer introducing an object complement clause. For further examples, see §9.4 on complement clauses:

- (38) *Ia kini longo-ri-a kena hau ta pole haroi.*
 3s SEQ:3 hear-TR-3s that 1s R speak beg

‘She heard that I was begging’.

3.5.3 *kuari*

The third demonstrative *kuari* ‘that; over there’ is the least common of the three. Although it appears to be a compound containing the root *kua* ‘this’, it refers to entities further away than *kena* ‘that’. Examples:

- (39) a. *Nazia kena?*
 what that

‘What is that?’ (Speaker points to an object away from both speaker and hearer, who are both sitting at the same spot.)

- b. *Na kaua kuari, a Storm.*
 ART dog that ART S.

‘That is a dog, it’s Storm.’ (Or: ‘That dog there, it’s Storm.’)

- (40) *Tetere kapou kuari.*
 fire big that

‘There is a big fire over there.’ (Speaker points to a fire in the distance.)

- (41) *To na vano mia na malala kuari.*
 1di IRR go live loc village that

‘We will go and live in that village.’

Notice that in (39b), which is the answer to (39a), a different demonstrative is used. This illustrates the relative nature of concepts such as ‘near’ and ‘far’. Much, if not all, depends on the speaker’s perspective. To the speaker in (39a), the distance

between him and the questioned object was not sufficient to warrant the use of *kuari*, but for his conversation partner it was. However, it might also be the case that *kena* is the unmarked demonstrative, used for anything not within reach.

3.6. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers are treated together here, as they are linked semantically, (both dealing with quantification) as well as structurally. They occupy the same position within the noun phrase, following the head noun and before the demonstrative (see also §3.9 on NP structure).

3.6.1 Numerals

The numerical system of Vitu is a combination of a quinary system (based on 5) and a decimal system (based on 10). Numbers higher than 5 are expressed as compounds, but there is a separate word for 10 and the decades (20, 30 etc.) are formed on the basis of 10. The numerals 1-10 as listed below are still known and used by most of the Vitu speakers, although Tok Pisin and English numbers are also in common usage. For higher numbers, however, English is almost invariably used, to the extent that the exact meaning of the Vitu numerals can be a source of confusion. Many speakers are uncertain, for instance, whether *zangavuluka rua* means ‘12’ or ‘20’. The following list represents a consensus of the traditional Vitu system, with the right-hand column trying to capture a literal translation. We were unable to elicit native words for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’.

1	<i>katiu</i>	‘one’
2	<i>rua</i>	‘two’
3	<i>tolu</i>	‘three’
4	<i>vata, garamo</i>	‘four’
5	<i>lima</i>	‘five’
6	<i>polo-katiu</i>	‘over one’
7	<i>polo-rua</i>	‘over two’
8	<i>polo-tolu</i>	‘over three’
9	<i>polo-vata (*polo-garamo)</i>	‘over four’
10	<i>zanga-vulu</i>	‘ten’
11	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana katiu</i>	‘one ten plus one’
12	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana rua</i>	‘one ten plus two’
13	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana tolu</i>	‘one ten plus three’
14	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana garamo</i>	‘one ten plus four’
15	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana lima</i>	‘one ten plus five’

16	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana polo-katiu</i>	‘one ten plus over one’
17	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana polo-rua</i>	‘one ten plus over two’
18	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana polo-tolu</i>	‘one ten plus over three’
19	<i>zanga-vuluka katiu balana polo-vata</i>	‘one ten plus over four’
20	<i>zanga-vuluka rua</i>	‘two tens’
21	<i>zanga-vuluka rua balana katiu</i>	‘two tens plus one’
30	<i>zanga-vuluka tolu</i>	‘three tens’
40	<i>zanga-vuluka garamo (*vata)</i>	‘four tens’
50	<i>zanga-vuluka lima</i>	‘five tens’
60	<i>zanga-vuluka polo katiu</i>	‘over one ten = six tens’
70	<i>zanga-vuluka polo rua</i>	‘over two tens = seven tens’
80	<i>zanga-vuluka polo tolu</i>	‘over three tens = eight tens’
90	<i>zanga-vuluka polo vata</i>	‘over four tens = nine tens’
99	<i>zanga-vuluka polo vata balana polo-vata</i>	‘over four tens plus over four’
100	?	
200	?	
1000	?	

A few comments are in place here. *Tolu* ‘three’ is also a pronoun meaning ‘we (plural inclusive)’, see §3.1. For ‘4’ two forms are listed. The word *vata* is only used in counting (*katiu, rua, tolu, vata, lima...*), while *garamo* is used to quantify nouns (‘four days’), as in example (45) below. Notice that *vata* recurs in the word *polo-vata* ‘nine’, but not in the word for ‘40’. *Lima* ‘five’ also means ‘hand, arm’.

The word *polo* in the compounds for ‘6’ to ‘9’ is probably related to the intransitive verb *polo* ‘to step, to go aboard’. We assume it refers to the ‘stepping’ or moving over to the other hand when counting, hence its literal translation ‘over’. The word *zangavulu* ‘10’ is historically made up of three morphemes: *za-* ‘one’, the ligature *-nga-* plus *-vulu* ‘unit of ten’; cf. Proto-Oceanic **saf-nga-|puluq* ‘ten’. In the word for ‘11’ the final *-ka* on *vuluka* probably reflects **q* in POC **puluq* ‘ten’, but the origin of the vowel is obscure. In the forms for ‘11’ and upwards the word *balana* is used, a word which apparently occurs nowhere else in the language. It is tentatively glossed as ‘plus’.

Numerals follow the head noun. Examples of the numerals in phrases:

- (42) *boro katiu*
 pig one
 ‘one pig’

- (43) *hanitu rua kua*
 evil.spirit two this
 ‘these two evil spirits’
- (44) *vari-tazi-ni tolu*
 RED-same.sex.sibling-TR three
 ‘three brothers/sisters’
- (45) *dama garamo*
 day four
 ‘four days’
- (46) *dama e zangavuluka rua balana katiu.*
 day R:3 ten two plus one
 ‘21 days’ or ‘the 21st day’

The word *katiu* ‘one’ has some other functions. It is also used as the referential indefinite marker, and can often be translated ‘a’:

- (47) *na kaluha katiu*
 ART shark one
 ‘a shark’

In addition it can be used pronominally:

- (48) *katiu ni miu / hita*
 one loc:PN 2d 1pe
 ‘one of you / us’

Reduplication of numerals has a distributive meaning:

- (49) *na lingabo katiu-katiu*
 loc moon one-RED
 ‘each month’
- (50) *Tu-na rua-rua e tamohane.*
 child-3s two-RED R:3 man
 ‘Both her children are boys.’

On the basis of *rua* ‘two’ there are some other derivations: *ka-rua* means ‘both’, as in *lima-na ka-rua* ‘both of his hands’. *Rua-na* means ‘second; one of two, the other (of two)’. It is found both following the head as in *boto rua-na* ‘the second time’, *lingabo rua-na* ‘the second month’ and before the head as in the following example:

- (51) *hava-na rua-na hanitu*
 mouth-3s two-3s evil.spirit
 ‘the mouth of the other evil spirit’

A second meaning of *rua-na* is ‘her/her/its friend’, but it is unusual to inflect *rua* in the meaning ‘friend’ for other persons. Finally, *rua* is used adverbially in the following example, where it appears somewhat redundantly in combination with the dual pronoun:

- (52) *Hiro ta rua rogo.*
 3d R two creep
 ‘They both crept (up).’

There is no productive mechanism to form ordinal numerals in Vitu. For ‘first’ the adverb *muga* or *muga-nga* is used. For ‘second’ *rua-na* is the normal expression, as illustrated above. *Tolu-na* means ‘third’ as in *dama tolu-na* ‘the third day’, although *dama tolu* ‘three days’ can also be used to mean ‘the third day’. *Garamo-na* ‘fourth’ occurs in a phrase such as *garamo-na kaka* ‘the fourth person’ (of a group of four), but this usage seems to be limited to people. We were not able to elicit the equivalent of ‘the fourth house’ (of a row of say ten houses). The need to express the concept of ordinal numbers is probably not very high.

3.6.2 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers have been found to date. They all follow the head noun:

<i>kamahi</i>	‘a fair number; a group’
<i>laveve</i>	‘all’
<i>luba</i>	‘many, much’
<i>motu</i>	1. ‘(too) much, a lot of’ (of things which annoy) 2. ‘other, another’
<i>taza</i>	‘some, a few’

Examples in phrases:

<i>kaluha kamahi</i>	‘a number of sharks’
<i>beti laveve</i>	‘all the bananas’
<i>dama laveve</i>	‘all days, every day, always’
<i>boto laveve</i>	‘all times, always’
<i>manumanu luba</i>	‘many people’
<i>hazu motu</i>	‘too much smoke’

<i>tamohane motu</i>	‘another man’
<i>tavine taza</i>	‘some women’

There are two quantifier-like words which precede the head noun: *habu* and *nuhu*. These are best analysed as quantifying nouns, as they differ from the regular quantifiers. *Habu* refers to a group, specifically of relatives and never occurs on its own, although there is a related verb *nihabu-ni-a* ‘to put in groups, to pile up’. The quantifying noun *habu* is found in the following phrases, which are presented here inflected for 1st person or 3rd person singular, except for the first one, where the head noun is reduplicated:

<i>habu go-go</i>	‘group of spouses’	<i>go-</i>	‘spouse’
<i>habu tama-na</i>	‘his fathers’ (his father and paternal uncles)	<i>tama-</i>	‘father’
<i>habu tamaninik-igu</i>	‘my friends’	<i>tamaninik-</i>	‘friends’
<i>habu ka-na tavine</i>	‘a woman’s relatives’	<i>tavine</i>	‘woman’
<i>habu tazi-gu</i>	‘my brothers/sisters’	<i>tazi-</i>	‘same-sex sibling’
<i>habu titina-na</i>	‘his mothers’ (his mother and maternal aunts)	<i>titina-</i>	‘mother’
<i>habu tu-tu-na</i>	‘his children’	<i>tu-</i>	‘child’
<i>habu vidirik-igu</i>	‘my descendants’	<i>vidirik-</i>	‘descendant’

The other quantifying noun is *nuhu* (with a variant *nuhuta* in some contexts) meaning ‘those kinds, those types, those people.’ It can be followed by a noun as in (53), a possessor phrase as in (54), or a demonstrative as in the two examples in (55). In (55) the phrase *nuhu kua* is probably appositional to *tolu*, giving the subject a double head. The following examples were recorded:

- (53) *nuhu(ta) kua kuari*
type dog that
‘those types of dogs’
- (54) *nuhu ka-na tavine*
type PC-3s woman
‘those that the women belong to; the female relatives’
- (55) *Tolu nuhu kua tolu ta lala taputapu-a. Nuhu kuari betaka.*
1pi type this 1pi R know fish-NOM type that NEG
‘We (our type here) know how to fish. Those people do not.’

3.7 Adjectives

The class of adjectives in Vitu is a subclass of verbs (and hence more properly called adjectival verbs or even stative verbs). When they function as predicates, adjectives do not need a copula; like other verbs they do take the aspect-mood-sequentiality (AMS) markers (discussed in chapter 5). Compare the following two examples, and notice that the morphosyntactic marking of the verb *ngoro* ‘sleep’ is identical to the adjective *horaha* ‘tall’:

- (56) a. *Tama-gu e ngo-ngoro.*
 father-1s R:3 RED-sleep
 ‘My father is sleeping.’
- b. *Tama-gu e horaha.*
 father-1s R:3 tall
 ‘My father is tall.’

There are two main differences between adjectival verbs and other types of verbs. In the first place, adjectives can occur as modifiers following the head noun without any intervening AMS markers. This is not possible for non-adjectival verbs (at least not in careful speech); an AMS marker is needed in such cases, creating a relative clause:

- (57) a. *kaka horaha*
 person tall
 ‘a tall man’
- b. **kaka ngo-ngoro*
 person RED-sleep
 ‘the sleeping man’
- c. *kaka e ngo-ngoro*
 person R:3 RED-sleep
 1. ‘a/the man is sleeping’
 2. ‘a/the man who is sleeping, the sleeping man’

Notice that (57c) is ambiguous; it could be either a full clause (reading 1) or a phrase (reading 2). In the latter case *kaka* is the head and *e ngongoro* functions as a relative clause modifying this head.

Secondly, adjectives themselves can be modified by degree words (intensifiers) such as *matoto* ‘very’ and *pitu* ‘a little’: *horaha matoto* ‘very tall’, *zau pitu* ‘a little far away’. With non-adjectival verbs, this is normally not possible.

3.7.1 Simple adjectives

Formally, adjectives can be grouped into a number of categories. The following lists of examples are not meant to be exhaustive.

1. Most adjectives do not have specific formal properties:

<i>banuranga</i>	‘hot (of weather)’
<i>boto</i>	‘short’
<i>bura</i>	‘old (of things)’
<i>havarau</i>	‘long (of time)’
<i>horaha</i>	‘tall’
<i>horihi</i>	‘short (vertical)’
<i>huluvahu</i>	‘young’
<i>kapou</i>	‘big’
<i>kote</i>	‘small’
<i>kozoho</i>	‘near’
<i>lapunu</i>	‘old (of people)’
<i>mate</i>	‘die, dead’
<i>miloloha</i>	‘tasty’
<i>puae</i>	‘ashamed’
<i>putu</i>	‘broken’
<i>vahoru</i>	‘new’
<i>avalaha</i>	‘crazy’
<i>viri</i>	‘stressed’
<i>vitiha</i>	‘difficult’
<i>zau</i>	‘far’

2. Some adjectives have an initial *ma-* (probably a fossilized prefix in some cases):

<i>mahuri</i>	‘alive’
<i>malaku</i>	‘long (horizontal)’
<i>malikoro</i>	‘lucky, blessed, successful’
<i>malimu</i>	‘easy’
<i>manilo</i>	‘calm, quiet’

<i>matamuli</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>matanga</i>	‘sharp’
<i>matuha</i>	‘strong; ripe’

3. Some are reduplicated, with or without existing roots (see also §3.7.2):

<i>buza-buza</i>	‘weak’	<i>buza</i>	‘ripe’
<i>hilo-hilo</i>	‘happy’		

4. Some are reduplicated roots with the suffix *-a*. This includes many colour terms, often derived from concrete nouns. In a number of cases, the root does not exist by itself:

<i>habu-habu-a</i>	‘foggy’	<i>habu-habu</i>	‘fog’
<i>halo-halo-a</i>	‘black’	<i>halo</i>	‘black’
		<i>halo-halo</i>	‘a black stain’
<i>hango-hango-a</i>	‘yellow’	<i>hango</i>	‘yellow ginger-like plant’
<i>havu-havu-a</i>	‘dusty’	<i>havu</i>	‘fireplace’
		<i>havu-havu</i>	‘dust, ashes’
<i>here-here-a</i>	‘red’		
<i>kobo-kobo-a</i>	‘green’		
<i>magi-magi-a</i>	‘cold’		
<i>magole-gole-a</i>	‘bitter’		
<i>molu-molu-a</i>	‘dirty’	<i>molu-molu</i>	‘body dirt’
		<i>moluk-a</i>	‘body dirt of’
<i>mugo-mugo-a</i>	‘overgrown’	<i>mugo-mugo</i>	‘bush, forest’
<i>muku-muku-a</i>	‘full of sores’	<i>muku</i>	‘sore’
<i>pade-pade-a</i>	‘spotted, multicoloured’		
<i>puzo-puzo-a</i>	‘white; yellow (of coconut)’	<i>puzo</i>	‘white’
<i>vili-vili-a</i>	‘blue’		

5. Others with fossilized prefix:

<i>baritunu-tunua</i>	‘red’	<i>baritunu</i>	‘fire’
	(variant: <i>bartuntunua</i>)		
<i>varitihi</i>	‘painful’		
	(variant: <i>vartih</i>)		

Examples of adjectives in noun phrases:

- (58) *na malala vahoru*
 ART village new
 ‘a new village’
- (59) *kavili kapou matoto*
 wind big very
 ‘a very strong wind’
- (60) *na boro kapou katiu*
 ART pig big one
 ‘a/one big pig’

3.7.2 Derived adjectives

Some adjectives but apparently not all, can undergo reduplication. This usually signals intensification:

<i>kapo-pou</i>	‘very big’	<i>kapou</i>	‘big’
(with irregular reduction from <i>kapou-pou</i>)			
<i>kemi-kemi</i>	‘very good’	<i>kemi</i>	‘good’
<i>tavi-tavi</i>	‘very thin’	<i>tavi</i>	‘thin (of objects)’
<i>zau-zau</i>	‘very far’	<i>zau</i>	‘far’

In other cases the meaning is unpredictable:

<i>buza-buza</i>	‘weak’	<i>buza</i>	‘ripe’
<i>dazi-dazi</i>	‘rough (of sea)’	<i>dazi</i>	‘sea’
<i>dolu-dolu</i>	‘webbed (of feet)’	<i>dolu</i>	‘intact, whole’

A third usage of reduplication is as manner adverbs.

<i>vilage-lage</i>	‘slowly’	<i>vilage</i>	‘slow’
<i>zaha-zaha</i>	‘badly, poorly’	<i>zaha</i>	‘bad’

It is possible that there are other uses of reduplicated adjectives, but these have yet to be discovered.

There are no special comparative or superlative forms of adjectives. For the expression of degrees of comparison, see §7.6.

What remains to be discussed under the heading of adjectives is an unproductive and idiosyncratic formation. A number of adjectives can be suffixed with *-Ca* (where C stands for any consonant, though usually *k*), resulting in what appears to be a noun. These nouns appear to have various functions.

1. Many function as substantival adjectives (adjectives functioning as nouns), referring back to a head noun previously mentioned in the discourse, e.g. *kapou* ‘big’, *kapou-ka* ‘the big one’. In some cases a head noun can be present, but this then follows the substantival adjective. Such constructions are reminiscent of what Ross (1998) calls ‘possessive-like attributive constructions’. In Vitu they are fairly uncommon, but the unusual order adjective-noun and the presence of the suffix *-Ca* (similar to the *-a* allomorph of *-na* in inalienable possessive constructions), points in the direction of an original possessive construction.

2. Others function as abstract nouns, e.g. *bize* ‘heavy’, *bize-ka* ‘weight’.

3. Still others have developed very concrete meanings, e.g. *mau* ‘blunt’, *mau-ka* ‘a blunt edge’; *kemi* ‘good’, *kemi-ta* ‘the good one’, but also ‘flesh’ (as opposed to skin and bone).

4. Finally, some have developed unusual meanings and appear to move into the adverbial category.

The following chart shows all the adjectives that have been found with this suffix to date. Notice that *malimu-ana* is exceptional both formally and semantically, and that *zaha* has two *-Ca* forms, *zaha-ta* and the double formation *zaha-ta-ka*. In the chart ‘subst Adj’ stands for a substantival adjective.

adjectival base	gloss	derivation	gloss	category
<i>bize</i>	‘heavy’	<i>bize-ka</i>	‘his weight’	abstract N
<i>boto</i>	‘short’	<i>boto-ka</i>	‘the short one; shortness’	subst Adj, N
<i>bura</i>	‘old’	<i>bura-ta</i>	‘the old one’	subst Adj
<i>kapou</i>	‘big’	<i>kapou-ka</i>	‘the big one’	subst Adj
<i>kemi</i>	‘good’	<i>kemi-ta</i>	‘the good one; the good part; the flesh;	subst Adj, N
<i>kote</i>	‘small’	<i>kote-ka</i>	‘the small one’	subst Adj
<i>malaku</i>	‘long’	<i>malaku-ta</i>	‘the long one; length’	subst Adj, N
<i>malimu</i>	‘easy’	<i>malimu-ana</i>	‘the easy way, easily’	Adv

<i>matanga</i>	‘sharp’	<i>matanga-ra</i>	‘the sharp edge; sharpness’	N
<i>mate</i>	‘die, dead’	<i>mate-ka</i>	‘something which causes sickness or death’	N
<i>matuha</i>	‘strong; ripe’	<i>matuha-nga</i>	‘power’	N
<i>mau</i>	‘blunt’	<i>mau-ka</i>	‘the blunt edge’	N
<i>puzo</i>	‘white’	<i>puzo-ka</i>	‘the white part’	N
<i>vitiha</i>	‘difficult’	<i>viti-viti-ka</i>	‘because of something bad or difficult; therefore’	N; Adv?
<i>zaha</i>	‘bad’	<i>zaha-ta</i>	‘the bad one’	subst Adj
		<i>zaha-ta-ka</i>	‘badness’	N

The following examples, which are admittedly rather complex for a chapter on noun phrases, illustrate these *-Ca*-derived adjectives in clauses, with *-Ca* glossed as NOM. Example (61) shows a plain nominalized adjective; (62) and (63) show the use of these substantival adjectives referring back to previously established nouns, while (64) shows the nominalized adjective as the head of the noun phrase. Examples (65) – (68) show some of the irregular and idiosyncratic usages.

- (61) *Matuha-nga ke Deo.*
 strong-NOM PC:PN God
 ‘The power of God.’

- (62) *Vaga rua hiro ta ngo-ngoro na mugomugo. Katiu kote,*
 boat two 3d R RED-sleep loc forest one small
katiu kapou. Kote-ka ke Laklo, kapou-ka ka-gu.
 one big small-NOM PC:PN L. big-NOM PC-1s

‘There are two boats lying in the bush. One is small and the other is big. The small one is Laklo’s; the big one is mine.’

- (63) *Miro ta vile-hi-a vao na dama, miro ta hani-a*
 1de R pick-TR-3s mango loc morning 1de R eat-3s
kemi-ta, miro kene varaga zaha-ta.
 good-NOM 1de SEQ throw bad-NOM
 ‘We picked mangoes in the morning, we ate the good ones and we threw the bad ones away.’
- (64) *Ia e vala ka-na bura-ta siot ni niau.*
 3s R:3 give PC-3s old-NOM shirt loc:PN 1s
 ‘He gave me one of his old shirts.’
- (65) *Na luga-luga-nga na golea bize, mate-ka vona.*
 ART carry-RED-NOM ART thing heavy, die-NOM loc:3s
 ‘The carrying of a heavy load will bring death.’
- (66) *Ho tu pele-a malimu-ana.*
 2s R:2 get-3s easy-NOM
 ‘You got it the easy way / easily (e.g. without working for it).’
- (67) *Viti-viti-ka vitolo ki hubi-a go-na.*
 RED-difficult-NOM hunger CONT:3 hit-3s spouse-3s
 ‘Because of (his) hunger he beat his wife.’
- (68) *Ho zaha-ta-ka kaka matoto.*
 2s bad-NOM-NOM person very
 ‘You are a very bad person.’

3.8 Possession

As in many Oceanic languages, there are two types of possession in Vitu: direct and indirect. In direct possession a possessive suffix is directly attached to an inalienable noun, whereas in indirect possession one of the two possessive classifiers is needed.

Table 9 shows the various possession strategies, illustrated on four nouns. The first is the vowel-final root *lima* ‘hand, arm’, and the second the consonant-final root *hulit-* ‘skin’; both of these are inalienable nouns which take direct possession. The morphophonemic changes which occur with consonant-final roots are discussed in §2.6. Indirect possession is shown on the nouns *ruma* ‘house’ (using the general possessive classifier *ka-*) and *beti* ‘banana’ (using the possessive classifier for foods *ha-*).

		posses- sive suffix	direct possession (vowel-final root)	direct possession (consonant- final root)	indirect possession (general classifier <i>ka-</i>)	indirect possession (food classifier <i>ha-</i>)
			<i>lima</i> 'arm, hand'	<i>hulit-</i> 'skin'	<i>ruma</i> 'house'	<i>beti</i> 'banana'
sg	1	<i>-gu</i>	<i>lima-gu</i>	<i>hulit-igu</i>	<i>ka-gu ruma</i>	<i>ha-gu beti</i>
	2	<i>-V</i>	<i>lima-a</i>	<i>hulit-i</i>	<i>ka-a ruma</i>	<i>ha-a beti</i>
	3	<i>-na</i>	<i>lima-na</i>	<i>hulit-a</i>	<i>ka-na ruma</i>	<i>ha-na beti</i>
du	1 ex	<i>-miro</i>	<i>lima-miro</i>	<i>hulit-imiro</i>	<i>ka-miro ruma</i>	<i>ha-miro beti</i>
	1 in	<i>-doro ~ -do</i>	<i>lima-doro ~ lima-do</i>	<i>hulit-idoro ~ hulit-ido</i>	<i>ka-doro ruma ~ ka-do ruma</i>	<i>ha-doro beti ~ ha-do beti</i>
	2	<i>-moro ~ -mo</i>	<i>lima-moro ~ lima-mo</i>	<i>hulit-imoro ~ hulit-imo</i>	<i>ka-moro ruma ~ ka-mo ruma</i>	<i>ha-moro beti ~ ha-mo beti</i>
	3	<i>-hiro</i>	<i>lima-hiro</i>	<i>hulit-ihiro</i>	<i>ka-hiro ruma</i>	<i>ha-hiro beti</i>
pl	1 ex	<i>-hita</i>	<i>lima-hita</i>	<i>hulit-ihita</i>	<i>ka-hita ruma</i>	<i>ha-hita beti</i>
	1 in	<i>-dolu</i>	<i>lima-dolu</i>	<i>hulit-idolu</i>	<i>ka-dolu ruma</i>	<i>ha-dolu beti</i>
	2	<i>-miu</i>	<i>lima-miu</i>	<i>hulit-imiu</i>	<i>ka-miu ruma</i>	<i>ha-miu beti</i>
	3	<i>-dia</i>	<i>lima-dia</i>	<i>hulit-idia</i>	<i>ka-dia ruma</i>	<i>ha-dia beti</i>

TABLE 9. DIRECT AND INDIRECT POSSESSION

3.8.1 Direct possession

Only inalienable nouns can be directly possessed; these include body parts, kinship terms, locative nouns and a few other words (see §3.2.1 for a full list). The following examples provide some extra illustrations of direct possession:

(69) *toga-toga-dia*
bone-RED-3p
'their bones'

(70) *tu-doro*
child-1di
'our (dual inclusive) child'

- (71) *kuli-miu*
 desire-2p
 ‘your (plural) desire’

There are two inalienable nouns which display interesting irregularities. The paradigm for *tama* ‘father’ and *titina* ‘mother’ is regular for most persons, except for the second person singular, which uses the prefix *ka-* instead of the expected suffix *-V*. In addition the roots are somewhat modified, resulting in *ka-mama* ‘your father’ and *ka-titi* ‘your mother’. Table 10 below lists the various forms, including the vocatives, with three examples representing all the regular non-singular forms. The vocative *titi* ‘mother’ is not limited to one’s own mother; it can also be used as a term of address for any adult woman of one’s own clan (‘madam, auntie’), but it is now mainly used to address one’s grandmother. The traditional vocatives have shifted to the grandparent’s generation as Tok Pisin loans have become incorporated in the system.

		‘father’	‘mother’
sg	1	<i>tama-gu</i>	<i>titina-gu</i>
	2	<i>ka-mama</i>	<i>ka-titi</i>
	3	<i>tama-na</i>	<i>titina-na</i>
du	lex	<i>tama-miro</i>	<i>titina-miro</i>
pl	lin	<i>tama-dolu</i>	<i>titina-dolu</i>
	3	<i>tama-hiro</i>	<i>titina-hiro</i>
vocative		<i>papa</i> ‘father’ (TP loan) <i>mama</i> ‘father’ (obsolete) <i>tata</i> ‘father’ (now only used for grandfather)	<i>mama</i> ‘mother’ (TP loan) <i>titi</i> ‘mother’ (now mainly used for grandmother)

TABLE 10. PARADIGMS OF ‘FATHER’ AND ‘MOTHER’

When the possessor is a full noun phrase (rather than a pronominal suffix), it follows the head noun. The head noun is suffixed with the 3sg suffix *-na* for a following common noun, and with *-ni* for a following proper noun (see §3.2.2 for a discussion of the distinction), as illustrated in (72). The allomorphs *-a* and *-i* occur with consonant-final roots (see §2.6), as illustrated in (73):

- (72) a. *kabe-na boro*
 leg-3s pig
 ‘the pig’s leg’
- b. *kabe-ni Oscar*
 leg-3s:PN O.
 ‘Oscar’s leg’
- (73) a. *na polok-a dazi*
 loc inside-3s sea
 ‘inside the sea’
- b. *na polok-i Vituhu*
 loc inside-3s:PN V.
 ‘inside Vituhu’

Other examples of possessor nouns (or noun phrases) are given below, some of which appear to be fixed expressions marking a part-whole, a qualitative or a purposive relationship. Notice too that in some of these expressions the 3sg suffix appears to be *-ka* rather than *-na*. This presumably reflects an earlier consonant-final root, though it is clear that in some cases *k* is actually a later introduced consonant; for a discussion of this issue see van den Berg and Bachet (2006). Here *k* is simply taken as part of the suffix *-ka*, rather than as a consonant-final root:

- (74) *livuha-na bua*
 body-3s betelnut
 ‘trunk of a betelnut tree’
- (75) *kolopi-na patete*
 basket-3s sweet.potato
 ‘a basket(full) of sweet potatoes’
- (76) *danga-na hai*
 branch-3s tree
 ‘a tree branch’
- (77) *ruma-ka koko-a.*
 house-3s defecate-NOM
 ‘a toilet’
- (78) *barita-ka paido kuari*
 old.coconut-3s coconut that
 ‘an old coconut from that tree’

- (79) *palaka-na pati-a*
 place-3s drift-NOM
 ‘a place of drifting; a fishing spot’
- (80) *dama-na taputapu-a*
 day-3s fish-NOM
 ‘a day of/for fishing; a fishing day’
- (81) *naipe-na barita*
 knife-3s old.coconut
 ‘a copra knife’

In the last three examples it is also possible that *-na* is in fact not the possessive suffix (since *palaka*, *dama* and *naipe* are alienable nouns), but rather the general preposition *na* ‘at, in, on’. At this point, however, we have no test to decide this.

In these possessive constructions with a full possessor noun, the distribution of the suffixes *-na* and *-ni* is not always as expected. Specifically, *-ni* appears to be used not only with proper nouns, but also with a number of common nouns, especially body parts and nouns referring to humans. In other contexts such nouns are still treated as common nouns, but only as possessor nouns do they display some cross-over. Compare the following example with the locative noun *taur-* ‘under’. Example (82a) has the expected suffix *-a* before the common noun *tebol* ‘table’; (82b) has the expected suffix *-i* before the proper noun *John*, but both (82c) and (82d) have *-i* before the common nouns *kabe-* ‘leg, foot’ and *baik-* ‘armpit’:

- (82) a. *na taur-a tebol*
 loc under-3s table
 ‘under the table’
- b. *na taur-i John*
 loc under-3s:PN J.
 ‘under John’
- c. *na taur-i kabe-gu*
 loc under-3s:PN leg-1s
 ‘under my legs/feet’
- d. *na taur-i baik-igu*
 loc under-3s:PN armpit-1s
 ‘under my armpit’

Other examples showing the unexpected shift of especially body parts to proper nouns in possessive constructions are as follows:

- (83) *vazu-ni kabe-na*
 calf-3s:PN leg-3s
 ‘the calf of his/her leg’
- (84) *toga-ni kabe-na*
 bone-3s:PN leg-3s
 ‘the bone of his/her leg’
- (85) *bolabolap-i lima-na*
 palm-3s:PN hand-3s
 ‘palm of his/her hand’
- (86) *hara-ni kele-na*
 seed-3s:PN scrotum-3s
 ‘his testicles’
- (87) *na hirip-i ta<vi>vine*
 loc side-3s:PN RED-woman
 ‘besides the women’

Instead of using the possessive in (84), one can also say *toga-na na kabe-na* ‘the bone in his/her leg’, with the general preposition *na* introducing a locative phrase.

3.8.2 Indirect possession: general classifier *ka-*

To express possession on alienable nouns, the possessive suffixes cannot be directly added to the head noun. Instead, one of two possessive classifiers is employed to which the possessive suffixes are added, as previously illustrated in Table 9. Most alienable nouns take the general classifier *ka-*, glossed as PC for ‘possessive classifier’, illustrated in the following phrases:

- (88) *ka-gu malala*
 PC-1s village
 ‘my village’
- (89) *ka-a vaga*
 PC-2s boat
 ‘your boat’

- (90) *ka-na pole-a*
 PC-3s speak-NOM
 ‘his/her words’
- (91) *ka-miro moge*
 PC-1de behaviour
 ‘our behaviour’
- (92) *ka-hiro goloa-loa*
 PC-3d thing-RED
 ‘their things’
- (93) *ka-dia lohoi-hoi-a*
 PC-3p think-RED-NOM
 ‘their thoughts; their ideas’

When the possessor is a full noun, the structure of the possessive phrase is normally: head noun + *ka-na* + possessor noun, as in (94) - (96):

- (94) *ruma ka-na kaua*
 house PC-3s dog
 ‘a dog’s house’
- (95) *dala ka-na boro*
 road PC-3s pig
 ‘the pig’s trail’
- (96) *manumanu ka-na tavine*
 people PC-3s woman
 ‘the woman’s relatives’

If the possessor noun is a proper noun, the classifier and suffix merge as *ke* (glossed as PC:PN for ‘possessive classifier with following proper noun’), as in (97) - (99):

- (97) *ruma ke titina-gu*
 house PC:PN mother-1s
 ‘my mother’s house’
- (98) *baikazoho ke pa<ra>raha*
 ceremonial.area PC:PN RED-elder
 ‘ancestral ceremonial area’

- (99) *matuha-nga ke Tama-dolu a Deo*
 strong-NOM PC:PN father-1pi ART God
 ‘the power of God our Father’

Some plural common nouns referring to humans take *ke* rather than *kana*, again displaying a shift to proper nouns (see §6.4 for a similar case with the prepositions *kamana* ~ *kamani*):

- (100) a. *ruma ka-na tavine*
 house PC-3s woman
 ‘a/the woman’s house’
 b. *ruma ke ta<vi>vine*
 house PC:PN RED-woman
 ‘a/the women’s house’

Although a full nominal possessor normally follows the head noun, occasionally variant orders are found where the possessor noun precedes the head noun. The classifier still occurs between the two constituents in such cases and no difference in meaning has been found. Notice the following synonymous pairs, where (a) is the unmarked order, and (b) the marked order with a preposed possessor noun phrase (the possessors without classifiers are underlined):

- (101) a. *ruma ke tu-u*
 house PC:PN child-2s
 ‘your son’s house’
 b. *tu-u ka-na ruma*
 child-2s PC-3s house
 ‘your son’s house’
 (102) a. *tubuha ke habu tazi-na*
 wealth PC:PN group same.sex.sibling-3s
 ‘his brothers’ wealth’
 b. *habu tazi-na ka-dia tubuha*
 group same.sex.sibling-3s PC-3p wealth
 ‘his brothers’ wealth’

Notice that in the (a) examples *ke* is used as the classifier, which is expected with a following proper noun. In the (b) examples, however, a form with *ka-* is used. Clearly the form *ke* can only be used when it is directly followed by a proper noun.

3.8.3 Indirect possession: food classifier *ha-*

As mentioned above, a number of alienable common nouns take the classifier *ha-* when they occur in a possessive construction. The classifier *ha-* is typically used for items for consumption, although some non-food items also take *ha-*. The following categories may be distinguished:

1. Food items:

<i>beti</i>	‘banana’
<i>boro</i>	‘pig, pork’
<i>gilio</i>	‘k.o. crab’
<i>haninga</i>	‘food’
<i>haviu</i>	‘wild taro leaves’
<i>hiha</i>	‘fish’
<i>hinihini</i>	‘meat, side dish’
<i>huvi</i>	‘yam’
<i>kamo</i>	‘taro’
<i>kulu</i>	‘breadfruit’
<i>malia</i>	‘k.o. yam’
<i>paido</i>	‘coconut’
<i>patete</i>	‘sweet potato’
<i>roti</i>	‘giant clam’
<i>toha</i>	‘chicken’

2. Drink items:

<i>kopi</i>	‘coffee’
<i>marasin</i>	‘medicine’
<i>naru</i>	‘water’

3. Nouns associated with producing or obtaining food:

<i>diaro</i>	‘spear’
<i>haine</i>	‘spear with iron tip’ (from TP <i>ain</i> < English <i>iron</i>)
<i>hoa</i>	‘animal trap’
<i>huma</i>	‘garden’ (Lama dialect)
<i>poloka paido</i>	‘coconut block’
<i>vanua</i>	‘garden’

4. Miscellaneous nouns, for which the semantic motivation is unclear:

<i>gita</i>	‘guitar’
-------------	----------

<i>kure</i>	‘drum’
<i>linge</i>	‘song’
<i>vagi</i>	‘enemy’ (this possibly reflects earlier cannibalistic practices)

Examples of *ha-* (glossed as PCF for ‘possessive classifier for food items’) with possessive suffixes:

- (103) *ha-hiro hiha*
PCF-3d fish
‘their fish’
- (104) *ha-gu vanua*
PCF-1s garden
‘my garden’
- (105) *ha-na haine*
PCF-3s spear
‘his spear’
- (106) *ha-dolu vagi*
PCF-1pi enemy
‘our enemies’

When the head noun is followed by a full possessor noun, the classifier is *ha-na* for common nouns, and *he* when followed by a proper noun (glossed as PCF:PN):

- (107) *patete ha-na kapiru*
sweet.potato PCF-3s child
‘the children’s sweet potatoes’
- (108) *paido he Augustin*
coconut PCF:PN A.
‘Augustin’s coconut’

Note that these food nouns do not necessarily always take the *ha-* classifier. If the item referred to is not meant for consumption within a short time span, the classifier *ka-* is also possible, as in (109b). Similarly, certain body parts can occur with a food classifier when they are meant for consumption, as in (110b):

- (109) a. *ha-gu boro*
PCF-1s pig
‘my pig (for eating), my (piece of) pork’

- b. ka-gu *boro*
 PC-1s pig
 ‘my pig’ (in general, not (yet) meant for consumption)
- (110) a. *baka-gu*
 head-1s
 ‘my head’ (my inalienable body part)
- b. ha-gu *baka*
 PCF-1s head
 ‘my head’ (the head of an animal which I will eat)

3.8.4 Benefactive possession

The use of a possessive construction does not always signal that the item is possessed by an owner or is in a part-whole relationship. Quite frequently direct objects with possessive marking have benefactive overtones, indicating that the item (which is not yet present) is going to be beneficial for the possessor (see also Margetts 2004). Notice the following clausal examples:

- (111) *Hau ta kaze-kaze ka-gu hobu.*
 1s R search-RED PC-1s firewood
 ‘I am looking for firewood (for myself).’ (Lit. ‘I am looking for my firewood.’)
- (112) *Kata pade-a ha-do hiha.*
 PURP spear-3s PCF-1di fish
 ‘I will spear fish for the two of us.’ (Lit. ‘I will spear our fish.’)
- (113) *Dia ta roti-a ka-na karoro.*
 3p R tie-3s PC-3s carrying.chair
 ‘They made a carrying chair for him.’ (Lit. ‘They tied his carrying chair.’)

In combination with the verb *vala* ‘give’, the use of a possessor with the object indicates the recipient of the action:

- (114) *Dia ta vala ha-na kure katiu.*
 3p R give PCF-3s drum one
 ‘They gave him a drum.’ (Lit. ‘They gave his one drum.’)

- (115) *Ia e habahaba ni niau kete vala ha-gu boro katiu.*
 3s R:3 promise loc:PN 1s PURP:3 give PCF-1s pig one
 ‘He promised to give me a pig.’ (Lit. ‘He promised to me to give my one pig’.)

In other cases, a noun phrase with a possessor appears to be an object but can only be interpreted as the recipient or beneficiary of the action:

- (116) *Hau ta vala ha-na kaua*
 1s R give PCF-3s dog
 ‘I gave it to the dog (to eat).’ (Lit. ‘I gave his dog.’)
- (117) *Hau ta vai-a hila katiu ka-na tu-gu kete*
 1s R plait-3s toy.propellor one PC-3s child-1s FUT:3
gere kamana.
 play with
 ‘I made a toy propellor for my child to play with.’ (Lit. ‘I plaited a toy propellor his child of mine for to play with.’)

The occurrence of double possessive marking in (117) is puzzling. This is clearly an interesting area in need of further study.

3.9 NP structure

3.9.1 NPs with nominal heads

There are still a few elements within the noun phrase that have not been mentioned in the previous sections. These include locative and temporal phrases. These phrases, further discussed in §7.11, can be filled by adverbs such as *ri* ‘here’, *meni* ‘today’, as well as prepositional phrases:

- (118) *manumanu na malala*
 people loc village
 ‘people in the village’
- (119) *hupu kara dama*
 star to day
 ‘the morning star’

Other modifiers are the nouns *tamohane* ‘man, male’ and *tavine* ‘woman, female’ which often function in an attributive sense, e.g. *tu-gu tamohane* ‘my male child, my

son'. In addition there is also the focussing adverb *mule* 'self' as in *hau mule* 'I myself'.

The whole structure of a noun phrase with a nominal head can be displayed as follows:

(Art) (NP[poss]₁) N (NP[poss]₂) (AdjP) (Num) (Dem) (Adv)
 (Quant) (PP)

NP[poss]₁ stands for a suffixed possessive classifier, while NP[poss]₂ stands for a full possessor noun, preceded by a classifier in the case of alienable nouns. The two possessive phrases do not co-occur. As discussed in §3.8.2, a prenominal position is possible for an alienable possessor phrase, and this is covered in the formula by NP[poss]₁. Possessive suffixes on inalienable nouns (e.g. *lima-gu* 'my hand') are not indicated in this formula, since it only specifies the internal structure of the phrase, not the internal make-up of the constituent words. The position of Adv (adverbs) and PP (prepositional phrases) cover the locative and temporal phrases. Attributive nouns such as *tamohane* 'man, male' have not been incorporated in the formula, as their exact position and co-occurrence restrictions are not yet clear.

Although the formula looks complicated, it should be kept in mind that noun phrases with more than three modifiers are actually rare in Vitu. The following examples of NPs, all taken from natural texts, illustrate the various combinatory possibilities by stating their categorial status explicitly. In the case of embedded phrases, the structure of the embedded phrase is put on the second line.

- (120) *na balus kapou katiu* Art N Adj Num
 ART airplane big one
 'a big aircraft'
- (121) *ka-hiro vaga kote katiu* NP[poss]₁ N Adj Num
 PC-3d boat small one
 'their little boat'
- (122) *ka-gu mia-nga ri* NP[poss]₁ N Adv
 PC-1s sit-NOM here
 'my life here'
- (123) *ruma ke tama-gu* N NP[poss]₂
 house PC:PN father-1s
 'my father's house'

- (124) *mana matoto na kedo rua* N Adj PP
 story true loc stone two PP = Prep NP
 ‘a true story about two rocks’ NP = N Num
- (125) *go-ni tazi-gu kapou* N NP[poss]₂
 spouse-3s:PN same.sex.sibling-1s big NP[poss] = N Adj
 ‘the spouse of my cousin’

Notice that the adjective *kapou* ‘big’ in (125) does not modify the head noun *go-ni* but rather the dependent noun (the possessor) *tazi-gu*; hence it is part of the dependent possessor phrase. The phrase *tazi kapou* is literally ‘big same-sex sibling’, but refers to a parallel cousin (i.e. the son/daughter of father’s brother or mother’s sister).

3.9.2 Other heads

In addition to nouns, other syntactic categories may form the head of a noun phrase.

a. Pronouns, followed by an adverb, a quantifier or a prepositional phrase:

- (126) *hau mule*
 I self
 ‘I myself’
- (127) *dia heta*
 3p up.there
 ‘people up there’
- (128) *dia laveve*
 3p all
 ‘all of them’
- (129) *dia taza*
 3p some
 ‘some of them’
- (130) *dia na vazalea*
 3p loc beach
 ‘those on the beach’

b. The numeral *katiu* ‘one’ followed by a prepositional phrase:

- (131) *katiu ni miu*
 one loc:PN 2p
 ‘one of you’

c. A demonstrative (*kua, kena, kuari*); these words are normally not modified. See §3.5.

d. A substantival adjective ending in *-Ca* (see §3.7.2 for details on these constructions):

- (132) *malaku-ta vaga*
 long-NOM boat
 ‘the length of the boat’ or: ‘the longest boat (of those referred to)’

Finally, it is possible for a noun phrase to be headless if the correct referent can be inferred from the context, as in (133) and (134), or if it is an idiomatic expression, as in (135):

- (133) *Ha-dia hiha e kapou na ha-dolu*
 PCF-3p fish R:3 big loc PCF-1pi
 ‘Their fish is bigger than ours.’
- (134) *Hita ta havi-li-a kote-kote za.*
 1pe R catch-TR-3s small-RED only
 ‘We only caught small ones (= fish).’
- (135) *Hau ta vaida ka-gu.*
 1s R prepare PC-1s
 ‘I prepared my (things).’

3.9.3 Apposition and coordination

Two noun phrases are in an appositional relationship if they are juxtaposed and have the same referent. Appositional noun phrases appear to be rare in Vitu, but the following examples occur in texts. In both cases it is a name following a kinship term:

- (136) *Livuk-ugu a Kalago.*
 cross.sibling-1s ART K.
 ‘My brother Kalago.’

- (137) *A Halanga e tani-a ni tazi-na a Koko...*
 ART parrot R:3 say-3s loc:PN same.sex.sibling-3s ART crow
 ‘Parrot said to his brother Crow,’

There are various ways of coordinating noun phrases. The most common conjunctions are the pair *kamana* ~ *kamani* ‘with’ and *mai* ‘and’. Strictly speaking, *kamana* is a preposition (see §6.4) and *mai* is also a verb meaning ‘come’ (probably just homophonous). These conjunctions are typically used to coordinate nouns referring to objects, although they are also found with nouns referring to people. There does not seem to be a distinction between these two conjunctions:

- (138) *boro kamana kaua*
 pig with dog
 ‘pigs and dogs’
- (139) *kamo, huvi kamana beti*
 taro yam with banana
 ‘taro, yams and bananas’
- (140) *Koko a kamani Halanga*
 crow with:PN parrot
 ‘Crow and Parrot’
- (141) *ka-hiro ruma mai ka-hiro golea-loa*
 PC-3d house and PC-3d thing-RED
 ‘their house and their belongings’
- (142) *hau kamani habu tu-tu-gu mai go-gu*
 1s with:PN group child-RED-1s and spouse-1s
 ‘I with my children and my spouse’

When two people (or animal characters) are coordinated, it is possible to use the dual pronoun *hiro* ‘they two’ in an ‘inclusory’ sense (Lichtenberk 2000). However, it is not ungrammatical to use *kamana* ~ *kamani*, or even a combination of the preposition and the pronoun, as in (145):

- (143) *A Oscar hiro a Terence*
 ART O. 3d ART T.
 ‘Oscar and Terence’
- (144) *Hiza-hiro a Galemo kamani Magu.*
 name-3d ART G. with:PN M.
 ‘Their names were Galemo and Magu.’

- (145) *sikau hiro kamana kaua*
 wallaby 3d with dog
 ‘the wallaby and the dog’

A third type of coordination is without overt conjunction. This appears to be the case when there are two or more people involved, of which the speaker is one. Instead of using the pronoun *hau* ‘I’, the speaker uses a dual or plural pronoun in an inclusory sense, anticipating the enumeration of the other members of the group:

- (146) *Miro a Kuni miro ta vano.*
 1de ART K. 1de R go
 ‘Kuni and I went.’ (Lit. ‘We Kuni we went.’)
- (147) *Miro a tai Rachel.*
 1de ART same.sex.sibling R.
 ‘My sister Rachel and I.’ (Lit. ‘We sister Rachel.’)
- (148) *Hita, Aloisius, Terence, Laklo, hita ta vano.*
 1pe A. T. L. 1pe R go
 ‘I, Aloisius, Terence and Laklo, we went.’ (Lit. ‘We, A., T., L. we went.’)

In (148) it is possible to substitute *hau* ‘I’ for the first *hita* ‘we (plural exclusive)’ to convey the same meaning.

Finally, the negator *beu* (§8.1.3) is used to indicate alternatives among noun phrases. In addition to *beu*, the Tok Pisin loan *o* ‘or’ is also frequently heard:

- (149) *Hau beu ho?*
 1s or 2s
 ‘I or you?’
- (150) *Kapiru kezengana? Tavine o tamohane?*
 child what.gender woman or man
 ‘What child is it? Female or male?’

4. Verbs

This chapter offers a description of the different verb classes in Vitu (intransitive, transitive, experiential), as well as verbal inflection and verbal derivation (affixation, reduplication and compounding). Adjectives, which can be regarded a subclass of intransitive verbs, are discussed in §3.7. Even though the scope of this chapter is the word level, examples of verb phrases in clauses will sometimes be provided, in order to discuss the phenomenon in its natural context.

It is quite customary in grammar sketches to address other elements of the verb phrase in the same chapter as the verbs. In the case of Vitu such elements would include the pre-verbal aspect-mood-sequentiality (AMS) markers. However, in the light of the centrality and complexity of the AMS system in Vitu, we decided to devote a separate chapter to this topic (chapter 5). Other elements which are sometimes considered part of the verb phrase (such as manner adverbs and negators) are also discussed elsewhere, in §7.11.4 and §8.1 respectively.

4.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs take one argument only, usually an agent in the case of active verbs, or a patient/experiencer in the case of non-active verbs.

a. Most intransitive verbs are not formally marked:

<i>bebe</i>	‘fly’	<i>pe</i>	‘come from, go to’
<i>bele</i>	‘arrive’	<i>polo</i>	‘go on board’
<i>gotala</i>	‘go outside’	<i>raga</i>	‘jump’
<i>hava</i>	‘flee’	<i>rovo</i>	‘run; blow (of the wind)’
<i>haloho</i>	‘cry’	<i>vano</i>	‘go’
<i>ku</i>	‘roll down’	<i>varuhu</i>	‘arrive (from far away)’
<i>mai</i>	‘come’	<i>zipa</i>	‘jump down’
<i>ngoro</i>	‘sleep’	<i>zuzu</i>	‘drink from the breast’

b. A few intransitive verbs appear to have a fossilized prefix *ma-*:

<i>madii</i> ~ <i>madiri</i>	‘stand’	
<i>mahitu</i>	‘sink, drown’	(cf. <i>hitu-via</i> ‘fill up, pour’)

c. Some intransitive verbs show unproductive and possibly fossilised morphology, such as *-Cia*, *va-*, *vai-* and *vari-* (see below for a discussion of these affixes on transitive verbs):

<i>pirinia</i>	‘grow’ (intr)	<i>piri</i>	‘become true’
<i>va-muga</i>	‘continue on ahead’	<i>muga</i>	‘at first, front’
<i>vamule</i> ~ <i>hamule</i>	‘return, come back’	<i>mule</i>	‘again, back’

4.2 Transitive verbs

4.2.1 Object inflection

Transitive verbs take two arguments, typically an agent and a patient or a theme. Only verbs which can take object suffixes/enclitics will be considered transitive. Transitive verbs in Vitu are not inflected for subject, but only for object. However, as shown in Table 11 below (partially repeated from Table 6 in §3.1), only a few of the object forms are actually different from the free forms. These forms, shown in bold, are the 1sg suffix *-au* and its allomorph *-u* with class 2 verbs (see §4.2.2 below), the 3sg suffix *-a* and its zero allomorph, and the first person dual and plural inclusive enclitics *-doro* and *-dolu*, which show an unexpected initial *d*.

		Free pronoun	object suffix/enclitic
sg	1	<i>hau</i>	-au / -u
	2	<i>ho</i>	<i>-ho</i>
	3	<i>ia</i>	-a / ∅
du	1 ex	<i>miro</i>	<i>-miro</i>
	1 in	<i>toro</i> ~ <i>to</i>	-doro
	2	<i>moro</i> ~ <i>mo</i>	<i>-moro</i>
pl	3	<i>hiro</i>	<i>-hiro</i>
	1 ex	<i>hita</i>	<i>-hita</i>
	1 in	<i>tolu</i>	-dolu
	2	<i>miu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
	3	<i>dia</i>	<i>-dia</i>

TABLE 11. FREE PRONOUNS AND OBJECT ENCLITICS

We analyse the singular markers as suffixes since they cannot stand on their own and are clearly attached to the verb, causing a shift in stress to the penultimate syllable. The dual and plural pronominal markers, on the other hand, are all disyllabic and hence stress does not tell us whether we are dealing with one word or two. Also, except for the pairs *toro/-doro* and *tolu/-dolu*, all the forms are identical. Therefore it is difficult or impossible to tell whether they are suffixes, clitics or free forms. We will treat the non-singular forms as enclitics, following native speaker intuition and the standard orthography which writes them connected to the verb. The fact that they occur in complementary distribution with free nominals also points in this direction.

Examples of the singular object suffixes based on the verb *hubi-a* ‘hit, beat’:

(1) *Ia e hubi-au.*

3s R:3 hit-1s

‘He hit me.’

(2) *Ia e hubi-ho.*

3s R:3 hit-2s

‘He hit you.’

(3) *Ia e hubi-a.*

3s R:3 hit-3s

‘He hit him/her/it.’

The 3rd singular enclitic *-a* is not only used for pronominal referents, it is also obligatorily present when there is a full NP object, regardless of whether that object is singular or plural, as in (4):

(4) *Ia e hubi-a kaka taza.*

3s R:3 hit-3s person some

‘He hit a few men.’

4.2.2 Classes of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Vitu have some interesting features. To start with, there are at least three different form classes.

1. Class 1 transitive verb roots can directly receive object suffixes or enclitics. In citation forms such transitive verbs are usually given with the 3sg suffix *-a*, a practice we will follow throughout this sketch. Notice that there are no cases of root final *a*, *o* and *u* in this verb class; root final vowels in this class are limited to *i* or *e*.

Examples:

<i>bazi-a</i>	‘cut’
<i>dae-a</i>	‘pull’
<i>gore-a</i>	‘fill’
<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>hubi-a</i>	‘hit’
<i>kuvi-a</i>	‘sweep’
<i>maki-a</i>	‘choose’
<i>pade-a</i>	‘spear’
<i>pele-a</i>	‘take, get’
<i>roti-a</i>	‘tie’
<i>tani-a</i>	‘say’
<i>vati-a</i>	‘leave, loose’
<i>zuhi-a</i>	‘detach, remove’
<i>zungi-a</i>	‘smell’

A few examples of these verbs with non-singular object enclitics:

- (5) *Dia ta maki-dolu.*
 3p R choose-1pi
 ‘They chose us.’
- (6) *Tauka kaka katiu e pe-pele-moro.*
 Maybe person one R:3 RED-take-2d
 ‘Maybe a man has taken the two of you.’ (A euphemistic way of saying that they have had an affair.)
- (7) *Ia e zahe ia hani-dia.*
 3s R:3 go.up 3s eat-3p
 ‘He went up and ate them.’

2. The second class of transitive verbs is fairly small and consists of verbs ending in the vowel *a*. This is actually best described as a phonologically conditioned subclass of class 1. Instead of the 1sg suffix *-au* and the 3sg suffix *-a*, this class uses *-u* and \emptyset , since sequences of like vowels are not permitted in the language.¹

luga ‘carry’

¹ With the exception of the 2sg possessive suffix *-V* (a vowel copy of the last vowel of the noun or possessive classifier); see §2.3.

<i>paga</i>	‘peck at, bite’
<i>tanga</i>	‘bite’
<i>vala</i>	‘give’
<i>varaga</i>	‘throw’

Some examples in clauses:

- (8) *Dia ta luga-u.*
 3p R carry-1s
 ‘They carried me.’
- (9) *Ia luga-Ø ha-na haine.*
 3s carry-3s PCF-3s spear
 ‘He carried his spear.’

3. The third class of transitive verbs is marked by the transitive suffix *-Ci*, glossed as TR, occurring on disyllabic bases. A number of allomorphs occur showing so-called thematic consonants: *-hi*, *-li*, *-mi*, *-ni*, *-ri*, *-ti*, *-vi* and *-zi*. The following is a non-exhaustive list of these verbs, of which there are hundreds in Vitu. Again, verbs are presented in their citation form with the 3sg object suffix *-a*.

<i>-hi</i>	<i>bai-hi-a</i>	‘hold under the arm’
	<i>tere-hi-a</i>	‘tear, rip’
	<i>vata-hi-a</i>	‘forget’
	<i>ziu-hi-a</i>	‘tell’
<i>-li</i>	<i>bobo-li-a</i>	‘flatter’
	<i>havi-li-a</i>	‘catch, pull up’
	<i>vaku-li-a</i>	‘touch’
<i>-mi</i>	<i>gala-mi-a</i>	‘work’
	<i>hinu-mi-a</i>	‘drink’
	<i>todo-mi-a</i>	‘swallow’
<i>-ni</i>	<i>hule-ni-a</i>	‘ask’
	<i>kalinga-ni-a</i>	‘chase’
	<i>kodo-ni-a</i>	‘help’
	<i>nihabu-ni-a</i>	‘collect, put in groups’
	<i>parakila-ni-a</i>	‘try’
<i>-ri</i>	<i>tavu-ni-a</i>	‘bury’
	<i>longo-ri-a</i>	‘hear, listen’
	<i>paho-ri-a</i>	‘hold’

	<i>taba-ri-a</i>	‘close’
	<i>zoho-ri-a</i>	‘wear (clothes)’
-ti	<i>hara-ti-a</i>	‘bite’
	<i>kozoho-ti-a</i>	‘be near to, approach’
	<i>vuru-ti-a</i>	‘pull out’
	<i>vali-ti-a</i>	‘bump, hit’
-vi	<i>hada-vi-a</i>	‘see’
	<i>hitu-vi-a</i>	‘fill’
	<i>manginu-vi-a</i>	‘dream about’
	<i>vazugu-vi-a</i>	‘wash (clothes)’
-zi	<i>hava-zi-a</i>	‘flee, run away from s.t.’
	<i>poki-zi-a</i>	‘turn around, translate; stir’
	<i>tangi-zi-a</i>	‘weep for’
	<i>vuka-zi-a</i>	‘open’

The frequency of the various thematic consonants is not equal. The suffix *-ni* appears to be very frequent, while *-mi* is limited to a small number of verbs.

Examples of a few of these verbs in clauses:

- (10) *Ia e hinu-mi-a naru.*
 3s R:3 drink-TR-3s water
 ‘She drank the water.’

- (11) *Ia tangi-zi-a tu-na, kini vano tavu-ni-a.*
 3s weep-TR-3s child-3s SEQ:3 go bury-TR-3s
 ‘She wept for her child, and then went and buried it.’

4.2.3 Transitive verb forms and root forms

So far, all these verbs have been clearly marked as transitive by the simple presence of an object suffix or enclitic (class 1 and 2) or an object suffix/enclitic in combination with the suffix *-Ci* (class 3). What has not been addressed is the relationship between a verbal root and its transitive form. This relationship appears to be fairly complex.

A preliminary point to consider is that ‘bare’ forms of transitive verbs occur in verbal compounds. The transitive ending *-Ci-a* (or simply *-a*) is added to the second verb, and therefore to the compound as a whole. The following two compounds

illustrate this point (for further discussion and illustrations of verbal compounds see §4.6):

<i>hani-mata-hi-a</i>	‘eat raw’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
		<i>mata</i>	‘raw’
 <i>hubi-mate-hi-a</i>	 ‘kill’	 <i>hubi-a</i>	 ‘hit’
		<i>mate</i>	‘die’

Leaving aside the use of transitive roots in verbal compounds (which is productive and non-problematic), the following four cases may be distinguished regarding the relationship between the verbal root and its transitive verb form.

1. The verbal root only occurs in intransitive clauses (i.e. clauses where an object is ungrammatical):

intransitive		transitive	
<i>hule</i>	‘ask’ (intr)	<i>hule-ni-a</i>	‘ask s.o.’
<i>kozoho</i>	‘be near’	<i>kozoho-ti-a</i>	‘be near to, approach’
<i>longo</i>	‘hear, obey’	<i>longo-ri-a</i>	‘hear, listen to’
<i>tangi</i>	‘weep’	<i>tangi-zi-a</i>	‘weep for s.o.’

Compare *longo* in the intransitive clauses (12) and (13) with the transitive *longo-ri-a* in (14) which has a full nominal object:

- (12) *Ia longo kini vano.*
 3s hear SEQ:3 go
 ‘He heard/obeyed and went.’
- (13) *Ia e longo ni tama-na.*
 3s R:3 hear loc:PR father-3s
 ‘He obeyed/agreed with his father.’
- (14) *A Tiro e longo-ri-a pole-a kua.*
 ART Tiro R:3 hear-TR-3s speak-NOM this
 ‘Tiro heard this talk.’

2. Secondly, the bare verb occurs in intransitive clauses, but also in transitive clauses with a full nominal object, although not with a pronominal object. Since these verbs are not formally marked as transitive and cannot take pronominal objects, we will refer to them as semi-transitive verbs. Alternatively, they may be thought of as ‘extended intransitives’. The following verbs illustrate this class:

intransitive / semi-transitive		transitive	
<i>gala</i>	‘work’	<i>gala-mi-a</i>	‘work s.t.’
<i>hada</i>	‘see’	<i>hada-vi-a</i>	‘see s.t.’
<i>hitu</i>	‘fill’	<i>hitu-vi-a</i>	‘fill’
<i>hinu</i>	‘drink’	<i>hinu-mi-a</i>	‘drink’
<i>papane</i>	‘climb’	<i>papane-hi-a</i>	‘climb’

In such cases the object usually (but not always) has indefinite reference, as in (16) where the verb root *hada* occurs, not the transitive form *hada-vi-a*. See also §7.9 on transitive clauses:

- (15) *Dia ta gala vanua rae.*
 3p R work garden there
 ‘They are working a garden over there.’
- (16) *Palaka, e hada na hai-na bua katiu e ma-madii.*
 but R:3 see ART tree-3s betelnut one R:3 RED-stand
 ‘But he saw a betelnut tree which stood there.’
- (17) *Ho zahe papane paido!*
 2s go.up climb coconut
 ‘You go up and climb a coconut tree!’

3. Thirdly, there are transitive verb forms of which the root never occurs by itself, but only in reduplicated form. This can be a valency-reducing mechanism, making the verb intransitive or semi-transitive, or it can indicate continuous action, or plural action or both. For more discussion on the meaning of reduplication, see §4.5. The following verbs are illustrative:

intransitive / semi-transitive		transitive	
<i>dule-dule</i>	‘pick (fruit)’	<i>dule-a</i>	‘pick (fruit)’
<i>hani-hani</i>	‘eat’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>kuvi-kuvi</i>	‘sweep’	<i>kuvi-a</i>	‘sweep’
<i>luka-luka</i>	‘pick (leaves)’	<i>luka-ni-a</i>	‘pick (leaves)’
<i>pele-pele</i>	‘take’	<i>pele-a</i>	‘take’
<i>vazugu-zugu</i>	‘wash’	<i>vazugu-vi-a</i>	‘wash’
<i>zoho-zoho</i>	‘get dressed’	<i>zoho-ri-a</i>	‘dress’

The following clauses illustrate these reduplicated forms. Notice the presence of an object in (19), making *pele-pele* a semi-transitive verb.

- (18) *Dia ta hani-hani.*
 3p R eat-RED
 ‘They are eating.’
- (19) *Dia ta pele-pele ka-na golea-loa.*
 3p R take-RED PC-3s thing-RED
 ‘They took his things.’

4. Finally, there are cases where the root of the transitive verb does not exist at all as a free form, neither in simple nor in reduplicated form. This includes the following verbs:

<i>bobo-li-a</i>	‘flatter’	* <i>bobo</i>
<i>hara-ti-a</i>	‘bite’	* <i>hara</i>
<i>kalinga-ni-a</i>	‘chase’	* <i>kalinga</i>
<i>kodo-ni-a</i>	‘help’	* <i>kodo</i>

In these cases, the use of a hyphen in the transitive verb forms with *-Ci* is questionable, as there is no morpheme break. As mentioned above, however, some roots can occur as the first element in compound verbs: *hara-mate-hi-a* ‘bite to death’, for instance, illustrates the root *hara* from *hara-ti-a* ‘bite’, even though *hara* never occurs by itself. With other verbs *-Ci* is retained even in compounds, as with *kodo-ni-a*: *kodo-ni-marata-ni-a* ‘help very much’. Based on analogy, we have decided to treat all instances of *-Ci* as a separate morpheme, even in those cases where the root apparently does not exist or where we lack sufficient data.

4.3 Experiencer verbs

A small subclass of verbs is that of experiencer verbs. These verbs take a single argument (the patient or experiencer), but code it as an object following a transitive marker *-Ci*. Typically these verbs refer to uncomfortable bodily states such as being hot, cold, hungry, tired, sick etc. In most cases the root exists as a noun. The following seven experiencer verbs have been found to date (listed here with the 3sg suffix *-a*):

<i>kurupa(-)li-a</i>	‘be hot’	<i>kurupali</i>	‘heat’
<i>lolo-ni-a</i>	‘be tired, fed up’	* <i>lolo</i>	
<i>magara-ti-a</i>	‘be cold’	<i>magara</i>	‘cold’
<i>maraho-ti-a</i>	‘be thirsty’	<i>maraho</i>	‘thirst’
<i>mazahi-ti-a</i>	‘be sick, ill’	<i>mazahi</i>	‘illness’

<i>rorongo-ti-a</i>	‘to sweat	<i>rorongo</i>	‘sweat’
<i>vitolo-ni-a</i>	‘be hungry’	<i>vitolo</i>	‘hunger, famine’

A few examples of experiencer verbs in clauses are given below, but for a discussion of the syntax of these clauses, see §7.5.3.

- (20) *Hau ti vitolo-ni-au.*
 1s PF hunger-TR-1s
 ‘I’m hungry.’
- (21) *E lolo-ni-ho?*
 R:3 tired-TR-2s
 ‘Are you tired?’
- (22) *E magara-ti-miro.*
 R:3 cold-TR-1de
 ‘We are cold.’

4.4 Derived verbs

This section will treat verbs which have been derived from basic verbs through affixation, reduplication or compounding. Affixation in Vitu is mostly limited to a small number of prefixes: *va-* ‘causative’, *vari-* ‘reciprocal’ and ‘multiple subject’, *vai-* ‘multiple object’ and *di-* ‘sudden action’. In addition to these prefixes, there is also passive verb formation, with a wide range of allomorphs.

4.4.1 Verbs with the prefix *va-*

In addition to a small number of intransitive verbs marked by *va-* such as *va-muga* ‘go on ahead’ (see §4.1), the main function of *va-* is to create causative verbs on the basis of intransitive verbs (and some transitive verbs). Several form classes can be distinguished:

a. *Va-* is prefixed to verbal roots (when the root ends in *a* the 3sg object suffix *-a* is absent; see §4.2.2)

<i>va-dua</i>	‘drop’	<i>dua</i>	‘fall’
<i>va-kove-a</i>	‘make pregnant’	<i>kove</i>	‘pregnant’
<i>va-madiri-a</i>	‘make stand’	<i>madiri</i>	‘stand’
		<i>~ madii</i>	
<i>va-tunga</i>	‘show’	<i>tunga</i>	‘look’

b. With some roots which end in a back vowel (*u* or *o*), this back vowel is changed to the corresponding front vowel (*i* or *e*) in the causative form. This is presumably a back-formation, as transitive verbs ending in *-ua* or *-oa* were reinterpreted as passive forms (see §4.4.5 for more discussion):

<i>va-pole-a</i>	‘put on board, load’	<i>polo</i>	‘go on board’
<i>va-ngore-a</i>	‘put to bed, put to sleep’	<i>ngoro</i>	‘sleep, lie down’
<i>va-zuzi-a</i>	‘breastfeed’	<i>zuzu</i>	‘drink from the breast’

c. *Va-* is prefixed to the root in combination with a transitive suffix *-Ci*:

<i>va-dua-zi-a</i>	‘drop’ (also <i>va-dua</i>)	<i>dua</i>	‘fall’
<i>va-hitu-vi-a</i>	‘drown, drop in the water’	<i>ma-hitu</i>	‘sink, drown’
<i>va-hoho-ri-a</i>	‘put inside’	<i>hoho</i>	‘go inside’
<i>va-hozo-vi-a</i>	‘finish’	<i>hozo</i>	‘finished’
<i>va-mahuri-vi-a</i>	‘heal, cure’	<i>mahuri</i>	‘alive’
<i>va-zahe-ni-a</i>	‘lift, raise’	<i>zahe</i>	‘go up’
<i>va-zihoni-a</i>	‘lower’	<i>zihoni</i>	‘go down’

The verb *vangorea* ‘put to bed, put to sleep’ shows some idiosyncratic variation. With singular objects, the form without *-hi* is used: *va-ngore-au* ‘put me to sleep’, *va-ngore-ho* ‘put you to sleep’, *va-ngore-a* ‘put him/her to sleep’. With non-singular objects, however, the form with *-hi* is more common: *va-ngore-hi-hita* ‘put us to sleep’, *va-ngore-hi-dia* ‘put them to sleep’.

The causative verb *va-ngani-a* ‘feed’ (somehow related to *hani-a* ‘eat’) is irregular. There are also a number of verbs starting with *va* of which the base is non-existent or, if it exists, is semantically unrelated (indicated in brackets). Possibly these verbs just coincidentally contain the initial sequence *va*:

<i>vakonga-ni-a</i>	‘wake up’ (tr)	<i>*konga</i>
<i>vakonga-konga</i>	‘wake up’ (intr)	
<i>vatomu-tomu-hi-a</i>	‘circumcise’ (tr)	<i>*tomu</i>
<i>vatomu-tomu</i>	‘circumcise’ (intr)	
<i>vapolu-polu</i>	‘write’	(<i>polu</i> ‘ripe’)
<i>vapozi</i>	‘feed wedding guests’	(<i>pozi</i> ‘go down’)

A few examples of causative verbs in clauses:

- (23) *Pebarae, ka va-zahe-ni-a hiza-na na dama laveve.*
 therefore CONT CAUS-go.up-TR-3s name-3s loc day all
 ‘Therefore I lift up his name every day.’
- (24) *Tu va-hozo-vi-a habu tu-tu-hita.*
 R:2 CAUS-finish-TR-3s group RED-child-1pe
 ‘You have finished (eating) our children.’

4.4.2 Verbs with the prefix *vari-*

The prefix *vari-* has two meanings: it marks reciprocal action, and in combination with *-i or -ai*, it indicates multiple subjects.

a. On transitive verb roots the prefix *vari-* has a reciprocal meaning (‘each other’). The resulting verb form is intransitive and hence it normally lacks the transitivity affix *-Ci*. With some derivations, however, *-Ci* emerges, although the thematic consonant can be different from the one in the transitive verbs. This reciprocal formation appears to be fairly productive.

<i>vari-hani</i>	‘eat each other, fight’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>vari-hara</i>	‘bite each other’	* <i>hara</i>	
		<i>hara-ti-a</i>	‘bite’
<i>vari-hubi</i>	‘hit each other, fight’	<i>hubi-a</i>	‘hit’
<i>vari-hule-i</i>	‘ask each other’	<i>hule</i>	‘ask’
		<i>hule-ni-a</i>	‘ask s.o.’
<i>vari-kapi</i>	‘race each other’	* <i>kapi</i>	
		<i>kapi-li-a</i>	‘defeat in a race’
<i>vari-kodo-ngi</i>	‘help each other’	* <i>kodo</i>	
		<i>kodo-ni-a</i>	‘help’
<i>vari-tangi-zi</i>	‘weep for each other’	<i>tangi</i>	‘weep, cry’
		<i>tangi-zi-a</i>	‘weep for s.o.’

b. The second usage of the prefix *vari-* is in combination with *-ai or -i* on intransitive verb roots. The resulting circumfix on the verb indicates that multiple subjects are involved in the action or state denoted by the verb; the subject is a group consisting of several members. When the root ends in *a* the suffix is *-i*. When it ends in *e* the choice appears to be unpredictable and lexically determined. In all other cases the suffix is *-ai*. This circumfix is glossed COLL for collective action or state. Examples:

<i>vari-bata-i</i>	‘(many) hide’	<i>bata</i>	‘hide’
<i>vari-bebe-ai</i>	‘(many) fly’	<i>bebe</i>	‘fly’
<i>vari-hava-i</i>	‘(many) run away’	<i>hava</i>	‘run away, flee’
<i>vari-have-i</i>	‘(many) hang’	<i>have</i>	‘hang’ (intr)
<i>vari-lama-i</i>	‘(many) wake up’	<i>lama</i>	‘wake up’
<i>vari-loli-ai</i>	‘(many) sit’	<i>loli</i>	‘sit’
<i>vari-madiri-ai</i>	‘(many) stand’	<i>madii ~ madiri</i>	‘stand’
<i>vari-ngoro-ai</i>	‘(many) sleep’	<i>ngoro</i>	‘sleep’
<i>vari-nongo-ai</i>	‘(many) laugh’	<i>nongo</i>	‘laugh’
<i>vari-pati-ai</i>	‘(many) float, stand still’	<i>pati</i>	‘float, stand still’
<i>vari-rovo-ai</i>	‘(many) run’	<i>rovo</i>	‘run’
<i>vari-tangi-ai</i>	‘(many) cry’	<i>tangi</i>	‘cry’

This formation does not appear to be totally productive; with *bele* ‘arrive’ the collective **vari-bele-ai* is ungrammatical (instead, *bele-bele* should be used).

c. Finally, the prefix *vari-* also appears on some intransitive verbs with idiosyncratic meanings:

<i>vari-hara-hara</i>	‘like to bite’	<i>hara-ti-a</i>	‘bite’
<i>vari-vuvu</i>	‘begin’	<i>vuvu</i>	‘base, trunk’
		<i>varivuvuk-a</i>	‘beginning of’
<i>vari-mama</i>	‘give out betelnut to guests’	<i>mama</i>	‘chew betelnut’
<i>varitih</i>	‘painful’	* <i>tih</i>	

Specific meanings of the reciprocal have developed in the following cases:

<i>vari-dange-ai</i>	‘share evenly’	<i>dange-a</i>	‘fit for; able to’
<i>vari-koli-ai</i>	‘change places’	<i>koli-a</i>	‘change, answer, return, repay’

Examples in clauses of verbs with the prefix *vari-*:

(25) *Dia ta vari-hule-i...*

3p R REC-ask-REC

‘They asked each other...’

(26) *Magali-na ti kurukuru, hiro ta vari-koli-ai.*

belly-3s PF:3 full 3d R REC-change-REC

‘When his belly was full, they changed places.’

- (27) *Manumanu laveve dia te vai-ngoro-ai.*
 people all 3p PF COLL-sleep-COLL
 ‘All the people had gone to sleep.’
- (28) *Dia ta vai-bata-i na voro.*
 3p R COLL-hide-COLL loc sun
 ‘They are all sheltering from the sun.’

4.4.3 Verbs with the prefix *vai-*

The prefix *vai-* on transitive verbs creates a semi-transitive verb which indicates that the object of the action is plural; it is glossed as PLUR. Compare the circumfix *vari-/(a)i*, which indicated multiple subjects. Notice that with some verbs there is a change in vowel quality, something which is also found with causative and passive verbs (see §4.4.5):

<i>vai-hani</i>	‘eat (many things)’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>vai-kado</i>	‘buy (many things), shop’	<i>kade-a</i>	‘buy’
<i>vai-pado</i>	‘spear (many items)’	<i>pade-a</i>	‘spear’
<i>vai-rovo</i>	‘chase, kill (many items)’	<i>rovo</i>	‘run’
<i>vai-ruku(-ruku)</i>	‘to tell lies’	<i>ruki-a</i>	‘lie to s.o.’

The following verbs present some unusual formations:

<i>vai-kali</i>	‘chase (many items)’	<i>*kali</i>	
<i>vai-tago</i>	‘have sex’	<i>tago</i>	‘hold, grab’
		<i>tago-mi-a</i>	‘have sex with s.o.; creep up on a tree (of a vine)’

The resulting verb is sometimes intransitive and no object can be added. In other cases, an object appears possible (but never an object suffix/enclitic), as in (29) and (30). Some verbs seem to put the patient in a prepositional phrase marked by *kamana* ‘with’, as in (31):

- (29) *Hau ta vai-kali boro-boro na ha-gu vanua.*
 1s R PLUR-chase pig-RED loc PCF-1s garden
 ‘I chased the pigs from my garden.’
- (30) *Dia ta vai-pado ha-dia hiha.*
 3p R PLUR-spear PCF-3p fish
 ‘They speared fish for themselves.’ (Lit. ‘They speared their fish.’)

- (31) *Na kaluha e vai-hani kama-dia.*
 ART shark R:3 PLUR-eat with-3p
 ‘The sharks ate them.’

The verb *vai-hani* in (31) is apparently strongly intransitive, as the form **vai-hani-dia* with an object enclitic is ungrammatical. The reference to a plural object is clearly implied, since the preposition with a singular suffix is ungrammatical: **e vai-hani kama-na*.

4.4.4 Verbs with the prefix *di-*

The non-productive verbal prefix *di-* is attached to intransitive roots and usually denotes a sudden pressing or pushing movement, though some of the meanings are somewhat idiosyncratic. It is glossed as SUD for ‘suddenly’. The following verbs containing this prefix have been found to date; in the last three cases the base is an adverb, a transitive verb or non-existent:

<i>di-hoho</i>	‘press in, push inside’	<i>hoho</i>	‘go inside’
<i>di-kozo</i>	‘suddenly see, catch sight’	<i>kozo</i>	‘caught’
<i>di-madii</i>	‘suddenly stand up (by pressing oneself down)’	<i>madii</i>	‘stand up’
<i>di-mai</i>	‘press to come, press towards speaker’ (e.g. a door, a body part)	<i>mai</i>	‘come’
<i>di-tadu</i>	‘press down’	<i>tadu</i>	‘down’ (adv)
<i>di-vurutia</i>	‘jump to one’s feet, rise quickly (by pressing down)’	<i>vuru-ti-a</i>	‘uproot’ (tr)
<i>di(-)bala</i>	‘win, overcome’	<i>*bala</i>	

Examples in clauses:

- (32) *E di-madii kiri-dia, ia vai-hani pamuhi kama-dia.*
 R:3 SUD-stand to:PN-3p 3s PLUR-eat suddenly with-3p
 ‘It (the monster) stood up to them, it suddenly ate them.’
- (33) *Mata-gu ia di-kozo ni tai boborea.*
 eye-1s 3s SUD-caught loc:PN same.sex.sibling dolphin
 ‘My eye caught sight of brother dolphin.’

4.4.5 Passive verbs

One of the more unusual features of Vitu is the passive, a complex but very productive phenomenon. This section focusses on passive verb forms and draws heavily on van den Berg (2006), which also provides a historical-comparative analysis. Passive clauses show various interesting syntactic features which are discussed in §7.8; in this section our main concern is passive morphology.

There are essentially three ways of making a passive verb in Vitu.

1. Through vowel mutation (umlaut). Class 1 transitive verbs ending in the vowel *i* form their passive by changing *-i* to *-ua*, as illustrated below. Notice that in the active forms the sequence *i-a* contains a root-final *i* followed by the 3sg object suffix *-a*; in the passive forms *-ua* is analysed as a single morpheme.

<i>hani-a</i>	<i>hanua</i>	‘eat’
<i>hubi-a</i>	<i>hubua</i>	‘hit’
<i>kati-a</i>	<i>katua</i>	‘make’
<i>maki-a</i>	<i>makua</i>	‘choose’
<i>pahi-a</i>	<i>pahua</i>	‘take out, remove’
<i>tuni-a</i>	<i>tunua</i>	‘cook, bake’
<i>vati-a</i>	<i>vatua</i>	‘leave’

In one case metathesis has occurred: *geria* - *geura* (via *gerua*, a form less used) ‘send, tell’. A subtype of this class is found with verbs which end in *e*. In that case the passive is formed in *-oa*, with one known case of metathesis:

<i>hare-a</i>	<i>haroa</i>	‘peel’
<i>kade-a</i>	<i>kadoa</i>	‘buy’
<i>pade-a</i>	<i>padoa</i>	‘spear’
<i>pele-a</i>	<i>pelo</i> ~ <i>peola</i>	‘take, get’

Causative verbs (marked by *va-*) also follow this umlaut pattern:

<i>va-ngore-a</i>	<i>va-ngoroa</i>	‘put to sleep’	(<i>ngoro</i> ‘sleep, lie’)
<i>va-pole-a</i>	<i>va-poloa</i>	‘take on board; load’	(<i>polo</i> ‘go on board’)
<i>va-zuzi-a</i>	<i>va-zuzua</i>	‘breastfeed’	(<i>zuzu</i> ‘drink from the breast’)

2. Most class 3 transitive verbs ending in *-Ci* form their passive by replacing *-Ci* with *-Ca*:

active	passive	
<i>haba-ti-a</i>	<i>haba-ta</i>	‘build’
<i>havi-li-a</i>	<i>havi-la</i>	‘pull up, catch, fish with hook’
<i>papane-hi-a</i>	<i>papane-ha</i>	‘climb’
<i>taru-hi-a</i>	<i>taru-ha</i>	‘put’
<i>vota-hi-a</i>	<i>vota-ha</i>	‘cut open’

Exceptions to this rule are verbs ending in *-ni-a* (see below).

3. Finally, a number of verbs form their passive by means of the suffix *-nga* or *-anga*.

a. Verb roots ending in *-a* (class 2) take *-nga*:

active	passive	
<i>dabadaba</i>	<i>dabadaba-nga</i>	‘wall in (a house)’
<i>laka</i>	<i>laka-nga</i>	‘dry over a fire’
<i>luga</i>	<i>luga-nga</i>	‘carry’
<i>paga</i>	<i>paga-nga</i>	‘peck at, bite’

b. Class 3 verbs ending in *-ni-a* (including causative verbs) replace this suffix with *-nga* (after *a*) or *-anga* (after other vowels):

<i>kiki-ni-a</i>	<i>kiki-anga</i>	‘play football; kick’ (TP loan)
<i>koha-ni-a</i>	<i>koha-nga</i>	‘call’
<i>ta-ni-a</i>	<i>ta-nga</i>	‘speak’
<i>tapu-ni-a</i>	<i>tapu-anga</i>	‘throw’
<i>vanga-ni-a</i>	<i>vanga-nga</i>	‘feed’
<i>va-ziho-ni-a</i>	<i>va-ziho-anga</i>	‘lower, put down’

Notice that the pair *tania - tanga* ‘speak’ is exceptional, as other verbs with one syllable before *-ni-a* form their passive by means of *-nua* (*hani-a - hanua* ‘eat’; *tuni-a - tunua* ‘burn’). In terms of its prosody, *ta-ni-a* is a class 1 verb, but in terms of its passive formation, it belongs to class 3. Also exceptional is the loanword *peni-ni-a* ‘paint’ which has the passive *penua* (following class 1, but with a syllable lost), rather than the expected but non-occurring **peni-anga* or **peni-nua*. Passives of compound verbs are discussed in §4.6.

Below are two examples of passive clauses; for further examples and a discussion of the syntax of these clauses, see §7.8:

- (34) *Ruma kua e ba ka-katua.* (active: *kati-a*)
 house this R:3 still RED-make:PASS
 ‘This house is still being built.’
- (35) *Goloa kua e koha-nga na desk.* (active: *koha-ni-a*)
 thing this R:3 call-PASS ART desk
 ‘This thing is called a desk.’

4.5 Reduplication

As explained in §2.7, Vitu has three types of reduplication, of which only partial and full reduplication are relevant for verbs. For reduplication on nouns and adjectives, see §3.3.3 and §3.7.2. The meaning of reduplication in verbs is fairly complex in Vitu, and more research is needed to uncover the various shades of meaning, which very likely interact with the lexical aspect of the verbal roots. The following statements represent a rough initial analysis.

a. Partial reduplication, which prefixes a single syllable to the verbal base, indicates that the action is in process at the moment of speaking (or the point of reference in a story); it has a continuous or durative aspect, for which the English progressive is often an adequate translation equivalent. It is typically used on intransitive verbs. Depending on the context, it may also signal habitual action.

<i>ge-gere</i>	‘play (continuously)’	<i>gere</i>	‘play’
<i>ma-madii</i>	‘stand (continuously)’	<i>madii</i>	‘stand’
<i>mi-mia</i>	‘sit, live (continuously)’	<i>mia</i>	‘sit, live’
<i>pa-pango</i>	‘hunt (habitually)’	<i>pango</i>	‘hunt’
<i>po-pole</i>	‘speak (continuously)’	<i>pole</i>	‘speak’
<i>va-vana</i>	‘walk (continuously)’	<i>vana</i>	‘walk, travel’
<i>va-vano</i>	‘go (habitually)’	<i>vano</i>	‘go’

Continuous and durative action is illustrated in the following three examples, while (39) is an example of a habitual action:

- (36) *Dia ta longo-ri-a a Pote e po-pole kamani Naio.*
 3p R hear-TR-3s ART P. R:3 RED-speak with:PN N.
 ‘They heard Pote speaking with Naio.’
- (37) *Kedo rua kua, hiro ta ma-madii na Lomu.*
 stone two this 3d R RED-stand loc L.
 ‘These two rocks were standing at Lomu.’

- (38) *Na ta<vi>vine taza dia ta mi-mia na vazalea.*
 ART RED-woman some 3p R RED-sit loc beach
 ‘Some women were sitting on the beach.’
- (39) *Boto laveve e lala kete va-vana ni pa-pango*
 time all R:3 HAB PURP:3 RED-walk IRR:3 RED-hunt
na mugomugo.
 loc forest
 ‘He always went hunting in the forest.’

b. Full reduplication, which suffixes two syllables to the verbal base, adds an element of plurality or totality to the subject, which in most cases can be translated by ‘all’. This appears most clearly on dynamic intransitive verbs such as ‘go’, ‘arrive’, ‘fly’ etc. Full reduplication with this meaning is ungrammatical with singular subjects, as in (41b), and no sense of continuous, durative or habitual is present. Compare the following examples:

- (40) a. *Dia ta bele na marigo.*
 3p R arrive loc night
 ‘They arrived at night.’
- b. *Dia ta bele-bele na marigo.*
 3p R arrive-RED loc night
 ‘They (all) arrived at night.’
- (41) a. *Hau ta bele na marigo.*
 1s R arrive loc night
 ‘I arrived at night.’
- b. **Hau ta bele-bele na marigo.*

Other examples, including one with a transitive verb:

- (42) *Dia ta vano-vano kara malala.*
 3p R go-RED to village
 ‘They (all) went to the village.’
- (43) *Dia ta bai-bai ka-dia kirei.*
 3p R hold.under.arm-RED PC-3p basket
 ‘They all held their baskets under their arms.’

In (43) the full transitive verb is *bai-hi-a*, and the reduplicated form *bai-bai-hi-a* is also grammatical. The meaning of this type of reduplication appears to be very

close to the collective circumfix *vari-/-(a)i*, discussed in §4.4.2. Thus, with the verb *hava* ‘flee’, the following clauses were said to have identical meanings:

- (44) a. *Dia ta hava-hava.*
 3p R flee-RED
 ‘They (all) fled.’
- b. *Dia ta vari-hava-i.*
 3p R COLL-flee-COLL
 ‘They (all) fled.’

c. Full reduplication sometimes has an element of randomness or playfulness about it. The action is depicted as not being done very seriously:

- (45) *Ia e gere-gere kamana kaua.*
 3s R:3 play-RED with dog
 ‘He is playing with the dog.’
- (46) *Kapiru-piru dia kata matu-matu na vazalea.*
 child-RED 3p PURP bathe-RED loc beach
 ‘The children are going to bathe at the beach.’

In other cases the meaning of full reduplication is indeterminate, as in the following two cases, where it could indicate continuous action, or a plurality of objects:

- (47) *Ta<vi>vine taza dia ta vazugu-zugu ka-dia klos na naru.*
 RED-woman some 3p R wash-RED PC-3p clothes loc water
 ‘Some women were washing their clothes in the river.’
- (48) *Kaka katiu e tere-tere ka-dia lavalava.*
 person one R:3 tear-RED PC-3p clothes
 ‘A man was tearing their clothes.’

It is even possible that reduplication in this case also marks decreased transitivity (see also below); compare the full transitive verbs *vazugu-vi-a* ‘wash’ and *tere-hi-a* ‘tear’. This needs more investigation.

d. Full reduplication appears to have an intensifying effect with a few adjectival verbs:

<i>tere</i>	‘torn’	<i>tere-tere</i>	‘torn all over’
		<i>tere-hi-a</i>	‘tear’ (tr)
<i>putu</i>	‘broken’	<i>putu-putu</i>	‘broken in many pieces’

e. Finally, full reduplication appears to have a valency-reducing function. With a number of transitive verbs, full reduplication renders them intransitive or semi-transitive function. Examples given in §4.2.3 are repeated here with some additions.

intransitive / semi-transitive		transitive	
<i>dule-dule</i>	‘pick (fruit)’	<i>dule-a</i>	‘pick (fruit)’
<i>habi-habi</i>	‘sing’	<i>habi-a</i>	‘sing (a song)’
<i>havi-havi</i>	‘fish with hook’	<i>havi-li-a</i>	‘fish with hook, catch’
<i>hani-hani</i>	‘eat’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
<i>kuvi-kuvi</i>	‘sweep’	<i>kuvi-a</i>	‘sweep’
<i>luka-luka</i>	‘pick (leaves)’	<i>luka-ni-a</i>	‘pick (leaves)’
<i>pele-pele</i>	‘take’	<i>pele-a</i>	‘take, get’
<i>vazo-vazo</i>	‘plant’	<i>vazo-hi-a</i>	‘plant’
<i>vazugu-zugu</i>	‘wash’	<i>vazugu-vi-a</i>	‘wash’
<i>vuru-vuru</i>	‘pull out’	<i>vuru-ti-a</i>	‘pull out’
<i>zoho-zoho</i>	‘get dressed’	<i>zoho-ri-a</i>	‘dress’

Notice that with some active verbs ending in *i* or *e* the reduplicated form has *o* or *u*. Again, this is connected to the back-formation caused by the passive:

<i>pade-pade</i> ~	‘spear (fish)’	<i>pade-a</i>	‘spear (fish)’
<i>pado-pado</i>			
<i>tunu-tunu</i>	‘cook, burn’	<i>tuni-a</i>	‘cook, burn’
<i>zungu-zungu</i>	‘sniff’	<i>zungi-a</i>	‘smell’

This type of detransitivising reduplication does not appear to be productive. For example, the transitive verb *hinu-mi-a* has a semi-transitive base *hinu* ‘drink’, but surprisingly **hinu-hinu* is ungrammatical. It may be the case that the verbs listed here represent culturally salient activities in Vitu society, for which the object is usually understood. This may be an adequate explanation for cases like picking fruits or leaves and spearing fish, but this is less convincing for *pele-pele*, which has the very general meaning ‘take’. It may also be the case that the continuous, durative or random meaning is part of this formation.

Below are some examples of these reduplicated semi-transitive verbs. Notice the presence of full nominal objects in (50) - (52):

- (49) *Na tavine hanitu kua ti zungu-zungu mai.*
 ART woman evil.spirit this PF:3 smell-RED come
 ‘The spirit woman sniffed as she came (towards them).’
- (50) *Na kapiru kuari e kuvi-kuvi (na ka-na ruma).*
 ART child that R:3 sweep-RED ART PC-3s house
 ‘That child is sweeping (his house).’
- (51) *Azei e yuru-yuru na ha-gu paido?*
 who R:3 pull.out-RED ART PCF-1s coconut
 ‘Who has pulled out my coconut (trees)?’
- (52) *Hau ta tunu-tunu binolunolu.*
 1s R burn-RED dry.cane.leaves
 ‘I burnt dry cane leaves.’

f. To conclude this section, it should be noted that combinations of full and partial reduplication occur, though they are not particularly common. The examples to date seem to be combinations of the detransitivising usage and the continuous or habitual aspect:

<i>ha-habi-habi</i>	‘sing (continuously)’	<i>habi-habi</i>	‘sing’ (intr)
		<i>habi-a</i>	‘sing’ (tr)
<i>va-vazo-vazo</i>	‘plant (habitually)’	<i>vazo-vazo</i>	‘plant’ (intr)
		<i>vazo-hi-a</i>	‘plant’ (tr)

4.6 Verbal compounds

A final category to be discussed in this chapter is that of verbal compounds. The Vitu verb phrase displays a very interesting structure when a transitive verb is joined together to an adverb, an adjective, an intransitive or another transitive verb, resulting in a new compound verb, as in the following clausal example:

- (53) *Dia ta hubi-mate-hi-a kaua.*
 3p R hit-die-TR-3s dog
 ‘They killed the dog.’ (Lit. ‘They hit-die the dog.’)

The verbal stems *hubi-a* ‘hit, beat’ and *mate* ‘die, be dead’ have been combined into a new compound verb *hubi-mate-hi-a* ‘beat to death, kill’. Notice the ‘new’ transitivity suffix *-hi*, which is found on neither of the two original verbs. This kind of verbal compounding needs to be distinguished from both prefixing (§4.4) and verb serialisation (discussed in §7.12).

What we call ‘verbal compounding’ is analysed as prefixation by Ross (2004: 374) in his sketch of Bali-Vitu. The verb *hara-mate-hi* ‘kill by biting’, for instance, is analysed as consisting of the root *mate* ‘die’ prefixed with *hara-* ‘by biting’ (‘transparently related to the verb *harati-* ‘bite’’). In favour of this analysis is the observation that *hara* is clearly a bound morpheme, never occurring on its own. What argues against this analysis is that, although there appear to be some limitations on verbs that can function as ‘prefixes’, their number runs into the dozens. Also, the putative prefix can appear on adverbs, adjectives and verbs, a situation which is rather unusual. It seems more economical to treat this as verbal compounding, and limit prefixation to ‘real’ prefixes such as causative *va-* and reciprocal *vai-*.

Verbal compounding differs from verb serialisation in the following ways.

a. The suffix *-Ci* is unique to the compound, since often neither verb takes this particular allomorph (see (53) above, and the list of examples below). This clearly shows the derivational nature of the process which creates a new lexical item.

b. The first part of the compound is usually a root form of the verb, which never occurs by itself. In serial verb constructions one expects the juxtaposition of independent verbs.

c. The fact that almost all these compounds contain only one transitive suffix *-Ci* at the end of both verbs also shows them to be a very closely tied unit.

d. The verbal compound forms only one stress and intonation unit which cannot be broken up.

However, a word of caution is needed here. In verbal compounding the first verb is always transitive, while in serial verb constructions the first verb is always intransitive (except in switch subject serialisation; §7.12.3). We might actually be dealing with complementary distribution here, resulting in two different surface structures.

Semantically, verbal compounds denote manner, causation, various aspects and location or goal of the action. With few exceptions, the first verb is a transitive verb, but the second element varies. The whole compound is also transitive. Several categories may be distinguished, as illustrated below. In addition to the active form of the compound verb and its constituent parts, the passive form is also given.

a. **Transitive verb + adverb**, indicating place or aspect:

<i>taru-langa-ri-a</i>	‘put up’	<i>taru-hi-a</i>	‘put’
		<i>langa</i>	‘up, above’
	passive:	<i>taru-langa-ra</i>	
<i>taru-tadu-ri-a</i>	‘put down’	<i>taru-hi-a</i>	‘put’
		<i>tadu</i>	‘down’
	passive:	<i>taru-tadu-ra</i>	
<i>taru-mule-hi-a</i>	‘put back’	<i>taru-hi-a</i>	‘put’
		<i>mule</i>	‘again, back’
	passive:	<i>taru-mule-ha</i>	
<i>paho-tadu-ri-a</i>	‘hold down, catch’	<i>paho-ri-a</i>	‘hold’
		<i>tadu</i>	‘down’
	passive:	<i>paho-tadu-ra</i>	
<i>va-zihō(-ni)-mule-hi-a</i>	‘lower again’	<i>va-zihō-ni-a</i>	‘lower’
		<i>mule</i>	‘again, back’
	passive:	<i>vazihō(-ni)-mule-ha ~</i> <i>vazihō-ni-mule-ha-nga</i>	
<i>va-zahe(-ni)-mule-hi-a</i>	‘raise it again’	<i>va-zahe-ni-a</i>	‘raise’
		<i>mule</i>	‘again, back’
	passive:	<i>vazahe(-ni)-mule-ha ~</i> <i>vazahe-ni-mule-ha-nga</i>	
<i>titi-ri-barae-ni-a</i>	‘shave like this’	<i>titi-ri-a</i>	‘shave’
		<i>barae</i>	‘like this’
	passive:	<i>titi-ri-barae-anga</i>	
<i>luga-veta-ni-a</i>	‘carry in vain’	<i>luga</i>	‘carry’
		<i>veta</i>	‘in vain, for no purpose’
	passive:	<i>luga-veta-nga</i>	
<i>havi-marata-ni-a</i>	‘catch so (much)’	<i>havi-li-a</i>	‘catch’
		<i>marata</i>	‘so’
	passive:	<i>havi-marata-nga</i>	
<i>havi-li-pamu-hi-a</i>	‘catch immediately’	<i>havi-li-a</i>	‘catch’
		<i>pamuhi</i>	‘immediately’
	passive:	<i>havili-pamu-ha</i>	

Often the first verb in a compound appears without the *-Ci* suffix, though there are some exceptions, such as *titi-ri-barae-ni-a* and *havi-li-pamu-hi-a*. In other cases, *-Ci* appears to be optional. Notice too that in the last example *havi-li-pamu-hi-a*, the

final syllable *hi* of the adverb *pamuhi* ‘immediately’ has been reanalysed as a transitivity suffix.

b. **Transitive verb + adjective**, indicating manner:

<i>hani-mata-hi-a</i>	‘eat raw’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
		<i>mata</i>	‘raw’
	passive:	<i>hani-mata-ha</i>	
<i>hani-hozo-vi-a</i>	‘eat up’	<i>hani-a</i>	‘eat’
		<i>hozo</i>	‘finish’
	passive:	<i>hani-hozo-va</i>	
<i>vaida-keme-hi-a</i>	‘put in order’	<i>vaida</i>	‘prepare’
		<i>kemi</i>	‘good’
		(with unexpected vowel change in <i>keme-</i>)	
	passive:	<i>vaida-kemu-ha</i>	
<i>taza-puli-a</i>	‘wear above the breasts’	<i>taza</i>	‘tie’
		<i>puli</i>	‘tight’
	passive:	<i>taza-pulua</i>	
<i>tago-puli-a</i>	‘hold tight, hug’	<i>tago</i>	‘hold’
		<i>puli</i>	‘tight’
	passive:	<i>tago-pulua</i>	
<i>kati-vutu-hi-a</i>	‘make properly’	<i>kati-a</i>	‘make, do’
		<i>vutu</i>	‘proper’
	passive:	<i>kati-vutu-ha</i>	
<i>kati-kemi-hi-a</i>	‘fix, repair; bless’	<i>kati-a</i>	‘make, do’
		<i>kemi</i>	‘good’
	passive:	<i>kati-kemu-ha</i>	
<i>pole-kemi-hi-a</i>	‘admire, praise’	<i>pole</i>	‘speak’
		<i>kemi</i>	‘good’
	passive:	<i>pole-kemu-ha</i>	

One case was found where the adjective is reduplicated:

<i>lala-kemi-kemi-hi-a</i>	‘know very well’	<i>lala</i>	‘know’
		<i>kemi</i>	‘good’
	passive:	<i>lala-kemu-kemu-ha</i>	

c. **Transitive verb + intransitive verb**, indicating resulting motion or state:

<i>dae-mai-ni-a</i>	‘pull this way’	<i>dae-a</i>	‘pull’
		<i>mai</i>	‘come, this way’
	passive:	<i>dae-mai-anga</i>	
<i>dae-pahi-a</i>	‘pull out’	<i>dae-a</i>	‘pull’
		<i>pahi-a</i>	‘remove’
	passive:	<i>dae-pahua</i>	
<i>hubi-mate-hi-a</i>	‘kill; beat to death’	<i>hubi-a</i>	‘hit’
	passive:	<i>mate</i>	‘die, dead’
		<i>hubi-mateha ~</i>	
		<i>hubi-matoa ~</i>	
		<i>hubu-matoa</i>	
<i>hara-mate-hi-a</i>	‘bite to death’	<i>hara-ti-a</i>	‘bite’
		<i>mate</i>	‘die, dead’
	passive:	<i>hara-matoa</i>	
<i>hada-pati-a</i>	‘stare at’	<i>hada-vi-a</i>	‘see’
		<i>pati</i>	‘float, stand still’
	passive:	<i>hada-patua</i>	

d. **Transitive verb + transitive verb**, with a variety of meanings, often translatable as a single word in English:

<i>hada-poto</i>	‘look after’	<i>hada-vi-a</i>	‘see’
		<i>poto</i>	‘hold’
	passive:	<i>hada-poto-a</i>	
<i>hada-lala</i>	‘recognize’	<i>hada-vi-a</i>	‘see’
		<i>lala</i>	‘know’
	passive:	<i>hada-lala-nga</i>	
<i>hara-tere-hi-a</i>	‘tear by biting’	<i>hara</i>	‘bite’
		<i>tere-hi-a</i>	‘tear’
	passive:	<i>hara-tere-ha</i>	
<i>hutu-vala-hi-a</i>	‘break open’	<i>hutu</i>	‘break, broken’
		<i>hutu-zi-a</i>	‘hit’
		<i>vala-hi-a</i>	‘break’
	passive:	<i>hutu-vala-ha</i>	
<i>lohoi-pari-a</i>	‘remember’	<i>lohoi-a</i>	‘think’
		<i>pari-a</i>	‘find’
	passive:	<i>lohoi-parua</i>	

<i>vati-tapu-ni-a</i>	‘leave behind’	<i>vati-a</i>	‘leave’
		<i>tapu-ni-a</i>	‘throw’
	passive:	<i>vati-tapu-anga</i>	
<i>toro-lobi-a</i>	‘swarm around’	<i>toro-ni-a</i>	‘swarm’
		<i>lobi-a</i>	‘surround’
	passive:	<i>toro-lobua</i>	

It is interesting that of all the transitive suffixes in verbal compounds, *-hi* appears to be the most frequent, followed by *-ni* and *-vi*. The passive compounds on the whole follow the rules outlined above in §4.4.5 for simple passive verbs, with some minor exceptions and variations, such as the ones with *mate* ‘die’ and *mule* ‘again, back’ as the second element. The variant *hubu-matoa* ‘was killed’ (from *hubi-mate-hi-a*) shows an unusual case of vowel umlaut in both parts of the compound.

Examples of some of these verbal compounds in active clauses:

- (54) *Ia gotala ia hada-lala tu-na.*
 3s go.out 3s see-know child-3s
 ‘She went outside and recognised her child.’
- (55) *Manumanu kena dia ta hani-mata-hi-a hani-nga.*
 people that 3p R eat-raw-TR-3s eat-NOM
 ‘Those people eat raw food.’
- (56) *Na tamohane kua ia pado-ni-mule-hi-a na noho*
 ART man this 3s plant-TR-again-TR-3s ART palm.leaf.midrib
na muga-na vaga.
 loc front-3s boat
 ‘This man planted the palm leaf midrib again in front of the boat.’
- (57) *Ho tu dae-pahi-a mangi na rau-na paido.*
 2s R:2 pull-remove-3s hook loc leaf-3s coconut
 ‘You pull the hook away from the coconut leaf.’
- (58) *Na kaluha kamahi dia ta mai toro-lobi-a ka-hiro vaga.*
 ART shark PLUR 3p R come swarm-surround-3s PC-3d boat
 ‘A number of sharks came swarming around their boat.’

- (59) *Beta na lala-kemi-kemi-hi-a pole-a Vitu.*
NEG IRR know-good-RED-TR-3s speak-NOM Vitu
'I don't know the Vitu language very well.'

5. *Aspect-mood-sequentiality*

5.1 Introduction

The most complex area of the Vitu grammar is a set of preverbal particles which we will refer to as aspect-mood-sequentiality markers, or AMS markers for short. These markers have a dual function. On the one hand they code information about aspect, mood and sequentiality of the state of affairs described in the clause. At the same time these particles also indicate person and number of the subject; hence they are portmanteau morphemes. As tense is not overtly marked in Vitu, the use of the traditional term tense-aspect-mood (TAM) seems inappropriate. The agreement system of these AMS markers is somewhat unusual in that, with a few exceptions, the first person singular and all duals and plurals are grouped together, while the second and third person singular have separate forms.

These markers occur between the subject (if present) and the verb and they are obligatory, except for the third singular realis in certain contexts and in serial verb constructions and imperatives. This means that with very few exceptions, every clause in Vitu has one of these markers. Technically they are part of the verb phrase, but we did not discuss them in chapter 4. Because of their centrality in the Vitu clause and the various functions which they perform, a separate chapter for their discussion seems warranted. Since many of the markers have a function beyond that of the simple clause, many examples in this chapter are complex sentences showing conjoining of clauses. Some of these AMS markers function as linking devices between clauses, and a more appropriate place to discuss them would be chapter 9. However, the fact that these markers are clearly part of the verb phrase justifies their inclusion in this chapter.

Since AMS markers are inflected for person, one might label them auxiliary verbs. However, as they never occur independently, we have chosen to use the neutral term ‘markers’. Table 12 displays the eight different sets.

	gloss	1sg + all non-singulars	2sg	3sg	see section
realis	R	<i>ta</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>e, Ø</i>	§5.2
irrealis	IRR	<i>na</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ni</i>	§5.3
perfect	PF	<i>te</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ti</i>	§5.4
continuity	CONT	<i>ka</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ki</i>	§5.5
sequentiality	SEQ	1sg: <i>kene</i> non-singular: <i>kene ~ kini</i>	<i>kunu</i>	<i>kini</i>	§5.6
purpose	PURP	<i>kata</i>	<i>koto ~ kutu</i>	<i>kete ~ kiti</i>	§5.7
indefinite future	FUT	<i>data</i> (1sg only)	<i>datu</i>	<i>dati ~ da e</i>	§5.8
imminent future	IMM	1sg: <i>katane</i> non-singular: <i>katane ~ keteni</i>	<i>kotonu</i>	<i>keteni ~ kitini</i>	§5.9

TABLE 12. ASPECT-MOOD-SEQUENTIALITY MARKERS

It appears that polysyllabic AMS markers such as the purpose marker *kata* are historically combinations of two monosyllabic morphemes (*kata* = *ka* + *ta*). Since the meanings cannot be predicted from the constituent parts, it seems best to treat these forms as units. In the case of *data*, there is variation between the simple and complex forms which may point to its origin (see §5.8 for details).

For glossing we use simple abbreviations to indicate the 1sg and all-non singular forms, for instance R (realis) for *ta* and IRR (irrealis) for *na*. For the other forms we use combinations with numerals, for instance R:3 (3sg realis) for *e*, and IRR:2 (2sg irrealis) for *nu*. All the AMS markers under discussion in each section are underlined in the relevant example sentences.

AMS markers are extremely frequent in the language, but (as already mentioned) they appear to be absent in serial verb constructions (see §7.12) and in most imperative clauses (§8.2). The correct usage and description of the AMS markers is no doubt the most challenging part of the Vitu language and the following description is certainly not meant to be exhaustive. We have a basic

understanding of the system, but there remain a number of instances which we cannot account for. Our discussion also largely ignores matters of discourse structure which may have a bearing on the choice of the various AMS markers. This is definitely a fruitful area for further research, also from a comparative perspective. Even a cursory comparison of these markers in Vitu with the ones found in neighbouring Bali, as outlined by Ross (2002:374-379), reveals significant differences, both in form and in function.

5.2 The realis markers *ta*, *tu*, *e*

The realis set is the unmarked category. If no other special circumstances apply, this is the set that is used. It is typically used for present or past events, whether single actions or continuous states, as illustrated in the examples below. Notice that the translation of a verb marked for realis as past or present usually depends on external information. In a story, the most natural translation is a past tense in English, but the same clause can equally well be translated with a present tense. In the first three examples below, both translation possibilities are given, but in the remainder of this section (and in fact elsewhere in this grammar) a choice will be made.

- (1) *Hita ta rovo-rovo.*
1pe R run-RED
'We are/were running.'
- (2) *Hau ta pozi.*
1s R go.seaward
'I am going/went down to the beach.'
- (3) *A Galemo e paraha, a Magu e kapiru.*
ART G. R:3 older ART M. R:3 younger
'Galemo is/was the older one, Magu is/was the younger one.'
- (4) *Hiro ta ziho ni hita ni 1993.*
3d R go.down loc:PN 1pe loc:PN 1993
'They came to us in 1993.'
- (5) *Ho tu pe ve?*
2s R:2 come/go where
'Where have you been?'

- (6) *Palaka, e hada na hai-na bua katiu.*
 But R:3 see ART tree-3s betelnut one
 ‘But he saw a betelnut tree.’

The 3sg form *e* is almost always absent after the pronoun *ia*, though in written style it is sometimes inserted by more conscientious language users, as in (8):

- (7) *Na kaua ia Ø tani-a na gilio...*
 ART dog 3s say-3s loc k.o.crab
 ‘The dog said to the crab...’
- (8) *A toha ia (e) bebe kara vazalea*
 ART chicken 3s R:3 fly to beach
 ‘The chicken flew to the shore.’

In combination with the future particle *da*, the realis can also refer to the future, as in the following example. This is especially the case with non-singular subjects, where the simple use of the future markers is usually ungrammatical (see §5.8):

- (9) *Da to ta taru ni ve ha-do susu?*
 FUT 1di R put loc:PN where PCF-1di milk
 ‘Where will we put our milk?’

The realis set is also employed in procedural discourse, as shown in the following extended example, taken from a text on how to fish with a chicken feather. Even though the events are unreal in the sense that they have not happened, they are described in the realis:

- (10) ...*ho tu laka na haroho. Muri ho tu mai pele-a ka-a*
 ...2s R:2 dry loc fire behind 2s R:2 come take-3s PC-2s
string. Ho tu liu-ri-a ka-a vaga, ho tu polo.
 fishing.line 2s R:2 move-TR-3s PC-2s boat 2s R:2 board
 ‘... you dry it in the fire. Then you come and get your fishing line. You put out your canoe and you go on board.’

5.3 The irrealis markers *na, nu, ni*

The irrealis set, as the name implies, indicates that the action or state which the clause describes is not or not yet realised. Typically the irrealis is used in negative and conditional clauses, but also in clauses following an imperative or a purpose marker. Interestingly, the irrealis is not used to refer to the future. For this the

language uses the purpose set (*kata*), the indefinite future set (*data*) or the imminent future set (*katane*). Notice that the irrealis marker *na* (for 1sg and all non-singulars) is homophonous with the article *na* and also with the general locative preposition *na*. When the word that follows *na* is a verb, it is clear we are dealing with the irrealis marker.

The following five distinctions can be made in the use of the irrealis.

a. The irrealis is found in negative clauses referring to the past or to the present (see §8.1 for a full treatment of negative clauses):

- (11) *Hau beta na lala.*
1s NEG IRR know
'I don't know.'
- (12) *Beta nu lala?*
NEG IRR:2 know
'Don't you know?'
- (13) *Beta ni lahi, ia huluhahu.*
NEG IRR:3 marry he young
'He is not married, he is a young (unmarried) man.'
- (14) *Beta hita na havi-li-a hiha katiu.*
NEG 1pe IRR catch-TR-3s fish one
'We did not catch a fish.'

In combination with the negator *marabeta*, the irrealis can have a future reference:

- (15) *Hita marabeta hita na vamule!*
1pe can.not 1pe IRR return
'We will not/cannot go back!'

b. The irrealis is also used in negative commands, usually without the personal pronoun (see also §8.3):

- (16) *Taua nu hoho!*
don't IRR:2 enter
'Do not enter!'
- (17) *Taua nu hani-a kamo kena.*
don't IRR:2 eat-3s taro that
'Don't eat that taro.'

Notice that positive imperative clauses, discussed in §8.2, do not use the irrealis, even though the action has not been realised.

c. The irrealis is also found in the protasis (first clause) of conditional sentences. This includes counterfactuals, such as example (22). For a more detailed discussion of conditional clauses, see §9.6:

- (18) *Ta ia ni vano, hau ve data vano.*
 if 3s IRR:3 go 1s too FUT go
 ‘If he goes, I will also go.’
- (19) *Kua ni huza, da beta kata vano.*
 if IRR:3 rain FUT not PURP go
 ‘If it rains, I won’t go.’
- (20) *Ta nu mama, da humi-i e baritunutunua.*
 if IRR:2 chew.betelnut FUT lip-2s R:3 red
 ‘If you chew betelnut, your lips will become red.’
- (21) *Na hiha ni hada na vuluk-a toha e kalageru,*
 ART fish IRR:3 see ART feather-3s chicken R:3 glisten
ia dati rovo hani-a.
 3s FUT:3 run eat-3s
 ‘And when a fish sees the glistening chicken feather, it will rush to it and eat it.’
- (22) *Kua na lala, ma te mai.*
 If IRR know DES PF come
 ‘If I had known, I would have come.’

d. The irrealis is also found in a sequence of clauses in which the first one is an imperative clause and the second one the intended goal or the desired result of the command. The event in the second clause is clearly not realised yet, and the use of the irrealis markers therefore makes good sense. These constructions are not to be analysed as serial verb constructions but rather as separate clauses, as the scope of the imperative is not over both verbs and only the verb in the second clause is marked as irrealis. Examples:

- (23) *Vati-a ni vano.*
 leave-3s IRR:3 go
 ‘Let him go.’ (Lit. ‘Leave him that he will go.’)

- (24) *Kalinga-ni-a ni hava.*
 chase-TR-3s IRR:3 flee
 ‘Chase him away.’ (Lit. ‘Chase him that he will flee.’)
- (25) *Vala kapiru kote mai na luga.*
 give child small come IRR carry
 ‘Give the baby to me and I will carry it.’
- (26) *Ho zahe papane paido, toro na hinu.*
 2s go.up climb coconut 1di IRR drink
 ‘You climb a coconut tree, so that we can drink.’
- (27) *Mai muga nu titi-ri-au.*
 come first IRR:2 shave-TR-1s
 ‘Come and shave me first.’ (Lit. ‘Come first that you can shave me.’)

e. The irrealis is also found in clauses which follow a clause containing the purpose markers (the *kata* set), used with future reference. In this case the irrealis set also seems to indicate sequentiality and can be translated as ‘in order to, so that’ when it has future reference:

- (28) *Kata pade-a ha-do hiha to na hani-a kamana kamo.*
 PURP spear-3s PCF:1di fish 1di IRR eat-3s with taro
 ‘I will spear fish for us (lit. our fish) so that/and we will eat it/them with taro.’
- (29) *Azei kete guri-a Leklo ni vori kara hausik?*
 who PURP:3 accompany-3s L. IRR:3 go.inland to hospital
 ‘Who will accompany Leklo to the hospital?’ (Lit. ‘Who will accompany Leklo and he will go up to the hospital?’)

In example (30) below, the irrealis *ni* surprisingly marks a real event. The man went hunting habitually; it was not an intent or a desired outcome on a particular occasion. In this instance the use of the irrealis is presumably triggered by the purpose marker *kete*, which is obligatory after the habitual verb *lala* ‘know; do habitually’ (see §5.7 for a discussion of this construction):

- (30) *Boto laveve e lala kete va-vana ni pa-pango na*
 time all R:3 HAB PURP:3 RED-walk IRR:3 RED-hunt loc
mugomugo.
 forest
 ‘He always went hunting in the forest.’

5.4 The perfect markers *te*, *tu*, *ti*

The perfect set is used in a number of slightly different ways. The common meaning element seems to be that there has been a change or a completion. The following distinctions can be tentatively made.

a. The perfect markers with stative verbs describe a situation which is the result of a change at some point of reference and has current relevance. We call this the ‘resultant state’ perfect. Compare the following example pairs, where the (a) examples use the realis set and the (b) examples the perfect markers. The point of reference in these examples is the time of speaking. Notice that the adjectives take slightly different meanings depending on the choice of the AMS marker:

- (31) a. *Ka-gu kar e zaha.*
 PC-1s car R:3 bad
 ‘My car is bad.’
 (A statement about the quality of the car; it is bad because it often breaks down.)
- b. *Ka-gu kar ti zaha.*
 PC-1s car PF:3 bad
 ‘My car is broken.’
 (A statement about its current condition; normally it is fine, but now it is broken.)
- (32) a. *Kaka kua e kemi.*
 person this R:3 good
 ‘This man is good.’
 (A statement about his character.)
- b. *Kaka kua ti kemi.*
 person this PF:3 good
 ‘This man is well (now).’
 (A statement about his health after an illness.)

Other examples from stories, where the point of reference is located in the past:

- (33) *Hiro ta hada-vi-a malala kapou ti kozoho matoto.*
 3d R see-TR-3s village big PF:3 near very
 ‘They saw a big island which was (now) very close.’

- (34) *Manumanu laveve dia te vari-ngoro-ai.*
 people all 3p PF COLL-sleep-COLL.
 ‘Everybody was asleep (now).’
- (35) *Ti dama tapu za?*
 PF:3 morning quick just
 ‘Is it morning so quickly?’
 (A complaint by a woman who wakes up tired.)

b. Another use of the perfect markers signals that the action is or was completed at some point of reference. The difference between this and the examples listed above is that here we are dealing with action verbs. We will refer to this as the ‘completive’ perfect. This usage is frequent in combination with the adverb *kava* ‘already’. In many cases the completive can be translated with an English perfect, or a pluperfect when the point of reference is in the past:

- (36) *Kava hau te hani-a beti laveve.*
 already 1s PF eat-3s banana all
 ‘I have already eaten all the bananas.’
- (37) *Tai, tu vairo-hi-au matoto.*
 same.sex.sibling, PF:2 broken-TR-1s very
 ‘Brother, you have really ruined me.’

It appears that the perfect is also used in the following question:

- (38) *Tu pe ve?*
 R/PF:2 come/go where
 ‘Where have you come from?’

In this case, however, it is not entirely clear whether *tu* is really the perfect. It could also be a realis form, as the forms are homophonous for the second person singular (hence the double gloss R/PF). The following pair was elicited in an attempt to distinguish between the realis and the perfect in this construction (using a third person subject), but the difference in meaning as given by our language helpers is not yet entirely clear to us:

- (39) a. *Ia e pe ve?*
 3s R:3 come/go where
 ‘Where has he been?’

- b. *Ia ti pe ve?*
 3s PF:3 come/go where

‘Where has he come from?’ (= ‘Which way/road did he take?’)

c. The perfect set is used when the action is viewed as located further back in the past from the point of reference. We will refer to this as the ‘anterior’ usage, for which a pluperfect translation in English is usually the best equivalent. Such clauses typically provide background information; in themselves they do not move the storyline forwards. It is not clear, however, whether the anterior and the completive use of the perfect can always be neatly separated. In (40) for instance, both aspects of the perfect seem to come together:

- (40) *Ia hada kapiru ti mate kava.*
 3s see child PF:3 die already

‘She saw that the child had (already) died.’

- (41) *Boro kava ti luga kava.*
 pig already PF:3 carry dog

‘The pig had already carried the dog away.’

- (42) *Dia te liu-ri-a vaga na maga.*
 3p PF move-TR-3s boat loc beach

‘They had put the canoe on the beach.’

- (43) *Tamohane kua kava ti hani-a virua katiu.*
 man this already PF:3 eat-3s victim/enemy one

‘The man had eaten a victim.’

The following clause is taken from a story about a boy who climbs a magical tree and spends time in the upper world. He finally manages to get down again and safely comes back home. Notice the usage of the perfect markers in the conclusion of the story, giving the reason for the parents’ happiness:

- (44) *Hiro ta hilohilo matoto. Na vuna, hiro te tani-a ia ti
 3d R happy very ART because 3d PF say-3s 3s PF:3
 golu kava. Ia beu, tu-hiro ti lohu mule.
 lost already 3s not child-3d PF:3 arrive back*

‘They (his parents) were very happy. Because they thought that he had been lost. But no, their son had come back home.’

d. The perfect marker functions in a temporal adverbial clause preceding the main clause. This is clearly related to the anterior use. The English equivalent is a when-clause in the simple past:

- (45) *Zangavulu krismas ti vano, ...*
 ten year PF:3 go
 ‘Ten years ago ...’ (Lit: ‘Ten years have gone...’)
- (46) *Na kaluha katiu ti mai, ia hule-ni-a...*
 ART shark one PF:3 come 3s ask-TR-3s
 ‘When a shark came, he asked him....’
- (47) *Ti garavi, a Lavo Kote ti lohu mule, ia vala*
 PF:3 afternoon ART L. little PF:3 arrive back 3s give
païdo na tavine hanitu kua.
 coconut loc woman evil.spirit this
 ‘In the afternoon, when Little Lavo came back, she gave the coconut to the spirit woman.’

Notice that in (47) there are two temporal clauses, both marked with the perfect.

e. Where the perfect marker occurs in a temporal clause with a time word following the main clause, it marks a definite end point in time and is best translated as ‘until’:

- (48) *Ia ngoro vano ti varivalavala.*
 3s sleep go PF:3 midnight
 ‘He kept sleeping until midnight (had come).’
- (49) *Miro ta mia ti marigo, miro ta pele-pele ka-miro*
 1de R sit PF:3 night 1de R took-RED PC-1de
string.
 fishing.line
 ‘We stayed until it was dark, and then we took our fishing lines.’

f. When a perfect appears in a main clause, it indicates sudden and unexpected action. In these instances there is no indication of completion or anteriority:

- (50) *E titi-ri-barae-ni-a, tavure ti haloho.*
 R:3 shave-TR-like.that-TR-3s, conch.shell PF:3 cry
 ‘As he was shaving him, suddenly a conch shell sounded.’

- (51) *Miro ta ziho, boro ti rovo.*
 1de R go.down pig PF:3 run
 ‘As we were going down, suddenly a pig ran (out on the road).’

5.5 The continuity markers *ka*, *ku*, *ki*

The continuity markers, which are extremely frequent in Vitu discourse, are used to mark clauses as states or events which occur in second place in consecutive clauses. Although they are positionally part of the verb phrase, these markers do not indicate tense, aspect or mood, but rather encode the relationship between subsequent clauses. This is the main reason for calling the whole set aspect-mood-sequentiality markers (AMS), rather than simple tense-aspect-mood (TAM). The usage of these markers clearly extends beyond the traditional domain of the clause.

The presence of a continuity marker does not necessarily imply temporal succession, as is clear from the examples below. There may be a sequential relationship, but often the states and events described in the clauses take place simultaneously. The language simply employs these markers to code second and subsequent clauses as semantically linked to the previous clause, hence the neutral name ‘continuity markers’. In this way they perform the function of conjunctions in other languages. Often the best translation of these markers in English is ‘and’, ‘then’ or even ‘while’. The fact that plural subject pronouns are obligatorily repeated in the second clause (and subsequent clauses), clearly indicates we are not dealing with serial verb constructions within a clause, but with consecutive conjoined clauses.

The following examples illustrate simultaneous states and events:

- (52) *Hiro ta madii hiro ka hiki vano.*
 3d R stand 3d CONT spy go
 ‘They stood and spied.’
- (53) *Ka-na lavalava e vilivilia ki puzo.*
 PC-3s skirt R:3 green CONT:3 white
 ‘Her skirt is green and white.’
- (54) *Boto katiu a Kusak e mia ki lohoi-hoi dala...*
 time one ART K. R:3 sit CONT:3 think-RED way
 ‘One time Kusak sat down and thought of a way....’

- (55) *Ia longo-ri-a na kaka e hu-hubi-a kure ki*
 3s hear-TR-3s ART person R:3 RED-beat-3s drum CONT:3
ha-habi-habi.
 RED-sing-RED
 ‘She heard someone who was beating the drum and singing.’
- (56) *Livuha-na e totoba ki rali kamana.*
 body-3s R:3 hot CONT:3 diarrhea with
 ‘He has a fever and (he has) diarrhea with it.’
- (57) *Tu pe ziha ku zahe ra?*
 R/PF:2 come/go how CONT:2 go.up there
 ‘Which way did you take to get there?’ (Lit. ‘You went how and you went up there?’)
- (58) *Ia zungi-a na bavuk-a haroho e pe na*
 3s smell-3s ART smell-3s fire R:3 come/go loc
potuna ki ziho.
 mountain CONT:3 go.down
 ‘He smelled the smell of fire which came down from the mountain.’
 (Lit. ‘...which came from the mountain and went down.’)

All of these examples illustrate simultaneous states or simultaneous events with identical subjects in the two clauses. The following examples illustrate a change of subject:

- (59) *Ho ma va-vamuga, hau ka rovo mule.*
 2s PROG RED-go.ahead 1s CONT run back
 ‘You continue on ahead, while I run back.’
- (60) *Dia ta hubi-a ka-na boro ki halohoruru matoto.*
 3p R hit-3s PC-3s pig CONT:3 feel.pity very
 ‘They killed her pig and she really felt sorry for herself.’
- (61) *Dia ta lo-lohu, hau ka va-vana.*
 3p R RED-arrive, 1s CONT RED-walk
 ‘When they arrived, I left.’ (Lit. ‘They arrived, and I went.’)

It is not unusual to find a continuity marker in a new sentence, as in the following examples. In such cases it often appears to mark a new event. This shows that the use of a continuity marker is not simply a matter of clause conjoining, as it

can extend beyond sentence boundaries. For more discussion on this topic, see chapter 9.

- (62) *Dia laveve dia ta loli na Zige. Ki beta go-dia.*
 3p all 3p R sit loc Z. CONT:3 NEG spouse-3p
 ‘They all lived in Zige. And/but they had no spouses.’
- (63) *Dama katiu hadora ia vano na matabunu. Hadora ki*
 day one cuscus 3s go loc snake cuscus CONT:3
tani-a...
 say-3s
 ‘One day the cuscus went to the snake. The cuscus said ...’
- (64) *Hiro ta mai na ka-gu ruma. Hau ka hule-ni-hiro...*
 3d R come loc PC-1s house 1s CONT ask-TR-3d
 ‘They came to my house. I asked them...’

There is obviously some room for choice here on the part of the speaker. In the last two examples, we discovered that the use of a realis marker would have been equally grammatical and stylistically correct: *e* in (63) and *ta* in (64).

In a number of cases the sequential markers do not follow a verb or a verbal clause, but adverb-type words which imply some kind of continuity. In these cases there is no freedom; the continuity marker has to be used, as in the following three cases:

a. Following the adverb *kubarae* (variant: *pebarae*) ‘therefore’:

- (65) *Pebarae, a dokta ki vota-hi-au ki pele-a*
 therefore ART doctor CONT:3 cut.open-TR-1s CONT:3 take-3s
a Aloisius.
 ART A.
 ‘Therefore the doctor operated on me and took Aloisius out.’

b. Following the interrogative verb *kuziha* ‘do what, why’ (see §8.5.2 sub 7):

- (66) *E kuziha ku dake na pen?*
 R:3 do.what CONT:2 covered loc paint
 ‘Why are you covered with paint?’

c. Following temporal words (and possibly temporal phrases):

- (67) *Vaila* *ku* *vamule.*
tomorrow CONT:2 return
'Come back tomorrow.' (Lit. 'Tomorrow and (then) you come back.')
- (68) a. *Mabeu miu na ziho kiri Lae?*
not.yet 2p IRR go.down to:PN L.
'Haven't you gone to Lae yet?'
- b. *Mabeu, da vaila hita ka ziho.*
not.yet FUT tomorrow 1pe CONT go.down.
'Not yet; we will go tomorrow.'

It should be noted that texts show a surprising number of examples where the continuity markers would be expected, but are actually not used. Rather, we find simple clausal parataxis using the realis. Take the following example (taken from text 1 in the appendix), where the three clauses are in chronological sequence, share the same subject, but are still coded as independent clauses with the realis marker *ta* rather than with *ka*:

- (69) *Hiro ta rua rovo, hiro ta zare-ni-a na haroho,*
3d R two run 3d R pull.out-TR-3s ART fire
hiro ta hava mule kara malala.
3d R flee back to village.
'They (= the dogs) both ran up, pulled out some fire and fled back to the village.'

When discussing this example with our language helpers, it was agreed that the third occurrence of *ta* in (69) could be replaced with the continuity marker *ka*. There is, however, a subtle meaning difference. The use of *ka* indicates less certainty on the part of the speaker that the dogs actually arrived in the village. Maybe something happened on the way back. In accordance with its realis function, *ta* encodes a higher 'reality' value of the reported event. It was also pointed out that timing is a factor which influences the choice of the marker, specifically the time which has elapsed between the speaker's witnessing and reporting of the event. Finally, there are also small intonational differences between the use of the different AMS markers. These factors are as yet poorly understood, and we simply report them here to suggest avenues for further research.

Finally, there is the use of *ka* which appears to be a marker of the plain future. This is very likely a shortening of *kata* (see §5.7), with which it is interchangeable. It will be glossed as FUT, rather than as CONT.

- (70) *Hau ka ~ kata vano.*
1s FUT go

‘I’m leaving (this moment).’

- (71) *Ka mia ki taroka, kene muri vori.*
FUT sit CONT:3 slack SEQ behind go.inland

‘I will stay until it is slack and then I will go.’

5.6 The sequentiality markers *kene*, *kunu*, *kini*

When the sequentiality markers are used, the state of affairs described in the clause follows chronologically from the preceding state of affairs. It is best translated as ‘and then’, or simply ‘and’. Compare this with the continuity markers, which often indicate simultaneity and may join states as well. The use of the sequential set always marks a new event, and often it appears to be a concluding event within an episode. Formally, the sequential markers are somewhat unusual in that the 3s form *kini* is also found with all the non-singular forms, in free variation with *kene* (see table 12 above). Compare *kene* in (73) with *kini* in (77), both following the dual pronoun *hiro*. For 1s, however, only *kene* is permitted. Examples:

- (72) *Ia rovo lili-a dala kini ziho.*
3s run follow-3s road SEQ:3 go.down

‘It (the pig) ran along the road and then it went down.’

- (73) *Hiro ta vati-a hiro kene hoho ngoro na polok-a ruma.*
3d R leave-3s 3d SEQ enter sleep loc inside-3s house

‘They left him and went inside to sleep in the house.’

- (74) *Ho tu polo kunu vazula zahe.*
2s R:2 board SEQ:2 paddle go.up

‘You go on board and then you paddle away from land.’

In the preceding examples the subject in the sequential clause is identical to that of the previous clause, but this is not necessarily the case, as shown in the following examples:

- (75) *Hita ta kalinga-ni-a boro kini zahe kara polok-a*
 1pe R chase-TR-3s pig SEQ:3 go.up to inside-3s
mugomugo.
 forest
 ‘We chased the pig and then it went up into the bush.’
- (76) *Ka vamule kunu polo.*
 FUT return SEQ:2 board
 ‘When I come back then you can go on board.’
- (77) *A Pote ia pele-a a Naio, hiro kini vamule kara*
 ART P. 3s take-3s ART N. 3d SEQ return to
malala.
 village
 ‘Pote took Naio and then they went back to the village.’

The following example describes a sequence of events in an embedded backgrounded construction. The first of these clauses is marked with the perfect, the second with the sequentiality marker:

- (78) *Hiro ta hada na lapunu tamohane kua kava ti hani-a*
 3d R see ART old man the already PF:3 eat-3s
virua katiu kini ngoro-tudu.
 victim/enemy one SEQ:3 sleep-look.down
 ‘They saw that the old man had eaten a victim and was sound asleep.’

An example of a sequential marker in a new clause:

- (79) *Hau ta vala bua ni Oscar. Hita kene mama.*
 1s R give betelnut loc:PN O. 1pe SEQ chew.betelnut
 ‘I gave some betelnut to Oscar. We then chewed betelnut.’

A sequence of sequential markers in two consecutive clauses is not ungrammatical:

- (80) *Pale, a Galemo ia hubi-mate-a tazi-na kote.*
 then ART G. 3s hit-die-3s same.sex.sibling-3s little.
Kini vanga-ni-a kaluha vona, ia kini vazula lohu
 SEQ:3 feed-TR-3s shark loc:3s 3s SEQ:3 paddle arrive
na malala.
 loc village

‘So Galemo hit his little brother to death. Then he fed him to the sharks and paddled back to the village.’

The sequential markers are also used in conditional clauses, giving the appearance of inflected conjunctions. Given the relatively large semantic distance between the notions of sequentiality and conditionality, we treat the conditional use as a separate homophonous morpheme. When used in conditional clauses, *kini* (and *kunu* and *kene*) will be glossed as COND, as in example (81). For more information on conditional clauses, see §9.6.

- (81) *Kini kuzabarae, ia ti kemi.*
 COND:3 like.that 3s PF:3 good
 ‘If it is like that, it is fine’

We end this section by briefly looking at the actual usage of the realis, continuity and sequentiality markers in two specimens of written narrative discourse. The first example, (82), is from a story which tells how two children killed a pig which had fallen into the ocean. What follows is a sequence of seven clauses, all of which have the realis marker *ta*:

- (82) *Hita ta pele-a boro, hita ta va-pole-a na vaga, hita ta*
 1pe R take-3s pig 1pe R CAUS-load-3s loc boat 1pe R
zahe, hita ta tuni-a, hita ta vota-hi-a, hita ta
 go.up 1pe R burn-3s 1pe R cut.open-TR-3s 1pe R
hulo-ni-a, hita ta hani-a.
 cook-TR-3s, 1pe R eat-3s

‘We took the pig, loaded it in the canoe, we went up, we burnt it (= singed the hair off), we cut it open, we cooked it and we ate it.’

According to our language helpers, the constant repetition of *ta* in this text betrays poor style; a few of the occurrences of *ta* could easily be replaced by the continuity marker *ka* to improve the story. However, the use of *ka* may imply an unexpected turn of events (see §5.5) and since this story depicts a very predictable

sequence of events, the use of the realis is defensible. The very last *ta*, however, is easily substitutable with the sequential marker *kene*, marking the end of the episode.

The second example, (83), is from a fishing story. It consists of two sentences, having three and two main clauses respectively.

- (83) *Miro ta mia ti marigo, miro ta pele-pele ka-miro string*
 1de R sit PF:3 night 1de R take-RED PC-1de fishing.line
kamana ka-miro voze, miro kene pozi.
 with PC-1de paddle 1de SEQ go.seaward
Miro ta liu-ri-a ka-miro vaga, miro kene vazula zahe
 1de R move-TR-3s PC-1de boat 1de SEQ paddle go.up
kara palaka kua e malikoro.
 to place this R:3 lucky.

‘The two of us sat until it was dark, then we took our fishing lines and our paddles, and went down to the beach. We put our canoe out to sea and then we paddled away to a good fishing-place.’

Notice the use of the sequential marker *kene* in the last clause of each sentence (ignoring the final relative clause), again marking the end of a brief episode in each case.

As mentioned above, however, many questions remain open, including the exact distribution of each of the three markers and the degree to which stylistic variation is possible.

5.7 The purpose markers *kata*, *koto* ~ *kutu*, *kete* ~ *kiti*

The purpose markers are semantically closely related to the irrealis forms, as they are typically used for non-realised events such as future events, as well as adhortative and purpose clauses. Recall that the irrealis markers (§5.3) are used in negative and conditional clauses, as well as in result clauses following imperatives or following clauses containing the purpose markers. Notice the variant forms *koto* ~ *kutu* for the second person singular and *kete* ~ *kiti* for the third person singular. The following semantic distinctions can be made.

a. The purpose markers indicate a future event, usually with deliberate or volitional overtones, ‘will, want to, going to’. For the first person, *kata* can be abbreviated to *ka*, as in (85).

- (84) (Ho) koto kiri ve?
 2s PURP:2 to:PN where
 ‘Where are you going to?’
- (85) Hau kata ~ ka vano kara ruma kuari.
 1s PURP go to house that
 ‘I am going to that house.’
- (86) Ia kete ngoro?
 3s PURP:3 sleep
 ‘Does he want to sleep? Is he staying for the night?’
- (87) Garigari kua beta kiti hozo.
 ground this NEG PURP:3 finish
 ‘This world will not/will never come to an end.’

Notice that in (87) a negative future is not coded with an irrealis marker, as is usual with negated events or states referring to the past or present (§5.3). The negated purpose marker is enough.

Without a following verb, the purpose markers still contain their future reference:

- (88) Hau kuli-gu kata kiri Kimbe.
 1s desire-1s PURP to:PN K.
 ‘I want to go to Kimbe.’ (Lit. ‘My desire is...’)
- (89) E kuli-i koto balika dia?
 R:3 desire-2s PURP:2 like 3p
 ‘Do you want to be like them?’ (Lit. ‘Is it your desire...’)

b. The purpose marker *kata* is also found in adhortative clauses (see also §8.4), where it always occurs in combination with a first person dual (*toro* ~ *to*) or plural (*tolu*) inclusive pronoun functioning as subject. Because of the non-singular subject in adhortative clauses, only the form *kata* occurs there:

- (90) To kata hani-a!
 1di PURP eat-3s
 ‘Let’s eat him!’
- (91) Tai, to kata vati-a ka-do malala kua.
 same.sex.sibling 1di PURP leave-3s PC-1di village this.
 ‘Brother, let’s leave this village of ours.’

- (92) *Toro kata va-vana pozi.*
 1di PURP RED-walk go.seaward
 ‘Let’s walk downhill.’
- (93) *Maku tolu kata zahe tapu tolu na hada.*
 come.on 1pi PURP go.up quick 1pi IRR see
 ‘Come on, let’s quickly go up and look.’

c. The most frequent use of the purpose markers is probably in purpose clauses, specifically purpose clauses following verbs of speaking (‘say’, ‘ask’), cognition (‘think’) and manipulation (‘try’, ‘force’). For more information on purpose clauses, see also §9.7.

- (94) *E tani-a nini-au kata vano.*
 R:3 speak-3s loc-1s PURP go
 ‘He told me to go.’
- (95) *Hau ta hule-ni-ho koto kodo-ni-au.*
 1s R ask-TR-2s PURP:2 help-TR-1s
 ‘I asked you to help me.’
- (96) *Hiro ta lohoi-a hiro kata vano taputapu.*
 3d R think-3s 3d PURP go fish
 ‘They decided (lit. thought) to go fishing.’
- (97) *Palaka na matabunu e parakila-ni-a kete raga zahe...*
 but ART snake R:3 try-TR-3s PURP:3 jump go.up
 ‘But when the snake tried to jump up...’
- (98) *Ia e varidinga-ni-au kata mai.*
 3s R:3 force-TR-1s PURP come
 ‘She forced me to come.’

In a few cases the purpose marker may also follow certain nouns followed by a purpose clause, such as *dala* ‘way, method’ and *lohohioia* ‘thought, idea’:

- (99) ... *dala kete pele-a haroho na lapunu kua.*
 ... way PURP:3 take-3s fire loc old this
 ‘... a way to get the fire from the old man.’
- (100) *Lohoi-hoi-a katiu bele ni hiro kata hava*
 think-RED-NOM one arrive loc:PN 3d PURP flee...
 ‘The idea came to them to flee...’

d. The last use of the purpose markers is in habitual constructions following the verb *lala*, which normally means ‘to know’, but in this particular combination means ‘habitually, normally, used to’ (comparable to the double meaning of Tok Pisin *save*). In such constructions, where *lala* is glossed as HAB, the purpose markers are syntactically required and do not have any irrealis or future meaning component:

- (101) *Manu kua nazia e lala kete hani-a?*
bird this what R:3 HAB PURP:3 eat-3s
‘What does this bird normally eat?’
- (102) *Tu lala koto ma-mama?*
R:2 HAB PURP:2 RED-chew.betelnut
‘Do you chew betelnut (as a habit)?’
- (103) *Dama laveve e lala kete ha-haloho kara hani-nga.*
day all R:3 HAB PURP:3 RED-cry for eat-NOM
‘Every day he cries for food.’
- (104) *Hau ta lala kata mia ni St Michael.*
1s R HAB PURP sit loc:PN St M.
‘I used to live in St Michael (= the parish village).’

5.8 The indefinite future markers *da*, *data*, *datu* and *dati*

The indefinite future markers *da*, *data*, *datu* and *dati* are somewhat unusual in that the disyllabic forms appear to be recent combinations of the future particle *da* with the elements *ta*, *tu* and *ti* (which is neither the realis nor the perfect set!). In the case of a singular future marker, there is variation between the complex forms and the simple future marker *da* followed by a free pronoun. Compare the following pair, which is apparently fully synonymous:

- (105) a. *Pele, nazia da ia kati-a?*
so what FUT 3s make-3s
‘So what will he do?’
- b. *Pele, nazia ia dati kati-a?*
so what 3s FUT:3 make-3s
‘So what will he do?’

Also, the third singular form *dati* is interchangeable with *da e*, using the realis form *e*. In that case *da* follows the pronoun, instead of preceding it:

- (106) a. *Ia dati vamule.*
 3s FUT:3 return
 ‘He will come back.’
- b. *Ia da e vamule.*
 3s FUT R:3 return
 ‘He will come back.’

With non-singular pronouns, *da* only occurs before the pronoun (or noun phrase), which is followed by a realis marker. Some speakers marginally accept a complex form *data* with non-singular subjects, as in (107b), but for most speakers this is ungrammatical:

- (107) a. *Da hiro ta vamule.*
 FUT 3d R return
 ‘They will come back.’
- b. **?Hiro data vamule.*
 3d FUT return
 ‘They will come back.’

In examples such as (107a), *da* is best analysed as a future particle (a temporal adverb) functioning on the clause level and not as part of the verb phrase. With singular subjects, this particle must have been ‘captured’ inside the verb phrase, where it merged with pronominal elements, resulting in the forms *data*, *datu* and *dati*. This process has clearly not run its full course with non-singular subjects, resulting in the questionable grammaticality of clauses such as (107b). Even with the singular forms native authors have a tendency to write forms such as *dati* as two separate words, showing that the merger has not been complete. In this study we write them united, as their meaning is unique. Notice that *data*, which is limited to 1sg, is glossed as FUT:1.

The remaining examples of this AMS marker in this section therefore have singular subjects. Examples of plural subjects with the preverbal future particle *da* are given in the section on temporal adverbs (§7.11.4 sub 2). As for the usage of this AMS marker, three main categories may be distinguished.

a. The use of the indefinite future marker indicates that the action or state to which the clause refers might take place in the future. The use of this set implies less certainty than the purpose marker *kata* and usually also indicates a more remote time frame. Compare the following two clauses:

- (108) a. *Data vamule ni Dole.*
 FUT:1 return loc:PN D.
 ‘I will/might go back to Dole.’
- b. *Kata vamule ni Dole.*
 PURP return loc:PN D.
 ‘I will/want to go back to Dole.’

Example (108a) indicates the speaker’s indefinite plan or intention to go back to Dole at some point in the future. It is not more than a possibility which may or may not happen. Example (108b), on the other hand, expresses his firm intention to go back, and probably fairly soon too. Another pair is also enlightening:

- (109) a. *Data padoa.*
 FUT:1 spear:PASS
 ‘I might get speared.’
- b. *Kata padoa.*
 PURP spear:PASS
 ‘I want to get speared.’

Example (109a) is from a story in which a shark refuses to give a person a ride on his back to the shore. The reason is, he says, ‘When I go to the land, I might get speared’. Using *kata* as in (109b) would indicate his desire to get speared.

Other examples of the indefinite future:

- (110) *Datu pele-a kena?*
 FUT:2 take-3s this
 ‘Will you take this?’
- (111) *Datu vano kiri Kimbe, ku pari-a brus.*
 FUT:2 go to:PN K. CONT:2 find-3s tobacco
 ‘You will/might go to Kimbe, and then you will find tobacco.’
- (112) *Data hani-ho, titina-gu da e hani-a katiti.*
 FUT:1 eat-2s mother-1s FUT R:3 eat-3s your.mother
 ‘I will eat you, and my mother will eat your mother.’

Clauses with the indefinite future marker are quite common in the apodosis (the ‘then-clause’) of conditional clauses:

- (113) *Ta ho nu vano, hau ve datu vano.*
 if 2s IRR:2 go 1s too FUT:1 go
 ‘If you go, I will/might go too.’
- (114) *Na hiha ni hada na vuluk-a toha e kalageru,*
 ART fish IRR:3 see ART feather-3s chicken R:3 glisten
ia dati rovo hani-a.
 3s FUT:3 run eat-3s
 ‘And when a fish sees the glistening chicken feather, it will rush to it
 and eat it.’

b. The indefinite future marker *datu* is also used in polite commands. Compare the following three near-identical clauses, which show the indefinite future marker in (a), no AMS marker in (b), and the realis marker in (c):

- (115) a. *Ho datu muga geni.*
 2s FUT:2 first dive
 ‘You (will/must) dive first.’ (A polite command.)
- b. *Ho muga geni.*
 2s first dive
 ‘You dive first.’ (A rather abrupt command.)
- c. *Ho tu muga geni.*
 2s R:2 first dive.
 ‘You dove first.’ (A statement about what happened.)

The following example is from a story where an evil spirit commands a child not to stop drinking. By using *datu* the command is made less harsh, although in the context it is a clear threat:

- (116) *Beta koto vati-a, datu va-maka ku*
 not PURP:2 leave-3s FUT:2 CAUS-finished CONT:2
hani-hozo-vi-a ve lelu.
 eat-finish-TR-3s also coconut.meat
 ‘You will not leave it (= stop drinking), you will/must finish it and then
 you will also eat the coconut meat.’

c. A third use of the indefinite future forms is to mark unrealised events in complement clauses, events which could have happened but didn’t. Notice the pair in (117) which contrasts the use of *data* in (a) and the purpose marker *kata* in (b), which normally implies that the intention was carried out:

- (117) a. *Hau ta lohoi-a data vano, palaka beu.*
 1s R think-3s FUT:1 go but not
 ‘I thought I would go, but it didn’t happen.’
- b. *Hau ta lohoi-a kata vano.*
 1s R think-3s PURP go
 ‘I decided to go.’ (Lit. ‘I thought I will go.’)
- (118) *Dia ka tani-a da e hare-ni-a, palaka marabeu.*
 3p CONT speak-3s FUT R:3 landslide-TR-3s but can.not
 ‘They said a landslide will/would occur, but it didn’t happen.’

d. A final, and somewhat rarer usage of the indefinite future forms is to indicate ability. We only found this usage in response to negative questions:

- (119) a. *Marabeta nu va-vana?*
 can.not IRR:2 RED-walk
 ‘Can you walk?’ (Lit. ‘Are you not able to walk?’)
- b. *E, data va-vana.*
 yes FUT:1 RED-walk
 ‘Yes, I can.’

5.9 The imminent future markers *katane* ~ *keteni*, *kotonu* and *keteni* ~ *kitini*

The last set of AMS markers occurs relatively infrequently in our corpus. Usage of this set indicates that the action is about to take place at the point of reference, which is either the point of speaking, or some point in a story. It is likely that these trisyllabic forms are combinations of the purpose set *kata* and the irrealis set *na*. If that is true, the form *katane* is unexplained, as we would expect **katana*. This set differs from the other AMS markers in that there is more variation among the forms (see Table 12 at the beginning of this chapter). *Keteni*, for instance, is used for all non-singular subjects, but also for 3sg subjects, an alignment which is highly unusual for the AMS markers.

Examples of the imminent future markers are as follows:

- (120) *Hau katane ziho.*
 1s IMM:1 go.down
 ‘I am about to go down.’

- (121) *Ho kotonu zahe?*
2s IMM:2 go.up
'Are you going up now?'
- (122) *Kozoho ka-hiro vaga keteni mahitu.*
near PC-3d boat IMM:3 sink
'Their boat was about to sink.'
- (123) *Dama katiu hiro ta vaida ka-hiro goloa-loa, hiro keteni hava.*
day one 3d R prepare PC-3s thing-RED 3d IMM flee
'One day they prepared their things, they were ready to flee.'
- (124) *Ia hada hupu kara dama keteni ziho bata.*
3s see star to day IMM:3 go.down disappear
'He saw that the morning star was about to set.'

5.10 Summary

Table 13 presents an overview of the main usages of the various AMS markers discussed in this chapter.

AMS marker	forms	usage
realis	<i>ta, tu, e ~ Ø</i>	a. past and present states and events b. future (in combination with <i>da</i> ; only with 3sg and non-singular subjects) c. in procedural discourse
irrealis	<i>na, nu, ni</i>	a. in negative clauses (past or present) b. in negative commands c. in the protasis of conditional clauses d. following imperative clauses indicating goal e. following purpose clauses with <i>kata</i>
perfect	<i>te, tu, ti</i>	a. change of state with current relevance b. completed action c. anterior action d. in temporal 'when' clauses e. in temporal 'until' clauses f. sudden unexpected action

continuity	<i>ka, ku, ki</i>	a. second event or state in a sequence (simultaneous or sequential) b. following certain adverbs
sequentiality	<i>kene, kunu, kini</i>	second or last event in an episode
purpose	<i>kata, koto, kutu, kete, kiti</i>	a. future (volitional) events b. in adhortative clauses c. in purpose clauses d. in habitual clauses following <i>lala</i>
indefinite future	<i>da, data, datu, dati</i>	a. indefinite future events or states b. in polite commands c. unrealised events d. ability
imminent future	<i>katane, kotonu, keteni, kitini</i>	imminent future

TABLE 13. USAGE OF THE ASPECT-MOOD-SEQUENTIALITY MARKERS

6. *The prepositional phrase*

6.1 Introduction

Vitu has few prepositions. Four prepositional pairs can be distinguished, differentiated according to the nature of the noun that follows. Common nouns take a preposition ending in *a*, whereas proper nouns (mainly names, kinship terms, titles) as well as pronouns are preceded by a preposition ending in *i*. See §3.2.2 for the distinction between proper and common nouns. The four prepositional pairs are as follows:

with common nouns	with proper nouns	
<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	general preposition
<i>kara</i>	<i>kiri</i>	'to, towards, for'
<i>kamana</i>	<i>kamani</i>	'with'
<i>bukuna</i>	<i>bukuni</i>	'from'

There are several formal peculiarities with the prepositions when they occur in combination with the singular pronominal markers. All the forms found so far are outlined in table 14 below. Notice, for instance, the strange double forms *ni niau* 'at/to me' and *ni niho* 'at/to you' and the absence of a third person pronominal form with *ni*. All the non-singular forms, of which only three are shown here, appear to be regular. For a full list of all the non-singular pronominal forms, see §3.1.

In addition to these four pairs there is the preposition *balika* 'like, just as', illustrated in the following example.

- (1) *Paido kua e balika baka-na lubaluba*
coconut this R:3 like head-3s eel
'This coconut is just like the head of an eel.'

	<i>na</i> general preposition	<i>kara</i> 'to, for'	<i>kamana</i> 'with'	<i>bukuna</i> 'from'
with following common noun	<i>na</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kamana</i>	<i>bukuna</i>
with following proper noun	<i>ni</i>	<i>kiri</i>	<i>kamani</i>	<i>bukuni</i>
with 1sg	<i>ni niau</i> ~ <i>ni nau</i>	<i>kiri-gu</i> ~ <i>kiri niau</i>	<i>kamani-au</i>	-
with 2sg	<i>ni niho</i>	<i>kiri niho</i>	<i>kamani-ho</i>	-
with 3sg	- (<i>vona</i> ; §6.6)	<i>kiri-na</i>	<i>kamana</i>	-
with all non- singulars	<i>ni miro</i> <i>ni miu</i> <i>ni dia</i> etc.	<i>kiri miro</i> <i>kiri miu</i> <i>kiri dia</i> etc.	<i>kama moro</i> <i>kama miu</i> <i>kama dia</i> etc.	-

TABLE 14. PREPOSITIONS

6.2 The prepositions *na* / *ni*

This pair is the most general preposition; it is used for virtually all oblique relationships, as illustrated below, with the exception of some cases of movement and accompaniment. Hence *na* is glossed 'loc' for general locative preposition, while *ni* is glossed as 'loc:PN' to indicate that it marks the following noun as proper. The double forms *ni niau* and *ni niho* will simply be glossed as 'loc:PN 1s' and 'loc:PN 2s', treating *niau* and *niho* as single morphemes occurring after the preposition *ni*, as in example (12) for instance. Historically these forms probably contain an accrued prepositional element *ni-*.

Notice that apart from the preposition *na* there are three other morphemes with the shape *na* in Vitu: the 3rd person singular possessive suffix *-na* (§3.1), the common article *na* (§3.4.2) and the irrealis marker *na* (§5.3).

The following semantic roles can be coded by *na* / *ni*:

a. **Physical location:**

- (2) ...*ki* *ziho* *lahi* *ri* *ni* *Lama*.
 CONT:3 come.down marry here loc:PN L.
 ‘...and came down and married here in Lama.’
- (3) *Dia ta mi-mia* *na* *ka-gu* *ruma*.
 3p R RED-sit loc PC-1s house
 ‘They live in my house.’
- (4) *A* *Kuni* *paritigi* *na* *mugomugo*.
 ART K. hide loc forest
 ‘Kuni hid in the forest.’

The pair *na* / *ni* is often combined with locative nouns, as in examples (5) and (6), to give a more specific description of the location. In the following list the locative noun is marked for the third person singular (see also §3.2.1 on locative nouns):

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>na hirip-a</i> | ‘besides, next to him/her/it’ |
| <i>na hudu-na</i> ~ <i>na hud-a</i> | ‘on top of, on him/her/it’ |
| <i>na lama-na</i> | ‘behind him/her/it’ |
| <i>na muga-na</i> | ‘in front of him/her/it’ |
| <i>na polok-a</i> | ‘in, inside him/her/it’ |
| <i>na taur-a</i> | ‘underneath him/her/it’ |
- (5) *E pari-a na naipe* *na* *polok-a* *dazi*.
 R:3 find-3s ART knife loc inside-3s sea
 ‘He found the knife in the sea.’
- (6) *Ia e madii* *na* *muga-gu*.
 3s R:3 stand loc front-1s
 ‘She stood in front of me.’

The expression *ni muga* ‘in front’ uses *ni* rather than *na* when used in an absolute sense. The reason for this difference is unclear (see also §3.2.1):

- (7) *Hiro ta polo, a sikau ia zahe* *mia* *ni* *muga*.
 3d R board ART wallaby 3s go.up sit loc:PN front
 ‘They went on board, the wallaby went and sat up front.’

b. Temporal location:

- (8) *Na Sande na garavi...*
 loc Sunday loc afternoon
 ‘On Sunday afternoon...’
- (9) *Na dama katiu hiro ta tani-a...*
 loc day one 3d R speak-3s
 ‘One day they said...’
- (10) *Ki bele na marigo.*
 CONT:3 arrive loc night
 ‘And he arrived at night.’

c. **Direction.** The unmarked preposition here is *kara*, but *ni* is used with proper names (including pronouns) as *kiri* suggests evil intent (see §6.3):

- (11) *Hiro ta ziho ni hita.*
 3d R go.down loc:PN 1pe
 ‘They came down to us.’
- (12) *Hiro ta mai ni niau na hausik.*
 3d R come loc:PN 1s loc hospital
 ‘They came to me at the hospital.’
- (13) *Ia hamule ziho bele ni dia.*
 3s return go.down arrive loc:PN 3p
 ‘She went back down to them.’
- (14) *Miro ta vori bele na vanua.*
 1de R go.inland arrive loc garden
 ‘We went all the way up to the garden.’

d. Source or origin:

- (15) *Hau ta hava na kaua.*
 1s R flee loc dog
 ‘I ran away from the dog.’
- (16) *Ia kade-a ni dia.*
 3s buy-3s loc:PN 3p
 ‘She bought it from them.’

- (17) *Na tavine hanitu e pele-a na tureture-a na*
 ART woman evil.spirit R:3 take-3s ART stamp-NOM loc
ka-na kolopi mama-ha.
 PC-3s basket chew.betelnut-NOM(?)¹
 ‘The spirit woman took a stamper from her betelnut basket.’
- (18) *Kavili kapou e mai ni nort.*
 wind big R:3 come loc:PN north
 ‘A big wind comes from the north.’

e. Recipient:

- (19) *Ia vala paido na tavine hanitu kua.*
 3s give coconut loc woman evil. spirit this
 ‘She gave a coconut to the spirit woman.’
- (20) *Hau ta vala bua ni Oscar.*
 1s R give betelnut loc:PN O.
 ‘I gave betelnut to Oscar.’

f. Addressee in verbs of speaking:

- (21) *Hadora ki tani-a na matabunu...*
 cuscus CONT:3 say-3s loc snake
 ‘The cuscus said to the snake...’
- (22) *Hau ta tok sori ni Oscar.*
 1s R say sorry loc:PN O.
 ‘I apologized to Oscar.’

g. Benefactive:

- (23) *Dia kini kati-a hani-hani-a kapou na kapiru kena.*
 3p SEQ make-3s eat-RED-NOM big loc child that
 ‘Then they made a big party for the child.’
- (24) *Boto laveve ia hada-poto ni niau.*
 time all 3s see-hold loc:PN 1s
 ‘He always looks after me.’

¹ The meaning of *-ha* is not clear. It appears to be a nominalising suffix (usually *-a* or *-(a)nga*, see §3.2.2), but we have no other examples.

h. **Instrument:**

- (25) *A Taio e hubi-ho na hada hai.*
 ART T. R:3 hit-2s loc branch tree
 ‘Taio hit you with a stick.’
- (26) *Taputapu-a na vuluk-a toha.*
 fish-NOM loc feather-3s chicken
 ‘Fishing with a chicken feather.’

i. **Comparison:**

- (27) *Ha-dia hiha e kapou na ha-dolu.*
 PCF-3p fish R:3 big loc PCF-1p
 ‘Their fish is bigger than ours.’

j. **Reason:**

- (28) *A taua-hiro e hilohilo ni hiro.*
 ART master-3d R:3 happy loc:PN 3d
 ‘Their master was happy because of them (or: with them).’
- (29) *Marabeta ni kati-vutu-ha goloa katiu ni niho.*
 can.not IRR:3 do-proper-PASS thing one loc:PN 2s
 ‘Nothing gets done properly because of you.’

6.3 The prepositions *kara / kiri*

The prepositional pair *kara / kiri* primarily marks movement towards a goal. When *kiri* is followed by a singular pronoun, specific forms emerge as shown in table 14 in §6.1. As with *ni*, the phrases *kiri niau* ‘to me’ and *kiri niho* ‘to you’ appear to contain double prepositional marking, but the forms *niau* and *niho* will simply be glossed as ‘1s’ and ‘2s’ respectively. All non-singular forms have their expected shape.

The prepositional pair *kara / kiri* is used with the following meanings.

a. Primarily it indicates a **motion towards** a goal, and is therefore the unmarked preposition with motion verbs:

- (30) *Boro kamana kua hiro ta rovo kara potuna kua.*
 pig with dog 3d R run to mountain this
 ‘The pig and the dog ran to the mountain.’

- (31) *Dia ta hava mule kiri Kimbe.*
 3p R flee back to:PN K.
 ‘They fled back to Kimbe.’
- (32) *Kunu va-hitu-vi-a ziho kara loma.*
 SEQ:2 CAUS-sink-TR-3s go.down to bottom
 ‘Then you let it sink down to the bottom.’
- (33) *Beu golea katiu kini bele kiri niho.*
 or thing one SEQ:3 arrive to:PN 2s
 ‘Or if something happens to you...’

With proper names the unmarked preposition with verbs of motion is *ni*. The use of *kiri* implies a harmful intent on the part of the subject. Compare the following pair:

- (34) a. *Ia vano ni Alois.*
 3s go loc:PN A.
 ‘He went to Alois.’
- b. *Ia vano kiri Alois.*
 3s go to:PN A.
 ‘He went to Alois (with bad intentions, e.g. to harm him).’

Another example of this usage of *kiri*:

- (35) *Boro rovo mai ta kalinga-ni-a vamule kiri Kuni.*
 pig run come R chase-TR-3s return to:PN K.
 ‘The pig ran to me and I chased it back towards Kuni.’

Clauses containing the preposition *kiri* often do not contain an overt verb:

- (36) *Ia ti kara malala.*
 3s PF:3 to village
 ‘He has gone to the village.’
- (37) *Kuli-hita hita kata kiri Kimbe.*
 desire-1pe 1pe PURP to:PN K.
 ‘We want to go to Kimbe.’

b. In a number of cases *kara* does not mark motion, but rather the **end point of a movement** where there is no physical contact with the reference point. The use of the unmarked preposition *na* would normally indicate physical contact. In these cases *kara* is something like ‘towards’, as in the following pair:

- (38) a. *Dia ta madii kara lama-na.*
 3p R stand to back-3s
 ‘They stood behind her.’
- b. *Dia ta madii na lama-na.*
 3p R stand loc back-3s
 ‘They stood at/on her back’

In other examples there does not appear to be any difference in meaning:

- (39) *Ia dua matoto kara hate-na* (or: *na hate-na*).
 3s fall really to front-3s loc front-3s
 ‘It fell exactly in front of him.’

Other examples, including ones where a temporal meaning can be detected:

- (40) *Hiro ta ma-madii na Lomu na bage kara Lambe.*
 3d R RED-stand loc L. loc side to L.
 ‘They were standing at Lomu, towards Lambe.’
- (41) *Hupu kara dama.*
 star to day
 ‘The morning star.’ (Lit. ‘The star towards the day.’)
- (42) *Kozoho kara dama....*
 near to day
 ‘When it was almost morning....’ (Lit. ‘Near towards day.’)

c. In a number of cases *kara* is used without obvious movement. Native speakers also accept the general preposition *na* in these cases:

- (43) *Toga-na kara kubu-na.*
 bone-3s to thigh-3s
 ‘The bone in her upper leg.’
- (44) *Kaua e kori-a livuha-na kara simen.*
 dog R:3 scratch-3s body-3s to cement
 ‘A dog is scratching itself on the cement floor’

In (44) the use of *kara* indicates that as a result of the dog scratching itself, some of his dead skin will fall onto the cement floor.

With adverbs and certain locative nouns, *kiri* is preferred to *kara* for reasons which are unclear. The prepositional pair *na* / *ni* is also not found with these adverbs

and nouns. In those cases *kiri* is simply a locative preposition unspecified for motion or position:

<i>kiri rae</i>	‘(to) there, over there’ (* <i>kara rae</i> , * <i>na rae</i>)
<i>kiri heta</i>	‘(to) up there’
<i>kiri muga</i>	‘at/to the front’ (but cf. <i>kara muga-gu</i> ‘to the front of me’)
<i>kiri muri</i>	‘at/to the back’
<i>kiri maroro</i>	‘at/to the right’
<i>kiri mauri</i>	‘at/to the left’
<i>kiri mauri-gu</i>	‘on my left’ (but also: <i>kara mauri-gu</i> and <i>na mauri-gu</i>)

d. **Purpose or intended goal**, glossed as ‘for’:

- (45) *Hai kemi kara vaga.*
tree good for canoe
‘A good tree for a canoe.’
- (46) *Hau ta vala marasin kara mazahi.*
1s R give medicine for illness
‘I gave medicine for the illness.’
- (47) *Kuli-na matoto kiri-na.*
desire-3s really for:PN-3s
‘He strongly desired for it.’ (Lit. ‘His desire was really for it.’)
- (48) *Ia va-vana kaze kiri niho.*
3s RED-walk search for:PN 2s
‘She went looking for you.’

Sometimes verbs have to be added in the English translation:

- (49) *Hau ka rovo mule kara moluk-i tu-doro.*
1s CONT run back for body.dirt-3s:PN child-1di
‘I will run back for (= to get) our son’s body dirt.’
- (50) *Na tamohane ia e pele-a tavine kua kini kara go-na.*
ART man 3s R:3 take-3s woman this SEQ:3 for spouse-3s
‘The man takes the woman and she becomes his wife.’ (Lit. ‘...and then for his wife.’)

e. **Recipient**, with a number of verbs of communication. The difference here between *kara / kiri* and *na / ni* is not clear:

- (51) *Ia koi kara voro.*
 3s call to sun
 ‘He called (for) the sun.’
- (52) *A Demi ia koi kiri-gu ki tani-a...*
 ART D. 3s call to:PN-1s CONT:3 say-3s
 ‘Demi called me and said...’
- (53) *Hau ta goe kiri dia.*
 1s R shout to:PN 3p
 ‘I called out for them.’

f. Finally, some unusual usages not covered before:

- (54) *Ia hule-ni-a titina-na kiri tama-na.*
 3s ask-TR-3s mother-3s to:PN father-3s
 ‘She asked her mother about her father.’ (theme)
- (55) *Ia poro-vala-hi-a vaga kiri hiro.*
 3s fart-break-TR-3s canoe to:PN 3d
 ‘He broke the boat on them by farting.’ (malefactive)

6.4 The prepositions *kamana* / *kamani*

The prepositional pair *kamana* / *kamani* primarily marks the semantic role of accompaniment, as shown in the following examples. Notice that before non-singular pronominals the form is *kama*, as in (60):

- (56) *Kapiru-piru dia ta ge-gere kamana kaua.*
 child-RED 3p R RED-play with dog
 ‘The children were playing with the dog.’
- (57) *Na tavine ia mia kamana tamohane na ka-na ruma.*
 ART woman 3s sit with man loc PC-3s house
 ‘The woman lives with the man in his house.’
- (58) *Dia ta longo-ri-a a Pote e po-pole kamani Naio.*
 3p R hear-TR-3s ART P. R:3 RED-speak with:PN N.
 ‘They heard Pote talking with Naio.’
- (59) *Ae! Hau ve kata kamani-ho!*
 hey 1s too PURP with:PN-2s
 ‘Hey! I want to come with you too!’

- (60) *Hau marabeta na va-vana kama miu.*
 1s can.not IRR RED-walk with 2p
 ‘I can’t go with you.’
- (61) *Hau ka hilohilo matoto kamana ha-gu patete kapo-pou.*
 1s CONT happy very with PCF-1s sweet.potato big-RED
 ‘I was very happy with my big sweet potatoes.’

Of all the prepositions, *kamana* is the only one that can occur without a following noun phrase (indicating that the final *-na* is probably a fossilized possessive suffix):

- (62) *Pale, hau ta polo kamana kene zahe kiri Kimbe.*
 so 1s R board with SEQ go.up to:PN K.
 ‘So I went aboard with it (= the copra) and went to Kimbe.’
- (63) *Dia ta vuru-ti-a pozo kamana.*
 3p R pull.out-TR-3s floor with
 ‘They pulled out the floor with him.’
- (64) *Katiu ki lu-luga ha-na beti ki ro-rovo*
 one CONT:3 RED-carry PCF-3s banana CONT:3 RED-run
kamana.
 with
 ‘And one is carrying his bananas and running with them.’

In a verbless locative clause, *kamana* means ‘to be with, to go with’:

- (65) *Azei kete kamani-au kara vanua meni?*
 who PURP:3 with:PN-1s to garden today
 ‘Who will go with me to the garden today?’

In an absolute sense *kamana* may have a pregnant meaning:

- (66) *Ho tu kamana.*
 2s R/PF:2 with
 1. ‘You went with him/her.’
 2. ‘You were with her/him, i.e. you slept with him/her.’

The preposition *kamana* has two other functions. In the first place it is used as a coordinating conjunction to link noun phrases, in which case it is best translated as ‘and’ (see §3.9.3 on coordination):

- (67) *Tamohane* *kamana* *tavine*.
 man with woman
 ‘A man and a woman; men and women.’
- (68) *Ka-gu kolopi* *kamana* *ka-gu naipe*.
 PC-1s basket with PC-1s knife
 ‘My basket and my knife.’

Secondly, *kamana* can also function as a conjunction meaning ‘when, as’; see §9.5 for examples.

So far, the difference between *kamana* and *kamani* has been relatively straightforward. *Kamana* is used with following common nouns (or without a following noun phrase), whereas *kamani* is the form used when the following noun is a proper noun or a singular pronominal suffix. There are, however, intriguing exceptions to this pattern. With plural nouns (possibly only with animate human nouns), the form *kamani* is also acceptable, as in examples (69b) and (70b).

- (69) a. *kamana* *hanitu* (**kamani hanitu*)
 with evil.spirit
 ‘with an evil spirit’
- b. *kamana* / *kamani* *hanitu-nitu*
 with with:PN evil.spirit-RED
 ‘with evil spirits’
- (70) a. *Ia e po-pole* *kamana* *kapiru*. (**kamani kapiru*)
 3s R:3 RED-speak with child
 ‘He was talking with a/the child.’
- b. *Ia e po-pole* *kamana* / *kamani* *kapiru-piru*.
 3s R:3 RED-speak with with:PN child-RED
 ‘He was talking with (the) children.’

Another difference, possibly related to the use with plural nouns, has to do with a more active role for the following participant(s) if *kamani* is used. The following (elicited) examples illustrate this point:

- (71) *Hau ta vano pango-pango* *kamana* *ka-gu kaua-ua*.
 1s R go hunt-RED with PC-1s dog-RED
 ‘I went hunting with my dogs.’

- (72) *Hau ta hinu-mi-a paído kamani ka-gu kaua-ua.*
 1s R drink-TR-3s coconut with:PN PC-1s dog-RED
 ‘I drank coconut juice with my dogs.’

In (71) the dogs are clearly involved in the hunt, but the unmarked *kamana* does not specifically highlight their involvement. In (72), on the other hand, the use of *kamani* indicates a very active role for the dogs; they too drank of the coconut water and were not just inactive bystanders.

At this stage it is not clear how systematic these differences are and how they are best accounted for.

6.5 The prepositions *bukuna* / *bukuni*

The prepositional pair *bukuna* / *bukuni* denotes origin. It is not as frequent as the other prepositions and appears to be only used with following nouns, most of them place names, as well as locative adverbs. As yet, no examples with pronouns have been found.

- (73) *na manumanu bukuni Vitu*
 ART people from:PN V.
 ‘people from Vitu’
- (74) *Boto katiu manumanu bukuna Vituhu dia ta pole...*
 time one people from V. 3p R speak
 ‘Once people from Vituhu said...’

Notice that for unclear reasons the place name *Vituhu* is treated as a common noun in (74). See §3.2.2.

- (75) *Ho tu bukuni ve?*
 2s PF/R:2 from:PN where
 ‘Where do you come from?’
- (76) *Ia bukuni ri / rae / hewa / heta.*
 3s from:PN here there down.there up.there
 ‘He is from here / there / down there / up there.’
- (77) *Dala katiu kata pele-a moni ia na barita bukuna paído.*
 road one PURP take-3s money 3s ARTcopra from coconut
 ‘One way to get money is copra from coconuts.’

Bukuna is never used in combination with motion verbs such as *mai* ‘come’ and *rovo* ‘run away’. In such cases the verb *pe* ‘come from; go to’ must be used, as illustrated in the following pair:

- (78) a. **Hau ta rovo bukuna malala.*
 1s R run from village
 ‘I ran from the village.’
- b. *Hau ta rovo ka pe na malala.*
 1s R run CONT come/go loc village
 ‘I ran from the village.’

We will end with a few general observations on prepositions in Vitu. The irregular pronominal forms are puzzling and require a detailed comparison with neighbouring languages in order to ascertain the history of these forms. It appears, for instance, that historically there was only one real preposition: the pair *na / ni*. The other prepositions in current use may well have had different origins, as is suggested by the diverse pronominal combinations and the variant forms. The prepositions *kamana* and *bukuna* presumably started out as the nouns *kama* and *buku* taking possessive complements, traces of which can be seen in the possessive suffix *-na* on these forms. *Kara* may have been a motion verb initially restricted to serial verb constructions. This, however, is speculative and further investigations into this area will have to wait for another occasion.

6.6 The pro-PP *vona*

As indicated in table 14 in §6.1, there is a gap in the pronominal paradigm for the prepositional pair *na / ni*. This preposition can never be combined with a third person singular pronoun. Of the expected forms **ni ia*, **ni-a* or **ni nia*, none are grammatical. Instead a suppletive form *vona* is used. Compare the forms in the following example (again, only a sample of non-singular forms are given):

- (79) *Dia ta vala bua...* ‘They gave betelnut....
 3p R give betelnut
- a. ...*ni niau*. ...to me.’
 b. ...*ni niho*. ...to you.’
 c. ...*vona*. ...to him/her/it.’
 d. ...*ni miro*. ...to us (dual exclusive).’
 e. ...*ni miu*. ...to you (plural).’
 f. ...*ni hiro*. ...to them (dual).’

The form *vona* is clearly pronominal, and as it stands in a paradigmatic relationship with prepositional phrases we call it a pronominal prepositional phrase, or pro-PP for short. Since prepositional phrases function as adverbials, one might also call it an adverbial pronoun. Typologically *vona* can be compared to the French adverbial pronouns *en* and *y*, which function quite similarly. The word *vona* is unique in Vitu in its syntactic category as a pro-PP, and is glossed as ‘loc:3s’.

The following pair shows the alternation between a full oblique instrument PP (marked by *na*) and its pronominal counterpart, marked with *vona*:

- (80) a. *Hiro ta taputapu na vuluk-a toha.*
 3d R fish loc feather-3s chicken
 ‘They fish with a chicken feather.’
- b. *Hiro ta taputapu vona.*
 3d R fish loc:3s
 ‘They fish with it.’

Because the preposition *na* can introduce a large variety of oblique functions (see §6.2), the same range is available for *vona*. *Vona* is therefore variously translated as ‘with him/her/it’ (as in (80b)), ‘to him/her/it’, ‘for him/her/it’, ‘about him/her/it’, etc. depending on its semantic role in the clause. The following two examples are further illustrations of *vona* with an instrumental reading:

- (81) *Hau ta pele-a kedo kapou. Hau ta vozo-hi-a boro*
 1s R take-3s stone big 1s R throw.stone-TR-3s pig
vona.
 loc:3s

‘I took a big stone. I threw it at the pig.’ (Lit. ‘I stoned the pig with it.’)

- (82) *Pale, a Galemo ia hubi-mate-a tazi-na kote.*
 so ART G. 3s hit-die-3s same.sex.sibling-3s small
Kini vanga-ni-a kaluha vona.
 SEQ:3 feed-TR-3s shark loc:3s
 ‘So Galemo killed his little brother. Then he fed him to the sharks.’
 (Lit. ‘Then he fed the sharks with him.’)

When *vona* has locative reference (‘at it, to it’), it is often best translated as ‘there’, as in the following two examples:

- (83) *Tama-hita e gala-mi-a vanua vona.*
 father-1pe R:3 work-TR-3s garden loc:3s
 ‘Our father worked a garden there.’
- (84) *Na potuna kua, na tamohane lapunu katiu e lala*
 loc mountain this ART man old one R:3 HAB
kete mi-mia vona.
 PURP:3 RED-sit loc:3s
 ‘On this mountain there lived an old man.’

Other oblique roles of *vona* are shown below:

- (85) *Dia ta hilihilo vona.*
 3p R happy loc:3s
 ‘They were happy with him (or: because of him).’ (reason)
- (86) *Hita ka vari-nongo-ai vona.*
 1pe CONT COLL-laugh-COLL loc:3s
 ‘And we all laughed about it.’ (theme)
- (87) *Ia tabe langa ki vigi vona.*
 3s reach above CONT:3 hang loc:3s
 ‘He reached up and hung from it (= a branch).’ (location)
- (88) *Pale dia ta kati-a hani-hani-a kapou vona.*
 so 3p R make-3s eat-RED-NOM big loc:3s
 ‘So they made a big party for him.’ (benefactive)

A specialised use of *vona* occurs in possessive clauses, presumably resulting from a locative meaning (‘being) to/at him/her’:

- (89) *Ka-na kuaa vona. Ka-na boro vona.*
 PC-3s dog loc:3s PC-3s pig loc:3s
 ‘He had dogs. He had pigs.’ (Lit. ‘His dog(s) to him. His pig(s) to him.’)

Interestingly, *vona* is also used with non-3sg reference in possessive clauses:

- (90) *Hau ka-gu moni vona.*
 1s PC-1s money loc:3s
 ‘I have money.’

For more information on possessive clauses, see §7.2.

Two more points need to be made about this unusual word. In the first place it appears that the language also uses *vona* as a variant of the conjunction *vuna* (with other variants *na vona ~ na vuna* and *na vonazia*) with the meaning ‘because’, but at this point it is not clear whether these words are related or merely homophonous. In the following sentence, taken from a story about a dog and a pig who steal fire for their master (Text 1 in the appendix), there are three occurrences of *vona* (the first one of which has been edited to *vuna*), illustrating the diverse usage of this flexible word.

- (91) *Taua-hiro e hilohilo matoto ni hiro, vuna ti haroho*
 master-3d R:3 happy very loc:PN 3d, because PF:3 fire
vona dia kata tuni-a hani-nga vona.
 loc:3s 3p PURP cook-3s eat-NOM loc:3s
 ‘Their master was very happy with them, because now they had fire to cook food with.’

The first instance of *vuna ~ vona* in (91) is the conjunction ‘because’; the second *vona* occurs at the end of a possessive clause, while the third one has a pronominal reference to the fire mentioned in the previous clause: ‘with it’.

Secondly, the reduplicated form *vo-vona* ‘be present, be there’ signals continuous presence or existence, often in combination with the adverb *ba* ‘still’ and apparently limited to existential and locative clauses, as shown in the following three examples:

- (92) *Dia ta ba vo-vona.*
 3p R still RED-loc:3s
 ‘They are still there; they are still alive.’

- (93) *A Mataio e ba vo-vona na mugomugo voro ti zahe.*
 ART M. R:3 still RED-loc:3s loc forest sun PF:3 go.up
 ‘Mataio was still in the forest when the sun came up.’
- (94) *Ka-do gala-nga ba vo-vona.*
 PC-1di work-NOM still RED-loc:3s
 ‘We still have work to do.’ (Lit. ‘Our work is still there.’)

7. *The clause*

7.1 Introduction

A number of clause types can be distinguished for Vitu, the basic difference being the one between verbless and verbal clauses. These can be further subdivided as follows:

- A. Verbless clauses
 - 1. Existential clauses
 - 2. Possessive clauses
 - 3. Equative clauses
 - 4. Locative clauses

- B. Verbal clauses
 - 5. Descriptive clauses:
 stative, numeral, experiencer clauses
 - 6. Intransitive clauses
 - 7. Passive clauses
 - 8. Transitive clauses

Each of these clause types will be described and illustrated in turn in §7.2 - 7.9. It is important to realise that these clause types differ only in the clause core; that is, the parameters of this classification are the presence or absence of verbs, the type of verb and the number and role of the arguments. What is more or less identical for each type is the clause periphery, which consists of, for instance, a locative or a temporal periphery. The clause periphery, including adverbs, vocatives and interjections, will be discussed in §7.11. Other subjects dealt with in this chapter are degrees of comparison (§7.6), topicalisation (§7.10) and serial verb constructions (§7.12).

7.2 Existential and possessive clauses

In its most basic form, an existential clause in Vitu is simply a bare noun phrase. The language lacks an overt existential word or phrase, so that major participants are usually introduced in a free-standing noun phrase, often accompanied by a locative or

a temporal phrase. These participants almost always have the common article *na*, as they are of high topicality. Often they are further modified by what is translated as a relative clause, but in Vitu these are simply new independent clauses, as in (3). The following examples, taken from the beginning of stories, are illustrative:

- (1) *Vazira matoto, na manu rua.*
 long.ago very ART bird two
 ‘A long long time ago, there were two birds.’
- (2) *Na dama katiu, vari-tazi-ni rua.*
 loc day one REC-same.sex.sibling-TR dua
 ‘One day, there were two brothers.’
- (3) *Na tavine katiu, hiza-na a Lavo kote.*
 ART woman one name-3s ART L. little
 ‘There was (once) a woman whose name was Little Lavo.’
- (4) *Na malala kua, kaka katiu hiza-na a Kusak.*
 loc village this man one name-3s ART K.
 ‘In this village there was a man whose name was Kusak.’

Negative existential clauses follow the same pattern (see also §8.1.2):

- (5) *Beta naru.*
 NEG water
 ‘There is no water.’

A special type of existential clause is the possessive clause. In its barest form it consists of a noun phrase followed by the pronominal adverb *vona* ‘there, with it, at it’ functioning as the predicate (further discussed in §6.6 and glossed as ‘loc:3s’). The noun phrase is normally possessed and the translation equivalent of such clauses contains the English verb ‘to have’:

- (6) *Ka-gu kua vona.*
 PC-1s dog loc:3s
 ‘I have a dog.’ (Lit: ‘My dog is at it.’)

The following two examples show a topicalised possessor noun or pronoun preceding the main clause:

- (7) *Matabunu, vazira vuluk-a vona.*
 snake long.ago hair-3s loc:3s
 ‘Formerly snakes had fur.’

- (8) *Hiro ti haroho vona.*
 3d PF:3 fire loc:3s
 ‘Now they had fire.’

When a possessive clause is negated, *vona* is optional:

- (9) *Palaka, beta ka-gu moni (vona).*
 but NEG PC-1s money loc:3s
 ‘But I have no money.’
- (10) *Ki beta go-dia.*
 CONT:3 NEG spouse-3p
 ‘And they had no spouses.’
- (11) *Beta matoto diaro ni dia.*
 NEG very spear loc 3p
 ‘They did not have any spears with them.’

In existential clauses the words *ba vovona* indicate continuous existence (see §6.6 for discussion and examples).

7.3 Equative clauses

An equative clause consists of a subject noun phrase, followed by a predicate noun phrase without any intervening verb. The head of the NP can be a common noun, a proper noun or a pronoun. Demonstrative heads show interesting deviations (see below). The two NPs in an equative clause can simply be juxtaposed as in the following examples:

- (12) *Hau (na) tu-u.*
 1s ART child-2s
 ‘I am your child.’
- (13) *Kamama na tisa.*
 your.father ART teacher
 ‘Your father is a teacher.’
- (14) *Ho na hanitu katiu.*
 2s ART evil. spirit one
 ‘You are an evil spirit.’

- (15) *Kuli-gu hiha.*
 desire-1s fish
 ‘I want fish.’ (Lit. ‘My desire is fish.’)

In equative clauses, a full nominal subject is often repeated as a free pronoun, giving the clause the appearance of three juxtaposed noun phrases:

- (16) *Kapiru kena ia na tu-gu.*
 child that 3s ART child-1s
 ‘That kid is my child.’
- (17) *Aloisius ia tu-gu tamohane.*
 A. 3s child-1s man
 ‘Aloisius is my son.’

The exact status of this repeated pronominal subject is not fully clear. It also occurs in verbal clauses, and we analyse it provisionally as a resumptive pronoun following nominal subjects.

In some cases the realis AMS markers appear in equative clauses, but this is ungrammatical for first person singular subjects; cf. (19) and (20):

- (18) *Ho tu kaka pa.*
 2s R:2 person good
 ‘You are a good man.’
- (19) *Tolu ta manumanu zaha-zaha.*
 1pi R people bad-RED
 ‘We are bad people.’
- (20) **Hau ta tu-u.*
 1s R child-2s
 ‘I am your child.’

It is possible to omit the subject NP of an equative clause if the referent is clear from the situational or discourse context, as in (21b):

- (21) a. *Nazia kua?*
 what this
 ‘What is this?’
- b. *Na hiha*
 ART fish
 ‘A fish.’

Equative clauses which contain a demonstrative display interesting deviant patterns in that the demonstrative (which we take to be the subject) normally follows the predicate noun.

- (22) *Na hai kena.*
 ART tree that
 ‘That is a tree.’
- (23) *A tama-ni Peter kuari.*
 ART father-3s:PN P. that
 ‘That is Peter’s father.’

The reverse construction, a demonstrative subject followed by a predicate noun phrase, has not yet been found. A variant that does occur, however, has the demonstrative also at the beginning of the clause, resulting in a double subject construction, one preceding and one following the predicate noun. Since double subject constructions are also found with passive clauses (see §7.8) and locative clauses (see examples (38) - (40) in §7.4), this appears to be an interesting organisational feature of the language. Examples:

- (24) *Kua bira kua.*
 this playing.field this
 ‘This is a playing field’
- (25) *Kuari beha kuari.*
 that flying.fox that
 ‘That is a flying fox.’
- (26) *Kua ia kua.*
 this 3s this
 ‘Here it is; this is it.’
- (27) *Kena moro kena.*
 that 2d that
 ‘It’s the two of you; there you are.’

7.4 Locative clauses

The fourth subtype of verbless clauses is the locative clause. A locative clause consists of a noun phrase subject, followed by either a prepositional phrase or a demonstrative adverb functioning as the predicate and describing the location,

direction or purpose of the subject. The following examples show a prepositional predicate:

- (28) *Lima-na katiu na haine.*
 hand-3s one loc spear
 ‘One of his hands was holding the spear.’ (Lit: ‘...on the spear.’)
- (29) *Barema kua kara ka-gu ruma.*
 sago.leaves this for PC-1s house
 ‘These sago leaves are for my house.’

In some cases the realis marker appears, especially when the subject is plural:

- (30) *Tu-gu karua hiro ta kamana.*
 child-1s both 3d R with
 ‘Both my children are with him.’

When the preposition *kara / kiri* ‘to, towards’ is used (see §6.3), the understood verb is *vano* ‘go’ and various AMS markers are possible. The absent verb, indicated by \emptyset , can always be made explicit without change in meaning:

- (31) *Ho koto \emptyset kiri ve?*
 2s FUT:2 to:PN where
 ‘Where are you going to?’ (Lit. ‘You will to where?’)
- (32) *Hau kata \emptyset kiri rae.*
 1s FUT to:PN there
 ‘I’m going there.’
- (33) *Ia luga ha-na haine, kini \emptyset kara mugomugo.*
 3s carry PCF-3s spear SEQ:3 to forest
 ‘He carried his spear and went to the forest.’

An alternative analysis is to treat *kara ~ kiri* as a unique prepositional verb in these examples, making them regular intransitive clauses.

Predicative adverbs in equative clauses are illustrated below:

- (34) *Ha-miro vanua heta.*
 PCF-1de garden up.there
 ‘Our garden is up there.’

- (35) *Ka-hiro ruma hewa.*
 PC-3d house down.there
 ‘Their house is down there.’

When the subject is an indefinite noun phrase accompanied by a locative phrase, as in (36) and (37), there is ambiguity as to whether such a construction should be classified as an existential clause with a locative periphery, or a locative clause with a locative predicate. We view these types as illustrating clause type overlap.

- (36) *Boto katiu, beta kaka na malala.*
 time one NEG person loc village
 ‘Once there was nobody in the village.’
- (37) *Na vazalea ia lobo kapou.*
 loc beach 3s high.tide big
 ‘On the beach it is / there is a big high tide.’

With pronominal subjects and demonstrative adverbs as predicates, a demonstrative pronoun can be added initially, as in the following examples. The resulting clause consists of a demonstrative pronoun (*kua, kena, kuari*) followed by a subject noun phrase (or pronoun) and a predicative demonstrative adverb (*rae, ri*). The demonstrative pronoun and the adverb must agree in distance. This clause type, which is typically used for pointing at a known entity, appears to be a combination of a locative clause and an equational clause:

- (38) *Kuari ia rae.*
 that 3s there
 ‘There he/she/it is.’
- (39) *Kua hiro ri.*
 this 3d here
 ‘Here they are.’
- (40) *Kuari ka-gu ruma rae.*
 that PC-1s house there
 ‘That’s my house over there.’

7.5 Descriptive clauses

We distinguish three subtypes of descriptive clauses: the stative clause, the numeral clause and the experiencer clause.

7.5.1 Stative clauses

A stative clause consists of a subject noun phrase followed by a predicate adjective phrase. Aspect-mood-sequentiality (AMS) markers are normally present, though the third person singular realis marker *e* is optional, as in (41):

- (41) *Goloa-loa laveve (e) kemi.*
 thing-RED all R:3 good
 ‘Everything is good.’
- (42) *Na hiha e kapou matoto.*
 ART fish R:3 big very
 ‘The fish was very big.’
- (43) *Manumanu dia ta hilohilo na taim kua.*
 people 3p R happy loc time this
 ‘People are happy at this time.’
- (44) *Dazi e manilo.*
 sea R:3 calm
 ‘The sea is calm.’
- (45) *Tu-gu ti kemi.*
 child-1s PF:3 good
 ‘My child is well (now).’
- (46) *Kaluha kua beta ni kapou.*
 shark this NEG IRR:3 big
 ‘The shark was not big.’
- (47) *Beta ni zau marata.*
 NEG IRR:3 far so
 ‘It is not so far.’

Some adjectives such as *kozoho* ‘near, close’ and *puae* ‘ashamed’ take a prepositional complement introduced by *na / ni*, as illustrated below:

- (48) *E kozoho na bot.*
 R:3 near loc boat
 ‘He was close to the boat.’
- (49) *E kozoho ni niho.*
 R:3 near loc:PN 2s
 ‘He was close to you.’

- (50) *Ia e puae ni niau.*
 3s R:3 ashamed loc:PN 1s
 ‘He is ashamed of me.’
- (51) *Beke ti vonu laveve na barita.*
 bag PF:3 full all loc old.coconut
 ‘All the bags are full of copra.’

Notice the following clause with an initial locative phrase and a dummy subject:

- (52) *Na hudu-na dazi ti manilo kua.*
 loc top-3s sea PF:3 calm this
 ‘On the sea it is calm now.’

The following example illustrates the optional repetition of the demonstrative *kua* in tail position:

- (53) *Ka-gu siot kua ti bura (kua).*
 PC-1s shirt this PF:3 old this
 ‘This shirt of mine is old.’

7.5.2 Numeral clauses

The second type of descriptive clause is the numeral clause. This consists of a subject NP followed by a predicate numeral, with an optional realis marker *e* intervening. The most natural English translation equivalent often needs a form of ‘to have’:

- (54) *Tu-hiro katiu.*
 child-3d one
 ‘They had one son.’ (Lit. ‘Their son was one.’)
- (55) *Ha-gu hiha e garamo.*
 PCF-1s fish R:3 four
 ‘I had four fish.’ (Lit. ‘My fish were four.’)
- (56) *Ka-na lingabo e lima za.*
 PC-3s moon R:3 five only
 ‘He was only five months old.’ (Lit. ‘His moons were only five.’)

7.5.3 Experiencer clauses

The third subtype of descriptive clause is the experiencer clause. This type consists of an experiencer verb indexed with a third person singular AMS marker,

preceded by an optional noun phrase specifying the experiencer. With these verbs, the experiencer is coded as a pronominal object following the transitive marker *-Ci*. See §4.3 for a list of experiencer verbs. Examples:

- (57) *Tazi-gu e maraho-ti-a.*
 same.sex.sibling-1s R:3 thirsty-TR-3s
 ‘My brother is thirsty.’
- (58) *Titi, azei mazahi-ti-a?*
 mother who ill-TR-3s
 ‘Auntie, who is sick?’
- (59) *Boto katiu a Kabakovu e mazahi-ti-a.*
 time one ART eagle R:3 ill-TR-3s
 ‘Once upon a time the Eagle was ill.’
- (60) *E magara-ti-miro.*
 R:3 cold-TR-1de
 ‘We are cold.’
- (61) *Tai, hau ti vitolo-ni-au.*
 same.sex.sibling 1s PF:3 hunger-TR-1s
 ‘Brother, I’m hungry.’
- (62) *Manumanu laveve na malala kua e vitolo-ni-dia.*
 people all loc village this R:3 hunger-TR-3p
 ‘All the people in the village were hungry.’

Notice that the AMS marker in these clauses is always third person singular, even when the experiencer is plural, as in (62), or first person singular, as in (61). In these experiencer clauses an overt nominal experiencer must agree with the object pronoun, but since the AMS marker always indicates third person singular, it is doubtful whether a full pronoun such as *hau* in (61) can be called a subject.

Finally we present an example of a descriptive clause with a demonstrative adverb in predicate position:

- (63) *Ka-gu mana e pebarae.*
 PC-1s story R:3 like.this
 ‘My story is like this.’

7.6 Degrees of comparison

At this point we will briefly discuss degrees of comparison, as they are linked with the descriptive clause. For the comparative degree, Vitu normally uses the comparative verb *dopa* ‘be more’ followed by the adjective. The two words are linked with the continuity marker *ki*. The standard of comparison is introduced by the general preposition *na / ni*:

- (64) *Tazi-gu e dopa ki horaha ni niau.*
 same.sex.sibling-1s R:3 more CONT:3 tall loc:PN 1s
 ‘My brother is taller than me.’
- (65) *Ka-gu ruma e dopa ki kapou na ka-a.*
 PC-1s house R:3 more CONT:3 big loc PC-2s
 ‘My house is bigger than yours.’
- (66) *Na sarip e dopa ki malaku na naipe.*
 ART machete R:3 more CONT:3 long loc knife
 ‘A machete is longer than a knife.’

When the adjective is nominalised, as in (67), only *dopa* is used in the predicate:

- (67) *Ka-gu malaku-ta vaga e dopa na ka-a.*
 PC-1s long-NOM canoe R:3 more loc PC-2s
 ‘My canoe is longer than yours.’ (Lit. ‘My length of canoe is more than yours’.)

Occasionally *dopa* and *ki* are absent and a simple adjective followed by the standard of comparison suffices:

- (68) *Ha-dia hiha e kapou na ha-dolu.*
 PCF-3p fish R:3 big loc PCF-1pi
 ‘Their fish is bigger than ours.’

For the superlative degree, *dopa* can also be used in combination with a universal quantifier, or the transitive verb *livu-ti-a* ‘pass, surpass’ (in which case there is no prepositional *na*-phrase), or a combination of the two:

- (69) a. *Ka-na ruma e dopa ki kapou na ka-dolu laveve.*
 PC-3s house R:3 more CONT:3 big loc PC-1pi all
 ‘His house is the biggest of us all.’

b. *Ka-na ruma e livu-ti-a ka-dolu laveve.*
 PC-3s house R:3 surpass-TR-3s PC-1pi all

‘His house is the biggest of us all.’

(70) *Tu-gu e dopa ki horaha livu-ti-miro.*
 child-1s R:3 more CONT:3 tall surpass-TR-1de

‘My child is the taller of us (two).’

Finally, *dopa* is also used in an adverbial sense directly preceding the main verb. In this case there is no standard of comparison and the translation depends on the context:

(71) *Dopa rovo!*

more run

‘Run faster!’

(72) *Dopa dae-a!*

more pull-3s

‘Pull harder!’

(73) *Dopa ngoro!*

more sleep

‘Sleep harder!’ (Sarcastic remark to lazy people who missed out on something good.)

(74) *Ti dopa kini zaha.*

PF:3 more CONT:3 bad

‘It is getting worse.’

7.7 Intransitive clauses

The intransitive clause simply consists of a subject noun phrase followed by an intransitive verb. AMS markers are obligatorily present, with the exception of the 3sg realis marker *e*, which is often absent, as in (76). If the verb subcategorises for a prepositional complement, this phrase follows the verb. Many intransitive verbs take such prepositional complements, especially verbs of motion (e.g. *vano* ‘go’, *zaha* ‘go up’, *pozi* ‘go down towards the beach’), but this is rarely obligatory:

(75) *Hau data zaha.*

1s FUT:1 go.up

‘I will go up.’

- (76) *Ia koi kara voro.*
 3s call.out to sun
 ‘He called out to the sun.’
- (77) *Na dama, hau ta vano kara ruma-ka koko-a.*
 loc day 1s R go to house-3s defecate-NOM
 ‘In the morning, I went to the toilet.’
- (78) *Boto katiu, a Sikau hiro a Toha hiro ta*
 time one ART wallaby 3d ART chicken 3d R
pozi kara maga.
 go.seaward to beach.
 ‘Once upon a time, Wallaby and Chicken went down to the beach.’

In the last two examples the temporal phrase at the beginning is part of the clause periphery, while the locative phrases in the last three examples are part of the clause core. Notice that in (78) there appear to be two subjects: the compound nominal subject ‘Wallaby and Chicken’ as well as the (second occurrence of the) dual pronoun *hiro*. Since such ‘extra’ pronouns appear to be obligatory following complex noun phrases, we provisionally treat the compound noun phrase as the real subject of the clause, and the pronoun as a resumptive subject pronoun. Other examples of resumptive pronouns:

- (79) *Miro kamana tavine katiu miro ta vano kara vanua.*
 1de with woman one 1de R go to garden
 ‘A woman and I (lit. we and a woman) went to the garden.’
- (80) *A Oscar hiro a Terence hiro ta ziho na ka-gu ruma.*
 ART O. 3d ART T. 3d R go.down loc PC-1s house
 ‘Oscar and Terence came down to my house.’
- (81) *Ka-na kaua kua kote, ia madiri.*
 PC-3s dog this little 3s stand
 ‘His puppy stood there.’
- (82) *Kapiru-piru dia ta ge-gere kamana kaua.*
 child-RED 3p R RED-play with dog
 ‘The children were playing with the dog.’

As is clear from (82), resumptive pronouns can follow simple subject noun phrases as well; the exact conditions under which they appear and their proper grammatical status are not yet fully understood.

7.8 Passive clauses

Passive clauses are a type of intransitive clause. There is only one argument (the patient subject), which usually occurs in preverbal position, but may also follow the verb, and even occur twice. The verb is marked as passive by either vowel mutation (*-ua*, corresponding to active transitive *-i-a*), the suffix *-nga ~ -anga* or the suffix *-Ca*. For details on passive morphology, see §4.4.5. For a more detailed analysis of the passive in Vitu and for more examples, see van den Berg (2006).

The following examples illustrate passive clauses with preverbal subjects, taken from conversations or from texts. Notice that agents are not specified in any of these clauses, as agents are obligatorily absent in passive constructions. In these examples the passive verb form is underlined and the corresponding active verb form is given as well:

- (83) *Hau ta makua.*
 I R choose:PASS
 ‘I was chosen.’ (active: *maki-a*)
- (84) *Goloa kua e koha-nga na desk.*
 thing this R:3 call-PASS ART desk
 ‘This thing is called a desk.’ (active: *koha-ni-a*)
- (85) *Ruma kua e ba ka-katua.*
 house this R:3 still RED-make:PASS
 ‘This house is still being built.’ (active: *kati-a*)
- (86) *Na hai kua e vitaha kete papane-ha.*
 ART tree this R:3 difficult PURP:3 climb-PASS
 ‘This tree is difficult to climb.’ (Lit. ‘...to be climbed.’)
 (active: *papane-hi-a*)
- (87) *Kilaka kena e va-ziho-anga ki ziho,*
 time that R:3 CAUS-go.down-PASS SEQ:3 go.down
hau ta ngo-ngoro.
 1s R RED-sleep
 ‘At the time he was lowered (and went down), I was asleep.’
 (active: *va-ziho-ni-a*)

- (88) *Dia ta zahe hutu-vala-hi-a barita kena e nihabua-nga.*
 3p R go.up hit-break-TR-3s old.coconut that R:3 pile.up-PASS
 ‘They went up and broke open the coconuts which had been piled up.’
 (active: *nihabu-ni-a*)

Verb-subject order also occurs, but this appears to be less common:

- (89) *Kava ti haroa kamo.*
 already PF:3 peel:PASS taro
 ‘The taro has already been peeled.’ (active: *hare-a*)
- (90) *Kava ti va-poloa ka-na goloa-loa?*
 already PF:3 CAUS-load:PASS PC-3s thing-RED
 ‘Have his things been loaded yet?’ (active: *va-pole-a*)
- (91) *E makua hau.*
 R:3 choose:PASS 1s
 ‘I was chosen.’ (active: *maki-a*)

Very rarely, even double subjects are found with passives, as in (92), where the postverbal dual pronoun *hiro* is co-referential with the preverbal (complex) subject noun phrase. It is not clear whether such double subjects are restricted to post-verbal pronouns.

- (92) *Boro kamana kua kua e makua hiro.*
 pig with dog this R:3 choose:PASS 3d
 ‘The pig and the dog were chosen.’ (active: *maki-a*)

Notice that with preverbal subjects, the patient subject has to agree with the AMS marker, as in (83) where the preverbal subject *hau* ‘I’ triggers the 1sg marker *ta* (also used for all non-singulars). With a postverbal subject, on the other hand, the AMS marker is the 3sg form *e*, as in (91), where *hau* ‘I’ co-occurs with *e*. In the case of a double subject construction, as in (92), this is still true. The following example illustrates this lack of agreement nicely:

- (93) *Ka-na lingabo e lima za, ki vota-ha hau*
 PC-3s moon R:3 five only SEQ:3 cut.open-PASS 1s
ki peola.
 SEQ:3 take:PASS
 ‘When he was only five months, I was operated on and he (= the baby) was taken out.’ (active: *vota-hi-a, pele-a*)

In (93) the patient subject *hau* ‘I’ follows the passive verb in the second clause, but the sequential marker *ki* is marked for third person. The pronoun makes it clear that the subject of this clause is first person, not third person. The next clause (*ki peola*) contains no overt subject, and so the reference is indeed to a third person which was taken out, in this case the baby.

The last two examples in this section illustrate a passive compound verb and a sequence of two passive clauses linked by simple juxtaposition:

- (94) *Pusi ha-hani kava ti pado-matoa.*
 cat RED-eat already PF:3 spear:PASS-die:PASS
 ‘The man-eating cat has been speared to death.’ (active: *pade-mate-hi-a*)
- (95) *Hiha kua e havi-la e padoa na selpis.*
 fish this R:3 catch-PASS R:3 spear:PASS loc fishgun
 ‘This fish was caught and speared with a fishgun.’
 (active: *havi-li-a, pade-a*)

At this point we also want to mention an enigmatic passive-like clause type involving the word *voa*, for which we cannot yet provide a gloss. Consider the following four examples:

- (96) *Ti hani-hani voa.*
 PF:3 eat-RED ?
 ‘There is eating going on; some people are eating.’
- (97) *Ha-gu vanua beta ni hada-poto voa.*
 PCF-1s garden NEG IRR:3 see-hold ?
 ‘My garden was not looked after by people.’
- (98) *Hita ta maki-maki voa kamanga.*
 1pe R choose-RED ? ?
 ‘We were chosen.’
- (99) *Ki va-vazula voa na vaga. Ki va-vazula voa*
 CONT:3 RED-paddle ? loc canoe CONT:3 RED-paddle ?
na mon. Ki pe na bot voa.
 loc dugout CONT:3 come/go loc boat ?
 ‘Some paddled in a canoe. Some paddled in a dugout canoe. And some came by motorboat.’

It is clear that these are agentless clauses, but the exact analysis is elusive. There is no passive verb morphology, but the absence of transitive endings on *hani-hani* in

(96) and *maki-maki* (98) is remarkable. Surprisingly, intransitive verbs can also participate in this process, as shown in (99). *Voa* is possibly a general pronoun ‘they, people’, which only occurs postverbally in the place of an object pronoun. The meaning of *kamanga* in (98) is also unclear. At this point we can offer no further insights and the enigmatic *voa* clauses remain a high priority for further research on Vitu grammar.

7.9 Transitive clauses

The normal word order in transitive clauses is SVO. A full transitive clause consists of a subject NP, an AMS marker, a transitive verb and an object NP:

(100) *Hau ta pele-a kedo kapou.*
 1s R take-3s stone big
 ‘I took a big stone.’

(101) *Dia ta vapolunga-ni-a tavine.*
 3p R decorate-TR-3s woman
 ‘They decorate the woman.’

In spoken and written discourse there are some variations on this pattern. Because subjects are frequently known from the immediate context, they are often not explicitly coded in the clause. Similarly, objects can simply be coded as pronominal suffixes. The following examples illustrate the absence of a full nominal object:

(102) *Hita ta kalinga-ni-a.*
 1pe R chase-TR-3s
 ‘We chased it (= the pig).’

(103) *Ia va-madiri-a na polok-a bot.*
 3s CAUS-stand-3s loc inside-3s boat
 ‘He put it (= the spear) upright in the boat.’

(104) *Tauka na toha e ruru-ki-au.*
 maybe ART chicken R:3 lie-TR-1s
 ‘Maybe the chicken is lying to me.’

The following examples show the absence of a full nominal subject. Notice that the identity of the subject is partially coded in the AMS markers, specifically for the second and third person singular. However, there is no formal distinction between first person singular and all the non-singular forms in the AMS markers, and the translation of the implicit subject in (106) as ‘I’ is simply based on the wider context (the sentence is taken from a first-person narrative):

(105) *E tanga kaua kena.*
 R:3 bite dog that
 ‘It (= the pig) bit the dog.’¹

(106) *Muga ta tani-a hiha.*
 first R say-3s fish
 ‘First I thought it was a fish.’

The following examples show absence of both nominal subjects and objects:

(107) *Ta hada-vi-a.*
 R see-TR-3s
 ‘I saw it.’

(108) *Vala kapiru kote mai na luga.*
 give child small come IRR carry
 ‘Give the baby to me and I will carry it.’

As with intransitive clauses, resumptive pronouns often follow subject noun phrases, as in the following cases:

(109) *Pale, dia heta dia ta hada-vi-a.*
 so 3p up.there 3p R see-TR-3s
 ‘Then people up there saw him.’

(110) *Da habu ka-na tavine dia na mama-hi-a bua kena...*
 FUT group PC-3s woman 3p IRR chew-TR-3s betelnut that
 ‘If the woman’s relatives chew the betelnuts....’

A transitive clause type is also used for reflexive constructions. The adverb *mule* ‘again, back’ can also be used in the meaning ‘self’, either as an emphatic word, e.g. *hau mule* ‘I myself’ or as a reflexive. The following examples were recorded, showing *mule* as a free-standing word in (111), and as part of a verbal compound with three members in (112):

(111) *Dia ta va-zahe-ni-dia mule.*
 3p R CAUS-go.up-TR-3p self
 ‘They lifted themselves up; they praised themselves.’

¹ This clause can also mean ‘It was said it was the dog’, with *ta-nga* analysed as the passive of *tani-a* ‘say, speak’ (see §4.4.5).

- (112) *Ia hubi-mate-hi-mule-hi-a.*
 3s hit-die-TR-self-TR-3s
 ‘He killed himself.’

7.10 Topicalisation

Topicalisation refers to the fronting of a nominal constituent which is not the subject. Two types of topicalisation have been found in Vitu. The first is object topicalisation, which is common when two similar entities are given a different treatment. This can be termed ‘contrastive topicalisation’, as in the following examples:

- (113) *Ia kago-vi-a ka-dia boro kapo-pou ia varaga kara dazi.*
 3s collect-TR-3s PC-3p pig big-RED 3s throw to sea
Kote-kote e hani-dia.
 small-RED R:3 eat-3p
 ‘He collected their big pigs and threw them into the sea. The small ones he ate.’
- (114) *Ia e kade-a kompiuta vahoru, ka-na bura-ta ti*
 3s R:3 buy-3s computer new PC-3s old-NOM PF:3
vala ni niau.
 give loc:PN 1s
 ‘He bought a new computer, his old one he has given to me.’

The second type of topicalisation is when a possessive phrase is fronted. This results in a topic-comment sentence where the topic establishes the frame of reference. It appears that normally there is an intonation break between the topic and the remainder of the clause. Examples:

- (115) *Na sikau, na lima-na kiri muga e boto.*
 ART wallaby ART hand-3s to:PN front R:3 short
 ‘As for wallabies, their front legs are short.’
- (116) *Na ka-gu ruma, dabadaba vona ti tere-tere.*
 ART PC-1s house wall loc:3s PF:3 torn-RED
 ‘As for my house, the walls are torn.’
- (117) *A tu-hiro mata-na ia tuturuve.*
 ART child-3d eye-3s 3s sleepy
 ‘As for their son, he was sleepy.’

7.11 Clause periphery

In this section we will look at various elements that provide extra information on the state of affairs described in the clause core. These include temporal, locative and manner periphery (§7.11.1 - §7.11.3), as well as adverbs (§7.11.4). The remaining non-central elements at the clause level are treated in the final subsections; vocatives in §7.11.5 and interjections in §7.11.6.

7.11.1 Temporal periphery

The temporal periphery specifies the location in time of the clause core. This periphery can be filled by temporal adverbs such as *kua* ‘now’ and *vazira* ‘long ago’ (for a full list of temporal adverbs see §7.11.4), but also by a noun phrase such as *boto katiu* ‘one time’ or a prepositional phrase introduced by *na*. Some of these phrases may include a relative clause. Below is a sample of some common expressions used in the temporal periphery. The general preposition *na* is optional with a few of these expressions. Notice that the words *vik* ‘week’, *krismas* ‘year’ as well as the days of the week are all borrowed from Tok Pisin.

<i>boto katiu</i>	‘one time, once, once upon a time’
<i>boto ziva?</i>	‘how many times?’
<i>(na) dama katiu</i>	‘one day, once, once upon a time’
<i>dama katiu ve</i>	‘the next day; another day’
<i>dama laveve</i>	‘every day’
<i>dama tolu kakava</i>	‘after three days’
<i>na garavi</i>	‘in the afternoon’
<i>na garavi katiu</i>	‘one afternoon’
<i>na lingabo katiu</i>	‘one month, for a month’
<i>na marigo</i>	‘at night, in the evening’
<i>na Tude</i>	‘on Tuesday’
<i>na Tude na vik muga</i>	‘Tuesday a week ago’
<i>na Mande na vik kua e mamai</i>	‘next Monday’ (lit. ‘on Monday in this week which is coming’)
<i>kilaka kena</i>	‘that time’
<i>kua</i>	‘now’ (also ‘this’)
<i>liuliu</i>	‘continuously, for good’
<i>meni</i>	‘today’
<i>meni na garavi</i>	‘this afternoon’
<i>na krismas muga ti vano</i>	‘last year’
<i>(na) krismas zangavulu ti vano</i>	‘ten years ago’

<i>muga</i>	‘at first; last (as modifier)’
<i>vazira</i>	‘long ago, in the past, formerly’
<i>vazira matoto</i>	‘a long long time ago’

The temporal periphery typically precedes the clause core, as can be seen in the following examples. Notice that in (119) the topicalised constituent *matabunu* ‘snake’ precedes the temporal adverb.

- (118) *Na dama katiu kapiru-piru na malala dia ta lupu na malala.*
 loc day one child-RED loc village 3p R gather loc village.
 ‘One day the village children gathered in the village.’
- (119) *Matabunu, vazira vuluk-a vona.*
 snake long.ago hair-3s loc:3s
 ‘Formerly snakes had fur.’
- (120) *Na Tude na vik muga, ta hatu-ni-a ma kata*
 loc Tuesday loc week last R feel-TR-3s DES PURP
hani-a matoto patete.
 eat-3s very sweet.potato
 ‘Tuesday a week ago I felt like I really wanted to eat sweet potatoes.’

The following is an example of a clause-final temporal periphery:

- (121) *Ki bele na marigo.*
 CONT:3 arrive loc night
 ‘And he arrived at night.’

7.11.2 Locative periphery

The locative periphery specifies the location or goal of the state of affairs described in the clause core. It is filled by a locative adverb such as *ri* ~ *rini* ‘here’ (see §7.11.4 for a list of adverbs), or a prepositional phrase introduced by *na* / *ni* or *kara* / *kiri* such as *na malala* ‘in the village’ or *kiri Kimbe* ‘to Kimbe’. Locative nouns such as *polok-* ‘inside’, which are inalienably possessed, can be added to make the location more specific (see §3.2.1 for a list of locative nouns).

Locative peripheries typically follow the clause core:

- (122) *Dia ta mi-mia ri.*
 3p R RED-sit here
 ‘They live here.’

- (123) *Hita ta mi-mia na ka-gu ruma.*
 1pe R RED-sit loc PC-1s house
 ‘We were sitting in my house.’
- (124) *Hita ta pati na hirip-a mahati.*
 1pe R float loc side-3s reef
 ‘We floated beside the reef.’
- (125) *Miro ta gala na polok-a vanua.*
 1de R work loc inside-3s garden
 ‘We worked in the garden.’

Compound locative peripheries are common in natural conversations, but these have not yet been fully explored. Three examples are given below:

- (126) *Ia e ma-madii kara palige-na kiri rae.*
 3s R:3 RED-stand to side-3s to:PN there
 ‘He was standing on the other side.’
- (127) *Livuk-a e madii vano kiri rae.*
 cross.sibling-3s R:3 stand go to:PN there
 ‘His sister is standing over there.’
- (128) *Ia e sikul rae ni Hoskins.*
 3s R:3 school there loc:PN H.
 ‘She goes to school (there) at Hoskins.’

As in (126), the use of *kara* and *kiri* is obligatory with certain nouns and adverbs, even if it marks stationary position (see §6.3). What is unusual here is the double prepositional phrase. In (127), the use of *vano* ‘go’ in combination with the prepositional phrase indicates that the subject is some further distance away from a point of reference, e.g. a person or an object previously mentioned. Without *vano*, the translation would be the same, but there is no indication of an additional reference point. The use of *rae* in (128) indicates that the sentence was uttered somewhere in the vicinity of Hoskins, probably within pointing distance.

7.11.3 Other peripheries

Other peripheries, all of which are introduced by the preposition *na*, perform various semantic functions, including accompaniment, instrument, recipient and theme. See chapter 6 for a detailed list of the functions introduced by *na* and

examples of each category. Here only two further examples are given, illustrating accompaniment and theme:

- (129) *Dia ta gere-gere kamana kaua.*
 3p R play-RED with dog
 ‘They were playing with the dog.’
- (130) *Hita ta lala na dama kua.*
 1pe R know loc day this
 ‘We knew about this day.’

7.11.4 Adverbs

Adverbs form a closed class which is largely defined in negative terms. Adverbs do not form the head of a phrase, do not allow affixation and serve a variety of semantic functions. At least eight subclasses of adverbs can be set up on the basis of their semantic roles. These are locative and temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, intensifiers, negators, focussing and aspectual adverbs and finally disjuncts. Each subclass is discussed in turn.

1. Locative adverbs

<i>ri ~ rini</i>	‘here’
<i>ra ~ rae</i>	‘there’
<i>heta</i>	‘up there’
<i>hewa</i>	‘down there’

Locative adverbs can occupy the clause periphery by themselves or in combination with a prepositional phrase. They can also be part of the noun phrase. In addition, they occur as the predicate of locative clauses. Examples are provided for each category.

Locative adverbs as clause periphery (see also §7.11.2):

- (131) *Ia pale rini.*
 3s enough here
 ‘It is enough until here; we stop here.’ (A typical closing statement.)
- (132) *Mo ta pe ve mo ka zahe ra?*
 2d R come/go where 2s CONT go.up there
 ‘How did you get up there?’ (Lit. ‘You came from where and you went up there?’)

- (133) ... *ki* *ziho* *lahi* *ri* *ni* *Lama*.
 CONT:3 go.down marry here loc:PN L.
 ‘...and came down and married here in Lama.’
- (134) *Dia ta* *ziho* *varuhu* *ni* *Penata*, *heta* *ni* *Unea*.
 3p R go.down arrive loc:PN P. up.there loc:PN U.
 ‘They went and arrived in Penata, there in Unea (= the island of Bali).’

Example (134) is particularly interesting from a semantic perspective. Notice the seemingly contradictory combination of the verb *ziho* ‘go down’ with the demonstrative *heta* ‘up there’. This can be accounted for by the secondary sense of *ziho*, namely ‘go towards the land (when on the sea)’. The perspective in the first part is from the island of Bali where the visitors arrived; the second locative phrase takes its perspective from Vitu. The whole area of deixis in Vitu is complex and something we have not investigated in depth.

A locative adverb as part of the noun phrase (see also §3.9.1):

- (135) *Ka-hiro* *mia-nga* *hewa* *beta* *ni* *kemi*.
 PC-3d sit-NOM down.there NEG IRR:3 good
 ‘Their life there was not good.’

A locative adverb as the predicate of a locative clause (see also §7.4):

- (136) *Ha-miro* *vanua* *heta*.
 PCF-1de garden up.there
 ‘Our garden is up there.’
- (137) *Na* *malala* *kapou* *kuari* *heva*.
 ART village big that down.there
 ‘The main village is down there.’
- (138) *A* *Lama* *kuari* *rae*.
 ART L. that there
 ‘Lama is over there.’ (Speaker points at an aerial picture of Vitu.)

Notice that in (137) and (138) the demonstrative *kuari* is part of the predicate.

There are two other candidates for the category of locative adverb: *tadu* ‘down, below’ and *langa* ‘above, up, on top’. They only seem to occur in serial verb constructions, and hence it is difficult to determine whether these are real adverbs or possibly verbs limited to second position in a serial verb construction. We tentatively treat them as locative adverbs. Examples:

- (139) *Hiro ta hada tadu kara naru.*
 3p R see down to water
 ‘They looked down into the water.’
- (140) *Hiro ta pozi tadu ni Hazeni.*
 3p R go.seaward down loc:PN H.
 ‘They arrived downhill at Hazeni.’
- (141) *...ki lala kete mia langa-langa na hud-a hai.*
 CONT:3 HAB PURP:3 sit up-RED loc top-3s tree
 ‘...and he used to live up in the trees.’
- (142) *Ia tabe langa ia vigi vona.*
 3s reach up 3s hung loc:3s
 ‘He reached up and hung onto it.’

2. Temporal adverbs

<i>havarau</i>	‘for a long time’
<i>kava</i>	‘already’
<i>kua</i>	‘now’
<i>kua hoi</i>	‘now, at this time’
<i>liuliu</i>	‘continuously, for good’
<i>meni</i>	‘today’
<i>muga</i>	‘at first’
<i>muri ~ bamuri</i>	‘later’
<i>ngora</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>pamuhi</i>	‘immediately’
<i>vaila</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>vazira ~ varira</i>	‘formerly, in the past, a long time ago’

The position of the temporal adverb is typically clause-initial (see also §7.11.1 on the temporal periphery), but we also have examples of clause-final adverbs, as in (144) and (145). It is possible that there are subclasses of temporal adverbs, based on their position within the clause, but this remains to be explored.

- (143) *Kava hiro te hada-vi-a ka-hiro malala.*
 already 3d PF see-TR-3s PC-3d village
 ‘They could already see their village.’

- (144) *Ti mate kava.*
 PF:3 die already
 ‘It is already dead.’
- (145) *Hita ta va-vana havarau.*
 1pe R RED-walk long
 ‘We walked for a long time.’

Another candidate for the label ‘temporal adverb’ is the particle *da*, which in the case of singular subjects has been captured inside the verb phrase and combined with other elements, resulting in the future AMS markers *data*, *datu* and *dati* (see the discussion in §5.8). In this section we will illustrate the (probably original) use of *da* as a plain future adverb which precedes the plural subject:

- (146) *Da, da to ta taru ni ve ha-do susu?*
 hey FUT 1di R put loc:PN where PCF-1di milk
 ‘Hey, where will we put our milk?’
- (147) *Maku tu-gu, da to ta pozi bele bamuri kini*
 come.on child-1s FUT 1di R go.seaward arrive later SEQ:3
huza kua.
 rain now
 ‘Come on my child, we will go down and arrive before it rains.’
- (148) *Kilaka kena, habu ka-na tamohane, da dia ta kade-a ve*
 time that group PC-3s man FUT 3p R buy-3s also
tavine.
 woman
 ‘At that time, the man’s relatives will also buy the woman (= pay the bride price).’

Da in combination with another temporal adverb:

- (149) *Da vaila tolu ka ziho mule.*
 FUT tomorrow 1pi CONT go.up back
 ‘Tomorrow we will go up again.’

Da in a non-realised complement clause:

- (150) *Hiro ta lohoi-a da hiro ta vano, palaka kini beu.*
 3d R think-3s FUT 3d R go but SEQ:3 NEG
 ‘They thought that they would go, but they didn’t.’

3. Manner adverbs

Only a few manner adverbs have been found. At least four of these are reduplicated forms of adjectives.

<i>kapou</i>	‘big; much, a lot’
<i>kemi-kemi</i>	‘good, well’
<i>barae ~ kuzabarae</i>	‘like this, like that, thus’
<i>tapu-tapu</i>	‘quickly, fast’
<i>vilage-lage</i>	‘slowly’
<i>zaha-zaha</i>	‘badly, poorly’

It is possible that these manner adverbs are better analysed as second verbs in a serial verb construction, though for the moment we treat them as separate adverbs:

- (151) *Ia ti huza kapou.*
 3s PF:3 rain big
 ‘It rains heavily.’
- (152) *Ia ti ma vana vilage-lage.*
 3s PF:3 PROG walk slow-RED
 ‘He kept on walking slowly.’
- (153) *Ia ba vana zaha-zaha.*
 3s still walk bad-RED
 ‘She still walks poorly.’

In the following example a manner adverb has been combined with a transitive verb to form a verbal compound (see also §4.6). In the standard orthography these are written as separate words (*lala kemikemihia*):

- (154) *Beta na lala-kemi-kemi-hi-a.*
 NEG IRR know-good-RED-TR-3s
 ‘I don’t know it too well.’

4. Intensifiers

The subclass of intensifiers follows adjectives and modifies them. Only three have been found so far:

<i>marata</i>	‘so, that’
<i>matoto</i>	‘very; true, real’
<i>pitu</i>	‘little, a bit, somewhat’

- (155) *Beta ni kemi marata.*
 NEG IRR:3 good so
 ‘It was not so good.’
- (156) *Hiha luba matoto.*
 fish many very
 ‘Very many fish.’
- (157) *E zau pitu.*
 R:3 far little
 ‘It is a bit far.’

5. Negators

Negators such as *beu*, *beta* and *betaka* are discussed in detail in §8.1.

6. Focussing adverbs

The adverbs lumped together here form the small subclass of focussing adverbs. The exact semantic differences between many of these adverbs remains to be worked out.

<i>kazihena</i>	‘alone, only, by himself/herself’
<i>mule</i>	‘again, back’
<i>papa</i>	‘only’
<i>ve ~ le</i>	‘also, too, again’
<i>veta</i>	‘just’
<i>za</i>	‘only, just’

These adverbs usually follow the verb or noun they modify. *Ve* can be repeated, as in (163), and *za* is often used in combination with *papa* and *veta*:

- (158) *Peter kazihena mi-mia kamani-au.*
 Peter alone RED-sit with:PN-1s
 ‘Only Peter lives with me.’
- (159) *Ia kini vori mule kara ka-na ruma.*
 3s SEQ:3 go.inland back to PC-3s house
 ‘And then she went back to her house.’
- (160) *Tu-gu rua papa za.*
 child-1s two only just
 ‘I have only two children.’

- (161) *Dia ka va-vana ve dia ka ziho.*
 3p CONT RED-walk also 3p CONT go.down
 ‘Then they also walked down.’
- (162) *Tavine huluvahu katiu le e mia.*
 woman young one also R:3 sit
 ‘A young woman also lived there.’
- (163) *A tai Rachel ve e havi-li-a ve.*
 ART same.sex.sibling R. also R:3 catch-TR-3s also
hiha taza.
 fish some
 ‘My sister Rachel also caught some fish.’
- (164) *E ngoro veta na hatama.*
 R:3 sleep just loc outside
 ‘He just slept outside.’
- (165) *Hau ta hada veta-veta za.*
 1s R see just-RED just
 ‘I’m just looking.’
- (166) *Ia za kua.*
 3s just this
 ‘That’s it; that’s all.’ (Tok Pisin *em tasol*.)
- (167) *Hiha kote-kote za.*
 fish small-RED just
 ‘Only small fish.’
- (168) *Ia za ka-na haroho vona.*
 3s just PC-3s fire loc:3s
 ‘Only he had fire.’

7. Aspectual adverbs

Two polysemous aspectual adverbs may intervene between the AMS marker and the verb:

- ba*
1. ‘still’
 2. ‘just now’
 3. ‘only then’

- ma* 1. ‘still, continue, remain’ (glossed as PROG to differentiate it from the continuity marker *ka*)
 2. ‘want to, would like to’ (glossed as DES; usually occurs in combination with the purpose marker *kata*)
- (169) *Kabe-na ba bo-boto*
 leg-3s still RED-short
 ‘Her leg is still short.’
- (170) a. *Kue tu-u kue?*
 where child-2s where
 ‘Where is your child?’
 b. *Ia e ba ngo-ngoro.*
 3s R:3 still RED-sleep
 ‘He is still asleep.’
- (171) *Hau ta ba ngoro tadu za kua!*
 1s R just.now sleep down just now
 ‘I have only laid down just now!’
- (172) ...*kene ba tani-a ni dia na stori ni Leklo.*
 SEQ:3 only.then speak-3s loc:PN 3p ART story loc:PN L.
 ‘...only then did we tell them the story about Leklo.’
- (173) *Taua nu madii, ma mia!*
 don’t IRR:2 stand PROG sit
 ‘Don’t stand up, remain seated!’
- (174) *Ia ma kuzabarae, ki ma zahe.*
 3s PROG like.that CONT:3 PROG go.up
 ‘It went on like that, it kept going up.’
- (175) *Hiro ta ma za lili-a dala kua.*
 3d R PROG just follow-3s road this
 ‘They just continued following the road.’
- (176) *Ma kata hani-a patete.*
 DES PURP eat-3s sweet.potato
 ‘I would like to eat sweet potatoes.’

8. Disjuncts

The last subclass of adverbs is that of disjuncts. Disjuncts provide the speaker's point of view on the content of the clause in terms of its factuality or certainty.

karai 'maybe, possibly, perhaps; whether'

tauka 'maybe, possibly'

(177) *Karai da e huza vaila?*
 maybe FUT R:3 rain tomorrow
 'Will it maybe rain tomorrow?'

(178) *Tauka talinga-na e doto.*
 maybe ear-3s R:3 deaf
 'Maybe he is deaf.'

7.11.5 Vocatives

Vocatives are nouns that are used to address a person directly. A number of vocatives in Vitu have specific non-predictable forms. The following forms are some of the more commonly used vocatives.

<i>kua ~ kuragu</i>	'brother-in-law!'	(cf. <i>kura</i> - 'brother-in-law')
<i>mama</i>	1. 'mother!'	(loan from Tok Pisin)
	2. 'father!'	(obsolete)
		(cf. <i>kamama</i> 'your father')
<i>papa</i>	'father!'	(loan from Tok Pisin)
<i>tata</i>	'father!'	(now only used for grandfather)
<i>tai</i>	'brother! sister!'	(cf. <i>tazi</i> - 'same-sex sibling')
<i>titi</i>	'mother!'	(now mainly used for grand-mother; also for any woman of one's clan)
		(cf. <i>titina-gu</i> 'my mother'; <i>katiti</i> 'your mother')
<i>tugu</i>	'my child!'	(normal term for addressing one's child)
<i>vava</i>	'nephew! niece!'	(also vocative for maternal uncles and aunts)
<i>vuku</i>	'sister! brother!'	(cf. <i>livuk</i> - 'cross-sibling'; <i>livuk-ugu</i> 'my cross-sibling')

In Vitu conversation, the use of vocatives is much more frequent than in English. Male friends or co-workers, for instance, will often address each other as *tai* when making a request or issuing a command. Vocatives usually precede the clause, but occasionally they also follow it, as in (182):

- (179) *Tai, mai mia muri pitu.*
 same.sex.sibling come sit back little
 ‘Brother, come and sit a little at the back (of the canoe).’
- (180) *Titi, taua nu tani-a lima-gu e malikoro.*
 mother don’t IRR:2 speak-3s hand-1s R:3 lucky
 ‘Auntie, don’t say that my hands are lucky.’
- (181) *Tata, kodo-ni-au!*
 father help-TR-1s
 ‘Father, help me!’
- (182) *Beta ni hiza-na hai, tai.*
 NEG IRR:3 name-3s tree same.sex.sibling
 ‘It’s not the name of a tree, brother.’

7.11.6 Interjections

Interjections are short indeclinable words which convey direct emotions or call someone’s attention. The following is a non-exhaustive list of interjections found so far, together with an approximate English translation and the emotion that is conveyed by it.

<i>ae ~ ai</i>	‘hey!’	(calling someone’s attention, used instead of calling by name)
<i>au</i>	‘well now!’	(surprise)
<i>avuvu</i>	‘good grief!’	(surprise or shock)
<i>da</i>	‘hey, listen, be careful’	(calling attention)
<i>de</i>	‘OK, all right’	(agreement)
<i>e</i>	‘hey!’	(calling attention)
<i>maku</i>	‘come on, go first, let’s go’	(call to action)
<i>oe</i>	‘hey!’	(calling attention)
<i>tiae</i>	‘shoo!’	(chasing away animals)
<i>uai ~ uaio ~ oaio</i>	‘oh no!’	(distress, pain, irritation)
<i>uai tata!</i>	‘oh bother!’ (lit. ‘oh father’)	(strong irritation)

Some examples in clauses:

- (183) *E miu!*
 hey 2p
 ‘Hey there, all of you!’
- (184) *Livuha-gu uai!*
 body-1s oh
 ‘My poor body. Oh my body!’
- (185) *Jane, oe! Ti marigo toro kata va-vana pozi*
 J. hey PF:3 night 1di PURP RED-walk go.seawards
mule kara ruma.
 back to house
 ‘Hey Jane! It’s already dark, let’s walk back home.’
- (186) *Tiae! Kalinga-ni-a ni hava!*
 shoo chase-TR-3s IRR:3 flee
 ‘Shoo! Chase him (the dog) away!’
- (187) *Na kuhuze e tani barae, "De tai, kade-a."*
 ART rat R:3 say like.this OK same.sex.sibling buy-3s
 ‘The rat said, “OK brother, buy it.”’

Another word which conveys emotion is *kazaha* followed by a noun phrase, usually a name with an article. It marks the speaker’s or narrator’s sympathy for a character in a story and can be translated as ‘the poor...’. Syntactically, however, *kazaha* does not appear to be part of the noun phrase, as it precedes the article, which is the very first element in the NP. We tentatively treat it as a special type of interjection occurring before a NP:

- (188) *A sikau ia poki-zi-a kazaha a bonu.*
 ART wallaby 3s turn-TR-3s poor ART turtle
 ‘The wallaby turned the poor turtle upside down.’

7.12 Serial verb constructions

7.12.1 Introduction

We follow the standard definition of serial verb constructions (SVCs) as one in which two or more successive verbs are joined together without any connecting words into a single predicate. The verbs share one or more arguments and are not in a subordinate relationship. Critically, SVCs in Vitu are characterised by the absence of

both an AMS (aspect-mood-sequentiality) marker and a subject pronoun before the second verb. Compare the following two examples:

- (189) a. *Hiro ta vazula lohu.*
 3d R paddle arrive
 ‘They paddled and arrived’
- b. *Hiro ta vazula hiro ka lohu.*
 3d R paddle 3d CONT arrive
 ‘They paddled and (then) they arrived’

Example (189a) is a serial verb construction, with only one AMS marker *ta* preceding both verbs. Although there are two verbs, there is one predicate (and hence one clause) with the action of paddling and arriving presented as one event (in spite of the English translation). If present, a temporal or locative phrase would modify the whole clause. Example (189b), on the other hand, illustrates two conjoined clauses; the second clause has its own pronominal subject *hiro* and its own AMS marker *ka*. There are two separate actions involved and the addition of a time phrase with the first clause (‘for two hours’) and a locative phrase (‘in Lambe’) with the second clause would be completely appropriate.

Serialisation also needs to be distinguished from verbal compounding, discussed in §4.6. In verbal compounding the unity between the two elements is much closer, as evidenced by the fact that the first element is often a bound form of the verb. The fact that verbal compounds take unique transitive endings also shows this to be a derivational process. For other arguments, see §4.6.

We distinguish two types of SVCs in Vitu: same subject serialisation (§ 7.12.2) and switch subject serialisation (§7.12.3). In §7.12.4 we discuss specific usages of *mai* ‘come’ and *vano* ‘go’.

7.12.2 Same subject serialisation

Three subtypes of same subject serialisation can be distinguished. In the first type there are two intransitive verbs sharing the same subject. Often both of them are motion verbs, but the second verb is taken from the following illustrative set:

<i>bele</i>	‘arrive’
<i>lohu</i>	‘arrive (usually after a sea voyage)’
<i>mai</i>	‘come; towards speaker or reference point’
<i>pozi</i>	‘go seaward, go down’
<i>vano</i>	‘go; away from speaker or reference point’

<i>vari</i>	‘go inland, go up’
<i>zaha</i>	‘go up; move away from land (when at sea)’
<i>ziho</i>	‘go down; move towards the land (when at sea)’

Translating these clauses can be awkward, as frequently there is no good single-clausal equivalent available in English. As mentioned above, the use of *mai* and *vano* in SVCs are discussed below in §7.12.4.

- (190) *Hita ta rovo ziho.*
 1pe R run go.down
 ‘We ran down.’
- (191) *Hiro ta yazula zaha.*
 3d R paddle go.up
 ‘They paddled out to sea.’
- (192) *Hau ta vari zaha ka hivu na potuna.*
 1s R go.inland go.up CONT rest loc mountain
 ‘I climbed up and rested at the mountain (top).’
- (193) *Ia vano bele na ruma.*
 3s go arrive loc house
 ‘He went and arrived at the house.’
- (194) *Pale, hadora ia raga zaha kara hud-a hai.*
 so cuscus 3s jump go.up to top-3s tree
 ‘So the cuscus jumped up into the tree.’

Other intransitive verbs are also possible in second position, although this appears to be less frequent:

- (195) *Hupu kara dama keteni ziho bata.*
 star to day IMM:3 go.down disappear
 ‘The morning star was about to set.’ (Lit. ‘...go down and disappear.’)
- (196) *Hiro kene hoho ngoro na polok-a ruma.*
 3d SEQ go.inside sleep loc inside-3s house
 ‘Then they went inside and slept in the house.’
- (197) *Tunga hoho!*
 look go.inside
 ‘Look inside!’

A second subtype of same subject serialisation consists of an intransitive motion verb, followed by a transitive verb. Again, the two verbs share the same subject:

- (198) *Ia dati rovo hani-a.*
 3s FUT:3 run eat-3s
 ‘It (= the fish) will quickly eat it.’
- (199) *Ho zahe papane paido.*
 2s go.up climb coconut
 ‘You go up and climb a coconut tree.’
- (200) *...kini vano tavu-ni-a.*
 SEQ:3 go bury-TR-3s
 ‘...and then she went and buried him.’

A third subtype consists of three intransitive verbs, of which at least one is a motion verb:

- (201) *Hiro ta rovo zahe bele.*
 3d R run go.up arrive
 ‘They ran up and arrived.’
- (202) *Pale, miro kene vazula hamule ziho kara vazalea.*
 so 1de SEQ paddle return go.down to beach
 ‘So then we paddled back to shore.’
- (203) *Kini ma vamule keteni ziho vori poki*
 SEQ:3 PROG return IMM:3 go.down go.inland go.across
mule kara Lomu.
 back to L.
 ‘And then she returned intending to go ashore, go uphill and across the mountain, back to Lomu.’

7.12.3 Switch subject serialisation

In switch subject serialisation, the first verb is a transitive verb which is followed by an object (or an object enclitic/suffix), which is in turn followed by an intransitive verb, frequently a motion verb. The object of the transitive verb and the subject of the following intransitive verb are identical. However, no AMS marker is present for the second verb and consequently these structures are analysed as monoclausal SVCs. Again, the English translation may not adequately reflect this. An alternative analysis is to treat these structures as coordinate clauses, but the lack of an AMS marker with the second verb gives these verbs a non-finite, almost adverbial flavour. Examples:

- (204) *Ia vati-a kava dua.*
 3s leave-3s dog fall
 ‘He dropped the dog.’ (Lit. ‘He left/loosened the dog (and) it fell.’)
- (205) *Dia kini pele-hiro vori kara malala kapou.*
 3p SEQ take-3d go.inland to village big
 ‘Then they took them up to the main village.’
- (206) *Dia ta vile-vile hani-nga lohu.*
 3p R collect-RED eat-NOM arrive
 ‘They all brought food.’ (Lit. ‘They all collected food (and) it arrived.’)
- (207) *Hita ta hare-hi-a bot vori.*
 1pe R pull-TR-3s boat go.inland
 ‘We dragged the boat up the shore.’
- (208) *Hau ta muga va-ziho-ni-a ka-gu string ziho.*
 1s R first CAUS-go.down-TR-3s PC-1s fishing.line go.down
 ‘I let my fishing line down first.’
- (209) *Ta havi-li-a zahe zahe.*
 R catch-TR-3s go.up go.up
 ‘I pulled it (= the fish) up and up.’

7.12.4 Serial verb constructions with *mai* and *vano*

The motion verbs *mai* ‘come’ and *vano* ‘go’ are frequently encountered in SVCs. In addition to their usual directional meanings they also have developed more specific meanings. In particular, *mai* indicates a so-called ‘venitive’ movement towards the speaker (or some other established point of reference, e.g. a home village), whereas *vano* indicates an ‘allative’ movement away from the speaker (or reference point). The ‘movement’ that these verbs modify can be a literal movement, but it can also be applied to verbs of perception and certain action verbs. Compare the following illustrative pairs:

- (210) a. *Tunga mai!*
 look come
 ‘Look here! Look this way!’
- b. *Tunga vano!*
 look go
 ‘Look away! Look over there!’

- (211) a. *Hita ta rovo vano ni Dole.*
 1pe R run go loc:PN D.
 ‘We went (by boat) to Dole.’
 (Said in the interlocutors’ village after a trip to Dole.)
- b. *Hita ta rovo mai ni Dole.*
 1pe R run come loc:PN D.
 ‘We came (by boat) to Dole.’
 (Either said in Dole, or said on the return to the original village, when you’ve first gone beyond Dole and stopped at Dole on the way home.)

Other examples of *vano* with the meaning ‘away’:

- (212) *Ia pele-a vano.*
 3s take-3s go
 ‘He took it away (from me/her/us etc).’
- (213) *Na boro e luga kava vano.*
 ART pig R:3 carry dog go
 ‘The pig carried the dog away.’
- (214) *Dia ta vari-hava-i vano kiri Bazire.*
 3p R COLL-flee-COLL go to:PN B.
 ‘They all fled (away) to Bazire.’

In addition to its allative use, *vano* can also have the aspectual meaning of continuous or durative action when it occurs as the second element in a SVC. This can often be translated as ‘continue to, remain’. In cases where there is a following clause with a new event, the conjunction ‘until’ can be a good translation equivalent:

- (215) *Ia va-vana vano, beta ni pade-a boro katiu.*
 3s RED-walk go NEG IRR:3 spear-3s pig one.
 ‘He continued walking, but he did not spear a pig.’
- (216) *Ia ngoro vano ti varivalavala.*
 3s sleep go PF:3 midnight
 ‘He slept on until midnight.’
- (217) *A Hahara e mia kazihena vano, ia zuru.*
 ART H. R:3 live alone go 3s give.birth
 ‘Hahara lived by herself until (or: and then) she gave birth.’

(218) *Hiro ta mia vano, hiro ta paraha.*

3d R sit go 3d R big

‘They continued to live (there) until they had grown up.’

The fact that *vano* can have a double function in a SVC, accounts for the ambiguity of the following clause:

(219) *A sikau e pati vano.*

ART wallaby R:3 float go

a. ‘The wallaby floated away.’

b. ‘The wallaby continued to float.’

Examples of *mai* ‘come’ in the venitive meaning ‘towards me/us’ follow below. Notice that following *vala* ‘give’, *mai* is the normal way of expressing ‘to me’, as in (122) and (123):

(120) *Dia ta ngiti mai.*

3p R show.teeth come

‘They are smiling at us.’

(121) *Pele-a haine mai!*

take-3s iron.spear come

‘Bring the spear here!’

(122) *Vala bua katiu mai.*

give betelnut one come

‘Give me a betelnut.’

(123) *Vala kapi ru kote mai na luga.*

give child small come IRR carry

‘Give the baby to me and I will carry it.’

There are possibly other patterns that have not been discovered.

8. Clausal modifications

In this chapter we investigate a number of modifications to the simple clause. These include negation, mode and focus. Negation is discussed in §8.1 while the various modes are presented in §8.2 (imperative), §8.3 (prohibitive), §8.4 (adhortative) and §8.5 (interrogative). The chapter ends with a brief section on focus constructions (§8.6).

8.1 Negation

8.1.1 Clausal negation

In verbal clauses negation is marked by the preverbal adverb *beta*, which has the common variant *betaka* and the less common variant *betaza*; all these are glossed as NEG. This negator can either precede the subject or follow the subject, but it must precede the verb and the AMS marker. There is no discernible difference of meaning or focus in the choice of either construction. It appears to be a case of free variation, although the preverbal position is possibly more common. The AMS markers in a negative clause must be taken from the irrealis set (*na* for 1sg and all non-singular forms, *nu* for 2sg, *ni* for 3sg; see §5.3 for details).

Our first example is a positive clause and its corresponding negative clause, showing both possible positions of *beta*. Notice that when *beta* follows the subject, an optional resumptive pronoun follows:

- (1) a. *Hita ta havi-li-a hiha katiu.*
1pe R catch-TR-3s fish one
'We caught a fish.'
- b. *Beta hita na havi-li-a hiha katiu.*
NEG 1pe IRR catch-TR-3s fish one
'We didn't catch a fish.'

- c. *Hita beta (hita) na havi-li-a hiha katiu.*
 1pe NEG 1pe IRR catch-TR-3s fish one
 ‘We didn’t catch a fish.’

Other examples of the negator *beta* occurring before the subject:

- (2) *Beta hiro na vazula-ni-a.*
 NEG 3d IRR paddle-TR-3s
 ‘They did not paddle it (= the canoe).’
- (3) *Beta hita na hada-vutu na huza.*
 NEG 1pe IRR see-proper ART rain
 ‘We were not able to see properly because of the rain.’

The following examples illustrate the negator preceding the verb, but following the nominal or pronominal subject:

- (4) *Oscar beta ni kros.*
 O. NEG IRR:3 angry
 ‘Oscar was not angry.’
- (5) *Kaluha kua beta ni kapou.*
 shark this NEG IRR:3 big
 ‘The shark was not big.’
- (6) *Ho beta nu lala?*
 2s NEG IRR:3 know
 ‘Don’t you know?’
- (7) *Ia betaka ni mai ngora.*
 3s NEG IRR:3 come yesterday
 ‘She did not come yesterday.’

And finally two examples of clauses without overt subjects:

- (8) *Beta ni lahi, ia huluvahu.*
 NEG IRR:3 marry 3s young
 ‘He is not married, he is a young (unmarried) man.’
- (9) *Beta koto vati-a, datu va-hozo-vi-a.*
 NEG PURP:2 leave-3s FUT:2 CAUS-finished-TR-3s
 ‘You are not going to leave it, you must finish it.’

Example (9) shows the use of *beta* with future reference. In this case the AMS marker is from the purpose set.

8.1.2 Constituent negation

The same negator *beta* is used for constituent negation in equative clauses (see §7.3). Surprisingly, the irrealis verbal marker must be present in negative equative clauses, even though in positive clauses the realis markers are normally absent. Notice that the presence of the article *na* before the predicate noun varies, a topic which remains unexplored. Compare the following three positive-negative pairs:

- (10) a. *Tama-gu ia na tisa.*
 father-1s 3s ART teacher
 ‘My father is a teacher.’
- b. *Tama-gu beta ni (na) tisa.*
 father-1s NEG IRR:3 ART teacher
 ‘My father is not a teacher.’
- (11) a. *Na kaua kena.*
 ART dog that
 ‘That is a dog.’ (Or: ‘that dog’)
- b. *Beta ni kaua kena.*
 NEG IRR:3 dog that
 ‘That is not a dog.’
- (12) a. *Hau kuli-gu.*
 1s desire-1s
 ‘I want to.’ (Lit. ‘Me, it is my desire.’)
- b. *Hau beta ni kuli-gu.*
 1s NEG IRR:3 desire-1s
 ‘I don’t want to.’

Existential and possessive clauses (§7.2) are also negated with the negator *beta* preceding the noun phrase. In this case, however, there is no irrealis marker:

- (13) *Beta ka-gu moni.*
 NEG PC-1s money
 ‘I have no money.’

- (14) *Beta ruma kata ngoro vona.*
 NEG house PURP sleep loc:3s
 ‘There was no house for me to sleep in.’
- (15) *Beta matoto kaka katiu kozoho-ti-hiro.*
 NEG very person one near-TR-3d
 ‘There was nobody near them.’
- (16) *Ki beta matoto hani-nga ni dia.*
 CONT:3 NEG very eat-NOM loc:PN 3p
 ‘And there was no food at all for them.’

Notice that negative indefinite expressions such as English ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’ are formed by using *beta* followed by a noun phrase which has the numeral *katiu* ‘one’, as in (15) above and the following two examples:

- (17) *Beta kaka katiu ni bele.*
 NEG person one IRR:3 arrive
 ‘Nobody came.’
- (18) *Beta goloa katiu ni zaha.*
 NEG thing one IRR:3 bad
 ‘Nothing is broken.’

8.1.3 The negator *beu*

In addition to *beta*, there is a second negative particle *beu*, the use of which overlaps that of *beta* to a considerable degree. Five usages may be distinguished.

a. *Beu* is primarily used as a one-word answer to a question. In such cases, however, *beta* (and its variant *betaka*) are also acceptable, but *beu* seems to be the preferred choice:

- (19) a. *E hu-huza?*
 R:3 RED-rain
 ‘Is it raining?’
- b. *Beu / beta / betaka.*
 NEG NEG NEG
 ‘No.’

- (20) a. *Ho tu lala?*
 2s R:2 know
 ‘Do you know it/him/her?’
- b. *Beu / beta / betaka.*
 NEG NEG NEG
 ‘No.’

b. *Beu* may also occur at the end of a clause as a strengthening of an earlier *beta*, as in the following example:

- (21) *Aloisius beta ni pirinia na polok-a kura, beu!*
 A. NEG IRR:3 grow loc inside-3s womb NEG
 ‘Aloisius did not grow inside the womb, oh no!’

This is comparable to the Tok Pisin use of *nogat* as a strengthening device at the end of a negative clause.

c. *Beu* is also used in negative questions, requesting confirmation. The usual answer is *beta ~ betaka*. A positive answer (in which case the verb would be repeated) is apparently rather uncommon to such questions:

- (22) a. *Beu nu va-vana?*
 NEG IRR:2 RED-walk
 ‘Didn’t you go?’
- b. *Beta.*
 NEG
 ‘I did not.’
- (23) a. *Beu miu na zahe kiri Goroka?*
 NEG 2p IRR go.up to:PN G.
 ‘Didn’t you go to Goroka?’
- b. *Betaka.*
 NEG
 ‘We didn’t.’

d. *Beu* is also used for constituent negation, but in that case it follows the negated word, in contrast to the prenominal position of *beta*:

- (24) a. *Azei e kati-a?*
 who R:3 make-3s
 ‘Who did it?’

- b. *Hau beu.*
1s NEG

‘Not me.’

- (25) *Boro beu, kaua beu, hau ta va-vano veta za.*
pig NEG dog NEG 1s R RED-go just just
‘No pigs, no dogs, I just went empty-handed.’

e. Finally, *beu* is used as a conjunction meaning ‘or’ (see §3.9.3):

- (26) *Azei da makua, hau beu ho?*
who FUT choose:PASS 1s NEG 2s

‘Who will be chosen, you or I?’

8.1.4 The negators *mabeta(ka) ~ mabeu*

The complex negative adverbs *mabeta ~ mabetaka* and *mabeu* contain the aspectual adverb *ma* ‘still, yet’ (see §7.11.4 sub 7). They all mean ‘not yet’ and again there does not seem to be any difference in meaning. Another variant, used less frequently, contains the element *ha*; the words *habeta ~ habetaka* and *habeu* also mean ‘not yet’:

- (27) *Mabeta ni bele na malala.*
not.yet IRR:3 arrive loc village
‘She had not yet arrived in the village.’
- (28) *Mabetaka ni kuli-na kara hiha.*
not.yet IRR:3 desire-3s to fish
‘She doesn’t like fish yet.’
- (29) a. *Mabeu nu ziho kiri Lae?*
not.yet IRR:2 go.down to:PN L.
‘Have you not yet gone to Lae?’
- b. *Mabeu.*
not.yet
‘Not yet.’
- (30) *Habeta ni mai.*
not.yet IRR:3 come
‘He has not come yet.’

8.1.5 The negators *marabeta(ka)* ~ *marabeu*

The words *marabeta* ~ *marabetaka* and *marabeu* are both intensive negative forms. They also carry modal overtones and depending on the context (and intonation) can be translated as ‘certainly not’, ‘can/could not’ or ‘will/would not’, or a combination of these. The context which determines the exact shade of meaning remains to be worked out. We tentatively gloss this negator as ‘can.not’.

- (31) *Beta! Marabeta na vala marasin.*
 NEG can.not IRR give medicine.
 ‘No! I will certainly not (or: I cannot) give medicine.’
- (32) *Kava te ngoro, marabeta na lama mule.*
 already PF sleep can.not IRR get.up back
 ‘I am already asleep, I cannot get up again.’
- (33) *Hau marabeta na va-vana kama miu.*
 1s can.not IRR RED-walk with 2p
 ‘I can’t go with you.’
- (34) *Taba-ri-a hava-a! Marabeta ni kati-vutu-ha goloa*
 close-TR-3s mouth-2s can.not IRR make-proper-PASS thing
katiu ni niho!
 one loc:PN 2s
 ‘Shut up! Nothing gets (or: can be) done properly because of you!’
- (35) a. *Ho tu pari-a?*
 2s R:2 find-3s
 ‘Did you find it?’
- b. *Beu, marabeta na pari-a, na vuna ti golu liuliu.*
 NEG, can.not IRR find-3s, ART because PF:3 lost for.good
 ‘No, I couldn’t find it, because it’s lost forever.’

In questions *marabeta* definitely seems to have an epistemic modal meaning of ability. Compare the following pairs contrasting *marabeta* and *beta*:

- (36) a. *Marabeta nu va-vana?*
 can.not IRR:2 RED-walk
 ‘Can you not walk?’ (Or: ‘Won’t you be able to go?’)

- b. Beta nu va-vana?
NEG IRR:2 RED-walk
'Didn't you go?'
- (37) a. Marabeta nu pele-a?
can.not IRR:2 take-3s
'Can't / couldn't you take it?'
- b. Beta nu pele-a?
NEG IRR:2 take-3s
'Didn't you take it?'

The reduplicated form *va-vana* (based on *vana* 'walk') in (36) can mean 'walk' as well as 'walk about, go, travel.'

8.1.6 Additional points on negation

In this section we cover a few additional points regarding negation that have not been dealt with above. These issues are the use of a negator with *ma*, negative interjections, a negative idiom and a few other negative words. Focus in negative clauses will be briefly mentioned in §8.6.

In combination with one of the perfect AMS markers (*te*, *tu*, *ti*) and followed by the continuative adverb *ma*, *beta* ~ *betaka* and *beu* mean 'no longer, no more'. The irrealis marker *ni* occurs between the negator and *ma*:

- (38) Ti beta ni ma mi-mia ri.
PF:3 NEG IRR:3 PROG RED-sit here
'She no longer lives here.'
- (39) Hau ti beta ni ma kuli-gu kara bua.
1s PF:3 NEG IRR:3 PROG desire-1s to betelnut
'I no longer like betelnut.'

A special use of the negators *beta*, *marabeta* and *marabeu* is their clause-final appearance where they indicate the unrealised or unsuccessful outcome of the previous clause. In the first two examples below, the negator is clearly part of a new clause introduced by the conjunction *palaka*, but in the last two examples it appears to be a clause by itself. In each case, a full clause is the best translation equivalent:

- (40) *Hau ta parakila-ni-a kata kati-keme-hi-a ka-gu kar,*
 1s R try-TR-3s PURP make-good-TR-3s PC-1s car
palaka ki marabeu.
 but CONT:3 can.not
 ‘I tried to repair my car, but it could not be done.’
- (41) *Dia ka tania da e hare-ni-a, palaka marabeu.*
 3p CONT say-3s FUT R:3 landslide-TR-3s but can.not
 ‘Then they said that a landslide would occur, but it did not happen.’
- (42) *Pusi parakila-ni-a kete veveleve, marabeta.*
 cat try-TR-3s PURP:3 bail can.not
 ‘The cat tried to bail (water from the boat), but it was to no avail.’
- (43) *Ta hada mota beta.*
 R see rope NEG
 ‘I looked for rope, but I didn’t find any.’ (Lit. ‘I looked for a rope - no.’)

There are some other instances of *beta* used as an interjection marking a surprising turn of events in a story. The first example is from a monologue where a mother complains about having to get up so early:

- (44) *Beta! Na pote ve kua ta lo-longo-ri-a e*
 NEG ART willy.wagtail also this R RED-hear-TR-3s R:3
po-pole, tauka matoto ti dama.
 RED-speak maybe true PF:3 day
 ‘Oh no! I also hear the willy wagtail singing; maybe it really is morning.’
- (45) *Na kua e ziho, ia madii na polok-a gras.*
 ART dog R:3 go.down 3s stand loc inside-3s grass
Madii madii madii, beta! Boro ia ti hada-vi-a kaul!
 stand stand stand NEG pig 3s PF:3 see-TR-3s dog.
 ‘The dog went down and stood in the grass. He stood there for a while, and then, oh no! A pig had seen the dog!’

The word combination *beta ni palage* is an idiom meaning ‘extraordinary (in numbers, size, quality etc.)’. Its literal meaning is ‘not play’ and the following two examples illustrate this idiom:¹

- (46) *Paleka-na beta ni palage.*
fruit-3s NEG IRR:3 play

‘It had an extraordinarily large number of fruits.’

- (47) A *Busuo beta ni palage na hani-hani-a na kulu.*
ART B. NEG IRR:3 play IRR RED-eat-3s ART breadfruit

‘Busuo ate an extraordinary number of breadfruits.’

Finally, there are a few more negative words in Vitu. The prohibitive *taua* ‘do not’ will be discussed in §8.3. The verb *vata* ‘forget about, never mind’ occurs in commands (§8.3) as well as in responses such as (48b), where it follows a pronoun:

- (48) a. *Azei kete zahe kamani Kuni?*
who PURP:3 go.up with:PN K.

‘Who will go up with Kuni?’

- b. *Hau vata.*
1s leave

‘Not me. Forget about me.’

The verb *lokia*, finally, is an inherently negative word meaning ‘unable to do something’. It is always followed by a noun phrase, as in (49) and (50):

- (49) *Hau te loki-a hani-nga kene vala ha-na kaua.*
1s PF unable-3s eat-NOM SEQ give PCF-3s dog

‘I was unable to finish the food and so I gave it to the dog.’

- (50) *Miro ta hada-vi-a habuka ti loki-a va-vana-nga*
1de R see-TR-3s like.that PF:3 unable-3s RED-walk-NOM
na kabe-na.
loc leg-3s

‘We saw that she was unable to walk on/with her leg.’

¹ This expression is probably a calque from Tok Pisin *i no pilai*. It is identical to the Indonesian idiom *bukan main* ‘extraordinary’ (lit. ‘no play’), but it is not clear what the implications of this observation are.

8.2 The imperative mode

The imperative mode is used for giving commands. There are no special imperative verb forms in Vitu and the basic imperative clause consists of a single verb, a serial verb construction, a transitive verb followed by an object, or a combination of the last two. AMS markers and subjects are normally not present:

- (51) *Mai!*
come
'Come!'
- (52) *Mai polo!*
come board
'Come on board!'
- (53) *Rovo vano!*
run go
'Run over there!'
- (54) *Maku mia tadu!*
come.on sit down
'Come on, stay down!'
- (55) *Taba-ri-a hatama!*
close-TR-3s door
'Close the door!'
- (56) *Roti-a boro! Kavi-a moli! Zoli-a beti!*
tie-3s pig pick-3s lemon cut.off-3s banana
'Tie the pigs! Pick the lemons! Harvest the bananas!'
- (57) *Vano va-tunga livuha-a na dokta.*
go CAUS-look body-2s loc doctor
'Go show your body to the doctor.'

A second verb in an imperative clause may take the irrealis AMS markers *nu* (or *na* with non-singular subjects):

- (58) *Vamule (nu) tani-a ni kamama.*
return IRR:2 say-3s loc:PN your.father
'Go back and tell your dad.'

In the following examples, however, the second verb is not imperative, but rather marks the result or purpose in a new clause (see §5.3 subsection d for more examples):

- (59) *Kalinga-ni-a ni hava!*
 chase-TR-3s IRR:3 flee
 ‘Chase him away!’ (Lit. ‘Chase him that he will flee.’)
- (60) *Pele-a mai na hani-a.*
 take-3s come IRR eat-3s
 ‘Bring it here/to me and I will eat it.’

Subject pronouns do occur in imperative clauses. Their main function is to make explicit that the command is addressed to more than one person by the use of the non-singular pronouns *moro* ~ *mo* ‘you two’ and *miu* ‘you plural’. The absence of a non-singular pronoun always indicates that the command is issued to a single person, as in examples (51) - (57).

- (61) *Mo guri-a*
 2d wait-3s
 ‘Wait for him (the two of you)!’
- (62) *Kulu ti gau-gau, (miu) pele-a miu na hani-a.*
 breadfruit PF:3 cooked-RED 2p take-3s 2p IRR eat-3s
 ‘The breadfruits are done, take and eat them.’
- (63) *Ho guri-a Leklo mo na vori kara hausik.*
 2s accompany L. 2d IRR go.inland to hospital
 ‘You (sg) go with Leklo and the two of you go to the hospital.’
- (64) *Miu lama-lama miu ka vari-kodo-ngi na gala-nga taza!*
 2p get.up-RED 2p CONT REC-help-TR loc work-NOM some
 ‘Get up you all and try to help with some work.’

Notice the use of the irrealis *na* in (62) and (63), which could either indicate a real imperative or mark a result clause. In (64) the use of the continuity marker *ka* makes the force of the second command less direct (hence the translation ‘try to’). The use of the irrealis marker *na* here would give the command a more direct flavour.

In the following examples an imperative follows a conditional clause. The singular pronoun *ho* (in combination with *tu*) is possibly used to soften the command and make it sound like a suggestion or advice rather than a straight directive. This is the only type where a (first) imperative verb is accompanied by an AMS marker, and

it is possible that these clauses are simply statements with the illocutionary force of a command. It is not clear whether the AMS marker *tu* in these cases is the realis or the perfect (for 2nd singular these forms are homophonous). The use of the AMS markers in imperative clauses is clearly an area which needs further study.

- (65) *Hada-poto, kini gotala, ho tu vili-ni-a tavure.*
 see-hold COND:3 go.out 2s R:2 blow-TR-3s conch.shell
 ‘Look after it, if it (= the fish) comes out (of the reef), you (must) blow the conch shell.’
- (66) *Dia na hubi-au, ho tu pele-a baka-gu.*
 3p IRR hit-1s 2s R/PF:2 take-3s head-1s
 ‘When they kill me, you (must) take my head.’
- (67) *Kuli-i koto hani-miro, ho tu mai papane*
 desire-2s PURP:2 eat-1de 2s R/PF:2 come climb
hani-miro ri.
 eat-1de here
 ‘If you want to eat us, then (you must) climb up and eat us here (in the tree).’

8.3 The prohibitive mode

The prohibitive (or negative imperative) mode uses a special negator *taua*. For other negators see §8.1. This negator is always followed by one of the irrealis AMS markers (*nu* for singular, *na* for non-singular). As with positive imperatives, a non-singular pronoun needs to be present to give the command dual or plural reference:

- (68) a. *Taua nu kuahi*
 don’t IRR:2 fear
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’ (Spoken to one person.)
- b. *Taua miu na kuahi.*
 don’t 2p IRR fear
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’ (Spoken to a group of people.)
- (69) *Taua nu lohoi-vuvu!*
 don’t IRR:2 think-base
 ‘Don’t worry!’

- (70) *Taua nu varivuvu ra, varivuvu na liko-gu.*
 don't IRR:2 begin there begin loc tail-1s
 'Don't begin there, begin at my tail.'
- (71) *Titi, taua nu tani-a lima-gu e malikoro.*
 mother don't IRR:2 say-3s hand-1s R:3 lucky
 'Auntie, do not say my hands are lucky.'

We also found an example of a polite imperative in the form of a statement using the future AMS marker *kata*. This is again an example of illocutionary force:

- (72) *Beta mo kata hani-tapu-ni-au.*
 NEG 2d PURP eat-hurry-TR-1s
 'Don't eat me right away.' (Lit. 'You will not eat me right away.')

The verb *vata* 'forget about, never mind' (already mentioned in §8.1.6) is also used in a prohibitive sense. It is always followed by a noun (often a nominalisation) and it indicates annoyance and irritation:

- (73) *Vata haloho-a!*
 leave cry-NOM
 'Don't cry! Stop crying!'
- (74) *Vata zuzu-a!*
 leave suckle-NOM
 'Forget about breastfeeding!' (Said by a mother to a child whining for the breast.)

8.4 The adhortative mode

The adhortative mode is used to encourage the speaker and the addressee(s) to perform an action. The adhortative, which is usually translated as 'let us', does not have special verb forms in Vitu. It is characterized by the use of the first person dual (*toro* ~ *to*) or plural inclusive pronoun (*tolu*) in combination with the irrealis marker *na*. Often the verb *mai* 'come' is added in the meaning 'come on.'

- (75) a. *Tai, mai to na vari-kapi kara hizu-na.*
 same.sex.sibling come 1di IRR REC-race to nose-3s.
 'Brother, let's race to the far end (lit. nose, of the island).'
- b. *De toro.*
 OK 1di
 'OK, let's.'

- (76) *Mai to na vazula kiri Naraha.*
 come 1di IRR paddle to:PN N.
 ‘Let’s paddle to Naraha.’
- (77) *Kemi, mai to na vori.*
 good come 1di IRR go.inland
 ‘Good, let’s go.’

It is also possible to use the purpose marker *kata* instead of the irrealis *na*, but the difference between these two AMS markers in the adhortative mode is not clear:

- (78) *To kata hani-a.*
 1di PURP eat-3s
 ‘Let’s eat him!’
- (79) *Kaka katiu tani-a, “Tolu kata vano papane kulu.”*
 person one say-3s 1pi PURP go climb breadfruit
 ‘Someone said, “Let’s go and climb a breadfruit tree.”’
- (80) *Maku tolu kata zahe tapu tolu na hada.*
 come.on 1pi PURP go.up hurry 1pi IRR see
 ‘Come on, let’s quickly go up and take a look.’

In a negative adhortative clause, the negators *beta* and *taua* are both possible:

- (81) a. *Beta to kata hani-a kaka kua.*
 NEG 1di PURP eat-3s person this
 ‘Let’s not eat this person.’ (Lit. ‘We will not eat this person.’)
- b. *Taua tolu na hani-a kaka kua.*
 don’t 1pi IRR eat-3s person this
 ‘Let’s not eat this person.’

8.5 The interrogative mode

8.5.1 Polar questions

Polar questions (also called yes-no questions) are different from statements by intonation only. Vitu has a very specific intonation pattern for polar questions, which impressionistically appears to be a combination of a high rise followed by a sharp fall on the final or pre-final syllable. However, an acoustic analysis of this pattern has not yet been carried out. Examples of some polar questions and their answers follow:

- (82) a. *Ho tu kemi za?*
 2s R good just
 ‘How are you?’ (Lit. ‘Are you just good?’)
- b. *E, hau ta kemi za.*
 yes 1s R good just
 ‘Yes, I’m just fine.’
- (83) a. *Go-o e kemi za?*
 spouse-2s R:3 good just
 ‘How is your wife?’ (Lit. ‘Is your spouse just good?’)
- b. *E, ia e kemi za.*
 yes 3s R:3 good just
 ‘Yes, she is just fine.’
- (84) a. *Ka-dolu kaka, e ngoro kemi-kemi?*
 PC-1pi person R:3 sleep good-RED
 ‘Has our guest slept well?’
- b. *E, e ngoro kemi za.*
 yes R:3 sleep good just
 ‘Yes, he slept just fine.’
- (85) a. *Ka-a ruma kua?*
 PC-2s house this
 ‘Is this your house?’
- b. *E, ka-gu ruma.*
 yes PC-1s house
 ‘Yes, it’s my house.’
- (86) a. *Kamama ba mahuri?*
 your.father still alive
 ‘Is your father still alive?’
- b. *E, tama-gu ba mahuri.*
 yes father-1s still alive
 ‘Yes, my father is still alive.’

Alternative polar questions are formed with the negator *beu* (see §8.1.3):

- (87) a. *Kuli-i koto vano beu betaka?*
 desire-3s PURP:2 go NEG NEG
 ‘Do you want to go or not?’
- b. *Hau vata.*
 1s leave
 ‘I don’t.’ (Lit. ‘Forget about me.’)

8.5.2 Content questions

Content questions employ specific question words asking for information about people, things, places, numbers, time etc. Each question word belongs to a specific syntactic class as indicated in the following list of interrogative words which have been found in Vitu.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | <i>zia ~ nazia</i> | ‘what’ | (common noun) |
| 2. | <i>azei</i> | ‘who’ | (proper noun) |
| | <i>ni ze</i> | ‘to whom’ | |
| | <i>kamani ze</i> | ‘with whom’ | |
| | <i>ke ze</i> | ‘whose’ | |
| | <i>he ze</i> | ‘whose (food item)’ | |
| 3. | <i>ziva</i> | ‘how many’ | (numeral) |
| 4. | <i>ngiza</i> | ‘when’ | (temporal adverb) |
| 5. | <i>ve</i> | ‘where’ | (locative noun) |
| 6. | <i>kue</i> | ‘where’ | (demonstrative) |
| 7. | <i>ziha ~ kuziha;</i> | ‘do what, why’ | (intransitive verb) |
| | <i>kuzihania ~ kuzingania</i> | | (transitive verb) |
| 8. | <i>zingania</i> | ‘what/how exactly’ | (adverb in verbal compound) |
| 9. | <i>kakei</i> | ‘which’ | (nominal) |
| 10. | <i>kezengana</i> | ‘what gender’ | (?) |

In this section we will treat these words one by one, giving ample illustrations. It is quite remarkable that several of these question words (such as *zia*, *ziva*, *ngiza*, *ziha* and *zingania*) have the vowel sequence *i-a* and a limited range of consonants (*h*, *ng*, *v*, *z*).

1. *Zia ~ nazia* ‘what’

The question word *zia* is a common noun asking for the identity of an object. It almost always occurs in combination with the common article *na* and is only found on its own after prepositions. The combination *nazia* is therefore written as one word

and simply glossed as ‘what’. Like most questions words, *nazia* normally occurs in clause-initial position (rather than in the position of their non-questioned counterparts):

- (88) *Nazia kena?*
 what that
 ‘What is that?’
- (89) *Pele, nazia da ia kati-a?*
 so what FUT 3s make-3s
 ‘So, what could he do?’
- (90) *Nazia ve tu hada-vi-a?*
 what also R:2 see-TR-3s
 ‘What else do you see?’
- (91) *Nazia miu ta gu-guri-a vona?*
 what 2p R RED-wait-3s loc:3s
 ‘What are you waiting for?’

Notice in the following examples the non-initial position of *nazia*:

- (92) a. *Manu kua nazia e lala kete hani-a?*
 bird this what R:3 HAB PURP:3 eat-3s
 ‘What does this bird eat?’
- b. *Manu kua e lala kete hani-a nazia?*
 bird this R:3 HAB PURP:3 eat-3s what
 ‘What does this bird eat?’
- (93) *Da ka hubi-a, ka tubu nazia?*
 FUT CONT hit-3s CONT grandparent what
 ‘If I kill him (= my pig), what will make me an important person?’
- (94) *Tu pe nazia ku zahe mia ri?*
 R/PF:2 come/go what CONT:2 come.up sit here
 ‘How did you get up here and sit here?’

An example of *zia* following a preposition:

- (95) *Kete kara zia?*
 PURP:3 to what
 ‘What for? For what purpose?’

As a modifier *zia* means ‘which, what kind of’:

- (96) *Hani-nga zia?*
eat-NOM what
‘What kind of food?’
- (97) a. *Na manu zia dia ni Vitu ta lala dia kata hani-a?*
ART bird what 3p loc:PN V. R HAB 3p PURP eat-3s
‘Which birds do people on Vitu eat?’
- b. *Balu kamana beha.*
pigeon with flying.fox
‘Pigeons and flying foxes.’

2. *Ze* ~ *azei* ‘who’

The question word *zei* ‘who’ is a proper noun which asks for the identity of a person. When this word is the subject or object of the clause, it takes the form *azei* (with the personal article *a* attached to it and written as one word). Following the prepositions *ni* and the possessive classifiers *ke* and *he* the form is simply *zei*:

- (98) *Azei kua?*
who this
‘Who is this?’
- (99) *Azei hiza-na?*
who name-3s
‘What is his/her name?’
- (100) *Azei kete kamani-au kara vanua meni?*
who PURP:3 with:PN-1s to garden today
‘Who wants to go with me to the garden today?’
- (101) *Azei ni miu da zahe ki pele-a ha-gu marasin?*
who loc:PN 2p FUT go.up CONT:3 take-3s PCF-1s medicine
‘Who of you will go up and get medicine for me?’
- (102) *Azei tu hada?*
who R:2 see
‘Who did you see?’

- (103) *Azei da dia ta maki-a, ho beu hau?*
 who FUT 3p R choose-3s 2s NEG 1s
 ‘Who will they choose, you or me?’
- (104) *Tu vala ni zeï?*
 R:2 give loc:PN who
 ‘To whom did you give it?’
- (105) *Ruma ke zeï ia e mi-mia vona?*
 house PC:PN who 3s R:3 RED-sit loc:3s
 ‘Whose house is she staying in?’
- (106) *Vanua he zeï miu ta gala vona meni?*
 garden PCF:PN who 2p R work loc:3s today
 ‘Whose garden did you work in today?’

Notice the presence of a trace in the form of the pro-PP *vona* ‘there’ in the last two examples, questions asking about location.

3. *Ziva* ‘how many’

The question word *ziva* is a numeral asking for amounts and numbers. It follows the noun it modifies:

- (107) *Tai, na hiha ziva tu havi-li-a?*
 same.sex.sibling ART fish how.many R:2 catch-TR-3s
 ‘How many fish did you catch, brother?’
- (108) *Ti boto ziva tu vano ni Lae?*
 PF:3 time how.many R:2 go loc:PN L.
 ‘How many times have you been to Lae?’
- (109) *E ziva matoto?*
 R:3 how.many true
 ‘How many exactly?’

Like all numerals, *ziva* can also be used predicatively in a numeral clause (see §7.5.2):

- (110) *Habu tazi-i, dia ziva?*
 group same.sex.sibling-2s 3p how.many
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’ (Addressed to a male.)

- (111) *Miu ziva?*
 2p how.many
 ‘How many of you (are there)?’
- (112) *Ka-a krismas ti ziva?*
 PC-2s year PF:3 how.many
 ‘How old are you?’ (Lit. ‘How many are your years?’)

4. *Ngiza* ‘when’

The question word *ngiza* is a temporal adverb asking for the time of an event. It occurs clause-initially and can have past or future reference:

- (113) *Ngiza tu bele?*
 when R:2 arrive
 ‘When did you arrive?’
- (114) *Ngiza ho tu vamule?*
 when 2s R:2 return
 ‘When did you get back?’
- (115) *Ngiza ku / koto vamule?*
 when CONT:2 / PURP:2 return
 ‘When will you go back?’
- (116) *Da ngiza ta<vi>vine dia ta kara vanua?*
 FUT when RED-woman 3p R to garden
 ‘When will the women go to the gardens?’

5. *Ve* ‘where’

The question word *ve* is a locative noun asking for the location or direction of an event. *Ve* is unique among the question words in that it never occurs clause-initially and that it has a rather restricted distribution: it can only follow the motion verb *pe* ‘come from; go to’ and the prepositions *ni* or *kiri*. (There is a homonym *ve*, a focussing adverb meaning ‘also, too’). Examples:

- (117) *Ho tu pe ve?*
 2s PF/R:2 come/go where
 ‘Where do you come from? Where have you been?’

- (118) *Mo ta pe ve mo ka bele ri?*
 2d R come/go where 2d CONT arrive here
 ‘Where have you come from (and arrived here)?’
- (119) *Koto kiri ve?*
 PURP:2 to:PN where
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (120) *Ka-a ruma ni ve?*
 PC-2s house loc:PN where
 ‘Where is your house?’
- (121) *Da, da to ta liu-ri-a ni ve ka-do vaga?*
 hey FUT 1di R move-TR-3s loc:PN where PC-1di canoe
 ‘Hey, where shall we put our canoe?’
- (122) *Pali-pali mata ni ve? Ri beu ziho pitu ve?*
 pull.out-RED eye loc:PN where here NEG go.down little also
 ‘Where shall we pull out the eyes, here or a little further down?’
 (A standard question by evil spirits when they abduct someone.)

6. *Kue* ‘where’

The question word *kue* is a locative demonstrative asking for location. It is similar in meaning to *ve*, but *kue* only functions in equative clauses questioning the location of a referent. It cannot be used for asking the direction of a motion verb or an action verb in a verbal clause. This is accounted for by its analysis as an interrogative demonstrative which functions predicatively. This also explains that *kue* is normally (but not necessarily) repeated in a equative clause, just like other demonstratives in equative clauses (see §7.3):

- (123) *Kue tu-u (kue)?*
 where child-2s where
 ‘Where is your son?’
- (124) *Kue ka-a ruma kue?*
 where PC-2s house where
 ‘Where is your house?’

Examples (120) and (124), one using *ni ve* and the other using *kue*, are fully synonymous. In fact, it is not ungrammatical to find the two question words combined:

- (125) *Kue ni ve beti kena tu ta-tani-a?*
 where loc:PN where banana that R:2 RED-say-3s
 ‘Where is that banana tree you were talking about?’

7. *Ziha* ~ *kuziha* ‘do what? what happened? why?’

The question word *ziha* (and its variant *kuziha*) are interrogative verbs asking for an event or for a reason. The variant form *kuziha* is possibly a reduction of *kuza-ziha* containing the morpheme *kuza*, which is also found in *kuza-barae* ‘like that, thus’.

The verbal character of this question word is clear from the various AMS markers preceding it:

- (126) *Pale kazaha kua kini kuziha?*
 so poor.one this SEQ:3 do.what
 ‘So what will the poor thing do?’
- (127) *Ho tu kuziha kena?*
 2s R:2 do.what that
 ‘What happened to you?’ (Speaker points e.g. to a wound.)
- (128) *Hiro ta madii lohohoi, hiro kata kuziha?*
 3d R stand think-RED 3d PURP do.what
 ‘They stood thinking, what were they going to do?’

When *ziha* ~ *kuziha* is directly followed by another clause (usually with the continuity or sequentiality markers), the best translation is ‘why’:

- (129) *Tu ziha ku zahe ra?*
 R:2 do.what CONT:2 go.up there
 ‘Why have you gone up there?’ (Lit. ‘What did you do and you went up there?’)
- (130) *Tu ziha ku mi-mia langa-langa? Mai zipa!*
 R:2 do.what CONT:2 RED-sit up-RED come go.down
 ‘Why are you sitting up there? Come down!’
- (131) *Ai, mo ta kuziha magali-mo kini kuzabarae?*
 hey 2d R do.what belly-2d SEQ:3 like.that
 ‘Hey, why are your bellies like that?’ (Lit. ‘What did you do and then your bellies are like that?’)

- (132) *Livuha-gu uai, ni kuziha kua na ngoro boto katiu*
 body-1s oh IRR:3 do.what if IRR sleep time one
ni beta kete dama mule na ma ngo-ngoro za?
 IRR:3 NEG PURP:3 day back IRR PROG RED-sleep just
 ‘My poor body! What would happen if once I could sleep and it wouldn’t
 become morning again and I could just sleep on?’

The transitive form of the verb *kuziha* is *kuzihania* ~ *kuzingania*, meaning ‘do what to something/someone’:

- (133) *Ho tu kuzinga-ni-a tu-gu?*
 2s R:2 do.what-TR-3s child-1s
 ‘What have you done to my child?’
- (134) *Dia ta vari-hule-i, "Da tolu ta kuzinga-ni-a hiha kua*
 3p R REC-ask-REC FUT 1pi R do.what-TR-3s fish this
tolu ka pele-a?"
 1pi CONT take-3s
 ‘They asked each other, “What will we do to this fish so that we can get
 it?”’

8. *Zingania* ‘what/how exactly’

The question word *zingania*, clearly related to *kuzingania* above, is a transitive interrogative verb asking for an exact specification. It is a low-frequency word which in our corpus only occurs in what appears to be a verbal compound. We only have three examples of *zingania*; in two of them it combines with an experiencer verb (see §4.3) where it is inflected for the experiencer, while in (137) it occurs with a transitive verb:

- (135) *E mazahi-zinga-ni-a?*
 R:3 ill-what.exactly-TR-3s
 ‘What exactly is his/her illness?’
- (136) *E mazahi-zinga-ni-ho?*
 R:3 ill-what.exactly-TR-2s
 ‘What exactly is your illness?’
- (137) *Miu ta hulo-zinga-ni-a na kamo?*
 2p R cook-what.exactly-TR-3s ART taro
 ‘How exactly do you cook taro?’

9. *Kakei* ‘which’

The low-frequency question word *kakei* ‘which’ is a nominal interrogative which asks for a choice between items. Its exact grammatical category as a noun is somewhat tentative. It can occur as the head of a noun phrase or as a modifier:

- (138) *Kakei matoto e kuli-i kiri-na?*
 which true R:3 desire-2s to:PN-3s

‘Which one exactly do you want?’

- (139) *Ruma kakei ke Werner?*
 house which PC:PN W.

‘Which house is Werner’s?’

10. *Kezengana* ‘what gender?’

This specialised question word (the syntactic category of which is unclear) asks for the gender of a person or a domestic animal. It can apparently be used both attributively, as in (140), as well as predicatively, as in (141):

- (140) *Kapiru kezengana kena? Tavine o tamohane?*
 child what.gender that woman or man

‘What child is it? Female or male?’

- (141) *Ka-na tu-na boro e kezengana?*
 PC-3s child-3s pig R:3 what.gender

‘What gender is his piglet?’

8.5.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are common in Vitu, but they have not been studied in any detail. The following two examples were collected during our research; both of them are used to scold or at least to express the speaker’s annoyance:

- (142) *Mata-a tu taru ni ve?*
 eye-2s R:2 put loc:PN where

‘Where did you put your eyes?’

(Said to someone who didn’t search carefully.)

- (143) *Tu hada kiri ve?*
 R:2 see to:PN where

‘Where are you looking?’

(Said to someone who bumps into other people.)

8.6 Focus

To put contrastive emphasis on a particular referent, a focus construction is used. This construction consists of a single noun phrase modified by a relative clause (see §9.3), optionally followed by a contrasting referent. The best English translation equivalent is a cleft clause:

- (144) *Na taza-gu kena e mazahi-ti-a,*
 ART same.sex.sibling-1s that R:3 ill-TR-3s
beta ni na livuk-ugu.
 NEG IRR:3 ART cross.sibling-1s
 ‘It’s my brother who is ill, not my sister.’ (The speaker is male.)
- (145) *Ho kena kuli-gu kata hada-vi-ho, beta ni kamama.*
 2s that desire-1s PURP see-TR-2s NEG IRR:3 your.father
 ‘It’s you that I want to see, not your father.’

In focussed negative clauses the perfect marker *ti* precedes the negator *beta* clause-initially and the negated noun phrase is modified by a relative clause:

- (146) *Ti beta ni John kua ti mai, a Peter.*
 PF:3 NEG IRR:3 J. this PF:3 come ART P.
 ‘It wasn’t John who came, it was Peter.’
- (147) *Ti beta ni a go-gu kua ti bele,*
 PF:3 NEG IRR:3 ART spouse-1s this PF:3 arrive
na tavine motu.
 ART woman other
 ‘It wasn’t my wife who arrived, it was another woman.’

9. *Complex sentences*

9.1 Introduction

Combining clauses into complex sentences appears to be a fairly straightforward procedure in Vitu. The language does not have any overt morphology to mark verb forms in subordinate clauses, there is no word order change and the number of conjunctions is also low. The complexities lie in the area of the function of the AMS markers and the fact that much can be left implicit.

It is customary in a chapter on clause combining to distinguish between coordination and subordination. In the case of Vitu, it is debatable whether this traditional distinction is actually helpful in a description of its grammar. There are no indications that we are aware of which unequivocally point to subordination (apart from semantics), while coordination seems to be too broad a term to adequately cover the various ways of joining clauses. Consequently, we use the cover term ‘conjoining’ and on the basis of purely formal parameters we tentatively distinguish three types of conjoining constructions in Vitu. These are:

- conjoining without conjunction and with identical AMS marking;
- conjoining without conjunction but with different AMS marking;
- conjoining with an explicit conjunction.

In this chapter we first look at these three structural types (§9.2), followed by a more semantic approach, where we discuss relative clauses, complement clauses and various types of adverbial clauses. Serial verb constructions are not considered here; these are analysed as monoclausal complex predicates and are discussed in §7.12.

Determining clausal boundaries can be difficult. Clause and sentence breaks are normally indicated by shorter and longer pauses in spoken discourse, and by commas and full stops in written discourse. Our division into clauses and sentences in this chapter is mainly based on the careful editing of native texts and conversations by Vena Erelju, but we realise that there can be disagreement on the exact placement of these boundaries.

9.2 Three types of conjoining

9.2.1 Conjoining without conjunction and with identical AMS marking

In this first type of conjoining, two clauses are simply juxtaposed to each other without a conjunction and without any formal marking; this can also be termed parataxis. There is usually a pause between the clauses (marked by a comma) and the AMS markers are identical. A variety of semantic relationships is encoded by means of this conjoining type, corresponding to, for instance, simple coordination, relative clauses and temporal clauses in English translation, but none of this is explicit. The following examples are meant to give an idea of the wide semantic range that is covered by this type of conjoining. The English translations do use overt conjunctions in an attempt to capture the sense.

The first examples indicate the next event in a sequence:

- (1) *Na tavine hanitu katiu e bele, ia mia kozoho ni*
 ART woman evil.spirit one R:3 arrive 3s sit close loc:PN

Lavo kote.

L. Little

‘A spirit woman arrived and sat down beside Little Lavo.’

- (2) *Ia zahe mule kara ruma, ia pele-a dongi.*
 3s go.up back to house 3s take-3s bed

‘She went back up to the house and got a bed.’

The following example illustrates a relative clause. It is taken from a story about a man-eating giant who caused people to flee to a place called Bazire. Later in the story they see his corpse in the sea. The conjoined clause (which is underlined) semantically modifies the noun phrase ‘these people’ without any formal marking. The literal translation seems to indicate this is just another event in the story-line, but the context makes it clear that it provides background information about the people:

- (3) *Manumanu kua dia ta hava dia ka vano loli ni*
 people this 3p R flee 3p CONT go sit loc:PN

Bazire dia ta hada poda-na.

B. 3p R see dead.body-3s

‘The people who had fled and had gone to live at Bazire, they saw his dead body.’ (Lit. ‘These people they fled and went to live at Bazire, they saw his dead body.’)

In (4) the conjoined non-verbal clause functions as the object of a verb of speech or thinking (i.e. an object complement clause):

- (4) *Hau ta tani-a ho na hanitu katiu!*
 1s R say-3s 2s ART evil.spirit one
 ‘I thought you were an evil spirit!’

In (5) the conjoined clause marks the main event, the first clause giving the temporal setting:

- (5) *Hiro te kozoho na malala, ha-hiro hiha ti hozo.*
 3d PF close loc village PCF-3d fish PF:3 finished
 ‘When they were close to the island, their fish was finished.’ (Lit. ‘They were (now) close to the village/island, their fish was (now) finished.’)

In (6) the semantic relationship is that of contra-expectation:

- (6) *Ta hatu-ni-a e mazahi-ti-au, hau ta vano za kara vanua.*
 R feel-TR-3s R:3 ill-TR-1s 1s R go just to garden.
 ‘Even though I felt ill, I just went to the garden.’

It is possible that this type of conjoining can be used for other adverbial functions as well.

9.2.2 Conjoining without conjunction but with different AMS marking

In the second type of conjoining, two clauses are again simply linked without a formal conjunction, but the second clause has a different aspect-mood-sequentiality marker. This type is particularly common for sequences of events where the following clause is marked by the continuity set *ki* or the sequentiality set *kene* (see §5.5 and §5.6 for a discussion and a variety of examples). It should be stressed that although AMS markers occur at the level of the verb phrase, they often function like conjunctions. Some further examples:

- (7) *Dia ta geri-a kaka katiu ki vano.*
 3p R send-3s person one CONT:3 go
 ‘They sent somebody and he went.’
- (8) *A Hahara e kove ki ma mia na malala.*
 ART H. R:3 pregnant CONT:3 PROG sit loc village
 ‘Hahara was pregnant and remained in the village.’

- (9) *Ta luga tu-gu, hau ta kudi-a ka-gu kolopi,*
 R carry child-1s 1s R carry.on.head-TR PC-1s basket
miro kene tiro mule kara malala.
 1de SEQ go.down back to village
 ‘I carried my child, I carried my basket on my head, and together we
 went down again to the village.’

Notice that in (9) the first two clauses are conjoined using the same realis AMS marker *ta*; the third clause has its own AMS marker *kene* and illustrates the second type of conjoining.

As explained and illustrated in §5.5 and 5.6, the two AMS markers *ki* and *kene* (and their inflectional variants) may also occur at the beginning of a new sentence. We take this to indicate that the clauses are still conjoined at a higher level, but that they form part of different prosodic units. This could possibly be analysed as an instance of clause-chaining:

- (10) *Manumanu na malala kua e vitolo-ni-dia.*
 people loc village this R:3 hunger-TR-3p.
Ki beta matoto hani-nga ni dia.
 CONT:3 NEG very food-NOM loc:PN 3p

‘The people in this village were hungry. And they had no food at all.’

The following examples illustrate the use of the purpose set *kata* (see §5.7) used after a verb of speech (*geria* means both ‘send’ and ‘tell’) and in an adverbial purpose clause. Again these are examples of different AMS markers in conjoined clauses:

- (11) *Ia geri-a tina-na kete vano luga hiha na dala.*
 3s send-3s mother-3s PURP:3 go carry fish loc road.
 ‘He told his mother to go and carry the fish on the road.’
- (12) *Ha-gu beti katiu ti matuha kini kemi to kata zoli-a.*
 PCF-1s banana one PF:3 ripe SEQ:3 good 1di PURP cut.off
 ‘One of my banana trees is ripe and it is good for us to cut it down.’

Other examples of the use of AMS markers in complex sentences can be found in chapter 5 and in §9.5 - §9.11 on adverbial clauses.

9.2.3 Conjoining with an explicit conjunction

The third type of conjoining includes clauses which are linked with an explicit conjunction such as *ta* ‘if, when’, *palaka* ‘but’ and *na vuna* ‘because’. All the

conjunctions we have found will be illustrated in the sections below on complement clauses (§9.4) and the various adverbial clauses (§9.5 - §9.11). Here is one example of a conditional clause:

- (13) *Ta ni beta hani-nga, da taroviti kiri-gu.*
 if IRR:3 NEG food-NOM FUT angry loc:PN-1s
 ‘When/if there is no food, he (= the pig) will get angry with me.’

Having discussed the three types of conjoining, we now turn to a more semantic approach of complex sentences. In the next sections we will treat clauses which semantically modify a noun (relative clauses, §9.3), clauses which are semantically the argument of a verb (complement clauses, §9.4) and clauses which stand in an adverbial relationship to the main clause (§9.5 - §9.11). We end with sections on direct and indirect speech (§9.12) and verbal repetition (§9.13).

9.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is defined as a clause which semantically modifies a head noun (the antecedent). Relative clauses are post-nominal; they are in fact the last constituent in the noun phrase following the demonstrative (see §3.9.1 for the internal order of the noun phrase). There are no particular defining features of the relative clause in Vitu in terms of the presence of a relativiser, a relative pronoun, special verb forms or unique word order. All relative clauses are simply conjoined to the last word of the antecedent noun phrase. In many cases, however, a seemingly superfluous demonstrative *kua* or *kena* is present, which is the nearest thing to a surface signal that we are dealing with a relative clause. In this section all relative clauses (excluding the antecedent noun phrase) are underlined.

The relativisable functions for the antecedent in Vitu are subject, object, oblique (a prepositional phrase) and possessor. In the following three examples the relativized item functions as the subject in the relative clause. In (14), for instance, the betelnut tree is the subject of the verb *madii* ‘stand’. (The fact that is also the object of the verb *hada* ‘see’ in the main clause, is irrelevant for the present discussion). Notice that examples (15) and (16) contain complex relative clauses:

- (14) *E hada na hai-na bua katiu e ma-madii.*
 R:3 see ART tree-3s betelnut one R:3 RED-stand
 ‘He saw a betelnut tree which stood (there).’

- (15) *Ia longo-ri-a na kaka e hu-hubi-a kure ki*
 3s hear-TR-3s ART person R:3 RED-hit-3s drum CONT:3
ha-habi-habi.
 RED-sing-RED
 ‘She heard a man who was beating the drum and singing’
- (16) *....danga-na hai katiu e ziho ki kozoho vona.*
 branch-3s tree one R:3 go.down CONT close loc:3s
 ‘...a tree branch which came down close to him.’

It is also possible to analyse (14) and (15) as complement clauses following perception verbs. Structurally there is no difference.

In a number of subject relative clauses the verb is passive (see §4.4.5 on passive verb forms and §7.8 on passive clauses):

- (17) *...na malala koha-nga ni Apungi.*
 loc place call-PASS loc:PN A.
 ‘... in a place called Apungi.’

In other relative clauses the antecedent functions as the object in the relative clause:

- (18) *Na dama kua na Lubaluba e maki-a...*
 loc day this ART eel R:3 chose-3s
 ‘On the day that Eel had chosen....’
- (19) *Hani-nga ve kua hita ta vazo-hi-a, e bele papa*
 eat-NOM also this 1pe R plant-TR-3s R:3 arrive good
matoto na garigari kua.
 very loc ground this
 ‘Also the food that we planted, it grew very well in this soil.’
- (20) *Kue ni ve beti kena tu ta-tani-a?*
 where loc:PN where banana that R:2 RED-say-3s
 ‘Where is that banana tree that you were talking about?’

- (21) *Kubarae, na hadora ki hada-vi-a beta ni kemi*
 so ART cuscus CONT:3 see-TR-3s NEG IRR:3 good
moge kua na matabunu e lala kete ka-kati-a.
 behaviour this ART snake R:3 HAB PURP:3 RED-make-3s
 ‘So the cuscus saw that the snake’s behaviour was not good.’ (Lit: ‘...this
 behaviour (which) the snake used to do/make it.’)

The relativised item can also function as an oblique in the relative clause. In our data this is always a locative prepositional phrase. In these cases, a trace is left in the relative clause in the shape of the prepositional phrase *kiri-na* (§6.3) or the pro-PP *vona* (§6.6):

- (22) *...o palaka katiu motu hiro kata hava kiri-na.*
 or place one other 3d PURP flee to:PN-3s
 ‘...or another place which they could flee to.’
- (23) *Mabeta ni bele na palaka e va-vana kiri-na.*
 not.yet IRR:3 arrive loc place R:3 RED-walk to:PN-3s
 ‘She had not yet arrived at the place she was walking to.’
- (24) *Na hai-na paido katiu ti galulu na palaka kua*
 ART tree-3s coconut one PF:3 grow loc place this
e tavu-ni-a baka-na lubaluba vona.
 R:3 bury-TR-3s head-3s eel loc:3s
 ‘A coconut tree grew in the place where he had buried the eel’s head.’

In an attempt to test the grammaticality of a possessor as the relativised item, the following two clauses were elicited through translation:

- (25) *Na kaka kua ka-na diaro ti putu, ia e kati-a kena.*
 ART person this PC-3s spear PF:3 broken 3s R:3 make-3s that
 ‘The man whose spear is broken has done it.’
- (26) *Hau ta hada ruma luba kua ka-dia dabadaba ti tere-tere.*
 1s R see house many this PC-3p wall PF tear-RED
 ‘I saw many houses of which the walls were torn/broken.’

Occasionally we find a clause juxtaposed to a noun phrase which semantically does not modify the head noun, but rather states the content of the head noun. Such clauses can be termed ‘appositive clauses’ and they typically follow nouns such as *mana* ‘story’ (or its loan equivalent *stori*):

- (27) *Na stori ni Leklo (kua) na kaluha e hani-a lima-na.*
 ART story loc:PN L. this ART shark R:3 eat-3s hand-3s
 ‘The story of how Leklo’s hand got bitten by a shark.’
 (Lit. ‘The story of Leklo that a shark had eaten his hand.’)

Our corpus contains one example of a prenominal relative clause, a stative clause (without an AMS marker) used to characterise an animal:

- (28) *Ia kalinga-ni-a hava kapou a kaluha, ia hava.*
 3s chase-TR-3s mouth big ART shark 3s flee
 ‘He (= the dolphin) chased the big-mouthed shark, and it fled.’

Another (elicited) example showing the same pattern:

- (29) *Hau ta pole kamana baka kapou a Giru, palaka beta*
 1s R speak with head big ART G. but NEG
ni longo-ri-au.
 IRR:3 hear-TR-1s
 ‘I talked to this big-headed Giru, but he didn’t listen to me.’

9.4 Complement clauses

Complement clauses function as the subject or object of a main clause. Object complement clauses are very common in Vitu. Typical object-complement-taking verbs are verbs of speech, verbs of physical perception and verbs of mental perception and mental states, such as the following:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. speech: | <i>tani-a</i> | ‘say, speak; think’ |
| | <i>geri-a</i> | ‘send; tell, order’ |
| b. physical perception: | <i>hada(-vi-a)</i> | ‘see’ |
| | <i>hada-pari-a</i> | ‘discover’ (lit. ‘look take’) |
| | <i>longo-ri-a</i> | ‘hear’ |
| | <i>hatu-ni-a</i> | ‘feel’ |
| | <i>va-tunga</i> | ‘show’ |
| c. mental perception: | <i>lala</i> | ‘know’ |
| | <i>lohoi</i> | ‘think, decide’ |
| | <i>lohoi-pari-a</i> | ‘realise’ (lit. ‘think find’) |
| | <i>manginu(-vi-a)</i> | ‘dream’ |

Verbs of speech will be illustrated in §9.12; examples of the other two categories are as follows (with the complement clause underlined):

- (30) *Ia hada kapiru ti mate kava.*
 3s see child PF:3 die already
 ‘She saw that the child had died.’
- (31) *Hau ta hada-vi-a tebel e tolu.*
 1s R see-TR-3s table R:3 three
 ‘I see three tables.’
- (32) *Pebarae, ka lala a Deo beta ni lala kete*
 therefore CONT know ART God NEG IRR:3 HAB PURP:3
vati-au.
 leave-1s
 ‘Therefore I know that God does not leave me.’
- (33) *Kuli-na kete lala ho ni ve.*
 desire-3s PURP:3 know 2s loc:PN where
 ‘He wanted to know where you were.’
- (34) *Beta! Na pote ve kua ta lo-longo-ri-a e*
 NEG ART willy.wagtail also this R RED-hear-TR-3s R:3
po-pole.
 RED-speak.
 ‘Oh no! I also hear the willy wagtail singing.’

Notice in (34) that the object *na pote ve kua* is topicalised, while the remainder of the complement clause (*e popole*) follows the main verb *lolongoria*. Alternatively, this sentence could be analysed as an existential clause followed by a relative clause containing a short complement clause. If correct, a more literal translation would be: ‘There is also the willy wagtail which I hear singing.’

Sometimes the conjunctions *habuka* ‘like this, that’ and *vinaka* ‘like that, that’ are found acting as complementisers. This is possibly limited to certain verbs such as *hada* ‘see’, *vatunga* ‘show’ and *paria* ‘find’:

- (35) *A Sikau e hada habuka dia ta ta-tabu-ri-a*
 ART wallaby R:3 see like.this 3p R RED-claim-TR-3s
a Toha.
 ART chicken
 ‘The wallaby saw that they were claiming the chicken.’

- (36) *Miro ta hada-vi-a habuka ti loki-a va-vana-nga*
 1de R see-TR-3s like.this PF:3 unable-3s RED-walk-NOM
na kabe-na.
 loc leg-3s
 ‘We saw that she was unable to walk on/with her leg.’
- (37) *Dia ta pari-a habuka kabe-na e boto.*
 3p R find-3s like.this leg-3s R:3 short
 ‘They found that her leg was short.’
- (38) *Ia e va-tunga habuka e kuli-dia.*
 3s R:3 CAUS-look like.this R:3 desire-3p
 ‘It shows that they agree.’ (Lit. ‘...that it is their desire.’)
- (39) *Ia e va-tunga vinaka ia e beta baka-na.*
 3s R:3 CAUS-look like.that 3s R:3 NEG head-3s
 ‘It shows that he is stupid.’ (Lit. ‘... that he has no head.’)

Another word which may function as a complementiser is the demonstrative *kena* (§3.5.2):

- (40) *Ia kini longo-ri-a kena hau ta pole-haroi.*
 3s SEQ:3 hear-TR-3s that 1s R speak-beg
 ‘She heard that I was begging’.
- (41) *Dia ta hada-vi-a kena ti hada baritunutunua.*
 3p R see-TR-3s that PF:3 see red
 ‘They see that it looks red.’

So far, all the examples have illustrated object complementation. We have not found clear examples of subject complementation in our data. Translation of potential subject complement clauses only yielded purpose clauses, as in the (a) examples below and in (44), or nominalisations, as in the (b) examples:

- (42) a. *E vitiha kata taputapu ri.*
 R:3 difficult PURP fish here
 ‘It is difficult to fish here.’
- b. *Taputapu-a ri e vitiha.*
 fish-NOM here R:3 difficult
 ‘Fishing here is difficult.’

- (43) a. *Beta ni kemi koto vanaho.*
 NEG IRR:3 good PURP:2 steal
 ‘It is not good (for you) to steal.’
- b. *Vanaho-a beta ni kemi.*
 steal-NOM NEG IRR:3 good
 ‘Stealing is not good.’
- (44) *E kemi koto mia kamani go-o.*
 R:3 good PURP:2 sit with:PN spouse-2s
 ‘It is good (for you) to live with your wife.’

9.5 Temporal clauses

There is a variety of ways to code the temporal setting of an event. We are not concerned in this chapter with temporal phrases (these are discussed in §7.11), but rather with full clauses that stand in a temporal relationship to another clause.

a. The first way to encode a temporal clause is to use simple conjoining without any conjunctions (§9.2). The AMS marker can be identical, as in (45), or different, as in (46), where *ki* marks the next event. The best translation in both these examples is an adverbial ‘when’ clause in English:¹

- (45) *Hiro ta bele na palaka kua, hiro ta taputapu.*
 3d R arrive loc place this, 3s R fish
 ‘When they arrived at this place, they fished.’
- (46) *Ta havi-li-a ki zahe kozoho, ia pade-a.*
 R catch-TR-3 CONT:3 go.up close 3s spear-3s
 ‘I pulled it up (= the shark) and when it had come up close (to the boat), he speared it.’

Serial verb constructions are also very common to code the temporal setting in this type of conjoining. With *vano* ‘go’ as the second verb (see §7.12.4) simultaneous events are indicated, best translated as ‘as, while, when’:

- (47) *Dama katiu e pango vano, ia zungi-a na bavuk-a haroho.*
 day one R:3 hunt go 3s smell-3s ART smell-3s fire
 ‘One day as/while/when he was hunting, he smelled fire.’

¹ It is important to realise that these are adequate translations; hence one does not always need to look for overt conjunctions when translating from English into Vitu.

- (48) *Na Sande na garavi, hita ta mi-mia na ka-gu ruma.*
 loc Sunday loc afternoon 1pe R RED-sit loc PC-1s house.
Hita ta mia vano, a Oscar hiro a Terence,
 1pe R sit go ART O. 3d ART T.
hiro ta ziho na ka-gu ruma.
 3d R go.down loc PC-1s house

‘On a Sunday afternoon, we were sitting in my house. While we were sitting, Oscar and Terence came to my house.’

With *hozo* ‘finished’ as the second verb, the events explicitly follow each other:

- (49) *Hiro ta huzu-huzu hozo, hiro ta polo mule.*
 3d R swim-RED finished 3d R board back
 ‘When they had finished swimming, they went on board again.’
- (50) *Miro ta gala na polok-a vanua hozo, miro ta*
 1de R work loc inside-3s garden finish 1de R
pozi mule kara malala.
 go.seaward back to village

‘When we had finished working in the garden, we went back to the village.’ Or: ‘After we had worked in the garden,....’

In this type of conjoining, the demonstrative *kena* (§3.5.2) may modify the temporal clause (just as it occurs at the end of relative clauses):

- (51) *Miro ta gala vano kena, na naip e hani-au.*
 1de R work go that ART knife R:3 eat-1s
 ‘As we were working, I cut myself.’ (Lit. ‘...a knife ate me.’)
- (52) *Hiro ta hoho na mugomugo kena, hiro ta kaze-kaze*
 3d R enter loc forest that 3d R search-RED
kara kaza.
 to k.o.vine

‘When they entered the forest, they looked for *kaza* vines.’

b. The second type of temporal clause is with the perfect AMS marker *ti* (see §5.4 for a detailed analysis of the perfect set). This is often combined with a time word:

- (53) *Ti marigo, miro ta ngoro.*
 PF:3 night 1de R sleep
 ‘When evening came, we went to sleep.’

- (54) *Muri ti gau, hau ta tani-a ni ta<mo>mohane.*
 after PF:3 cooked 1s R say-3s loc:PN RED-man
 ‘After it (= the copra) was dry (lit. cooked), I spoke to the men.’
- (55) *Dama-na barita ti gau, dia ta gore-a na beke.*
 day-3s coconut PF:3 cooked 3p R fill-3s loc bag
 ‘The day the coconuts are dry, they put them into bags.’

c. The third type of temporal adverbial clause uses overt conjunctions or conjunction-like elements. Many of these words actually belong to different word classes and have other primary meanings:

<i>bamuri</i>	‘later, after that’	
<i>barae</i>	‘as, while’	(lit. ‘like this, thus’)
<i>kamana</i>	‘when’	(lit. ‘with’)
<i>mabeta</i>	‘before’	(lit. ‘not yet’)
<i>pale ~ pele</i>	‘then, therefore, so’	
<i>pebarae ~ kubarae</i>	‘so, therefore; that’s why’	
<i>tani ~ tania</i>	‘when, as soon as’ (also: ‘if’)	

Examples with *kamana* ‘with’ in the meaning ‘when’:

- (56) *Kamana ta dae-zahe-ni-a, hau ta havi-li-pamu-hi-a.*
 with R pull-go.up-TR-3s 1s R catch-TR-immediately-TR-3s
 ‘When I pulled it up (= the fishing line), I immediately caught it.’
- (57) *Kamana ki bele mule na malala, manumanu dia ta*
 with CONT:3 arrive back loc village people 3p R
hilohilo.
 happy
 ‘When he arrived back in the village, the people were happy.’

When *barae* ‘like this, thus’ functions as the conjunction ‘as, while’, it follows the temporal clause. It can also be part of a transitive verbal compound (in the form *barae-ni-a*), as in (59):

- (58) *Hiro ta vazula zahe na pidak-a barae, ia ti dama*
 3d R paddle go.up loc middle-3s thus 3s PF:3 day
ka-kava.
 RED-clear
 ‘As they paddled (away from the land) in midsea, it became morning.’

- (59) *E titi-ri-barae-ni-a, tavure ti haloho.*
 R:3 shave-TR-like.that-TR-3s, conch.shell PF:3 cry
 ‘As he was shaving him, suddenly a conch shell sounded.’

Examples of the other conjunction-like elements:

- (60) *Hiro ta mia vano, pale, na vitolo kapou ia bele na*
 3d R sit go then ART hunger big 3s arrive loc
malala.
 village

‘As they were living (there), a big famine hit the island.’

- (61) *Mabeta ni bele na palaka e va-vana kiri-na,*
 not.yet IRR:3 arrive loc place R:3 RED-walk to:PN-3s
na tavine hanitu e pele-a na tureture-a.
 ART woman evil.spirit R:3 take-3s ART stamp-NOM

‘Before she had arrived at the place she was going to, the spirit woman took a stamper.’ (Lit. ‘She had not yet arrived’)

- (62) *Hita ta va-vana havarau bamuri hita ka lohu.*
 1pe R RED-walk long later 1pe CONT arrive

‘We walked for a long time before we arrived.’ (Lit. ‘We walked long and later we arrived.’)

- (63) *Tania ki parakila-ni-a ki hinu-mi-a,*
 if/when CONT:3 try-TR-3s CONT:3 drink-TR-3s
e hatu-ni-a e kemi matoto.
 R:3 feel-TR-3s R:3 good very

‘When he tried to drink it, he tasted (lit. felt) that it was very good.’

9.6 Conditional clauses

In conditional clauses, the condition (the protasis) always precedes the main clause (the apodosis). The coding of the conditional nature of the clause can be done in several ways.

a. Sometimes simple conjoining is used with the AMS marker *ka* in the next clause:

- (64) *Ia boro vona, ka tani-a hau kaka.*
 3s pig loc:3s CONT say-3s 1s person
 ‘If I have a pig, I can say that I am somebody.’ (Lit. ‘There is a pig (to me) and then I say I am a person.’)

b. More often, however, the irrealis set *na* is used in the clause marking the condition (see also §5.3):

- (65) *Na hiha ni hada na vuluk-a toha e kalageru,*
 ART fish IRR:3 see ART feather-3s chicken R:3 glisten
ia dati rovo hani-a.
 3s FUT:3 run eat-3s
 ‘And when a fish sees the glistening chicken feather, it will quickly eat it.’
- (66) *Ni kuli-dia hiro kata lahi, pele hiro ta lahi.*
 IRR:3 desire-3p 3d PURP marry then 3d R marry
 ‘If they want them to get married, then let them marry.’

c. The most frequent strategy is to use one of the following conjunctions:

<i>kene</i>	‘if’ (for 1sg and all non-singlars)
<i>kunu</i>	‘if you (sg)’
<i>kini</i>	‘if he/she/it’
<i>ta ~ tani ~ tania</i>	‘if’

The first three words have the same form as the AMS sequentiality set *kene ~ kunu ~ kini* (see §5.6); this is either a specialised use of these markers or a set of homophonous forms. The conjunction *ta* is always followed by an irrealis AMS marker (and often written as one word: *tani, tanu*). For the third person singular, the forms *tani, tania* (presumably from *ta ni ia*) and *ta ia ni* are all found. *Ta* can have a temporal as well as a conditional reading (see §9.5) and hence *ta* and *tani ~ tania* are glossed as ‘if/when’. Examples:

- (67) *Tani / kini kuzabarae, ia ti kemi.*
 if/when COND:3 like.that 3s PF:3 good
 ‘If it’s like that, it’s fine.’
- (68) *Tanu mama, da humi-i e baritunutunua.*
 if/when:2 chew.betelnut FUT lip-2s R:3 red
 ‘If you chew betelnut, your lips will become red.’

- (69) *Kini beta nu mama, da beta humi-i*
 COND:3 NEG IRR:2 chew.betelnut FUT NEG lip-2s
kete baritunutunua.
 PURP:3 red
 ‘If you don’t chew betelnut, your lips won’t become red.’
- (70) *Kini kuli-i koto taputapu na vuluk-a toha...*
 COND:3 desire-2s PURP:2 fish loc feather-3s chicken
 ‘If you want to fish with a chicken feather...’
- (71) *Tania dia te vaida kava...*
 if/when 3p PF prepare already
 ‘If/when they have done the preparations...’
- (72) *Tani beta hani-nga, da taroviti kiri-gu.*
 if/when NEG food-NOM FUT angry loc:PN-1s
 ‘If/when there is no food, he (= the pig) will get angry at me.’

d. The future marker *da* in many cases also conveys condition (see §7.11.4 subsection 2):

- (73) *Da ka hubi-a, ka tubu nazia?*
 FUT CONT hit-3s CONT grandparent what
 ‘If I kill him (= my pig), what will make me an important person?’
- (74) *Da habu ka-na tavine dia na mama-hi-a bua kena,*
 FUT group PC-3s woman 3p IRR chew-TR-3s betelnut that
ia e va-tunga habuka e kuli-dia.
 3s R:3 CAUS-look like.this R:3 desire-3p
 ‘If the female relatives chew the betelnut, it shows that they agree.’ (Lit. ‘... that it is their desire.’)
- (75) *Da dia na hava na bua, ia e va-tunga*
 FUT 3p IRR refuse ART betelnut 3s R:3 CAUS-look
vinaka, beta ni kuli-dia.
 like.that NEG IRR:3 desire-3p
 ‘If they refuse the betelnut, it shows that they do not agree.’

e. The demonstrative *kua* ‘this’ is also used as a conjunction ‘if’ (and glossed as such), again followed by the irrealis:

- (76) *Kua na ziho, data padoa.*
 if IRR go.down FUT:1 spear:PASS
 ‘If I go down (to land), I will be speared.’
- (77) *Kua ni kuli-dia kara tavine, da dia ta geri-a*
 if IRR:3 desire-3p to woman FUT 3p R send-3s
ka-dia kaka katiu.
 PC-3p person one
 ‘If they like the woman, they will send a representative.’ (Lit. ‘If their desire is towards the woman, they will send one of their people.’)

Kua also appears to be the conjunction used in hypothetical conditions (counterfactuals), illustrated in the following two elicited examples where the apodosis contains the desiderative particle *ma*:

- (78) *Kua na lala, ma te mai.*
 If IRR know DES PF come
 ‘If I had known, I would have come.’
- (79) *Kua ni beta ni huza, ma dia te mai.*
 if IRR:3 NEG IRR:3 rain DES 3p PF come
 ‘If it hadn’t rained, they would have come.’

9.7 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are mainly introduced by the AMS set *kata* (see §5.7):

- (80) *Na matabunu e parakila-ni-a kete raga zahe.*
 ART snake R:3 try-TR-3s PURP:3 jump go.up
 ‘The snake tried to jump up.’
- (81) *A Pote mia kini gu-guru kiri Nαιο kete bele, beta.*
 ART P. sit SEQ:3 RED-wait to:PN N. PURP:3 arrive NEG
 ‘Pote sat and waited for Nαιο to arrive, but he never did.’
- (82) *Ma hada-vi-miro kata hubi-mate-hi-a.*
 PROG see-TR-1de PURP hit-die-TR-3s
 ‘Just watch us kill him.’ (Lit. ‘Continue to see us (as) we will beat him to death.’)

- (83) *Beta ni kuli-gu kata gere.*
 NEG IRR:3 desire-1s PURP play
 ‘I don’t want to play.’

9.8 Contrastive clauses

The only conjunction that marks overt contrast in complex sentences is *palaka* ‘but’. It precedes the contrastive clause and can be preceded and followed by a short pause:

- (84) *Hau kuli-gu kata kiri Kimbe. Palaka, beta ka-gu moni.*
 1s desire-1s PURP to:PN K. but NEG PC-1s money
 ‘I want to go to Kimbe. But I have no money.’
- (85) *Ia varivuvu na hizu-na hadora, palaka na hadora e*
 3s begin loc nose-3s cuscus but ART cuscus R:3
tani-a...
 say-3s
 ‘He began at the cuscus’s nose, but the cuscus said...’
- (86) *“Ae! Ae! Kodo-ni-au!” Palaka, beta manu katiu ni kozoho.*
 hey hey help-TR-1s but NEG bird one IRR:3 close
 ‘“Hey! Hey! Help me!” But there was no bird nearby.’

The form *bare* is also in use as a contrastive conjunction, but it is dialectal and limited to the villages of Lama and Lambe:

- (87) *E kuli-na kete matu na dazi bare, beta ni*
 3s desire-3s PURP:3 wash loc sea but NEG IRR:3
lala huzu-a.
 know swim-NOM
 ‘He wanted to bathe in the sea, but he didn’t know how to swim.’
- (88) *Ia di-madii kiti pade-a. Bare, ti ridi na*
 3s SUD-stand PURP:3 spear-3s but PF:3 surprised ART
bonu ti pole kamana.
 turtle PF:3 speak with
 ‘He stood up to spear him. But he was surprised when the turtle spoke to him.’

9.9 Result clauses

There is a variety of ways to mark a result clause. Following imperatives (see §8.2), a result clause uses the irrealis markers to indicate a desired outcome:

- (89) *Kalinga-ni-a ni hava!*
 chase-TR-3s IRR:3 flee
 ‘Chase him away!’ (Lit. ‘Chase him that he will flee.’)

Undesired consequences and results following imperatives are marked by the conjunction *tani* ‘if, when’:

- (90) *Mo lo-lohoi-a tani hani-moro!*
 2d RED-think-3s if/when eat-2d
 ‘You be careful, otherwise he will eat you.’

The most common way to mark a logical result in the past is to use the conjunctions *kubarae* (variant: *pebarae*) ‘therefore, so, as a result’. The form *pebarae* is normally followed by the continuous marker *ka*:

- (91) *Beta matoto diaro ni dia. Kubarae dia ta lohoi-a dia*
 NEG very spear loc:PN 3p therefore 3p R think-3s 3p
kata vazula mule kiri Kuravu.
 PURP paddle back to:PN K.

‘They did not have any spears with them. Therefore they decided to paddle back to Kuravu.’

- (92) *Boto laveve ia hada-poto ni niau. Pebarae, ka*
 time all 3s see-hold loc:PN 1s therefore CONT
va-zahe-ni-a hiza-na na dama laveve.
 CAUS-go.up-TR-3s name-3s loc day all.

‘He (God) always looks after me. Therefore I lift up (= praise) his name every day.’

This section also includes a brief discussion of periphrastic causatives. Morphological causatives using *va-* are discussed in §4.4.1, but Vitu also uses the verb *kati-a* ‘make, do’ to form a periphrastic causative, with the result in a following clause. This second clause has one of the continuity or sequentiality markers:

- (93) *E kati-au ka puae matoto.*
 R:3 make-1s CONT ashamed very
 ‘He made me very ashamed.’ (Lit. ‘He made me and I am very ashamed.’)
- (94) *Nazia ti kati-a kini mate?*
 what PF:3 make-3s SEQ:3 die
 ‘What has killed him?’ (Lit. ‘What has made him and then he died?’)
- (95) *Pebarae ia ti kati-a polok-i habu tazi-na*
 therefore 3s PF:3 make-3s inside-3sPN group same.sex.sibling-3s
kini dopa matoto varitihi.
 SEQ:3 more very painful
 ‘Therefore he made his brothers even more angry.’ (Lit. ‘Therefore he/it made the insides of his brothers and then they were very more painful.’)

9.10 Reason clauses

Reason clauses are introduced by the conjunction *vuna* (variant *vona*, *vonazia*), often in combination with *na*, which we take to be the article (it could also be the preposition *na*). A slight pause may occur either before or after this conjunction:

- (96) *Dia ta vari-hava-i vano kiri Bazire na vuna,*
 3p R COLL-flee-COLL go to:PN B. ART because
tamohane valaha ti hani-hozo-vi-dia.
 man crazy PF:3 eat-finish-TR-3p
 ‘They had all fled to Bazira, because a crazy man (= someone with extraordinary powers) had eaten them (= other villagers).’
- (97) *Titi, kemi matoto ku tani-a to ka vori*
 mother good very CONT:2 speak-3s 1di CONT go.inland
meni, na vonazia, ha-gu beti katiu ti matuha.
 today ART because PCF-1s banana one PF:3 ripe
 ‘Auntie, it is very good that you said we would go up today, because one of my banana trees is ripe.’

- (98) *Miro ta va-vana vori kara vanua, na vonazia*
 1de R RED-walk go.inland to garden ART because
e mugomugoa matoto.
 R:3 overgrown very
 ‘We walked up to the garden, because it was very overgrown’ (and hence needed work).

9.11 Contra-expectation clauses

To mark contra-expectation, Vitu either uses the conjunction *palaka* ‘but’ or the phrase *ia vata kua* (literally ‘it leaves this’) meaning ‘although, even though’. However, all these examples were elicited through translation:

- (99) a. *E mazahi-ti-au palaka, hau ta vano za kara vanua.*
 R:3 ill-TR-1s but 1s R go just to garden
 ‘Even though I was ill, I still went to the garden.’ (Lit. ‘I was ill, but I just went to the garden.’)
- b. *Ia vata kua e mazahi-ti-au, hau ta vano za kara*
 3s leave this R:3 ill-TR-1s 1s R go just to
vanua.
 garden
 ‘Even though I was ill, I still went to the garden.’
- (100) *Na dazi e mide-mide, palaka hita ta zahe za kiri Kimbe.*
 loc sea R:3 rough-RED but 1pe R go.up just to:PN K.
 ‘Even though the sea was rough, we still went to Kimbe.’ (Lit. ‘The sea was rough, but we just went to Kimbe.’)
- (101) *Ia vata kua ka-gu gala-nga luba vona na malala,*
 3s leave this PC-1s work-NOM many loc:3s loc village
hau ta zahe za kiri Ukarumpa.
 1s R go.up just to:PN U.
 ‘Even though I had a lot of work in the village, I still went to Ukarumpa.’

9.12 Direct and indirect speech

9.12.1 Direct speech

Direct quotes normally follow verbs of speech, which include the following:

<i>geri-a ~ geu</i>	‘send; tell, order’
<i>hule</i>	‘ask’ (intransitive)
<i>hule-ni-a</i>	‘ask’ (transitive)
<i>koli-a</i>	‘answer’ (also: ‘change, return, repay’)
<i>tani-a</i>	‘say, speak’

The speech margin consists maximally of a speaker (the subject), the verb of speech and the recipient. With the transitive verb *geri-a* and *hule-ni-a* the recipient is coded as an object; with *tania* ‘say, speak’ it is coded as a prepositional phrase with *na / ni*:

- (102) *Na dama katiu, a Halanga e tani-a ni*
 loc day one ART parrot R:3 say-3s loc:PN
tazi-na a Kokoa, "Tai, kuli-gu to
 same.sex.sibling-3s ART crow same.sex.sibling desire-1s 1di
kata vano kara naru."
 PURP go to water
 ‘One day, Parrot said to his brother Crow, “Brother, I want us to go to the water.”’
- (103) *A Halanga ki geri-a a Kokoa, "Ho datu muga*
 ART parrot CONT:3 send-3s ART crow 2s FUT:2 first
geni."
 dive
 ‘Parrot told Crow, “You will/must dive first.”’
- (104) *Ia hule-ni-dia, "Azei kua?"*
 3s ask-TR-3p who this
 ‘She asked them, “Who is this?”’

- (105) *A Sikau e tani-a na toha, “Mai to na vazula
ART wallaby R:3 say-3s loc chicken come 1di IRR paddle
kiri Naraha”. Na toha ia koli-a, “Maku
to:PN N. ART chicken 3s answer-3s come.on
tai.”*
same.sex.sibling

‘The wallaby said to the chicken, “Let’s paddle to Naraha.” The chicken answered, “Let’s go, brother.”’

A few examples occur in the corpus where a speech margin follows the quote, as in (106), where the first speech margin with *hule* is in its usual position, the second margin (the response) has the speech margin follow the utterance, while the third speech (a continuation by the first speaker) has no margin at all:

- (106) *Boto katiu na Mande na garavi, hau ta hule,
time one loc Monday loc afternoon 1s R ask
“Azei kete kamani-au kara vanua meni?”
who PURP:3 with:PN-1s to garden today
“Hau!” A Demi e tani-a.
1s ART D. R:3 say-3s
“Kemi, mai to na vori.”
good come 1di IRR go.inland*

‘Once on a Monday afternoon I asked “Who wants to go with me to the garden today?” “I do”, Demi said. “Good, let’s go.”’

Occasionally the manner adverb *barae* ‘like this, thus’ is used as a quote-introducer attached to *tani* in a compounding relationship:

- (107) *Hiro ta tani-barae, “Beta ni dange-miro”
3d R say-like.this NEG IRR:3 fit-1de
‘They spoke like this, “He is no match for us (= we will defeat him).”’*
- (108) *Hiro ta vano, na pusi ia tani-barae,
3d R go ART cat 3s say-like.this
“Tai, to kata kade-a susu.”
same.sex.sibling 1di PURP buy-3s milk*

‘When they had gone, the cat spoke like this, “Brother, let us buy some milk.”’

With other verbs of speaking (such as *goe* ‘shout’, *koi* ‘call’ and *pole* ‘speak, talk, converse’), it appears that *tania*, the unmarked verb of speech, has to be present in a new clause. It is linked to the previous verb by means of the continuity marker:

- (109) *Dia ta goe dia ka tani-a, “E! E ngoro kemi-kemi*
 3p R shout 3p CONT say-3s yes R:3 sleep good-RED
za ki dama.”
 just CONT:3 day

‘They shouted (and said), “Yes! He has slept well till morning.”’

- (110) *Na tavine kua ia koi kiri-na ki tani-a,*
 ART woman this 3s call to:PN-3s CONT:3 say-3s
“Ae! Hau ve kata kamani-ho!”
 hey 1s also PURP with:PN-2s

‘The woman called to him (and said), “Hey! I want to go along with you too!”’

9.12.2 Indirect speech

Indirect speech (underlined in this section) is simply juxtaposed to the main clause containing the verb of speech:

- (111) *Na tamohane kua ia geri-a tavine kua kete ma*
 ART man this 3s send-3s woman this PURP:3 PROG
madii na dala.
 stand loc road

‘The man told the woman to remain standing on the road.’

- (112) *Hau ta koi kiri-na ia mai kodo-ni-au.*
 1s R call to:PN-3s 3s come help-TR-1s

‘I called to him to come and help me.’

- (113) *Na palaka kena, dia ta tani-a e na mudi-na*
 ART place that 3p R say-3s R:3 ART former.place-3s
baikazoho ke pa<ra>raha.
 ceremonial.area PC:PN RED-elder

‘They said that the place had been the former location of an ancestral ceremonial area.’

Indirect questions optionally contain the adverb *karai* ‘maybe, whether’ (§7.11.4 sub 8):

- (114) *Ia hule azei e kati-a kua.*
 3s ask who R:3 make-3s this
 ‘He asked who had done this.’
- (115) *Hau ta hule-ni-a (karai) e lala kaka kua o beta.*
 1s R ask-TR-3s maybe R:3 know person this or NEG
 ‘I asked her whether she knew him or not.’
- (116) *Dia ta hule karai data vano vaila.*
 3p R ask maybe FUT:1 go tomorrow
 ‘They asked if I would go tomorrow.’

The following complex example shows an indirect question embedded in indirect speech introduced by *tania* ‘say, think’:

- (117) *Tai, hita ta mia ki vitolo-ni-hita matoto*
 same.sex.sibling 1pe R sit CONT:3 hunger-TR-1pe very
ka tani-a kata hule-ni-ho, datu tara kamana,
 CONT say-3s PURP ask-TR-3s FUT:2 agree with
ka-a lubaluba hita ka hani-a?
 PC-2s eel 1pe CONT eat-3s
 ‘Brother, we are experiencing a real famine and I thought I would ask you whether you would agree to it that we eat your eel?’
 (Lit. ‘Brother, we sit and are very hungry, and I said (to myself) to ask you that you will agree with it and your eel we will eat it.’)

Notice that *tania* ‘say, speak’ can also mean ‘think’, as in the first instance of (117) and in the following two examples:

- (118) *Ia hada ki tani-a hiha, ia pade-a.*
 3s see CONT:3 say-3s fish 3s spear-3s
 ‘He saw it and thought that it was a fish, so he speared it.’
- (119) *Hau ta tani-a ho na hanitu katiu.*
 1s R speak-3s 2s ART evil.spirit one
 ‘I thought you were an evil spirit.’

Finally, *tania* can also be used in an absolute sense, just like *pole* ‘speak, talk, converse’, without the actual words being reported:

- (120) *Palaka, beta hiro na tani-a ni habu tamaninik-idia.*
 but NEG 3d IRR say-3s loc:PN group friend-3p
 ‘But they didn’t say anything to their friends.’
- (121) *Dia ta longo-ri-a a Pote e po-pole kamani Naio.*
 3p R hear-TR-3s ART P. R:3 RED-speak with:PN N.
 ‘They heard Pote talking with Naio.’

9.13 Verbal repetition

As in many Oceanic languages, the repetition of a verb is quite common in Vitu to mark continuous or durative action. This phenomenon is to be differentiated from reduplication, which is a word-level phenomenon only resulting in one word (see §4.5). Verbal repetition refers to the actual repeating of a full verb, usually two or three times, but sometimes even more. Each item has its own intonation and it could be argued that it forms a separate phrase. Most of the cases we have found seem to involve the repetition of intransitive motion verbs:

- (122) *Hita ta rovo zahe zahe zahe zahe.*
 1pe R run go.up go.up go.up go.up
 ‘We went (in a motorised boat) on and on and on.’
- (123) *Dia ta taputapu taputapu. Vano vano vano.*
 3p R fish fish go go go
 ‘They kept fishing and fishing. On and on it went.’

Verbal repetition is particularly common in story-telling, but tends to be edited out in written texts.

Appendix: two texts

Text 1. Varivuvuka haroho ('The beginning of fire')

This text was written by Carolyne Namor from Balangore 1 during a literacy workshop held there in 2000. The text has been edited by Vena Ereliu.

- (1) *Vazira matoto, na malala katiu e koha-nga ni*
long.ago very loc village one R:3 call-PASS loc:PN
Apungi, manumanu dia ta lala dia kata hani-mata-hi-a
A. people 3p R HAB 3p PURP eat-raw-TR-3s
hani-nga.
eat-NOM

'A long long time ago, in a village called Apungi, people used to eat raw food.'

- (2) *Na malala kua, kaka katiu hiza-na a Kusak.*
loc village this person one name-3s ART K.

'In this village there was a man whose name was Kusak.'

- (3) *Ka-na kaua vona.*
PC-3s dog loc:3s

'He had dogs.'

- (4) *Ka-na boro vona.*
PC-3s pig loc:3s

'He had pigs.'

- (5) *Boto laveve e lala kete va-vana ni pa-pango*
time all R:3 HAB PURP RED-walk IRR:3 RED-hunt
na mugomugo.
loc forest

'He always went hunting in the forest.'

- (6) *Dama katiu e pango vano, ia zungi-a na bavuk-a*
 day one R:3 hunt go 3s smell-3s ART smell-3s
haroho e pe na potuna ki ziho.
 fire R:3 come/go loc mountain CONT:3 go.down
 ‘One day as he was hunting, he smelled (the smell of) fire coming down from the mountain.’
- (7) *Na potuna kua, na tamohane lapunu katiu e lala*
 loc mountain this ART man old one R:3 HAB
kete mi-mia vona.
 PURP:3 RED-sit loc:3s
 ‘On this mountain there lived an old man.’
- (8) *Ia za ka-na haroho vona.*
 3s just PC-3s fire loc:3s
 ‘Only he had fire.’
- (9) *Boto katiu a Kusak e mia ki lohoi-hoi dala*
 time one ART K. R:3 sit CONT:3 think-RED road
kete pele-a haroho na lapunu kua.
 PURP:3 take-3s fire loc old this
 ‘One time Kusak sat down and thought about a way to get fire from the old man.’
- (10) *Dama katiu ia koha-ni-a ka-na kaua-ua kamana boro-boro*
 day one 3s call-TR-3s PC-3s dog-RED with pig-RED
dia ta lohu-lohu, ia maki-a boro katiu, kaua katiu,
 3p R arrive-RED 3s choose-3s pig one dog one
hiro kata rovo kara haroho.
 3d PURP run to fire
 ‘One day he called his dogs and his pigs, and when they arrived he chose one pig and one dog to run and get fire.’
- (11) *Boro kamana kaua hiro ta rovo kara potuna kua.*
 pig with dog 3d R run to mountain this
 ‘The pig and the dog ran to the mountain.’

- (12) *Hiro ta rovo zahe bele kozo-ti-a potuna, hiro ta madii*
 3d R run go.up arrive near-TR-3s mountain 3d R stand
hiro ka hiki vano, hiro ta hada na lapunu tamohane kua
 3d CONT spy go 3d R see ART old man this
kava ti hani-a virua katiu kini ngoro-tudu.
 already PF:3 eat-3s enemy/victim one SEQ:3 sleep-look.down
 ‘They ran up close to the mountain, stood there and spied; they saw that
 the old man had eaten a victim and was sound asleep.’
- (13) *Hiro ta rua rogo, hiro ta zare-ni-a na haroho*
 3d R two creep 3p R pull.out-TR-3s ART fire
hiro ta hava mule kara malala.
 3d R flee back to village
 ‘The two of them crept up, pulled out some fire and fled back to the
 village.’
- (14) *Hiro ta bele, hiro ta vala na haroho ni taua-hiro.*
 3d R arrive 3d R give ART fire loc:PN master-3d
 ‘When they arrived, they gave the fire to their master.’
- (15) *A taua-hiro e hilohilo matoto ni hiro, na vuna*
 ART master-3d R:3 happy very loc:PN 3d ART because
ti haroho vona dia kata tuni-a hani-nga vona.
 PF:3 fire loc:3s 3p PURP cook-TR eat-NOM loc:3s
 ‘Their master was very happy with them, because now they had fire to
 cook food with.’
- (16) *Ia polotio polotae.*¹
 3s - -
 ‘That’s the end of the story.’

¹ The final clause is the standard way of finishing a story. The words have no individual meaning.

Text 2: Dudu kamani Bilimariva ('Dudu and Bilimariva')

This text was written by Alphonse Kantomu from Balangore 2 in 1990. The story, which is very popular, tells about the origin of two conspicuous rocks on Vitu, one in the sea and one on the land. The text has been edited by Vena Erelieu.

- (1) *Mana na kedo rua.*
 story loc stone dua
 'A story about two rocks.'
- (2) *Hiza-hiro a Dudu kamani Bilimariva.*
 name-3d ART D. with:PN B.
 'Their names are Dudu and Bilimariva.'
- (3) *Kedo rua kua, hiro ta ma-madii na Lomu na bage*
 stone two this 3p R RED-stand loc L. loc side
kara Lambe.
 to L.
 'These two rocks were standing at Lomu, towards Lambe.'
- (4) *Ka-hiro mia-nga heva na Lomu beta hiro na hatu-ni-a*
 PC-2d sit-NOM down.there loc L. NEG 3d IRR feel-TR-3s
ni kemi marata.
 IRR:3 good so
 'They felt that their life down there at Lomu was not so good.'
- (5) *Pebarae hiro kene kaze-kaze lohoi-hoi-a o palaka*
 therefore 3p SEQ search-RED think-RED-NOM or place
katiu motu hiro kata hava kiri-na.
 one other 3p PURP flee to:PN-3s
 'Therefore they looked for an idea or another place that they could flee to.'

- (6) *Lohoi-hoi-a katiu e bele ni hiro habuka hiro*
 think-RED-NOM one R:3 arrive loc:PN 3d like.this 3d
kata hava kara hava-na kapou kua ni Puro, zahe.
 PURP flee to mouth-3s big this loc:PN P. go.up
 ‘The thought came to them that they would flee to the ‘big mouth’ at Puro, out (in the ocean).’¹
- (7) *Dama katiu hiro ta vaida ka-hiro, hiro keteni hava.*
 day one 3d R prepare PC-3d 3d IMM flee
 ‘One day they prepared their things, they were ready to flee.’
- (8) *Marigo-rigo matoto, kozoho kara dama, hiro ta madii*
 night-RED very close to day 3d R stand
luga tu-hiro, hiro kene hava.
 carry child-3d 3d SEQ flee
 ‘Very early in the morning, when it was close to dawn, they stood up, took their child and fled.’
- (9) *Hiro ta ma za lili-a dala kua pozi ni Hazeni.*
 3d R PROG just follow-3s road this go.seaward loc:PN H.
 ‘They just kept following the road down to Hazeni.’
- (10) *Hiro ta pozi-tadu ni Hazeni, na Gati, hiro kene*
 3d R go.seaward-down loc:PN H. loc G. 3d SEQ
ma lili-a hava-na kapou za-zahe pale,
 PROG follow-3s mouth-3s big RED-go.up then
a go-na tavine ia ti lohoi-pari-a moluk-i
 ART spouse-3s woman 3s PF:3 think-find-3s body.dirt-3s:PN
tu-na kua hiro te vati-tapu-ni-a na Lomu.
 child-3s this 3d PF leave-throw-TR-3s loc L.
 ‘They arrived down at Hazeni, at Gati, and they kept following the (direction of the) big mouth going out (to the ocean); then suddenly the wife remembered that they had left behind their son’s body dirt in Lomu.’

¹ *Havana kapou*, lit. ‘its big mouth’, refers to the passage which connects the inner sea of Vitu (the harbour) to the outer ocean (see §1.1 and map 2). The word *zahe* ‘go up’ at the end of the line has the secondary sense of movement away from the land.

- (11) *Hiro ta madii lohoi-hoi, hiro kata kuziha?*
 3p R stand think-RED 3d PURP do.what
 ‘They stood there thinking; what would they do?’¹
- (12) *Pale, a go-na tavine ia geri-a go-na tamohane*
 then ART spouse-3s woman 3s send-3s spouse-3s man
a Dudu.
 ART D.
 ‘Then the woman told her husband Dudu.’
- (13) *“Ho ma va-vamuga, hau ka rovo mule kara*
 2s PROG RED-go.ahead 1s CONT run back to
moluk-i tu-doro.”
 body.dirt-3s:PN child-1di
 ‘‘‘You keep going on ahead, I will run back to get our child’s body dirt.’’’
- (14) *E tani-barae ni go-na, ia tarepoki pamuhi*
 R:3 say-like.this loc:PN spouse-3s 3s turn.around immediately
za kini ma vamule keteni ziho vori poki
 just SEQ:3 PROG go.back IMM:3 go.down go.inland go.across
mule kara Lomu.
 back to L.
 ‘As she said this to her husband, she immediately turned around and went back, intending to go ashore, uphill and across the mountain, back to Lomu.’²

¹ The reason they are concerned for the left behind ‘body dirt’ (a polite term for excrement), is the fear that someone would perform sorcery with it and harm the child.

² The combination of *ziho* ‘go down’ and *vori* ‘go inland, go uphill’ may appear unusual in this sentence. It is probable (though not explicitly stated) that the rocks are pictured as travelling by water, maybe swimming. (Notice that the verb *vana* ‘walk’ in lines 15 and 24 can also simply mean ‘go, travel’.) An indication of this is the verb *zaha* ‘go up’ at the end of line 6, which in its secondary sense refers to movement away from land. The verb *ziho* ‘go down’ in line 14 then refers to the movement towards the land, back to shore, rather than downhill. The serial verb construction packs three different movements into one predicate: first the wife intends to return to land (*ziho*), then to go uphill (*vori*) and finally to cross the mountain range (*poki*).

- (15) *A go-na tamohane ia ti ma vana vilage-lage kini*
 ART spouse-3s man 3s PF PROG walk slow-RED SEQ:3
ma za-zahe kara hava-na kapou.
 PROG RED-go.up to mouth-3s big.
 ‘Her husband kept walking/going slowly on his way out to the big mouth.’
- (16) *Go-na tavine a Bilimariva kamana ki bele*
 spouse-3s woman ART B. with CONT:3 arrive
ki pele-a moluk-i tu-hiro ia tarepoki
 CONT:3 take-3s body.dirt-3s:PN child-3d 3s turn.around
pamuhi za.
 immediately just
 ‘When his wife Bilimariva had arrived and taken their child’s body dirt, she immediately turned around.’
- (17) *Kua hiro te pe-pebarae, kava keteni dama.*
 if/when 3d PF RED-like.that already IMM:3 day
 ‘As they were doing this, it was almost morning.’
- (18) *Ki baribari mule, kini pozi-tadu ni Hazeni*
 CONT:3 hurry back SEQ:3 go.seaward-down loc:PN H.
pale, ia ma kata hihini zahe muri
 then 3s PROG keep.close.to.beach rub SEQ:3 go.up behind
ni go-na a Dudu.
 loc:PN spouse-3s ART D.
 ‘She hurried back and arrived down at Hazeni; then she kept close to the beach (lit. rubbed the beach) and went out behind her husband Dudu.’
- (19) *Kua ti pe-pebarae, kava go-na tamohane ti*
 if/when PF:3 RED-like.that already spouse-3s man PF:3
zahe zau matoto na hava-na kapou.
 go.up far very loc mouth-3s big
 ‘When this was happening, her husband had already gone out very far in the big mouth.’

- (20) *Kazaha a Bilimariva kava ti viri matoto,*
 poor ART B. already PF:3 stressed very
ti beta ni hada-vutu-hi-a go-na tamohane.
 PF:3 NEG IRR:3 see-tie-TR-3s spouse-3s man
 ‘Poor Bilimariva was now very stressed, as she could no longer clearly see her husband.’
- (21) *E mai ni Rangonakokoa ki pe mai vele*
 R:3 come loc:PN R. CONT:3 come/go come also
pitu ve kiri Kulupuro, ia da-dama poro-ti-a.
 little also to:PN K. 3s RED-day block.the.way-TR-3s
 ‘When she had come to Rangonakokoa (= Crow’s Nest) and had gone a little towards Kulupuro, the morning blocked her way.’
- (22) *Pale, kazaha kua keteni kuziha?*
 then poor this IMM:3 do.what
 ‘So what could the poor woman do?’
- (23) *Ki tunga zahe za ki hada-vi-a a go-na*
 CONT:3 look go.up just CONT:3 see-TR-3s ART spouse-3s
tamohane a Dudu kava ti zau matoto na hava-na
 man ART D. already PF:3 far very loc mouth-3s
kapou.
 big
 ‘She just looked up and saw that her husband Dudu was already very far in the big mouth.’
- (24) *Ia ti puae keteni ma va-vana kua kava*
 3s PF:3 ashamed IMM:3 PROG RED-walk if/when already
ti dama ka-kava.
 PF:3 day RED-clear
 ‘She was ashamed to keep going, now that it was broad daylight.’
- (25) *Kubarae ia ma pulavatudu kini mahitu, kozoho*
 therefore 3s PROG lie.face.down SEQ:3 sink close
na vazalea na pidak-i Kulupuro kamani Ragonakokoa.
 loc beach loc middle-3s:PN K. with:PN R.
 ‘Therefore she lay face down and sank in the water, near the beach between Kulupuro and Ragonakokoa.’

- (26) *Kua meni tu pe na vaga o tu huzu-huzu,*
 if/when today R:2 come/go loc boat or R:2 swim-RED
datu ha-hada-vi-a za kena e pulavatudu ki
 FUT:2 RED-see-TR-3s just that R:3 lie.face.down CONT:3
ngo-ngoro kava-kava na polok-a dazi.
 RED-sleep clear-RED loc inside-3s sea

‘If today you go by boat or you go swimming (there), you will just clearly see it (= the rock) lying face down in the sea.’

- (27) *A Dudu, kuari ti ma ma-madii na hirip-a*
 ART D. that PF:3 PROG RED-stand loc side-3s
ni Matanaburere.
 loc:PN M.

‘As for Dudu, that one (= that rock) remained standing there beside Matanaburere.’

- (28) *Ia polotio polotae.*¹
 3s - -

‘That’s the end of the story.’

¹ See footnote 1 following clause 16 in the first text.

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