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4 Introduction and Grammar to Sikaiana Language

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NOTES ON SIKAIANA LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

The following discussion is primarily intended as an explanation of the codes and usage notes used in the lexicon, it is not meant to be a complete grammatical description of the Sikaiana language. There are seven sections: (1) a general introduction to Sikaiana Language, Culture and Society; (2) Phonology; (3) Nouns (including pronouns, possessive pronouns, nominalized verbs, adjectives, demonstratives); (4) Verbs and the Verbal Phrase (including tense-aspect markers, verb affixes, direction particles, verb classes, and plural and repeated action); (5) Prepositions and Case Relations; (6) Conjunctions and interrogatives; (7) Numbers.

1. Sikaiana Language, Culture and Society

Sikaiana is a Polynesian Outlier located about 140 miles east of Malaita Island in the Solomon Islands. Its culture and language share many affinities with other northern Polynesian Outliers including Luaniua (Hogbin 1934/61, Salmond 1974), Takuu (Irwin Howard personal communication), and others. Pawley (1966, 1967) classified it with the Samoic-Outlier subgroup of Polynesian languages. The Sikaiana grammar was first described by Capell (1935-37). His informants were Solomon Islander missionaries who had lived on Sikaiana. Later linguistic work was done in the late 1960s by Peter Sharples.

According to Sikaiana legend, the island was founded by Tehui Atahu who came from a place named Luahatu that is not identified with any specific island (some Sikaiana speculate that it is Tokelau; others claim Tonga). Tehui Atahu left his home and travelled to various nearby islands including Santa Cruz, Luaniua, Takuu, and Nukumanu taking aboard people from these islands as members of his crew. He originally found Sikaiana submerged and journeyed on to Luaniua. Upon returning to Sikaiana, he found the island occupied by a people named the Hetuna. He annihilated the Hetuna, and established himself and his descendants as the chiefly line of Sikaiana.

Traditional history records an invasion by a group of "Tongans" under a leader named Vaeoma. This occurred about 10-12 generations ago in most genealogies. (Most Sikaiana people agree that before this invasion genealogies are not precise.) After killing much of the island's population, the Tongans left for Taumako where they themselves were killed when a Sikaiana hostage reported their behavior on Sikaiana to the Taumakoans.

According to traditional history, at about the same time as this invasion of Tongans, people from Nukumanu, Tuvalu (Ellice), and Samoa came to Sikaiana. These people intermarried with the Sikaiana people and became the recognized founders of patrilines *(hale akina)*. There was intermittent but continuous contact with nearby Polynesian islands, including Luaniua, Taumako, Pileni, Pelau, and Nukumanu. There are some legends of contact with Malaita.

The first reported sighting of the island by Europeans was in 1791 and there followed relatively frequent contact with traders and whalers through the 19th century. Several Europeans who visited Sikaiana in the mid-19th century reported that some of the local people could speak 'broken' English. In the late 19th century, a group of Kiribati (Gilbertese) refugees were taken to the island by a trader where they intermarried with the local population. By the early 20th century, some Sikaiana men worked on ships and for traders.

In the late 1920s, the islands' ritual houses were burned at the instigation of a European trader. Shortly after, in 1929, the Melanesian Mission (the present-day Church of Melanesia) established a missionary base on Sikaiana, and there followed a rapid and almost complete conversion to Christianity. The original conversion was conducted by Melanesians from the Melanesian Brotherhood or Tasiu. After 1929, many of the island's younger men and women were sent away to mission schools where they were instructed in Mota (the original language used by the Melanesian Mission) and later English. During this period, emigration increased as men sought work in other parts of the Solomons, especially on the government vessels or for the Melanesian Mission.

After the Second World War, emigration to other areas of the Solomon Islands accelerated. At present, the population living on Sikaiana itself fluctuates at about 200-250 people. About 450-500 other Sikaiana people have emigrated away from the island for education or employment. These people are mostly concentrated in the Honiara area of Guadalcanal, the Lever's Plantation at Yandina, and several small settlements in Isabel Province. Many Sikaiana people, both young and old, have spent much of their lives away from the island.

Every male and most females, both living on Sikaiana and elsewhere, are fluent in the lingua franca of the Solomon Islands, Pijin English. Most children learn Pijin English by the time they start school, if not earlier. Many younger men, born after the Second World War prefer to converse with each other in Pijin English rather than the Sikaiana language, claiming that they are more comfortable and better able to express themselves speaking Pijin. Knowledge of English is variable, and there are some fluent speakers. The Sikaiana people say that their language has undergone many changes, and that many younger speakers born after the Second World War do not speak it properly.

As might be expected, the vocabulary for introduced technology is largely borrowed from English. Moreover, in the informal speech of many speakers, there is very heavy borrowing from English and Pijin English. This borrowing occurs even when there are Sikaiana terms that are acceptable equivalents.

Social change, emigration, and changing language use form the context for contemporary language use on Sikaiana. To conserve space, this book includes only the

most commonly used English borrowings. The reader should be aware that most of the technical terminology for Sikaiana's present social institutions, such as the church, cooperative society, local government, court, and school is borrowed from English. Moreover, the technology of the island is increasingly oriented to imported manufactured products, and the terminology for these products is usually borrowed from English.

Some of the terms listed in this text describe traditional technology, ritual or practices that are no longer followed. During my stay in 1980-1983, and again in 1987, there were no outrigger canoes on Sikaiana. Many traditional net and deep-sea fishing techniques are no longer practiced. Most string is bought in stores rather than made from home fiber. No living informant remembers any shell axe being used for clearing or cutting. (The oldest people were born about 1900 or a little earlier). Before the cyclone in 1986, about half the dwellings on Sikaiana have a concrete foundation or iron roof. Most pre-Christian ritual is no longer practiced and largely forgotten.

The usage notes in this text provide the reader with some insight into language use on Sikaiana in the 1980s. Many of the terms listed in this lexicon are unknown to younger and even many middle-aged Sikaiana people. Such terms are marked 'archaic'. Because many of these terms were collected from traditional songs (TS), a quote from the song is often included. Christianity has had a profound influence on Sikaiana society and traditional ritual that is no longer practiced is listed as 'PCR' (pre-Christian ritual). Traditional practices that are still followed are unmarked. Christian ritual terms are marked 'CR'.

The Sikaiana people are rightly proud of their ability to use metaphor in speech. Figurative meanings are listed as separate senses and labelled 'figurative' in the usage notes. In order to give a glimpse of Sikaiana language use, examples in the vocabulary include quotes from many songs. Songs often describe Sikaiana values and these quotations are included to give the reader some idea of how language is used to describe these values. However, verses that have a fairly complex metaphorical meaning are not included. The songs are classified into two types: 'modern' songs (MS) are usually written to Western or neo-Polynesian tunes and have a Western verse style, while 'traditional' songs (TS) use a traditional composition style and tune even though they may have been written fairly recently. In this text, the usage note 'demeaning' is used in a different sense than that used by Elbert in his dictionary of Rennellese. In this lexicon, 'demeaning' refers to speech that is critical of the person about whom the word is spoken. Terms marked 'demeaning' are often used jokingly, although in some contexts they may be very insulting.

2. Phonology

There are five vowels all of which are reflexes of the Proto-Polynesian vowel system:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

u and *i* are often pronounced as glides *w* and *y*, especially when they precede *a*, or *u* precedes *i*. Glides are not marked in this lexicon because they are determined by their environment.

There are 9 consonants which are reflexes of the Proto-Polynesian consonants reconstructed by Walsh and Biggs (1966):

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PPN *p *t *k *' *f *w *s *h *m *n *ng *l *r
SIK  p  t  k -  f/h v  s  -/s  m  n   n   l  l
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In some words *f* and *h* are in free variation, for example: *hhati* or *ffati* 'break', *hhiti* or *ffiti* 'spark', *hhuti* or *ffuti* 'pull'. But in many words only *h* is acceptable, for example: *honu* 'turtle', *hili* 'choose', *hata* 'fence', *hetuu* 'star'.

Since *h* is the dominant form, being an acceptable alternative for all words beginning with *f*, while *f* is not acceptable as an alternative for many words beginning with *h*, I have entered all these forms under 'h', listing as alternates those words in which *f* is acceptable. In a few words, *s* and *h* are in free variation: *maasani* or *maahani* 'rise up', *hakaleelesi* or *hakaleelehi* 'to lie', *tahi* or *tasi* 'one'. In singing, many other words normally spoken with *h* are sung with *s*: *aho* becomes aso 'day', *heai* becomes seai 'no', *he(e)* becomes *se(e)* 'not'.

There is a length distinction in the vowels and between single and double (or geminate) consonants that is phonemic and important for proper pronunciation. The Sikaiana people speak of such contrasts as 'heavy' versus 'light', or 'slow' versus 'rapid'. In the text, these distinctions are represented by doubling the consonant or the vowel. The Sikaiana usually do not mark these distinctions in their own writing.

The following minimal pairs demonstrate the length distinction for vowels:

aha 'shell tool for making a net'
ahaa 'cyclone'
aaha 'open up'

seesee 'search for women'
sesee 'search'

toonu 'resentment'
tonu 'correct'

tia   'tie a net'
tiia 'halo'

taku 'my'
takuu 'axe'

These distinctions not only reflect vowel length, but also
affect the stress patterns, since primary stress normally falls on the penultimate (second
to last) vowel and secondary stress on every other preceding vowel (this corresponds
with syllables).

Double or geminate consonants are frequent and have a phonemically distinct
pronunciation from single consonants. Often the geminate consonants occur as the
result of the loss in pronunciation of an unstressed vowel. Minimal pairs are listed
below with examples of the dropped or elided vowel.

Unstressed Syllable Elision   Minimal Pair Contrast

hahai, hhai 'to strip leaves'   hai 'to have'
papale, ppale 'to blame'   pale 'to slide against'
lalana, llana 'to weave'   lana 'to swell, of a sore'
mamata, mmata 'to examine'   mata 'raw, of food'
nanau, nnau 'tough to eat'   nau '1st pers. sg., I'
sasau, ssau 'to carry'   sau 'a song type'
totolo, ttolo 'to crawl'   tolo 'to plant'
vivisi, vvisi 'to touch'   visi 'to be crowded'

In normal speech, all the words in the left column are spoken in their elided or
shortened form. Some younger speakers, born after the Second World War, claim not to
recognize many of the longer or unelided forms, although they hear the difference
between words with double consonants and those with single consonants. Double

consonants also occur to mark agreement in verbs with plural subjects, or in some cases to mark repeated action. This is probably a result of the same environment described above; the plural forms of the verb reduplicate the first syllable of the singular form, and then the initial unstressed vowel is not pronounced (see section 4.6).

Double consonants also occur in some words with initial *t* that follow the definite article *te*. The *e* in *te* is elided and the initial *t* of the following word given stronger articulation:

te tama ------> ttama 'person'
te tai   ------> ttai 'sea, as a location'

The transcription of English borrowings is difficult since there is considerable variation in pronunciation, depending upon the speaker's familiarity with English. This book uses a conservative transcription; the word is listed as older speakers pronounce the word. However, the reader should be aware that most Sikaiana people are able to articulate [r], clusters of consonants with different articulation, and voiced consonants, and do so in pronouncing recent English borrowings.

The alphabetization of this dictionary was developed as a compromise between the conventions for writing currently used by the Sikaiana people and an orthography which represents the phonemic contrasts of the language. All double vowels of the same articulation and geminate (or double) consonants are located in this book as if they were single vowels and consonants respectively. (Thus *ppili* 'to be stuck' and *pili* 'to be on top' are found next to each other.) This may cause some initial confusion to the non-Sikaiana reader which hopefully will be mastered. It should make this book easier to use for a Sikaiana reader.

NOUNS and VERBS

Sentence order in Sikaiana is variable, but short, simple or direct statements often have the following pattern:

 SUBJECT   VERB   OBJECT

Noun Phrase   Verbal Phrase (preposition) Noun Phrase(s)

For present purposes the verbal environment or 'verb phrase' will be discussed separately from the noun phrases that follow it. Sentence initial noun phrases usually do not lead with a preposition. Noun phrases following the verb may or may not lead with a preposition depending upon the case relationships of the noun phrases to the verb, and qualities of the verb. Several different noun phrases may follow the verb; the unmarked one must come first and in many ways such unmarked phrases resemble direct objects in English. Subject initial word order is unusual for most Polynesian

languages but seems to be typical of the Northern Polynesian Outliers.

   Sentence initial verb phrases are not infrequent in extended discourse or narrative. Often they are followed by the particles *ai* or *ei*.

3. Nouns

The Sikaiana noun occurs in the following environment:

   article   noun (nq) (q) (demonstrative)
   or
   possessive pronoun

   An article always precedes the noun, except before nouns of place, proper names, and free pronouns; possessive pronouns may replace articles. Most noun qualifiers (nq) or adjectives follow the noun and sometimes another qualifier (q) follows.   Demonstratives and deictics occur last.

   In most contexts, nouns can be distinguished from other parts of speech because they follow the articles *te* or *na*. As will be discussed below, words that are commonly used as verbs can be identified as nouns when they (and their derivations) follow the article, *te*. *Te* is often a singular marker, although it may also refer to a class of objects; *na* is a plural marker.

   Like most Polynesian languages, Sikaiana marks two types of possession: 'alienable' and 'inalienable'. In some cases, the marking seems to be determined by qualities of the possessed noun, and in other cases it is determined by the relationship between the possessor and the possessed. These types of possession are marked by *a* (alienable) and *o* (inalienable) either as possessive markers or as infixes in the possessive pronoun. In the following example, *hale* 'house' is possessed by *o* class possessive pronouns, while *kete* 'basket' is *a* class:

Preposition   Possessive Pronoun

te hale o Sina   --> tona hale
the house of Sina   her house

te kete   a Sina --> tana kete
the basket of Sina   her basket

   Inalienable (o) nouns include most kinship relationships, formal social relationships such as marriage and friendship, body parts, clothing and bedding, and certain other nouns such as *kelekele* 'land', *kaaina* 'named territories', *hale* 'house', *vaka* 'canoe', and *motokaa* 'automobile'. There are some exceptions to these generalizations;

for example, *tama* 'child' is marked by *a* possession if referring to a biological child, but by *o* possession if referring to a relative: *tana tama* 'his biological child', but *tona tama* 'his relative'. Clothing and bedding that are being made, and canoes and houses under construction, are marked by *a* class possession in referring to their maker or builder; *tana hale* 'his house, that he is building'.

In many cases, the marking of nouns refers to the relationship between possessor and possessed rather than any intrinsic quality of the noun. If an object is part of a larger whole, then it is inalienably (*o*) possessed by the whole of which it is part. However, the same noun may be marked as *a* class, when possessed by a human. For example, *pola* 'roof mats' are inalienable to the house of which they are a part, but they are alienable to the individual who owns them:

Te hale   e   isi ona pola.
the house T/A has its roof mats

Te tama   e   isi   ana pola.
the person T/A has his roof mats

In the first sentence, *ona* marks inalienable possession; in the second sentence, *ana* marks alienable possession. In the first example it seems more appropriate to describe the relationship between possessed and possessor as 'partitive'.

Nouns describing ceremonies, events, and honors may be marked as either alienable or inalienable depending upon whether the sponsor or the benefactor is being described. Thus, if a man composes a song for or about a woman, the song is possessed alienably by the man, *tana mako*, 'his song, that he composed'; but it is possessed inalienably by the woman, *tona mako*, 'her song, that was composed about her'. The same principle applies to other social events, such as a marriage exchange. For the person(s) who arrange the exchanges in a marriage exchange it is *tana penupenu*, 'his/her marriage that he/she sponsored'; but for the bride or groom it is *tona penupenu*, 'his/her marriage exchange'. In this lexicon, nouns are classified into four types to reflect these distinctions. A fifth class refers to flora and fauna. Personal names and place names are classified separately. The following abbreviations are used to classify nouns:

[na]   alienable noun, normally taking *a*
[no]   inalienable noun, normally taking *o*
[nao]   a noun that is *a* for 'sponsor' and *o* for 'benefactor'
[np]   a noun that is part of a whole; *o* for the whole of which is part, but *a* or a human possessor
[nf]   a noun for flora or fauna
[psn]   personal name
[pln]   place name

In 1987, after the first version of this dictionary was published, I collected place and personal names from Mark Etua. I was reluctant to include these in the dictionary since John Kilatu had passed away and I was reluctant to include these terms into the main dictionary which had been largely put together with him. There are appendices that include personal and place names.

Words for relative directions or locations are not prepositions, but rather nouns of place, including: *aluna* 'above', *loto* 'inside', *lalo* 'below', *anna* 'on top', *taha* 'outside', *uta* 'to land, inland', *tai* 'toward the sea'. Like place names, they are not preceded by an article: *i anna o te kaiana*, 'on (the) top of the table'.

3.1 Pronouns

The Sikaiana pronoun system marks a distinction between singular (one person), dual (two people), and plural (more than two people). Moreover, there is an inclusive and exclusive distinction in first person pronouns that indicates whether the listener is included or excluded in the statement. These distinctions apply to both free pronouns and possessive pronouns.

All pronouns and personal names (including names of boats) are preceded by a personal name marker, *a*, which is optional in both sentence initial position and directly following the verb, but must be included following the prepositions *i* and *ki̱* (*i a nau, ki a nau*). This marker is not used after the prepositions *ma* and *e* or following the particles *ei* and *ai*.

The following is the paradigm for free pronouns:

	singular	dual	plural
1st person Incl.	nau	taaua	taatou
Excl.		maaua	maatou
2nd person	koe	koulua	koutou
3rd person	ia	laaua	laatou

Following the prepositions *i, ki, ma, e*, after the sentence particles *ai* and *ei*, and in verb initial sentences, dual and plural forms are prefixed with ki-:

Laatou ni kauake na tana ki a kilaatou.
they T/A brought pl bag to them

'They brought the bags to them'.

3.2 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns follow the paradigm of pronouns in agreeing with the possessor. They are marked for agreement with their possessed nouns depending upon: 1) whether it is "alienable" or "inalienable" possession; (2) whether the item possessed is singular or plural.

The following paradigms describe the Sikaiana possessive pronouns for *a* and *o* class possessed objects.

Possessive pronouns for possessed singular alienable nouns:

	singular	dual	plural
1st person Incl.	taku	te maaua	te maatou
Excl.		te taaua	te taatou
2nd person	tau	(t)taulua	(t)tautou
3rd person	tana	te laaua	te laatou

Possessive pronouns for possessed plural alienable nouns:

1st person Incl.	(a)aku	a maaua	a maatou
Excl.		a taaua	a taatou
2nd person	(a)au	(a)aulua	(a)autou
3rd person	(a)ana	a laaua	a laatou

Possessive pronouns for possessed singular inalienable nouns:

1st person Incl.	toku	te maaua	te maatou
Excl.		te taaua	te taatou
2nd person	too	(t)toulua	(t)toutou
3rd person	tona	te laaua	te laatou

Possessive pronouns for possessed plural inalienable nouns:

1st person Incl.	(o)oku	o maaua	o maatou
Excl.		o taaua	o taatou
2nd person	oo	(o)oulua	(o)outou
3rd person	(o)ona	o laaua	o laatou

Sikaiana also makes a distinction between objects that are in possession and objects that are being requested:

Too mai taku ika.
give hither my fish

Too mai maaku he   ika.
give hither my (request) fish

In the first sentence the person making the statement has already caught the fish and is asking that it be brought to him. In the second sentence the person is requesting that somebody bring him a fish that is not yet in his possession (somebody else's fish).

3.3 Nominalized Verbs

Verbs are converted into noun clauses in two ways. First a suffix, *-ana* may be added to the root. In this form, the nominalized verb is usually an *a* class or alienable noun and often refers to past action or states. Second, a verb can be nominalized without any affixation by placing it after the definite article, *te* or a possessive pronoun. In this latter case, the nominalized verb is an *o* class or inalienable noun and usually refers to present action or states. Occasionally, an entire verb phrase is nominalized:

tana ola mai   muli-ana
her alive hither again-nom. suffix

'her coming alive again'

Nominalized verbs, especially in the unaffixed form, are very common. They are not listed under separate senses in this book unless the word is used very frequently or the nominalized meaning is not obvious from the meaning of the verb.

3.4 Noun Qualifiers or Adjectives

Noun qualifiers (or as they are more commonly called, adjectives) usually follow the noun that they qualify and are often taken from class IV stative verbs. They may also be taken from other classes of verbs, although rarely class I transitive verbs.

te vai maaliki   'cold water'
te talatala hakaleelesi 'untrue speech'
te tava leu   'ripe tava fruit'
te tama hakaaloha   'the pitiful man'

A few words function only as noun qualifiers, and some of these must be placed before the noun they modify, for example: *ttahi* 'large', *ttahi te ika* 'a large fish', *ttahi te tama* 'a large man'; *tapaa* 'very small, little', *tapaa tama* 'a baby', *tapaa ika* 'a very small fish'; siaa 'a few': *na siaa tama* 'a few people'.

In addition, there are some qualifiers that may modify a noun and its noun qualifiers. Most of these appear after the noun or the noun qualifier and include: *hoki* 'also', *koia* 'only', katoa 'all'.

In this lexicon, words that only appear as noun qualifiers or adjectives are abbreviated with [nq]; other qualifiers that can modify a noun qualifier are abbreviated with [q]. If a verb is used as a noun qualifier in a way that is slightly different from its meaning as a verb, or if it is used frequently, then an entry is made under a separate sense of the headword. Otherwise, verbs that appear as noun qualifiers are not listed as noun qualifiers. Many verbs that are listed as semi-transitive (vp) or stative (vs) also occur frequently as noun qualifiers or adjectives.

3.5 Demonstratives

Three particles serve as both demonstrative pronouns and deictic markers: *nei* refers to something in the immediate presence of the speaker, or sometimes in conversation to the speech being spoken; *naa* refers to objects in sight but not in the immediate presence of the speaker, objects near or on the other side of the listener, and in discourse, *naa* may refer to speech that has been spoken by listener; *laa* refers to objects that are far away from speaker, and in discourse may refer to topics or speech introduced previously to the conversation being held.

These demonstratives can also be used as nouns of place when prefixed with *iki-*: *ikinei* 'here'; *ikinaa* 'there, near listener, or place already mentioned in discourse'; *ikilaa* 'there, far from speaker and listener'.

4. Verbs

Verb roots and their derivations occur in the following environment:

```
T/A   (neg)           Verb              (direction particle) (vq) (q)
                     / | \                    |
kunaa  he(e)  (prefix) root (suffix)  mai
ni                haka-      -Cia    atu
kona               ma-               ake
kaihe              ta-               iho
ku                 hii-
e
koi
ka
heki
ki
poki
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T/A represents tense-aspect markers. The negative marker, *he(e)*, appears before the verb. There are a few verb qualifiers that may appear before the verb, but normally they appear after the verb. The position of the direction particles in the verb phrase is variable, although usually they appear after the root (and the *-Cia* derivative if suffixed). Deictic markers appear at the end of the phrase. In verb initial sentences, the tense-aspect markers are usually omitted.

4.1 Tense-Aspect Markers

Verbs appear after tense-aspect markers. Other than verb prefixes, the negative marker *he(e)*, and a few verb qualifiers, there are very few forms that can appear between a verb and the tense-aspect markers. These tense aspect markers and their functions are: *kunaa*, past perfect 'had been completed'; *ni*, perfect 'have completed'; *kona*, past progressive 'was doing' *kaihe*, immediate 'just completed'; *ku*, present immediate 'is, being, etc.'; *e*, indefinite and future 'is doing, will do, be'; *koi* present progressive 'still doing'; *ka*, inceptive, future definite 'will do'; heki, negative progressive 'not yet done'; *ki*, obligative 'must, should do'; *poki*, negative subjunctive 'lest'.

There are three negative imperatives: *he poi*, *he toi*, and *kau he*. *He poi* is the most frequently used of these and means to cease from repeating the action described by the verb:

He poi talatala muli i te mea nei.
 not speak again about sg thing this

'Don't speak any more about this.'

4.2 Verb Affixes

4.2.1 **haka-**
The 'causative' prefix, *haka-* is very productive and serves a variety of functions. With root verbs that are 'intransitive' [vi] or 'stative' [vs] it converts the root into a 'transitive' verb, often with the new meaning of 'causing to do the action or be in the state described by the root verb'; for example: *piko* 'crooked', *hakapiko* 'to make crooked'; *mmau* 'firm', *hakammau* 'to make firm'; *haele* 'to walk', *hakahaele* 'to make someone walk'. Prefixed to other verbs (usually class II 'semi-transitive') it changes the meaning slightly from the root verb, as in *lono* 'listen, hear', *hakalono* 'believe, obey'; *anaana* 'to help', *hakaanaana* 'to be bothersome'.

4.2.2 **ma-, ta-**
A stative affix, *ma-* is prefixed to a comparatively small number of verb roots usually converting transitive roots into stative derivatives. Most of the root verbs that can be prefixed with *ma-* share the semantic feature of referring to an action that changes the state of a non-animate object (or patient) of the root. Root verbs that accept a *ma-* prefix may be suffixed with *-Cia* in their root form (without the *ma-* prefix). But *-Cia* is not affixed to the *ma-* prefixed derivative of the root.

Te tama maa ni seu na hale henua.
sg man white T/A destroy pl house island

'The white man destroyed the lineage houses.'

Na hale henua ku ma-sseu.
pl house island T/A destroy (stative)

'The lineage houses are destroyed.'

The following words are commonly used verbs that also occur with the *ma-* prefix:

seu 'destroy'   maseu 'destroyed'
oha 'shred'   maoha 'shredded'
uhu 'pull out'   mauhu 'pulled put'
haa 'chop'   mahaa 'chopped'
llemo 'drown'   malemo 'drowned'
ssolo 'wash'   masolo 'faded'

llini 'pour'   malini 'spilled'
ssae 'tear'   masae 'torn'
llana 'pry up'   malana 'pried up'
hhana 'pull out'   mahana 'pulled out'
kkolu 'bend'   makolu 'bent'
nneke 'move'   maneke 'moved'
hhola 'spread out'   mahola 'straightened, spread out'

The *ta-* prefixed forms are much rarer, but have similar derivation patterns: *hakalli* 'to boil', *takalli* 'to be boiled'; *keu* 'to turn', *takeu* 'to be twisted, turned'; *huli* 'turn over', *tahuli* 'to be turned over'.

4.2.3 -Cia

This is a productive suffix on Sikaiana that is commonly found in Eastern Polynesian languages as a transitive suffix (see Pawley 1973, Clark 1974). *C* represents a consonant that varies depending upon the word, and *-Cia* yields the forms: *-hia (laka, lakahia), -kia (somo, somokia), -lia (honu, honulia) -mia (anu, anumia), -nia (poo, poonia), -ina (talatala, talatalaina), -sia (kkolu, kolusia), -tia (aloha, alohatia), -ia (pakupaku, pakuia)* and *-a (haele, haelea).* Younger speakers have levelled most of these forms and often use *-lia* to replace many of the above suffixes (*lakalia, somolia, anulia*, etc.). However, some older speakers take this as a sign of 'lazy' or 'incorrect' speech. With the help of Dr. John Kilatu, I have attempted to include all the *-Cia* suffixed forms of the verbs in their older form which is still used by a some older speakers, and can be found in some of the traditional songs.

When *-Cia* is suffixed to the verb, there is a change of case marking and word order which closely resembles the change in case marking found in the English active and passive voices. In active sentences with an unsuffixed verb, the subject/agent is unmarked and usually appears before the verb phrase. The object/patient/goal/location usually follow the verb phrase. In sentences with a *-Cia* suffixed verb, the object/patient/goal/location often appears initially and the subject/agent, when it appears, occurs after the verb phrase following the agent marker, *e*.

A Sina ni aloha ki a Telaupounini.
  Sina T/A pity to   T.

'Sina pitied Telaupounini.'

A Telaupounini ni aloha-tia   e Sina.
  T.   T/A pity-   Cia by Sina

'Telaupounini was pitied by Sina.'

There are a very few words in which the *-Cia* suffix is not used, although the *e* agent marker follows the verb, including: *iloa* 'know', *lavaka* 'possible', *tiaki* 'leave'.

-Cia has other functions. It is used imperatively*: He aloha-lia mai*! 'Don't pity me!'; *Haki-lia na niu*! 'Pluck the coconuts!' It may also be suffixed to nouns of time and space with the meaning of being caught at that place or time, usually under unusual or unpleasant circumstances. For example: *poo* 'night', *poonia* 'to not arrive at one's destination by nightfall'; *maalama* 'dawn', *maalamatia* 'to be dawned upon (caught stealing in the early dawn or sleeping when one should be preparing for the day's activities)'.

Many verbs that are prefixed with *haka-* can then be suffixed with *-Cia*. This is especially true of some intransitive and stative verbs to be discussed below.

root	haka-root	haka-root-Cia
haele	hakahaele	hakahaelea
'walk'	'to make walk'	'to be made to walk (as in teaching a baby to walk)'

4.2.4 **hii-**

This prefix marks desire to do the action of or to be in the state of the root verb: *unu* 'drink', *hiiunu* 'to be thirsty'; *moe* 'sleep', *hiimoe* 'to be sleepy'.

4.3 Verb Classes

In this book I have divided the verbs into four categories based upon both semantics (meaning) and grammar. This classification is not without its problems and will probably need to be revised. Nevertheless, I think it is a useful start. This classification is based, in part, upon the grammatical relationships of verbs to noun phrases and how these case relationships are affected by the following derivatives: (1) the root, (2) the *haka-* prefix, and (3) the *-Cia* suffix.

Class I: Transitive [vt]. These are verbs that correspond to Fillmore's 'AO' verbs, or Pawley's (1973) 'deliberate transitives' reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic. All the verbs describe deliberate and usually physical action upon some part of the environment. This includes such words as: *ssau* 'carry', *tuki* 'pound', *penapena* 'make', *hhati* 'break', *kaiaa* 'steal', *sui* 'buy'. The *-Cia* suffix is very productive with transitive verbs.

A Sina ni ssau na tana.
  Sina T/A carry pl bags

'Sina carried the bags.'

Na tana ni saau-a   e   Sina.
pl bags T/A carry-Cia prep. Sina

'The bags were carried by Sina.'

     Haka- is rarely prefixed to this class of verbs, however there are a few exceptions including: *sunu* 'smell', *hakasunu* 'to make smell, as when house training a pet'; *holo* 'swallow', *hakaholo* 'to make swallow, as when making a child swallow medicine'; *amo* 'carry on shoulder', *hakaamo* 'to lift up to the shoulder to carry' (often used imperatively); *ssau* 'carry', *hakassau* 'to lift to carry', (often used imperatively). The direction particles occur with these verbs indicating the direction of activity.

     Many of the verbs in this class may occur as stative verbs in that they describe the condition or state of an initial noun phrase. Verbs commonly used this way include: *motu* 'snap, snapped', *ffati* 'break, broken', *ppui* 'prevent, forbidden'. A common example is: *te tootoka ku taalaki* 'the door is open'; *te tama likiliki ni taalaki te tootoka* 'the child opened the door'. In this book, verbs that are commonly both transitive and stative are represented as [vt, vs].

     Class II: Semi-Transitives [vp]. This class of words corresponds to Pawley's reconstructed 'spontaneous transitives'. This class includes verbs of manner, emotion, and attitude, such as: *hiihai* 'love', *aloha* 'pity', *hailaoi* 'kind', *teke* 'disobedient', *matemate* 'pretend', *hakalono* 'believe', *maanatu* 'remember'; some verbs of touch: *lono* 'feel', *haahaa* 'touch lightly', *lakulaku* 'scratch another to draw attention'; some verbs of speech: *talatala* 'speak', *hakaako* 'joke', *hakaleelehi* 'lie'. When these verbs are directed to any animate object (goal or patient) they are followed by the prepositions *i* or *ki*. Many, but not all, of the verbs in this category take the *-Cia* affix; the object/goal phrases following *i* and *ki* of the root form, becoming the 'subject' of the derived form.

The following example was used earlier:

A Sina ni aloha ki a Telaupounini.
 Sina T/A pity to   T.

'Sina pitied Telaupounini.'

A Telaupounini ni aloha-tia e Sina.
 T.   T/A pity-Cia by Sina

'Telaupounini was pitied by Sina.'

The use of *i* and *ki* after these verbs is variable and the distinctions of meaning subtle and sometimes difficult to determine. In general, *i* is less specific and refers to one class of objects as opposed to another; *ki* refers to a specific object to which the agent of the sentence is directed. (In an apparently separate function, i may also describe the source or cause of the condition being described.) When *haka-* is prefixed to these words, there is a change of meaning and the prefixed form is usually another semi-transitive verb with a related but slightly different meaning, as in *lono* 'hear', *hakalono* 'believe, obey', *memelaoi* 'to be good', *hakamemelaoi* 'to praise', *anaana* 'to care for', *hakaanaana* 'to be a pest'.

Class III: Intransitives [vi]. These include verbs describing movement in which the agent is both the initiator and the undergoer, and correspond with Pawley's reconstructed class of 'intradirectives'. Some of the verbs in this class are suffixed with -Cia to describe the location of activity: *moe* 'sleep', *moena* 'slept upon'; *haele* 'walk', *haelea* 'walked upon'.

Laatou ni mmoe i   te vasa.
they   T/A sleep prep. sg mat

'They slept on the mat.'

Te vasa e   mooe-na e   kilaatou.
sg mat   T/A sleep-Cia prep them

'The mat was slept upon by them.'

Some intransitive verbs can be affixed with the causative prefix, *haka-: hakamoe* 'to put to sleep (as a child at bedtime)'; *hakahaele* 'to make walk (as a young child learning to walk)'. Verbs of this class have affinities with class II verbs in the case marking of their object phrases in which *i* or *ki* mark location (sometimes source) and destination/goal.

Class IV: Statives [vs]. These verbs describe the condition, state or appearance of a grammatical subject. This includes verbs describing color, size, and other qualities, such as *tonu* 'correct', *ppili* 'to be stuck', *maatua* 'old', *leu* 'ripe', *naniu* 'large'. Many of these words are also used as noun qualifiers or adjectives. *Haka-* often converts the root stative verb into a causative verb that introduces an agent/subject who causes the grammatical subject of the root to be in the condition described by the verb. This derived form resembles a class I transitive verb and often can be suffixed with *-Cia*.

Te voea ku piko.
sg wire T/A bent

'The wire was bent (in shape).'

A Puna ni haka-piko te voea.
  Puna T/A caus-bend sg wire

'Puna bent the wire.'

Te voea ni haka-piko-lia   e   Puna.
sg wire T/A caus-bent-Cia prep. Puna

'The wire was bent by Puna.'

The root verbs of this category are sometimes suffixed with *-Cia* but without the change in case relationships found in other verb categories. Usually, the *haka-* prefix is used to show human and deliberate causality, while *-Cia* occurs with non-animate or accidental agents as in the following example: *te haovae ku felo-tia e te peeni* 'the pants were yellowed by the paint'.

The following abbreviations are used to describe these classes of verbs:

[vt]   class I, transitive verb
[vp]   class II, semi-transitive verb
[vi]   class III, intransitive verb
[vs]   class IV, stative verb

4.4 Direction Particles

        There are four direction markers that follow a verb and usually describe the direction of action. These particles appear frequently in Sikaiana speech and seem to be similar to the direction markers in *Pijin kam* and *go*.

mai   direction towards speaker
atu   direction towards listener, or between two people in a narrative
iho   direction down towards speaker, or down
ake   direction away from speaker, or from speaker to others not   present in narrative, or from one person to many in   narrative

Ake is sometimes used to make a comparison:

Te tama laa e iloa ake ma nau.
sg person there T/A know more than I

'That person knows better than I do.'

4.5 Verbalized Nouns

Some nouns, especially those describing ritual or work roles are made into verbs simply by placing the noun after a tense-aspect marker: *A Semalu ni aliki* 'Semalu was the chief'. Sometimes, nouns are verbalized by prefixing *haka-*: *hahine* 'woman', hakahahine 'to show off as a woman (to attract men)'. *Hai-* may be prefixed to some nouns to form a verb; *pohoulu* 'head', *haipohoulu* 'to be intelligent'.

4.6 Plural and Repeated Action

Many verbs are marked for agreement with a plural subject by reduplicating the first syllable of the root. When the first syllable is reduplicated, the vowel is often unstressed and therefore dropped forming an initial geminate consonant cluster (see Section 2). If the verb starts with a vowel, this vowel is lengthened. The basic patterns for reduplication are:

singular	plural	elided form
sopo 'jump'	sosopo	ssopo
sepu 'dive'	sesepu	ssepu
moe 'sleep'	momoe	mmoe
anu 'dance'	aanu	

Occasionally, several syllables are reproduced in plural forms: *aavana* 'marry' (singular), *aavanavana* 'marry' (plural); *laavea* 'drunk', *lavelavea* (plural). Plural agreement is marked in *ma-* prefixed verbs by doubling the initial consonant of the root: *makolu* 'bent'(singular), *makkolu* (plural); *mahana* 'separated' *mahhana* (plural).

Repeated action is often marked by reduplication of two syllables:

one time	repeated
sopo 'jump'	soposopo
sepu 'dive'	sepusepu
motu 'snap'	motumotu

Repeated action for plural subjects is marked in both ways although the initial consonant is not reduplicated:

sopo 'jump'	sopossopo
sepu 'dive'	sepussepu

These forms are marked in the vocabulary under the derivative section using the following abbreviations:

ot: one time action, the action is performed once
pl: plural, the derivative showing plural agreement
rp: repeated, the action of the headword repeated
sg: singular, the derivative showing singular agreement

5. Prepositions and Case Relationships

Prepositions normally follow verbs and precede noun phrases. Sometimes the same preposition has functions that seem to be distinct. The most common prepositions will be discussed: *ki* marks a goal, destination, instrument; *i* marks an object/goal, partitive relationship or topic of discussion, location, source or cause; *ma* marks accompaniment and separation; *e* marks an agent but only with *-Cia* affixed verbs; In active (or non *-Cia* affixed) sentences subject/agent and object/patient are unmarked (or marked with *o*).

The preposition *ki* marks destination or goal. With semi-transitive verbs this is almost always an animate object; with
intransitive verbs it is usually a place or destination.

A Sina e   hiihai ki a Puna.
 Sina T/A love   prep. Puna

'Sina loves Puna.'

Maatou ni ttae   ki Luaniua.
we   T/A reach prep Luaniua

'We reached Luaniua.'

In an apparently unrelated function, *ki* marks instrument.

Laatou ni tia te kupena ki   te aha.
they   T/A tie sg net   prep sg shell tool

'They tied the net with the shell tool.'

Laatou ni laakei   ki   te   hetau.
They   T/A decorate prep. sg. flower species

'They decorated (themselves) with the hetau flower.'

The preposition, *i*, also has a variety of functions which are not necessarily related. It may mark an object/indefinite goal:

Maatou e   kkai i   te ika
we   T/A eat prep fish

'We eat fish.'

i is also used to describe a partitive relationship as in possessing a special ability or competence.

Te tama laa   e atamai i   te talatala.
sg person dem T/A clever   prep the speech

'That person is clever at speaking.'

In a possibly related function, *i* may be used to describe objects of interest, competence or activity, usually with semi-transitive verbs. Thus an earlier example also could be:

A Sina e hiihai i   a   Puna.
  Sina T/A love   prep. Puna

'Sina loves Puna.'

With verbs of all classes, *i* can be used to describe location.

Laatou ni mmoe i   te vasa.
they   T/A sleep prep. sg mat

'They slept on the mat.'

Laatou ni olo i   te vaka.
they   T/A go prep the boat

They travelled in the (by) boat.

i also may be used to describe a variety of sources including the source of a condition, an activity, an object, or a journey.

Na hale ni masseu i   te tama maa.
pl   house T/A destroy prep. sg person white

"The houses were destroyed on account of the white man.'

A Sina ni sui na leuleu i   te Sanamanu.
 Sina T/A buy pl clothing prep sg Chinaman

'Sina bought the clothing from the Chinaman.'

Te vaka ni   uhu   i   Luaniua.
sg ship T/A depart prep. Luaniua

'The ship left from Luaniua.'

The preposition *ma* describes accompaniment.

A Sina ma   Puna ni veisoni.
 Sina prep.   Puna T/A kiss

'Sina and Puna kissed.'

In cases where Sina is already given information or known from the context, the dual
form of the personal pronoun is substituted and Puna is introduced as new information.
For example, if the speaker is already talking about Sina, the following sentence occurs:

Laaua   ma Puna ni veisoni.
they (2) with Puna T/A kiss

'Sina and Puna kissed.'

Ma also describes separation.

Te tama laa   ku oti   ma tana hekau.
sg person there T/A finish prep his work

'That person is finished or retired from his work.'

Sikaiana e   mmao ma   Luaniua.
Sikaiana T/A far   prep. Luaniua

'Sikaiana is far away from Luaniua.'

The preposition *e* marks the subject/agent of -Cia affixed verbs. Some examples are derivations of previously given examples.

A Puna e hiihai-lia e Sina.
 Puna T/A love-Cia by Sina

'Puna is loved by Sina.'

Te vasa e mooe-na e kilaatou.
sg mat T/A sleep-Cia by them

'The mat was slept upon by them.'

Luaniua ku taae-a e kimaatou.
Luaniua T/A reach-Cia prep us

'Luaniua has been reached (by us).'

6. Conjunctions and Interrogatives

The following are commonly used conjunctions for joining sentences.

pe laa is a subordinate clause marker that links together two phrases, often reporting discourse or desires:

> Te tama laa ni haimai pe laa a koe ka hano.
> sg person there T/A told that you T/A go

> 'That person told me that you will go.'

te laa is a relative clause marker that links a noun phrase to a verb phrase:

> te tama te laa e noho
> sg person that T/A sit

> 'the person who is sitting'

mae ko   links two sentences to show causality like the English 'because', often answering a question with <u>aiia</u> ('why'):

  A nau ni too   tama laa   mae ko tona tinna ni   too a nau.
    I   T/A adopt person there because his mother T/A adopt me

     'I adopted that person because his mother adopted me.'

ka   a general conjunction that can mean 'and', 'so', 'but', and a request by listener to continue a discourse:

A nau e   noho ka toku soa   e   hano
I   T/A stay   but my   friend T/A go

'I am staying, but my friend will go.'

The following are commonly used interrogatives.

koai, ai replace personal names in questions; *koai* occurs in sentence initial or subject position; *ai* occurs in other positions:

Koai tona male?
      his name

'What (who) is his name?'

A koe e   noho i   ai?
 you T/A dwell prep

'You are staying with whom?'

aa   replaces both nouns and verbs in questions:

A koe ku aa?
 you T/A

'What are you doing?'

A koe ka   tuki   haahaa ki   te aa?
 you T/A pound taro   prep sg

'You are going to pound the taro with what?'

pe hea   a request to describe manner:

Te mako nei   e   anumia pe hea?
sg song   this T/A danced how

'How is this song danced?'

hea   replaces locations in questions:

A koe ni   au   i   hea?
 you T/A come from where

'Where have you come from?'

mokoaa hea, tulana hea replace time in questions:

I te mokoaa hea?
'At what specific time?'

I te tulana hea?
'During what time period (expanse of time)?'

hia   replaces numbers or quantities in questions:

E   hia   i te tama?
T/A how many of sg person
'How many people?'

aiia   an interrogative requesting a reason, should be answered with a sentence
            beginning with *mae ko*:

A koe ni   au   aiia?
 you T/A come why

'Why did you come?'

7. Numbers

Sikaiana numbers are often followed by *i* and the object which is being counted: *siaoa i te haahaa* 'two taro'. The counting system, especially in exponential powers of ten, varies depending upon the item being counted. The classes of items are: (1) birds, coconuts, taro, fruits, dollars; (2) puddings, mats, years; (3) fish; (4) fathoms; and (5) humans. Most younger speakers do not follow these distinctions, instead using the counting system in the first column for all objects, or simply use English terms.

	birds, coconuts, money,	mats, pudding, years	fish	length	humans
1	tahi	tahi	tahi	seloha	hokotahi
2	lua/siaoa	lua	lua	lohalua	tokalua
3	tolu	tolu	tolu	lohatolu	tokatolu
4	haa	haa	haa	lohahaa	tokahaa
5	lima	lima	lima	lohalima	tokalima
6	ono	ono	ono	lohaono	tokaono
7	hitu	hitu	hitu	lohahitu	tokahitu
8	valu	valu	valu	lohavalu	tokavalu
9	sivo	sivo	sivo	lohasivo	tokasivo
10	sehui	kaatoa	kaatoa	sekumi	kaatoa
20	luahui	kaulua	matalua	luakumi	tinolua
30	tonnuhui	kautolu	matatolu	tolukumi	tinotolu
40	hannahui	kauhaa	matahaa	haakumi	tinohaa
50	limanahui	kaulima	matalima	limakumi	tinolima
60	onnahui	kauono	mataono	onokumi	tinoono
70	hitunohui	kauhitu	matahitu	hitukumi	tinohitu
80	vannahui	kauvalu	matavalu	valukumi	tinovalu
90	sivanahui	kausivo	matasivo	sivokumi	tinosivo
100	kaatoa	lau	lau	lau	lau
200	luakaatoa	lualau	lualau	lualau	lualau
1000	mano	simata	simata		
10,000	ahe				

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