

East Uvean

A condensed grammar

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Abstract

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Linguistics

East Uvean (EUV), also called Faka'Uvea or *le wallisien*, is a Polynesian language of the Austronesian family, spoken on Wallis Island ('Uvea) in the French collectivity of Wallis and Futuna, as well as by populations in New Caledonia and metropolitan France. It is a verb-initial language, with basic transitive clauses alternating between VPA and VAP basic word order. Though generally low in inflectional affixation and tending to be analytic, East Uvean features pronominal and possessive systems of considerable morphological complexity with singular, dual, and plural number, clusivity contrasts throughout the first person, and (typical of a Polynesian language) two genitives contrasting in alienability and agentivity. EUV is morphologically ergative in basic clauses, but first- and second-person pronouns have pre-verbal pro-clitic forms in a nominative/accusative alignment. Within clausal nominalizations, the genitive contrast can be used to yield a split-S alignment of arguments. This work is a condensed grammar of the language, with focus on theory-neutral description of morphosyntax.

Preface

I first came into contact with East Uvean in 2008, when I was nineteen and living in the French territory of New Caledonia. My East Uvean-speaking friends there, particularly members of the Selui family of Calvaire, were patient with my unending questions and hypotheses and very encouraging. When I returned to the United States in 2010, I pursued studies in linguistics and in 2013 had the opportunity to continue studying linguistics at the University of Washington, where I prepared to research East Uvean in the field.

That opportunity came from July to September of 2014, when the Tui family of Utufua generously took me in and gave me their time, attention, and patience as I sought to learn the grammar and test its limits. I subsequently spent considerable time with the Hanisi family of Ahoa as well, who were no less generous in the many ways they aided my research and my quality of life. To these families and many other individuals, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude. *Mālo si 'i 'ofa 'i takotou tokoni mai. 'Ofa lahi atu kīa koutou.*

I also met with the French Prefect of the collectivity, representatives of the customary monarchy of 'Uvea, and then the Lavelua (king) himself, to be presented and formally permitted to conduct my research in the Kingdom of 'Uvea. Though the king was deposed only a few weeks later, I maintained a good relationship with the kingdom. At the end of my stay, I was invited to attend a colloquium on language policy in Wallis and Futuna. It dealt with first, the challenges faced by minority language speakers in an education system dominated by a colonial language, and second, with the long-standing (and as-yet unfulfilled) desire of the people of Wallis and Futuna to have their own language academy for the preservation and promulgation of East Uvean and East Futunan. It was truly an eye-opening experience.

After I returned to Seattle, the writing of this grammar was delayed many times, some beyond my control. I am particularly grateful to Professor Sharon Hargus and Professor Edith Aldridge for their constant encouragement, counsel, and patience. This work would never have come about without them.

Describing just a part of the incredible intricacy of a human language is a daunting task, and has consistently made me aware of how little I actually know; regardless of the progress I make, there is always more to be understood and described. In some ways, writing a descriptive grammar is a bit like composing a woefully incomplete (and very technical) love letter to the

language and its people. It is my hope that, whatever else my work may lack, my love of language and speakers does come across.

Andrew Livingston

June 2016

Table of Contents

Preface.....	i
Symbols and abbreviations used.....	viii
Glossing and transcription	viii
Data source abbreviations	xi
Numbering conventions	xi
1. Introduction and metalinguistic data	1
Geographical distribution.....	1
1.1. Demographic information	4
1.2. Genetic classification	5
1.3. Previous research and available data.....	5
1.4. Typological summary	8
1.4.1. Basic word order	8
1.4.2. Headedness	8
1.4.3. Questions.....	9
1.4.4. Grammatical relations	9
1.4.5. Other features of interest.....	10
2. Phonetics and phonology.....	11
2.1. Consonant phoneme inventory and phonetic realizations.....	11
2.2. Vowel phoneme inventory and phonetic realizations	11
2.3. Suprasegmental features	13
2.3.1. Phonotactics	13
2.3.2. Prosody	13
2.3.3. Loanword adaptation.....	14
2.3.4. Definitive accent	18
2.4. Orthography	20
3. Lexical and grammatical categories	22
3.1. Lexical and grammatical categorization in the Polynesian languages	22
3.2. Nouns and noun-like words	23
3.2.1. Distribution with nominal morphology.....	24
3.2.2. Distribution with predication	24
3.2.3. Distribution with arguments.....	25
3.2.4. Lexical and semantic support.....	25
3.2.5. Less prototypical nouns	27

3.3.	Verbs and verb-like words	28
3.3.1.	Distribution with verbal morphology	28
3.3.2.	Distribution with predication and arguments	29
3.3.3.	Lexical and semantic evidence.....	29
3.3.4.	Less prototypical verbs	30
3.4.	Adjectives	32
3.5.	Adverbs.....	34
4.	Nouns and nominal morphosyntax	37
4.1.	Basic nouns	37
4.2.	Derived nouns	37
4.3.	Compound nouns	39
4.4.	Determiners.....	40
4.4.1.	Referential and non-referential articles.....	40
4.4.2.	Emotive articles	44
4.4.3.	Definitive accent	46
4.4.4.	Demonstratives	49
4.4.5.	Nouns without determiners	50
4.5.	Possessives.....	52
4.5.1.	Morphologically simple genitive possessives.....	52
4.5.2.	Pronominal possessive determiners	55
4.6.	Grammatical number.....	55
4.7.	Noun classifiers.....	55
4.7.1.	Obligatory numberless classifiers	56
4.7.2.	Class and plural number.....	57
4.8.	Numerals and counting	58
4.8.1.	Cardinal numbers	59
4.8.2.	Ordinal numbers.....	61
4.8.3.	Specialized counting systems.....	61
4.9.	Non-numeral quantifiers	63
4.10.	Case-marking and core grammatical relations.....	64
4.10.1.	Alignment systems in East Uvean.....	64
4.10.2.	Absolutive case	70
4.10.3.	Non-ergative human marker <i>ia</i>	71
4.10.4.	Ergative case	72

4.10.5.	Inanimate agent-like arguments	73
4.10.6.	Other cases	74
5.	Pronouns and pronominal morphosyntax	75
5.1.	Personal pronouns	75
5.1.1.	Grammatical person	75
5.1.2.	Grammatical number	76
5.1.3.	Grammatical gender	76
5.1.4.	Clusivity	77
5.1.5.	Grammatical relations and alignment of personal pronouns	79
5.1.6.	Pronominal and nominal grammatical relations in summary	81
5.2.	Possessive pronouns	82
5.2.1.	Pronominal possessive determiners	82
5.2.2.	Pronominal possessive adjectives	88
5.2.3.	Possessive pronouns	89
5.2.4.	Emphatic possessive determiner	91
5.3.	Demonstrative pronouns	92
5.4.	Locative and directional pronouns	93
5.5.	Anaphoric pronouns	94
5.6.	Negative pronouns	95
5.7.	Interrogative pronouns	95
6.	Verbs and verbal morphosyntax	97
6.1.	Overview of the verbal phrase	97
6.2.	Verb morphology	97
6.2.1.	Verb inflection	97
6.2.2.	Derivation to form verbs	100
6.3.	Tense, aspect, and mood	102
6.3.1.	Tense markers	103
6.3.2.	Aspect markers	105
6.3.3.	Mood markers	110
6.4.	Intransitive verbal phrases	112
6.4.1.	Basic intransitive verbal phrase	112
6.4.2.	Impersonal and weather verbs	114
6.4.3.	Existentials	115
6.5.	Transitive verbal phrases	115

6.5.1.	Basic transitive verbal phrase	115
6.5.2.	Inanimate transitive subjects	116
6.6.	Extended intransitive verbal phrases	117
6.6.1.	Defining the term	117
6.6.2.	Describing the extended intransitive	118
6.7.	Ditransitive verbal phrases	120
6.8.	Transitivity and valency reduction	120
6.8.1.	Reflexives	120
6.8.2.	Reciprocals	121
6.8.3.	Patient to oblique demotion	122
6.8.4.	Noun stripping	123
6.8.5.	The <i>haga o</i> construction	124
6.8.6.	The <i>ma-</i> prefix	127
6.8.7.	The <i>-...a</i> suffixes	128
6.8.8.	Argument omission	128
6.9.	Transitivity and valency increase	129
6.9.1.	Morphological forms	129
6.9.2.	Deriving verbs from nominals	132
6.9.3.	Transitivizing extended intransitives	133
6.9.4.	Causatives of intransitive verbs and adjectives	134
6.9.5.	Causatives of transitive verbs	136
6.9.6.	Lexical causatives	137
6.9.7.	Applicatives	138
7.	Adjectives and their morphosyntax	139
7.1.	Inflection on adjectives	139
7.2.	Derived adjectives	140
7.2.1.	Zero-derivation to form adjectives	140
7.2.2.	Prefixation to form adjectives	140
7.2.3.	Suffixation to form adjectives	142
7.2.4.	Reduplication to form adjectives	142
7.2.5.	Compound adjectives	143
8.	Adverbs and their morphosyntax	144
8.1.	Adverb classes and word order	144
8.1.1.	Pre-verbal adverbs	144

8.1.2.	Post-verbal adverbs	144
8.1.3.	Temporal adverbs.....	145
8.1.4.	Post-verbal aspectual adverbs	145
8.1.5.	Adverbs of location and direction	146
8.1.6.	Manner adverbs.....	147
8.1.7.	Degree adverbs.....	148
8.1.8.	Means of transportation	149
8.2.	Adverb derivation	150
8.2.1.	Zero-derivation of adverbs.....	150
8.2.2.	With <i>faka</i> -	150
8.2.3.	With <i>fe</i> -	150
8.2.4.	Compound adverbs	151
9.	Prepositions	152
9.1.	Simple and complex prepositions	152
9.2.	Spatial prepositions	152
9.3.	Temporal prepositions.....	154
9.4.	Grammatical case prepositions	154
10.	Basic syntactic structures and functions	157
10.1.	Declarative sentences.....	157
10.2.	Negation.....	157
10.3.	Clefting and other uses of <i>ko</i>	158
10.4.	Questions.....	159
10.4.1.	Yes/no questions	159
10.4.2.	Information questions	160
10.4.3.	Indirect questions	164
10.5.	Imperatives.....	166
10.5.1.	Positive imperatives	166
10.5.2.	Negative imperatives.....	167
	Works cited.....	170
	Appendix A: Organizational and technical information.....	174
	Topical index	175

Symbols and abbreviations used

Glossing and transcription

Symbol or abbreviation	Meaning
-	Morpheme boundary in morpheme-level glossing
. (in gloss line)	Used where single object-language unit requires multiple units in the meta-language
:	Used in glossing line where the object-language element is formally segmentable but the segmentation is not shown
[,] or /,/	μ (mora) boundary in phonetic/phonemic transcription
[.] or /./	σ (syllable) boundary in phonetic/phonemic transcription
{x / y}	Marks alternating data such that either x or y may be present
~	Shows reduplication boundary in morpheme-level glossing
μ	Mora
σ	Syllable
1, 2, 3	First, second, third person (respectively)
A	Agent-like argument of a transitive clause
ABS	Absolutive case
ACC	Accusative case
Adj	Adjective
AdjP	Adjective phrase
Adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverbial phrase
AFF	Affected(ness)
aGEN	Genitive <i>a</i> (alienable, agentive, controlling)
AN	Austronesian (language family)
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
BEN	Benefactive
C	Consonant

CAUS	Causative
CIRC	Circumfix (gloss of the latter half of any circumfix)
CLF	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMPL	Completive
CONJ	Conjunction
CP	Complementizer phrase
DA	Definitive accent
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DIR	Directional
DTR	Ditransitive verb
DU	Dual grammatical number
EMO	Emotive article
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative case
EXCL	Exclusive
EXT	Existential
extINTR	Extended intransitive
FUT	Future
HUM	Human, relating to humans
IMM	Imminent aspect
IMP	Imperative mood
INCL	Inclusive
INDF	Indefinite
INSTR	Instrumental case
INTR	Intransitive
N	Noun or nominal
NEG	Negative, negation

NOM	Nominative case
NP	Nominal phrase
NPST	Non-past tense
NREF	Non-referential
NSG	Non-singular grammatical number, applying to dual (DU) and plural (PL)
NUM	Morpheme associating a noun and cardinal number
∅	Zero morpheme or zero allomorph of an overt morpheme
OBL	Oblique (peripheral) case such as DAT, LOC
oGEN	Genitive <i>o</i> (inalienable, patientive, inherent)
P	Patient-like argument of a transitive clause
PL	Plural grammatical number
POSS	Possessive
PP	Prepositional phrase
PRED	Predicative, predicate-forming
Prep	Preposition
PRF	Perfect aspect
PRST	Presentative
PST	Past tense
PURP	Purposive
Q	Question marker
QF	Quantifier
RECP	Reciprocal
REF	Referential
S	Subject and only argument of an intransitive clause; subject of extended intransitive clause
S _A	Intransitive subject aligned with grammatical case of A
SG	Singular grammatical number
S _P	Intransitive subject aligned with grammatical case of P
STAT	Stative
TAM	Tense/aspect/mood

TR	Transitive
V	Verb (in syntactic contexts); Vowel (in phonetic/phonological contexts)
VOC	Vocative
VP	Verbal phrase

Data source abbreviations

Abbreviation	Name and date
TKU	Talanoa Ki Uvea (Rensch and Henquel 1982)
TFU	<i>Tikisionalio fakauvea - fakafalani</i> (Rensch 1984)
FMU	<i>Fagana Mai Uvea</i> , (Rensch, Tuakaihau, and Pilioko 1982)
Fa	<i>Fagonogono</i> , (de Rasilly, G. (Msgr) 2013)

Numbering conventions

Numbering conventions:

...chapters, sections and sub-sections: #.#.#

...example phrases: (#) a., b., etc., sequentially throughout the grammar.

...tables and figures sequentially throughout the grammar

1. Introduction and metalinguistic data

1.1. Geographical distribution

East Uvean (ISO 639-3 code: WLS) is native to Wallis Island, or known by its native name ‘Uvea. The English appellation for the language adds ‘east’ to the name to avoid confusion with the language Fagaouvea (West Uvean) spoken on the Ouvéa atoll in the Loyalty Islands of New Caledonia. Wallis Island is 96 square kilometers in area, a volcanic island surrounded by a barrier reef.

Wallis Island is one part of the French Overseas Collectivity of Wallis and Futuna. The island is located in the southern hemisphere at the coordinates 13°16’S 176°12’W, 479 km from Apia, Samoa, 637 km from Neiafu, Tonga, 789 km from Suva, Fiji and 2094 km from Nouméa, New Caledonia.

The largest group of speakers outside of Wallis is in New Caledonia, where a sizeable diaspora moved starting in the 1950s to work in the nickel mines on the island. Besides the nickel mining sites, New Caledonian areas with large Uvean/Wallisian populations are the city of Nouméa and the communes of Dumbéa, La Foa, and Mont Dore; these populations are well-established and grow both from births and from the continued movement of individuals and families from Wallis to New Caledonia in search of work (more on this in section 1.2). Through military service or other employment opportunities, the number of East Uveans in metropolitan France is also on the rise.

While the New Hebrides were under a condominium of shared governance between the United Kingdom and France, a sizeable population of East Uvean people made their home there; when independence was declared and the New Hebrides became the Republic of Vanuatu in 1980, significant *de jure* and *de facto* pressure was put on East Uveans, as foreign, non-Melanesian people, to relocate. Very few speakers of East Uvean remain in Vanuatu, and most relocated to New Caledonia.

Much smaller numbers of speakers can also be found in French Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand, and Polynesian nations near Wallis Island.



Figure 1: A map of Wallis island (Google Maps 2016)



Figure 2: Central Pacific, with Wallis and Futuna, overseas collectivity of France, circled; Melanesian and Polynesian cultural spheres delimited, (GBRMPA and Google 2016)

1.2. Demographic information

Ethnologue's estimate of a total of 10,400 speakers in the world (Lewis et al. 2016) is outdated and definitely lower than the actual number. An exact count is difficult due to a lack of demographic data on speakers in New Caledonia, metropolitan France, and elsewhere; with 22,000 East Uveans and Futunans in New Caledonia as of 2014 (Institut de la Statistique et des études économiques Nouvelle-Calédonie, henceforth ISEE, 2014), the overall number of speakers is likely at least 20,000, and perhaps as high as 25,000. However, as will be seen below, the size of the population does not guarantee the safety of the language.

The population of Wallis in 2013 was 9,019 from 9,207 in 2008 (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, henceforth INSEE, 2008; 2013); limited employment opportunities in Wallis contribute significantly to the steadily-shrinking population. In 2008, of speakers over age 14 living on Wallis Island, 86.1% reported speaking primarily East Uvean in the home, while 12.1% reported speaking primarily French in the home (INSEE 2008). French is the official language of administration, government, and education, and the only (or dominant) language of contact with neighboring communities in Melanesian New Caledonia, French Polynesia, and parts of Vanuatu.

Measuring the population of speakers in New Caledonia is a difficult undertaking; the 2014 census showed a combined population of 22,000 ethnic East Uveans and Futunans, but 32% of the population was under 20 years old (ISEE 2014). The younger ethnic East Uvean population, especially among those born in New Caledonia, often fails to master East Uvean and instead becomes functionally monolingual in French. During the two years I spent in New Caledonia (2008-2010), I witnessed the increased prestige of French in the Wallisian community and the de-valuation of East Uvean; some older speakers expressed surprise that I would try to learn the language, since their own children (who had grown up hearing the language in the home) had failed to (or chosen not to) do so. I saw much of the same on Wallis Island itself in 2014.

The speakers, their language, and their island have essentially three different names each; in their own language, they are *te kau 'Uvea* (demonym), they speak *Faka'Uvea*, and their island is *'Uvea*. In French, they are *les Wallisiens*, they speak *le wallisien / la langue wallisienne*, and their island is called Wallis. While some English sources borrow the French names (Wallisians, Wallisian language, Wallis Island), most references in the linguistic literature instead call the

people (East) Uveans or ‘Uveans, their language East Uvean, and the island Uvea, ‘Uvea, or Wallis. This grammar will aim for consistency in holding to the English-language, linguistic literature appellation, beginning with the title itself, *East Uvean – A condensed grammar*.

1.3. Genetic classification

East Uvean has appeared in several different branches of proposed Polynesian family trees over the last several decades. Green appears to tentatively accept the lexicostatistics-based argument that EUV belonged to the Tongic branch of Polynesian, while mentioning Pawley’s work in the same issue of the journal (Green 1966). Pawley presents some of the complications in classification and states that “perhaps modern EUV cannot be meaning fully assigned to any genetic subgroup of PN” but gives morphological arguments “in support of the view that EUV is basically a SO [Samoic Outlier] language, overlain with recent borrowing from TON” (Pawley 1966); the high percentage of lexicostatistical matching (Tongan and East Uvean have 72% of their vocabulary in common (Biggs 1978, cited in Otsuka 2005:11)), doublets of Tongic and non-Tongic vocabulary, as well as Pawley’s and later researchers’ morphological evidence strongly support that East Uvean is not a member of the Tongic branch; this high percentage of shared vocabulary is instead attributable to contact via conquest.

Marck (2000) argues that there is no real basis for classifying any of the Polynesian languages into a Samoic Outlier group, and that the languages formerly classified as Samoic Outliers instead branch directly from Nuclear Polynesian. Ethnologue still classifies the language as a Samoic Outlier as of 2016, while Glottlog cites Marck (2000) and Wilson (2012) and groups East Uvean, Niufo’ou, and Niuatoputapu (extinct) as “East Uvean-Niufo’ou” which then branches from Nuclear Polynesian (Hammarström et al. 2016). I do not take a strong stance on the matter, tending to simply call East Uvean a Polynesian language with extensive historical Tongan influence, and a close relationship to the other western Polynesian languages displaying morphological ergativity.

1.4. Previous research and available data

The earliest attempts to document East Uvean followed the assignment of two Marist missionaries to Wallis Island in 1838. Father Bataillon, one of these two, is said to have mastered East Uvean very quickly, and the island population’s total conversion to Roman Catholicism

over the next four years is largely attributed to his command of the language (Rensch 1984:v). Some of Bataillon's notes, and a few versions of a dictionary unpublished before his death, were finally published by Father O'Reilly in 1932 (Rensch 1984:viii).

By 1864, an East Uvean translation of a prayer book appeared: *Ko te Tohi-Lotu Katoliko Faka-Uvea* (to be abbreviated as *Tohi-Lotu*). While this book fails to transcribe glottal stops and elects to simply transliterate many religious terms rather than finding or engineering a native word of the same meaning, it does seem to have correctly used a great deal of the language's morphosyntax. This translation is attributed to Father Bataillon, who as noted was regarded as highly proficient in the language; furthermore, it seems likely that the translation would have been verified and improved with the help of native speakers of East Uvean. When quoted, I will supply orthographic glottal stops and long vowels where the original omitted them, to the best of my knowledge and with the generous help of native speakers.

By 1885, a book of translated selections of Biblical passages also appeared (*Ko te u kupu filifili ia mai te Tohi-Tapu ki te Tauhi-Afea, mo te Tanhi-Foou i te lea Faku-Uvea*), translatorship unattributed but approved by one Bishop A. Lamasi of Olepio. As with *Tohi-Lotu*, the orthography fails to mark glottal stops or long vowels.

Much more recently, native speakers and Roman Catholic clergy on the *Comité de Traduction Biblique* in Wallis have been at work on a translation of the Bible into East Uvean; I have been able to obtain a pre-publication draft of their parallel EUV/French edition of the Gospel according to Saint Mark. In 2013, the Diocese of Wallis-Futuna published a set of twenty-seven credos in both French and East Uvean (*Fagonogono*, to be abbreviated Fa:[#] when citing data), under the leadership of Monsignor de Rasilly.

Rensch's 1984 *Tikisionalio Fakaueva-Fakafalani* ('East Uvean-French dictionary', to be abbreviated TFU:[page] when citing data) made substantial use of Bataillon's dictionary and notes, expanding on that content and noting where words had become archaic. Rensch includes some example phrases, but not consistently. Furthermore, a number of native speakers I consulted during fieldwork in 2014 judged many of his example sentences ungrammatical; those examples included in this grammar are only those accepted by native speakers. The rationale for the grammatical and lexical categories into which words are put is not defined, and sometimes these categories themselves are vague; for example, when a stem is marked only as a verb, without any indication of its transitivity value.

Some speakers have communicated to me a dislike and even a disdain for *Tikisionalio*, saying it contains errors or is poorly organized. Still, this dictionary has been an extremely valuable resource to me for studying various facets of the language, and has inspired me to ask questions I would not otherwise have thought to ask. As the majority of the text of the dictionary is in French, I will translate citations from it into English after quoting directly, noting ambiguities if they arise.

Rensch also published, two years before the *Tikisionalio*, two books: *Talanoa Ki Uvea* (to be abbreviated TKU:[page] when citing data), a revised edition of traditional tales and history gathered by one Father Henquel, who lived and worked in Wallis for nearly thirty years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and *Fagana Mai Uvea* (to be abbreviated FMU:[page] when citing data), a book of legends for children, co-written with Likope Tuakaihau and illustrated by Aloï Pilikolo; both these books were published in 1982.

Moyse-Faurie has done documentation and description for decades in Melanesia and Polynesia, and has written some articles (mostly in French) on various features of East Uvean, or comparing it to the larger Oceanic group; I am sorry to say I was unaware of or unable to access many of these articles during my own research. I have, on the other hand, benefitted greatly from her work in recording 19 texts, some quite lengthy, between 1999 and 2000, which are available online on [the LaCiTO archive](#), presented as EUV audio recordings and text, with a free and idiomatic French translation as well. Where I use data from these, the glosses are my own, and the source is cited as ([*Text name*], Wallisien Corpus) per the citation instructions of the corpus itself.

Moyse-Faurie has published other articles on the closely related language East Futunan, the other native language spoken in the Overseas Collectivity of Wallis and Futuna, as well as a dictionary of the language (1993), which I have been able to access, and a descriptive grammar (1997), which I have not been able to access as of this writing.

1.5. Typological summary

This section briefly addresses some of the cross-linguistic phenomena which might be of the most interest to a typology-oriented or general linguistic reader. Subjects covered here in broad strokes are pursued in greater detail further along in their respective sections.

1.5.1. Basic word order

East Uvean, like many Polynesian languages, is verb-initial. The ordering of the two arguments of a basic transitive phrase is flexible.

Table 1: Basic word order, with examples

Clause type	Word order	Example
Intransitive	VS	<i>'e moe ia Petelo</i>
		NPST sleep ABS Petelo
		'Petelo is sleeping'
Transitive	VPA	<i>'e tā ia Petelo e Soane</i>
		NPST hit HUM Petelo ERG Soane
	VAP	<i>'e tā e Soane ia Petelo</i>
		NPST hit ERG Soane HUM Petelo
		(both transitive examples) 'Soane hits Petelo.'

Note: S = intransitive subject, A = transitive agent-like argument, P = transitive patient-like argument.

1.5.2. Headedness

East Uvean displays head-initial patterns.

All adpositions are **prepositions**, preceding the noun phrase which forms a part of the prepositional phrase, as in (1-2):

- 1) *Ne'e au kai fakatahi [mo [te kau tagata]_{NP}]_{PP}*
 PST 1SG eat together with the CLF.PL man
 'I ate together with the men.'
- 2) *Kua 'alu [ki [Matā'utu]_{NP}]_{PP}*
 PRF go to Mata-Utu
 '(He/she/it) has gone to Mata-Utu.'

In **genitive constructions**, the possessum precedes the possessor, as in (3):

- 3) 'e lahi te tehina o Soane.
NPST big the brother of Soane
'Soane's brother/the brother of Soane is big.'

For more on genitive constructions, see sections (4.5) and (5.2).

1.5.3. Questions

1.5.3.1. Yes/no questions

A yes/no question in East Uvean can take the same form as an affirmative statement, accompanied by a rise in intonation at the end of the question.

- 4) 'e ke alu ki 'Uvea i te vakalele?
NPST 2SG go to Uvea on the airplane
'Are you going to Uvea on the airplane?'

(Affirmative statement: 'E ke alu ki 'Uvea i te vakalele, with no morphosyntactic change).

See (10.4.1) for direct yes/no questions, and (10.4.3.1) for their indirect equivalents.

1.5.3.2. Information questions

Information (or *wh-*) questions take two basic forms: first, *in situ* question words and second, clefted question words appearing in *ko*-phrases. For discussion of these two types in direct questions, see sections (10.4.2.1) and (10.4.3.2) for *in situ*, and (10.4.2.2) and (10.4.3.3) for clefted questions.

1.5.4. Grammatical relations

East Uvean is primarily, though not entirely, morphologically ergative. Intransitive subjects (S) are marked in the same way as patient-like arguments (P), using the absolutive case for these and the ergative for the transitive subject or agent-like argument (A). However, first- and second-person pronouns are morphologically accusative, in that they align S with A. Furthermore, a verb type exists between basic intransitive and basic transitive, the extended intransitive (often called the 'middle'); this type is bivalent but syntactically intransitive and is described in detail in section (6.6).

For a great deal more on grammatical relations, see:

Case marking and core grammatical relations	(4.10)
Grammatical relations and alignment of personal pronouns	(5.1.5)
Descriptions of verb type and transitivity	(6.4-9)

1.5.5. Other features of interest

East Uvean features pronominal (section 5.1) and possessive systems (section 5.2) of considerable morphological complexity with singular, dual, and plural number, clusivity contrasts throughout the first person.

As is typical of a Polynesian language, EUV has two genitives contrasting in alienability and agentivity (section 4.5.1, 5.2).

East Uvean is morphologically ergative in basic clauses (4.10.1.1), but first- and second-person pronouns have pre-verbal pro-clitic forms in a nominative/accusative alignment (section 5.1.5). Within clausal nominalizations, the genitive contrast can be used to yield a split-S alignment of arguments (section 4.10.1.4).

2. Phonetics and phonology

2.1. Consonant phoneme inventory and phonetic realizations

In general, East Uvean has a small consonant inventory, with a strong tendency towards voicelessness in obstruents and fricatives.

Table 2: Phonological consonants of East Uvean

	Bilabial	Labiodental		Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p			t	k	ʔ <'>
Nasal	m			n	ŋ <g>	
Fricative		f	v	s		h
Lateral approx.				l		

As in many Polynesian languages, a voicing contrast exists between /v/ and /f/, as in *vaka* ‘boat’ and *faka-* (prefix with many meanings), though no other such voicing contrast is found in the inventory.

/l/ is sometimes realized as [r] in rapid speech, and at all speeds in the variety of elderly speakers.

Intervocalic voiceless stops (with the exception of /ʔ/) have voiced allophones in rapid speech; this rule is optionally applied. Thus careful speech *tapu'aki* ‘to bless’ can be realized as [,ta.pu.'ʔa.ki], [,ta.bu.'ʔa.ki] or even [,ta.bu.'ʔa.gi] in very rapid speech; however, intervocalic /k/ voicing is somewhat less common than for /p/ and /t/.

As in many other Polynesian languages, word-initial [ʔ] contrasts with zero in many lexical pairs: e.g. [ʔala] ‘to wake’ vs. [ʔala] ‘road’. However, the glottal stop is susceptible to deletion in rapid, informal speech.

2.2. Vowel phoneme inventory and phonetic realizations

The five vowel qualities of East Uvean are typologically common: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. These five qualities can have a long or a short value, and this length feature is contrastive. Thus the word *fala* /fala/ ‘woven mat’ contrasts with *falā* /fala:/ ‘money, franc’.

Table 3: Phonological vowels of East Uvean

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, i:	-	u, u:
Mid	e, e:	-	o, o:
Low	-	a, a:	-

Note: long vowels are frequently unmarked for length in the orthography, but when marked, it is with a macron, e.g. <tā> /taa/ ‘hit’ Quoted sources in native orthography will include macron-marked long vowels; see section (2.4).

In rapid speech, unstressed word-final short vowels are susceptible to deletion or devoicing. This appears to occur in multiple positions within spoken phrases, but is most common word-finally after a voiceless consonant, e.g. [‘tuku]~[‘tuku] ‘drop’.

Intervocalic glottal stops are sometimes realized not as a phonetic [ʔ], but as an effect on the vowels surrounding them. That is, the [ʔ] disappears, but the glottal stop’s realization prevents the now-consecutive vowels from being a diphthong, e.g.:

- 5) /haʔu/ /hau/
 [haʔu] → [ha.u] [haū]
 ‘come’ contrasts with ‘king’

Word pairs that occur with great frequency, especially where the pair is of grammatical morphemes rather than content word lexemes, tend to combine into a single, inseparable unit in the mind of the speaker, e.g.:

- 6) /ke/ + /au/ → [kau]
 CONJ 1SG CONJ.1SG
 ‘that’ ‘I’ ‘that I’
- 7) /kua/ + /au/ → [ku.au]
 PRF 1SG PRF.1SG
 ‘I have (verb)ed’

2.3. Suprasegmental features

2.3.1. Phonotactics

East Uvean disallows consonant clusters in any position, but consecutive vowels of the same or different quality are phonotactically legal. Consecutive short vowels of differing quality are frequently pronounced as diphthongs. Consonant codas of any kind are prohibited. Thus the maximal syllable of East Uvean is [CV:] or [CVV], while [CV] is by far the most common and [V] is also an attested syllable structure. With these rules in place, syllabification of native words is a simple process. For example:

- 8)a. /tupuʔaŋa/
[tu.pu.ʔa.ŋa]
'birth, origin, creation'
- b. /fakamoe/
[fa.ka.moe]
'cause to sleep'

2.3.2. Prosody

In words of three syllables or fewer, the penultimate mora receives primary stress and secondary stress is absent. Thus words ending in ['CV.CV] to be stressed on the penultimate syllable and words ending in bimoraic ['CV,V] to be stressed on the penultimate mora. In words of four or more syllables, the secondary stress cannot currently be shown to have a fully predictable rule, but tends to fall two morae before the primary stressed unit. For example:

- 9) *tapu'aki*
/ ,ta.pu.'ʔa.ki/
'to bless'

The addition of verbal suffixes to a stem can be seen to shift the stress, as in:

- 10) *pule* → *pule-'aki*
['pu.le] [,pu.le-'ʔa.ki]
'chief, ruler' 'decision' (01:02-01:03 in *Utufefe le cannibale*, Wallisien Corpus)

Stems ending in heavy (bimoraic) syllables obey the primary stress rule; thus when [fe'tau] ‘to insult’ takes the suffix [-ʔaki], the result is [fe. tau. 'ʔa.ki] ‘to fight’ (00:17-18 in *La maison des célibataires de Mala'etoli*, Wallisien corpus); note that the secondary stress falls on the mora two morae before the one bearing primary stress.

Stress, when subjected to acoustic analysis, is communicated primarily through the intensity of the signal. The duration of a stressed mora does not differ significantly from that of an unstressed one, whether the mora's vowel is phonemically short or long.

2.3.3. Loanword adaptation

The phonology of loanwords highlights the phonology of East Uvean, especially as compared with that of the source languages. For loanwords from French and English, a few processes are necessary to produce legal East Uvean words. The phonological inventory of East Uvean must provide the nearest possible match for foreign segments, such as English [ɪ] and French [ʃ] and [ʒ], or rounded front vowels (2.3.3.1). French nasal vowels have multiple possible means of repair, to be seen in (2.3.3.2). Consonant clusters must either be reduced to a single consonant, or an epenthetic vowel must be inserted between illegal clusters (2.3.3.3). The adaptation of word-final stress in (primarily French) sources into EUV's prosody is seen in (2.3.3.4).

French, being pervasive in life on Wallis Island and in most other locations with populations of EUV speakers, represents the primary source language of modern borrowing into EUV. However, borrowings from English and Ecclesiastical Latin are also represented in significant numbers. Borrowings from English seem to date largely back to the sandalwood trade and whaling ships of the nineteenth century Pacific, with some exceptions possibly entering the language later, during the Second World War, at which time United States military personnel were stationed on 'Uvea after it was taken from the Vichy regime. The word *motokā* ‘automobile’ is one of these later borrowings, while *nusipepa* ‘newspaper’ may have accompanied earlier contact.

The vast majority of East Uveans are adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, which is integrated into the island's traditional culture, local government, and language. Many people have a personal name of Latin origin. Thus, the East Uvean equivalent of *Pierre* is not something

like */piele/ but rather /peetelo/, from Latin *Petrus*. In addition to proper names, religious terms form a large set (e.g. *rosarium* ‘rosary’ rendered as /losalio/).

Unlike loans from French, English, or Latin, Tongan words do not present East Uvean phonemic inventories, phonotactics, or prosody with any problems requiring adaptation. Tongan loans are old and widespread enough that it would be surprising if typical speakers knew precisely which words were of Tongan origin.

To demonstrate just how easily the Tongan loans fit into East Uvean, the word ‘mountain’ will serve as a good example: in East Futunan, it is /maʔuŋa/; in Samoan, /mauŋa/. In brief, outside the Tongic branch, the cognates of this word can be expected to have /a/ as their first vowel. But in the Tongic branch, *a in this position has undergone a change to /o/; where East Uvean has /moʔuŋa/ like Tongan, it is definitely a borrowing because it defies regular sound correspondences, but all segments in the word are legal and legally arranged, so that *mo’uga* could easily, in phonotactic terms, be a native East Uvean word (Otsuka 2005:24 mentions an EUV word displaying the same phenomenon: *mohuku* ‘grass’, where **mahuku* would be etymologically expected).

2.3.3.1. Adapting rounded front vowels

A less pervasive, but similar adaptation problem is that of French’s front rounded vowels. A front rounded [y] is in some ways equally similar to [u] (in roundness) and [i] (in frontness), all other features being the same. Paradis and Prunet (2000) discuss some languages’ borrowings of French front rounded vowels, and they list three primary options: first, [y] → [u], second, [y] → [i] and third, [y] → a sequence of [iu]. The English and French-lexified creole Bislama, spoken by some ethnic East Uveans, borrows French [legym] ‘vegetable’ as [legim], preferring the second option. The same speaker who produced multiple tokens of a single word having [y] in the source with a variation between [i] and [u]:

- 11)a. French [depy'te]
- b. East Uvean 1 [tepi'tee]
- c. East Uvean 2 [tepu'tee]
- ‘deputy’

2.3.3.2. Remapping nasal vowel quality

The two main options for adapting a French word's nasal vowel are deletion or “unpacking” (Paradis and Prunet 2000:324) the nasal vowel into a sequence of a vowel and a nasal consonant, and potentially then epenthesize a vowel to prevent a phonotactic violation. In actual data, the former appears to be preferred over the latter; for example:

- 12)a. French [kɔ̃fe'sjɔ̃]
b. East Uvean [kofesi'oo]
‘confession’

However, while medial nasal quality seems to always delete, not all French word-final nasals disappear when borrowed into East Uvean:

- 13)a. French [asosja'sjɔ̃]
b. East Uvean 1 [asosiasi'oo]
c. East Uvean 2 [asosiasi'one]
‘association’

Though the two variants for ‘association’ are numbered, they come from multiple tokens of the same speaker's speech, occurring at roughly equivalent frequency. In the first, the repair is done by deleting the nasal entirely and lengthening the final vowel to maintain word-final stress, while the second variant both unpacks the nasal and “saves” it by epenthesizing a final vowel. I observed this repair strategy used for other words from the same speaker, e.g. ‘edition’, following the pattern of (13c): [etisi'one]. However, a number of other speakers disfavored the strategy used to form (13c) above, calling it an error.

When a French source contains a non-final nasal vowel, unpacking with epenthesis allows EUV to preserve the nasal feature. There is a prominent loanword in East Uvean with a non-final, nuclear nasalized vowel which is preserved in preference to the word-final consonant:

- 14)a. French [fʁɑ̃s]
b. East Uvean [fa'lani]
‘France’

It is possible that ‘France’ is from a substantially older stratum of borrowing than ‘association’ or ‘confession’. The borrowing for ‘franc’ (unit of currency) may be useful in

comparison; its word-final nasal quality is deleted, while the nasal feature preceding [s] in ‘France’ is unpacked and saved by epenthesis:

- 15)a. French [ˈfʁɑ̃]
- b. East Uvean [faˈlaa]
- ‘franc’

2.3.3.3. Resolving illegal syllable structures

East Uvean syllable structure prohibits any and all consonant clusters, while they are frequent in French, Ecclesiastical Latin, and English. Furthermore, no consonant may form a coda under any circumstances. The primary strategies for repair of these two constraints are epenthesis of vowels to break up offending clusters or codas, and deletion of one or more offending segments.

A word-final syllable coda such as that found in *la douane* ‘customs’ demonstrates epenthesis to repair the illegal coda of the source:

- 16)a. French [laˈdwan]
- b. East Uvean [latuˈani]
- ‘customs’

The adaptation of ‘democracy’, with its illegal cluster onset [kʁ], uses deletion of the second element, which is not found in EUV’s phonological inventory:

- 17)a. French [demokʁaˈsi] or, in careful, academically formal French, [demokʁaˈsiə]
- b. East Uvean [temokaˈsia]
- ‘democracy’

However, the adaptation of ‘president’ epenthesizes a vowel between its word-initial consonant cluster, which involves a sequence of voiceless consonant and [ʁ] just as in (17) above.

- 18)a. French [pʁeziˈdɑ̃]
- b. East Uvean [pelesiˈtaa]
- ‘president’

Where a consonant cluster in the source is composed of a syllable coda and the next syllable’s onset, the coda is the element that deletes in the adaptation. For example, *rugby*

'rugby' has the cluster [gb], of which both consonants would hypothetically be adaptable into their devoiced equivalents [kp] and then epenthesized, but instead, the coda [g] is deleted:

- 19)a. French [ʁyg'bi]
 b. East Uvean [lu'pii]
 'rugby'

2.3.3.4. Assigning stress

East Uvean has predictable stress on the penultimate mora of a word. This is problematic for French inputs, where primary stress falls predictably on the final syllable. One means of adaptation is to make the stressed nucleus into a penultimate mora by adding a vowel, usually identical to the former final one, to the word's end. This is seen in (13b, 18, and 19) above. Where the source word ends in a consonant, epenthesis to repair that phonotactic violation also takes care of the prosodic problem, as seen in (16).

2.3.4. Definitive accent

In the far better-described Tongan language, a morphophonological process called the Definitive Accent (glossed DA) has been observed, where it adds definiteness to a referential nominal phrase. This brief section focuses on the phonology of the phenomenon, while the morphosyntax is addressed in section (4.4.3). will begin with other scholars' observations of the process in Tongan, then offer a preliminary comparison with a corresponding process emerging in East Uvean data.

Anderson and Otsuka (2006) and Kuo and Vicenek (2012) agree with native Tongan speaker and linguist Taumoeofalau (1998) that the definitive accent in Tongan is a reduplicative process by which the final vowel of a noun phrase is repeated as a suffix, shifting stress assignment to the formerly-final mora. The definitive accent in Tongan is apparently not accompanied by any special pitch shift (Kuo and Vicenek 2012:65). Since Tongan follows a similar stress-assignment rule to that of East Uvean, a [CVCV] word without DA assigns primary stress to the penultimate mora: ['CVCV]. The addition of DA to the same root causes it to increase from [CVCV] to [CVCVV], which then requires stress to fall on the original stem's final vowel: [CV'CVV].

This contrasting duration between \pm DA word-final vowels, and the resulting different assignment of stress, is indeed found in East Uvean, as seen in (20a-b):

- 20)a. *ne'e to'o te 'ika*
 [neʔe 'toʔo te 'ʔika]
 PST buy REF fish
 '(S)he bought a fish' (the fish has a real-world referent, but is not specific or identifiable to the speaker)
- b. *ne'e to'o te 'ika~a*
 [neʔe 'toʔo te ʔi'kaa]
 PST buy REF fish~DA
 '(S)he bought the fish' (both referential and specific)

Note that the definitive accent does not apply as a suffix to the noun itself, but rather to the entire nominal phrase:

- 21)a. *ko te le'o 'a [te tagáta faiako mai te kolo]*
 [te taŋatafai'ako mai te 'kolo]
 PRED REF voice aGEN REF teacher from REF village
 'It's the voice of [a teacher from the village]'
- b. *ko te le'o 'a [te tagata faiako mai te kolo~o]*
 [te taŋatafai'ako mai te ko'loo]
 PRED REF voice aGEN REF teacher from REF village~DA
 'It's the voice of [the teacher from the village]' (the teacher is marked as previously mentioned, specific, identifiable)

When a word's primary stress is perceived on the final vowel of the noun's stem, that vowel (or sequence of identical vowels, in this view) is measurably longer in duration than when the primary stress falls on the stem's penultimate mora. The intensity of the vowel peaks somewhere between the one-third and one-half points of the duration of the DA sequence [VV]#, rather than extending or escalating for the entire duration of the vowel as it does in a single short or long vowel without DA.

Though I observed and elicited many more tokens of DA during fieldwork, recording conditions there were extremely unfavorable, making detailed acoustic analysis difficult; for the more obtainable morphosyntactic behaviors of the definitive accent, see section (4.4.3).

Note also that the definitive accent and similar phenomena are not restricted to Tongan and East Uvean; among related Polynesian languages, Niufo'ou (Tsukamoto 1988), Pukapuka (Salisbury 2002), Tokelauan (Hovdhaugen 1989), and Rennell and Bellona (Elbert and Schütz 1988) have all been described as displaying definitive accent.

2.4. Orthography

The native orthography of East Uvean as used today is largely conducive to phonological accuracy in writing, and happens to be extremely close to IPA transcription. This section will describe the few differences, discuss a few problematic phenomena, and delineate expectations for transcriptions in the rest of the text.

Possibly the most noticeable difference between an IPA transcription and an East Uvean orthographic representation is the writing of a voiceless **glottal stop** /ʔ/. The IPA /ʔ/ is officially rendered, as in many Polynesian orthographies, with a <'>. Where early missionaries, especially native French speakers, sometimes failed to mark the presence of the consonant /ʔ/ in their writing systems, modern literate speakers of East Uvean are both aware of the reality of the consonant and fairly consistent in including it in their writing. One exception to this generalization is when East Uvean is used (as it increasingly is) on social media sites; here it is common for writers to omit ' sporadically or entirely, neutralizing the written difference between, for example, *hau* 'king' and *ha'u* 'come'.

The other phonemic consonant transcribed differently in orthography than in the IPA is the **velar nasal** /ŋ/. Early transcribers did well when they chose <g> to represent this sound, as is done in Samoan. Because there is no voiced velar stop in the language's phonological inventory, the symbol is available for use, and it has the virtues of a one-to-one sound/symbol correspondence; since this puts it in line with the rest of the orthography, the whole system is easier to teach and learn. Alphabetization and computational manipulation of data also greatly benefit from the single symbol instead of using <ng> for the same sound, as is done in Tongan, Maori, and many other Polynesian orthographies.

Unlike the increasing consistency of orthographic glottal stop inclusion, **phonemic vowel length** continues to go unmarked in at least some printed materials, though the practice of marking the contrast in orthography may be on the rise; such has been my anecdotal experience with printed and broadcast materials in EUV. Rensch notes in his dictionary's introductory notes

that short and long vowels are contrastive, but goes on to say, “[...] *j'ai utilisé un tiret pour indiquer qu'il s'agit d'une voyelle longue seulement dans les cas des paires minimales,*” [I have used a colon to indicate a long vowel only in the case of minimal pairs] (Rensch 1984:x).

Orthographically marking length contrast only on minimal pairs may have been efficient, but it sent a mixed message to the community about the value of including that detail in writing.

Fortunately, however, more writers are marking this contrast in all positions, using a macron as in many other Polynesian orthographies, thus differentiating, for example:

- 22)a. <ma> /ma/ first person dual exclusive nominative pronoun
- b. <mā> /ma:/ ‘chew’

3. Lexical and grammatical categories

To proceed with a description of the morphosyntax of the language, it will be useful to divide words and morphemes into lexical and grammatical categories. However, the exact boundaries of these categories (among which are some labelled noun, verb, adjective, and adverb) are sometimes difficult to determine on the basis of morphosyntactic tests. In the following sections, I will attempt to reach conclusions which, if not perfect, will be useful approximations for discussing morphological processes and syntactic phrases in subsequent chapters.

3.1. Lexical and grammatical categorization in the Polynesian languages

Polynesian languages generally have a tendency to allow ‘bases’ or ‘stems’ to function in multiple kinds of syntactic phrases and in the presence of different kinds of corresponding morphemes. For example, the East Uvean word *tohi* (and its cognates in related languages) can be used as an action, as in (23) or a physical object, as in (24):

23) *koteā te me'a 'e ke tohi*
what the thing NPST 2SG write

‘What are you writing?’ (Literally ‘What (is) the thing you are writing?’ or ‘It is what, the thing that you are writing?’)

24) *foaki mai te tohi*
give DIR1 the book

‘Give me the book!’

Is *tohi* originally a noun (‘book, letter, drawing’) which can become a verb (‘to write, draw’)? Or is it the other way around? In a third possibility, is *tohi* a member of a group of words which have a category only once they enter a certain co-occurrence relationship or syntactic context? In this last view, there might be a class called ‘Noun/Verb’ or ‘content word’ which allows its members to function as nouns when collocated with determiners (*te tohi*) and as verbs when collocated with tense/aspect/mood markers (*'e [...] tohi*). This view would then hold that in the mental lexicon of the speaker, the word is unspecified for category with no change to the mental concept of the word itself.

A problem with such a view is that the semantic relationship between e.g. the word (*te tohi* ‘the book’ and (*'e ke) tohi* ‘you write’ is an arbitrary and unpredictable one. Cross-

linguistically, for example, the English word ‘book’ when used as a verb does not mean ‘to write’ but rather ‘reserve in advance’ or ‘intake/process one accused of a crime’; ‘letter’ when used as a verb does not mean ‘to write a letter’, but ‘to form individual characters’.

Even within EUV, the semantic relationship between *tohi*_N and *tohi*_V does not carry over to other pairs; for example, *kupega*_N ‘fishing net’ and *kupega*_V ‘to fish with a net’ have quite different semantic associations. While the meanings of the different uses of each pair do have an apparent semantic association, the unpredictability and arbitrariness lead me to discard so broad which considers them to be the same word.

While a category of ‘content words’ is too broad and fails to capture descriptively significant phenomena, does this necessarily mean that describing East Uvean and other Polynesian languages as having the specific categories ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ (among others) is motivated by the data and our descriptive needs? Croft (2000:67) writes that, “some languages, notably [...] Polynesian languages, are said to lack even the noun-verb distinction”. Croft goes on to speak against this notion of categorylessness in the rest of the chapter, showing that while different languages may have differing distributional definitions of what constitutes a part of speech, and some may blur the lines more than others, there is still categorization specific to each language. Croft further argues that there are universal grammatical categories of which the prototypes are unmarked; the existence of these universals, if not their specific boundaries, corresponds with the divisions found in individual languages (Croft 2000:89-90).

This chapter aims to establish categories for the purpose of maximum descriptive elegance within EUV, while also making the rest of the sketch grammar accessible to readers from a variety of backgrounds, descriptive and theoretical bases, and primary languages of interest. Essentially, the following sections attempt to describe the motivation for, and definitions of, the use of categories such as ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ in coming chapters specifically within the bounds of East Uvean itself, which also ought to facilitate inter-linguistic comparison by removing the ambiguity that comes from assuming that one grammar’s ‘noun’ is the same as any other’s. This sketch claims no definitive, final answers on the matter either intra- or cross-linguistically.

3.2. Nouns and noun-like words

The primary evidence to be presented for the category of nouns is distributional, though some reference to semantic and lexical criteria will also enter into the discussion.

3.2.1. Distribution with nominal morphology

A large number of EUV words can co-occur with all or most of the following set of morpheme types expressing features of nominal morphology:

Pre-nominal:

Case (see 4.10 and its subsections)

Determiner (see 4.4 and 4.5 and their subsections; 5.2.1)

Classifier (see 4.7 and its subsections)

Number (see 4.6, 4.8)

Post-nominal:

Demonstrative (see subsection 4.4.4)

These morpheme types are those that appear with and only with the category here called nouns, but of course not every one of these morpheme types can always appear with every noun.

3.2.2. Distribution with predication

A noun and its accompanying morphology can only be made a predicate with *ko*, and not tense, aspect, or mood morphemes as will be shown to be the case for verbs, adjectives, and prepositional phrases. A *ko* phrase is used for topicalization (25a), apposition (25b), and zero copula predication (25c), among other functions as well (see 10.3, 10.4.2.2, 10.4.3.3). Nouns or nominal groups in a *ko* phrase may include determiners, classifiers, number, demonstratives and relative clauses but never case morphemes.

25)a. *ko te tagata faiako 'ae ne'e au sio ki ai*
PRED REF teacher DEM PST 1SG see OBL ANAPH
'It's the teacher I saw'.

b. *pea ha'u tona tehina ko Patelise ...*
then come POSS:3SG sibling PRED Patelise
'And then comes his brother, Patelise ...'

c. *ko te tohi 'ae-ni ko te tohi tapu*
PRED REF book DEM-1 PRED REF bible
'This book is the/a bible'.

Pronouns are also able to be made predicates in *ko* phrases, but other categories of content words must be nominalized in order to fill the above roles. By nominalization, I mean the placement of a verb or adjective, potentially with some of its accompanying morphosyntax, within a determiner phrase and, optionally, with some other elements of nominal morphosyntax. Syntactically, a nominalization behaves as other nominal constituents of determiner and noun, but differs in that it maintains its verbal semantics, argument structure, and (optionally) morphology such as adverbs and negation.

3.2.3. Distribution with arguments

Words fitting the distributional criteria of nouns, including some less-than-prototypical nouns, are the only category available to function as arguments of verbs. Or, put otherwise, a content word must assume nominal morphology to be eligible for grammatical argument status. This can be seen in section (6.8.4) on noun-stripping, where removing all nominal morphology from a nominal base, even while it retains its semantic meaning, is a means of detransitivization; i.e. the stripped noun is no longer eligible as a syntactic argument and the intransitive S of the resulting sentence is in the absolutive case.

Nouns can also have arguments, marked with the contrasting genitives *a* and *o*. The distinction, discussed in greater detail in section (4.5), is largely one of agentivity, initiation, and inherentness in relation to the grammatical possessum, a distinction often described more simply as (in-)alienability.

These two genitive markers are especially employed as argument markers in nominalizations of verbs with one or more arguments, an example of which can be seen in (26b) below.

3.2.4. Lexical and semantic support

Some support for the validity of the distributional criteria above can be found in the lexical and semantic properties of the words being categorized. The primary relevant observation is that the distribution is not the only basis for categorization; a difference in distribution almost always correlates with a difference in lexical or semantic meaning. To continue using *kupega* as an example, consider (26a-c) below, where the nominal meaning cannot persist when occurring with verbal morphosyntax, or vice-versa:

26)a. *ko te kupega 'ae-na ne'e ke faka'aoga*
 PRED DET *{fish v}{net} DEM-2 PST 2SG use

*‘That’s the fishing you used’.

‘That’s the net that you used’.

b. *'e kupega foki*

NPST *{net}{fish v} also

*‘It’s also a fishing net’.

‘(He/she) also fishes’.

c. *ne'e ke kupega 'i te pogipogi*

PST 2SG *{net}{fish v} OBL DET morning

*‘You netted in the morning’ / *‘You were netted in the morning’.

‘You fished in the morning’.

Nominalizations of verbs (or more accurately, phrases involving verbs, potentially up to whole clauses; see 4.10.1.3-4, 5.2.1, and 6.9.5) are mentioned in 3.2.5 below, though the decision to discuss it there is somewhat arbitrary, because of the nature of the structure and its displaying of characteristics from both categories.

Finally, traditional grammars have long defined the category of nouns by semantic properties of the most prototypical members of the category, including the observation that prototypical nouns tend to be more stable in time, contrasting with the most prototypical verbs which are transitory events rather than ‘things’. Examples of time-stable words and stems are abundant, for example: *motu* ‘island’, *moana* ‘ocean’, and *mo'uga* ‘mountain’ are all extremely stable in time (and the alliteration is actually accidental). To a slightly lesser degree of permanence, we have *fale* ‘house’, *vaka* ‘boat’, and *kofu* ‘clothing’. But there are also many other words and stems which fail a test of time-stability, but which still meet the same distributional and other semantic/lexical criteria as more prototypical nouns: *'ofa* ‘love, esteem’, *'ita* ‘anger’, and *pau-ga* ‘decision, will’ (this is a derived form; see section 4.2). Each of these last three words can appear with typically nominal morphology, but they can also be used as members of other categories when distributed with the appropriate morphosyntax.

3.2.5. Less prototypical nouns

Nominalized structures are a difficult case, because they involve the distributive morphosyntactic properties of both nouns and verbs, but retain the semantic meaning of the word when it is otherwise used as a prototypical verb. Note the persistence of some morphosyntax between (27a-b) below, but also the addition of the determiner *te* and the different means of marking the intransitive subject, *Soane*.

27)a. 'e *kei* ***kupega*** *ia* *Soane*
NPST still fish v HUM.ABS Soane
'Soane is still fishing'.

b. 'e *mole* *ma'uhiga* *te* *kei* ***kupega*** *a* *Soane*
NPST NEG useful DET still fish v aGEN Soane
'Soane's continued fishing is pointless'.

While (27a) shows *kupega* used within typically verbal morphosyntax, with a tense marker 'e, adverb *kei*, and overtly case-marked argument *ia Soane*. However, nearly the same morphosyntax appears in (27b) which contains a nominalization of the phrase in part a. of the example. The first, and most relevant, major difference is the fact that the material from part a. is now preceded by the nominal-associated determiner morpheme *te*. Syntactically, everything after *te* is a part of its constituent phrase. The word *kupega* in (27b) then, has one distributional point in favor of being classified as a noun. However, the semantic meaning of the word as used in (27b) is not 'net', but rather 'fish' v. In many ways, this is similar to the noun/verb question seen in a pair of English sentences like 'John is still fishing' and 'This continued fishing of yours is pointless'.

This section has thus far focused on pairs of bases with both nominal and verbal uses; it is important to note, however, that a number of words can act as members of one lexical category but not the other. For example, the nominal *mo'uga* 'mountain' cannot be used as a verb:

28)* *kua* *mo'uga* (*ia* *Sosefo*)
PRF mountain HUM Sosefo

*(Intended: '(Sosefo) became a mountain/mountainous/has mountained.')

Another set of less prototypical nouns are those appearing in the structure I term ‘noun-stripping’, similar to noun incorporation but with differences (discussed in sections 4.4.5 and 6.8.4). Although these words are stripped of all typical nominal morphology (case, determiner, classifier, etc.) and the structure actually detransitivizes its clause (demoting the noun from argument status), they maintain their essential nominal semantic characteristics; in instances where words like *tohi* may have quite different meanings when used nominally or verbally, a stripped noun maintains its nominal meaning, as illustrated in the core meaning of ‘book’ being maintained between examples (29a-b):

29)a. *ne'e lau te 'u tohi fuli e Mika*
 PST read REF PL book every ERG Mika
 ‘Mika read all the books’.

b. *ne'e lau tohi ia Mika*
 PST read {book} *{write} HUM Mika
 ‘Mika read book(s)’ or ‘Mika was book-reading’.
 *‘Mika read-wrote’ or *‘Mika was read-writing’.

3.3. Verbs and verb-like words

As with nouns in 3.2 above, the primary evidence to be presented for the category of verbs is distributional; again, some reference to semantic and lexical criteria will also enter into the discussion.

3.3.1. Distribution with verbal morphology

There exist a number of morphemes co-occurring with verbs or verb-like words, although some display a partial overlap in use with other categories which there are nonetheless empirical reasons and descriptive motivations to distinguish from verbs. These morphological sets include:

Pre-verbal:

Tense, aspect, and mood (see 6.3 and its subsections)

Adverbs – pre-verbal set (see 6.3.2-3, 8.1.1)

Clitic personal pronouns (see 5.1.5)

The verb itself:

Partial reduplication for non-singular number agreement (see 6.2.1)

Post-verbal:

Adverbs – post-verbal set (see 8.1.2 and following sections)

Arguments – noun or determiner phrases (see 6.4-7 and their subsections)

Prepositional phrases (see chapter 9)

3.3.2. Distribution with predication and arguments

A basic intransitive verb may form a complete predicate with a tense/aspect/mood marker:

- 30)a. *ne'e moe ∅*
PST sleep (3SG)
'(S)he slept'.

Intransitive verbs will nonetheless typically have a subject:

- b. *ne'e moe ia Malia*
PST sleep HUM Malia
'Malia slept'.

Verbs with higher transitivity and/or valency require the addition of more arguments to form a predicate. There are a number of basic and derived clause types with varying numbers of semantic and syntactic participants; for more on this, see (6.4-9) and subsections.

Unlike nouns, verbs cannot be at the head of *ko* phrases; however, they are frequently nominalized, and can then perform noun-like functions in typically nominal distribution. An example of a clause before and after nominalization, (27a-b) can be found in section (3.2.5) above.

Although adjectives, like verbs and their associated morphosyntax, can form predicates, a partial distinction emerges in that most verbs (that is, those words that have a particular lexical/semantic meaning when appearing in verbal morphosyntactic distribution) cannot be used attributively, while adjectives can. More detail and examples follow in section (3.4) below.

3.3.3. Lexical and semantic evidence

The corresponding subsection on lexical and semantic evidence for the category of nouns has already covered some of the contrast between pairs of basic, un-derived nouns and verbs. Namely, that they often share the same surface form but can have quite different semantic

meanings which, perhaps most importantly, are arbitrary and not predictable. That is, hypothesizing either a zero-derivation from one category to another (whether $N \rightarrow V$ or $V \rightarrow N$) or from some undetermined metacategory into surface environments more V- or N-like, it is impossible to say what the semantic relationship between the two category-uses of a word will be.

- 31)a. *tohi* _v ... *tohi* _N
 ‘to.write’ ‘book’ N is (one possible) product of V
- b. *kupega* _v ... *kupega* _N
 ‘to.fish’ ‘net’ N is used in order to V
- c. *mataku* _v ... *mataku* _N
 ‘to.fear’ ‘fear’ N is idea of experiencing V
- d. *mate* _v ... *mate* _N
 ‘to.die’ ‘death’ N is result of completed V
- e. *sio* _v ... *
 ‘to.see’ (no underived N corresponding to V)

Example (e) is an example of the many bases appearing as verbs but not nouns, supporting the existence of the separate lexical categories.

3.3.4. Less prototypical verbs

As already mentioned, nominalized verbs (or nominalizations of phrases headed by the verb) retain the verb’s semantic meaning as well as a great deal of its morphosyntax, including aspect, negation, adverbs, and arguments (and one attested case of an intra-nominalization tense marker, though more data would certainly be needed to confirm and describe the phenomenon, if it truly exists in EUV).

Another set of words defying easy categorization is what previous work on EUV (e.g. Rensch 1984) and closely related languages classify as stative verbs. Semantically, members of this set are distinct from more prototypical verbs in that they describe states of being, not actions. This set has in common with prototypical intransitive verbs their distribution with TAM

morphemes, the ability to take prepositional phrase or adverbial phrase adjuncts, and at least in some cases, a single argument.

32) 'e 'ahuia te koga fale
NPST be.smoky REF room
'The room is smoky.'

33) kua lafalafa te mahina
PRF be.full (moon) REF moon
'The moon is (has become) full' (TFU:212)

34) 'e fulufulua te fale
NPST be.mossy REF house
'The house is mossy.'

The event expressed by example (34), is especially long-lasting and static; little is likely to change. In fact, the gloss 'be.mossy' could just as easily have been rendered in English as an adjective 'mossy'. Verbs denoting states rather than actions are stative verbs, and their similarity to adjective merits a closer look.

What this grammar categorizes as adjectives can also appear predicatively after a TAM marker; consider the similarities in (35a-b, 36a-b):

35)a. 'e ga'ega'e te tama
NPST be.exhausted REF child
'The child is exhausted.'

b. 'e lahi te tama
NPST big REF child
'The child is big.'

36)a. 'e maumau te motokā
NPST be.broken REF car
'The car is broken down.'

b. 'e kula te motokā
NPST red REF car
'The car is red.'

As seen above, and to be examined in greater detail in section 3.4, stative verbs do have semantic and distributive commonalities with adjectives, namely the role of describing states of being and the appearance in predication with typically verbal morphology and an intransitive subject argument. Adjectives, however, have a wider distributive range and some different derivational morphology.

Before continuing on to a closer look at adjectives in the next section, a frank admission is in order: the decision to employ the term ‘stative verb’ is partially justified by empirical observation, partially influenced by previous work and tradition, and is not without some arbitrariness. Some might prefer to classify this set of words as ‘predicative-only adjectives’, unable to occur in attributive constructions with nominals, but I believe the scale tips slightly in favor of ‘stative verbs’; their behavior is what might be expected for typical intransitive verbs, but unusual for something classed as a kind of adjective.

3.4. Adjectives

East Uvean has a large and open class of content words used as modifiers to describe nouns and (sometimes) whole clauses.

A contrasting set of environments for words performing adjectival functions might be helpful in approaching a definition. Examples (37a-c) use *agalelei* ‘good (human quality)’, *lahi* ‘big’, and *matu’a* ‘old, aged, mature’; this seems to be the best set to look for, since as Payne writes in *Describing Morphosyntax*, “If a language has a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives, these adjectives will express at least the following properties: AGE [...] DIMENSION [...] VALUE” (Payne 1997:63).

The first set in (37a) displays the very common usage of adjectives in **predicative construction**, where a TAM marker is followed by the adjective, and may have an overt intransitive subject like *te tagata* below:

- 37)a. [‘e {*agalelei* / *lahi* / *matu’a*}]VP [*te tagata*]DP
 NPST {good / big / old} the man
 ‘The man is {good / big / old}.’

In addition to predicative constructions, adjectives can appear within the DP of the noun they modify, in **attributive usage**:

- b. *ko ai?* —*ko* [te tagata {agalelei / lahi / matu'a}]_{DP}
 Who? —PRED the man {good / big / old}
 'Who?' 'The {good / big / old} man.'

However, the usage of adjectives as **substantives**, in distribution with nominal morphosyntax, has been consistently ruled ungrammatical by native speaker consultants:

- *c. *ko te tagata fea?* —*ko* *[te {agalelei / lahi / matu'a}]_{DP}
 PRED the man which —EMPH the {good / big / old}
 Intended: 'Which man?' 'The {good / big / old} one.'

Note, however, that *ko te matu'a* is grammatical with the reading 'It's the parent', since this happens to be the meaning of the word when it is noun; the correspondences of adjective and noun sharing the same base form are, as those of verb and noun, arbitrary and unpredictable. That is, although the semantic connection between 'old' and 'parent' is unsurprising, the two uses have separate entries in the mental lexicon and are not freely interchanged (e.g. without overt morphological derivation, *matu'a* 'parent' cannot be made into an adjective 'parental').

In (38a-c), the ungrammaticality of substantive use of *kula* 'red' further demonstrates that adjectives and nouns form distinct categories:

- 38)a. *Ko te fale fea?*
 PRED REF house which
 'Which house?'

- *b. —*Ko te kula.*
 PRED REF red
 Intended: 'The red one.'

- c. —*Ko te fale kula*
 PRED REF house red
 'The red house.'

However, in an unrelated elicitation, I did stumble upon one usage of an adjective used with nominal morphology but maintaining its adjectival semantic meaning; the difference it bears from the ungrammatical examples above is that it is employed with the plural classifier *kau* in addition to the determiner *te*:

- 39) *ko te kau mate*
 PRED REF CLF.PL dead
 ‘The dead (ones)’

Some adjectives and some verbs can undergo the same morphological processes; for example, partial reduplication as non-singular agreement with an intransitive subject:

- 40)a. *moe v* → *mo~moe v* *ne'e mo~moe ia natou*
 sleep NSG~sleep PST NSG~sleep HUM 3PL
 ‘They slept.’
- b. *lahi Adj* → *la~lahi Adj* *kua la~lahi ia te kau tama*
 big NSG~big PRF NSG~big HUM REF CLF child
 ‘The children have gotten big.’

However, adjectives for which there is a reduplicated non-singular form also use this form attributively, not only in predication:

- c. *Ne'e omai la fa'ahiga la~lahi 'aia 'e lua mai Toga*
 PST come so lineage NSG~big DEM3 NPST two from Tonga
ki Uvea nei [...]
 to Uvea DEM1
 ‘So these two large lineages came from Tonga to Uvea here [...]’ (TKU:14)

This inflectional reduplication is never available to nouns (which have a different plural morphology, for which see 4.7.2):

- *d. *ko te fa~fale*
 PRED REF NSG~house
 (Intended: ‘Those are houses’)

For other examples of morphological commonalities between verbs and adjectives, see sections (6.4.1, 6.8.6-7, and 7.1).

3.5. Adverbs

In *Describing Morphosyntax* Payne notes, “Adverb is a ‘catch-all’ category” (Payne 1997:69); words in this category may be fairly heterogeneous. Payne does list a few common

groups of adverbs, which do seem to capture some, but not all, descriptively useful classes of adverbs in East Uvean:

Adverbs of manner, e.g. *fokifā* ‘suddenly’, or *aupito* ‘very, extremely’, as in:

- 41)a. *‘e lelei ‘aupito*
 NPST good very
 ‘It’s very good’

Adverbs of time, e.g. *anāfi* ‘yesterday’, *anapō* ‘last night’, as in:

- b. *kua ha’u ‘anapō*
 PRF come last.night
 ‘He came last night’.

Adverbs of location or direction, e.g. *gātai* ‘seaward’, as in:

- c. *‘e matou olo ki gātai*
 NPST 1PL.EXCL go to seaward
 ‘We are going towards the sea.’

Note that members of these groups of adverbs can be seen to modify a verb phrase (42a), an adjective phrase (b), or an entire sentence (c), but not a noun phrase (d):

- 42)a. *ne’e au [sio ki te mahina]_{VP} ‘anapō*
 PST 1SG see to REF moon last.night
 ‘I saw the moon last night.’
- b. *kua [kula momoho]_{AdjP} ‘aupito ia Atelea*
 PRF red ripe very HUM Atelea
 ‘Atelea has turned bright red’ (from sunburn)
- c. *kua hoki au sio ki te tu’utāmaki*
 PRF just 1SG see to REF accident
 ‘I just saw the accident.’
- d. *[ko te tagata]_{NP} {*’anapō / *’aupito / *gātai}*
 PRED REF man {*last.night / *very / *seaward}
 Intended: ‘It’s {the man last night / the very man / the seaward man}

Thus, for the purposes of this grammatical sketch, adverbs will generally be said to consist of a class of words capable of modifying a verb phrase, an adjective phrase, or an entire clause, but not a noun phrase.

4. Nouns and nominal morphosyntax

This chapter describes the form and derivation of nouns (4.1-3) and the forms and functions of the morphemes that accompany them in a nominal phrase: determiners (4.4), possessives (4.5), marking grammatical number (4.6), classifiers both numberless and plural-forming (4.7), numerals and counting (4.8), non-numeral quantifiers (4.9), and grammatical case as it relates to the grammatical relations and alignment systems of the language (4.10). Throughout the chapter, cross-references lead to topics inextricably connected to nominal morphosyntax but proper to other chapters.

4.1. Basic nouns

A basic noun is morphologically simple on its own, having no derivational or inflectional affixes. This grammar's motivation and justification for the category of 'noun' is found in section 3.2. Even a basic noun requires some nominal morphosyntax in the form of separate words. This generally consists of at least a determiner (for which see 4.4 on articles, definitive accent, and demonstratives; and 4.5.2 on possessive determiners) and may also include grammatical number (4.6, 4.8) and/or a noun class marker (described in 4.7). Basic nouns may actually be zero-derivations of words from other grammatical categories, but this is hard to prove and, with no overt morphology to show for it, a vacuous description even if it is true.

4.2. Derived nouns

Though East Uvean is a fairly isolating language, there are still a few affixes which participate in the formation of derived nouns. Sometimes there exist sets of zero-derived nouns and affix-derived nouns using the same basic stem, for instance:

- 43)a. *pule* _{V.TR} 'to govern' → *pule* _N 'chief, ruler'
b. *pule* + -'aga (derivational suffix) → *pule'aga* _N 'government, authority'
c. *pule* + -'aki (derivational suffix) → *pule'aki* _N 'solution, measure taken'

Aside from their derivational affixes, derived nouns display the same co-occurrence requirements and restrictions as basic, morphologically simple nouns do.

Attested affixes for deriving nouns include (but are by no means limited to) those seen in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Some affixes for deriving nouns

Affix	Derivational meaning	Examples
-‘aga	1 ‘place of √’ 2 ‘quality of, result of √’	‘aliki ‘noble’ _{N/Adj} → ‘aliki-’aga ‘nobility, dignity’ ₂ † ‘alu ‘go’ _V → ‘alu-’aga ‘path’ ₁ , ‘tracks, trace’ ₂ gata ‘end, stop’ _{V.INTR} → gata-’aga ‘end, limit, frontier’ moe ‘sleep’ _V → moe-’aga ‘bed’ ₁ ; nofo ‘stay’ _V → nofo-’aga ‘dwelling place’ ₁ pule ‘chief’ _N → pul-’aga ‘government, kingdom’ ₁ , ‘(by extension) authority thereof’ ₂ tupu ‘be born’ _V → tupu-’aga ‘birthplace’ ₁ , ‘origin’ ₂
-ga	‘quality of, result of, or other semantic relation to √’	fa’ahi ‘part, side of’ _N → fa’ahi-ga ‘type, category, classification, family’ ilo-‘i ‘know’ _{V-TR} → ilo-ga ‘sign, indicator’ tala _{N/V} ‘speak/speech’ → tala-ga ‘conversation, conferral’ ‘uhi ‘because (of)’ _{Prep} → ‘uhi-ga ‘meaning, reason’
-Caki	‘result or object of √’	ako ‘study, learn’ _V → akonaki ‘doctrine, teaching’ liliu ‘change, make (into)’ _V → feliliu-faki ‘change’ _N † nofo ‘stay’ _V → nofo’aki ‘assembly (of people)’ † pule ‘chief’ _N → pul-’aki ‘solution, measure taken’ †
full redup.	(unpredictable)	pae ‘pile, mound’ _{N/V} → paepae ‘mound of stones on which walls and buildings are constructed’ † toko ‘long stick or pole, cane’ _N → tokotoko ‘walking stick, cane’ †

(† = found in Rensch 1984, not observed during fieldwork or in texts)

Unlike some closely related Polynesian languages, a verb need not take any kind of affixation in order to be nominalized with its verbal meaning; the affixations available to derive nouns from verbs do so with changes in semantics, unlike the nominalized clause construction discussed in (3.2.5, 4.10.1.3-4, 5.2.1, and 6.9.5).

4.3. Compound nouns

Nouns can be created from compounding various bases. Compounding has been a productive means of supplying new terms to East Uvean in the wake of contact with the Western world and adoption of unfamiliar devices and technologies, but compounds dating to pre-contact times also exist. After a set of examples of compound nouns (table 5), this section will offer a few general observations on their morphosyntactic behavior.

Table 5: Examples of compound nouns in East Uvean

First part	Second part	Compound	Meaning
<i>koga</i> N ‘piece, part’	<i>fale</i> N ‘house’	→ <i>koga fale</i>	‘room (in a house or building)’
<i>vaka</i> N ‘boat’	<i>lele</i> v ‘fly’	→ <i>vakalele</i>	‘airplane’
<i>kava</i> N ‘intoxicating plant and ceremonial drink made from it’	<i>mālohi</i> Adj ‘strong’	→ <i>kavamālohi</i>	‘alcohol’
<i>vai</i> N ‘freshwater’	<i>tohi</i> v ‘write, draw’	→ <i>vaitohi</i>	‘ink’
<i>pūhi</i> v ‘open’ (perhaps zero-derived into ‘opener’ N)	<i>tini</i> N ‘can’	→ <i>pūhitini</i>	‘can opener’
<i>hu’a</i> N ‘liquid’ (also a noun classifier)	<i>pipi</i> N ‘cow’ (borrowing from EN ‘beef’)	→ <i>hu’apipi</i>	‘cow milk’

From the above data, it can be seen that the essential meaning of an East Uvean compound noun is borne by the left (or first) half of the compound, in keeping with the language’s general tendency for modifier to follow what it modifies. Indeed, nearly all of the first parts in the above compound nouns are originally nouns themselves. The first term in a compound could be said to

contribute its fundamental semantic features to the resulting compound, while the second term adds one or more semantic features not usually considered to belong to the first term.

Thus *vakalele* is a kind of vehicle (first term) which flies (second term); *kavamālohi* is a kind of central nervous system depressant (first term) but stronger (second term) than the one previously known; and *vaitohi* is a kind of water or includes water (first term) but unlike regular water, it is used for writing and drawing (second term). The ordering of the two terms mirrors the order of a noun-adjective combination. The second term in a compound noun need not be an adjective, however; it can be a noun, adjective, or verb; adverbs in compound nouns are currently unattested but it is unknown whether they are allowed to form compound nouns or not.

Notice that of the terms in table 5, at least some are a result of contact with foreign culture and technology; airplanes, can openers and adult consumption of milk are certainly not native to Uvea.

The orthography of a compound in East Uvean, as in English, is not consistent. Some compounds are written with no space between the terms, others are spaced apart as separate words, and I have even seen some instances of hyphenated spellings, e.g. *kava-mālohi*. This does not, however, prevent the identification of a compound noun if the meanings are known. The meaning of a compound noun is greater, or at least different, than the sum of its parts.

4.4. Determiners

East Uvean makes use of determiners falling into the primary categories of pre-nominal articles (4.4.1-2), post-nominal definitive accent (4.4.4), demonstratives (4.4.3), and possessives (possessive determiners are relegated a subsection within the broader topic of possession, in 5.2.1).

4.4.1. Referential and non-referential articles

The three types of pre-nominal articles are referential, non-referential, and what I will here call emotive. Though the first two of these have been identified as ‘definite’ and ‘indefinite’ in some past work (as their analogues sometimes are in many related Polynesian languages), they do not express a full \pm definiteness value in and of themselves. To convey true definiteness, the definitive accent (4.4.3 below) is required.

This subsection begins with the morphological forms of the referential and non-referential articles in table 6, after which follows a description of their functions and contrast with each other.

Table 6: Paradigm of referential and non-referential articles

	Singular	Plural
Referential	<i>te</i>	(<i>te</i> + PL.CLF)
Non-referential	<i>he</i>	<i>ni</i> {± PL.CLF}

The referential plural requires a separate plural morpheme from the set found in (4.7.2). The most common of these, particularly for non-human nouns, is generic plural ‘*u*’. The non-referential plural, on the other hand, can be expressed by the morpheme *ni* alone, but if the noun in question belongs to a special class, the plural marker will also accompany *ni*. The examples in (44a-b, 45a-b) show a few instances of these forms:

Common, inanimate noun:

- 44)a. *te* ‘*u* *tohi*
REF PL book
‘{the/some} books’
- b. *ni* *tohi*
NREF book
‘{some/any} books’

Proper, human noun:

- 45)a. *te* *kau* ‘*Uvea*
REF PL.HUM ‘*Uvea*
‘{the/some} Uveans’
- b. *ni* *kau* ‘*Uvea*
NREF PL.HUM ‘*Uvea*
‘{some/any} ‘Uveans’

The referential article is required in a number of contexts where languages like English and French use an indefinite article:

46)a. *'e kō *he kulī*
NPST bark *NREF dog

Intended: 'A dog is barking'; actual meaning closer to the anomalousness of *'any dog is barking'.

b. *'e kō te kulī*
NPST bark REF dog
'A dog is barking.'

To make (46b) definite, an additional morpheme is required: the definitive accent, discussed in (4.4.3) below.

The non-referential article's function is especially prominent in negative or interrogative existentials; this can be shown with the non-*habere* predicative possessive expressions they are used to form. That is, rather than using a verb 'to have', EUV expresses the same meaning with existentials and possessives, as seen in (47a-b):

Negative:

47)a. *'e mole i ai he motokā a Soane*
NPST NEG EXT NREF car aGEN Soane
'Soane doesn't have a car' (literally: 'there is not a car of Soane')

Interrogative:

b. *'e i ai he tahi*
NPST EXT NREF one
'Is {anyone/someone} there?'

In fact, speakers often extend the negative and interrogative uses of the non-referential article to express other degrees of uncertainty (potentially with modal or evidential meanings) about the real-world existence of a referent, as in (48):

48) *kei au fia kai he mo'i laisi*
 still 1SG want eat NREF CLF rice

'I still want to eat a bit of rice' (but am not sure whether there's any left)

Nominalized clauses make use of prenominal articles, and in that structure, the referential article takes on a realis reading, and the non-referential article contrasts with it, yielding an irrealis reading:

49)a. *'e tou mātatau ki t-a-na ha'u mai*
 NPST 1PL fear:PL to **REF**-aGEN-POSS come to.1
 'We fear his coming' or 'We are afraid that he **is** coming.'

b. *'e tou mātatau ki h-a-na ha'u mai*
 NPST 1PL fear:PL to **NREF**-aGEN-POSS come to.1
 'We fear his coming' or 'We are afraid that he **might** come.'

The first version above uses the referential article (as one part of a morphologically complex possessive) to convey the speakers' confidence that the person in question is indeed coming; the second possessive, with its non-referential element, is uncertain. For more on clausal nominalizations, see (3.2.5, 4.10.1.3-4, 5.2.1, and 6.9.5).

To close this section, it ought to be admitted that the \pm referential distinction may not be a complete criterion to separate these two sets of articles. In both (50a-b) below, there is an element of specificity involved, though the referents in question are not necessarily known specifically to either speaker or hearer.

50)a. *'e i ai te kau falani 'e mole ilo'i ia natou*
 NPST EXT REF PL.HUM French NPST NEG know HUM 3PL
ke 'Uvea 'i Falani
 CONJ 'Uvea in France

'There are **certain** French people who don't know that Uvea is a part of France.'

- b. *'e i ai ni kau falani 'e mole ilo'i ia natou*
 NPST EXT NREF PL.HUM French NPST NEG know HUM 3PL
ke 'Uvea 'i Falani
 CONJ 'Uvea in France
 'There are (some) French people who don't know that Uvea is a part of France.'

The distinction here is that the speaker in (50a) is thinking of a set of French people who are not only believed to exist as real-world referents, but also belong to some specific subset of French people, perhaps with some defining features the speaker is either unaware of or does not regard as important to the pragmatics of the utterance. Meanwhile, the speaker in (50b) is not referring to any specific group; the meaning of the existential in (b) might even be rendered 'there must be, there are likely to be' rather than 'there are'.

4.4.2. Emotive articles

Emotive articles appear in contexts where the referential *te* would be employed, but with an added semantic value of the speaker's emotional feeling. Past descriptions refer to them as honorifics or politeness articles (e.g. Rensch 1982:9), as do many descriptions of the analogous set in other Polynesian languages; while it is true that they can express honor and politeness toward a given noun, the East Uvean concept of respect and politeness does not entirely correspond to what native speakers of "standard average European" languages might assume. Though these articles are indeed used in reference and deference to divinity, royalty and nobility, they are also employed when speaking of and to small children and objects of affection, recipients of charity, and even pity.

This range of emotional values is also reflected in the semantic features of the East Uvean verb *'ofa (ki)*: though it can be translated as 'to love', it could as easily be rendered 'to esteem or respect', 'to have mercy on', and 'to pity'. This range of feeling is not easily expressed by a single word in English, and indeed the idea of honorifics coinciding with pitiful weakness may seem very strange to non-East Uvean minds. For this reason, they will here bear the purposely vague name 'emotive articles'.

Table 7: Emotive article paradigm

	Singular	Plural
Emotive articles	<i>si'i</i>	<i>na'i</i>

When multiple phrases require determiners in a sentence, it is not necessarily the case that arguments or adjuncts will match the \pm emotive value of articles higher in the structure; in (51) below, the emotive value is placed on the thanking, while the nominalized ‘for (your) helping me’ is simply referential:

- 51) *mālo si'-okolua 'ofa 'i t-o-kolua tokoni mai*
 thanks EMO-POSS:2DU love in REF-oGEN-2DU help DIR.1
 ‘Thank you for (your) helping me.’

One of the best illustrations of the contrast between the emotive and the non-emotive articles is found in the nuances of saying ‘thank you’, which depends on factors including the relative social standings of parties involved, the reason for the gratitude, and the emotional state of the speaker expressing gratitude. In (52a-f) below, a sampling of situations is presented to demonstrate some of these contrasts. For the sake of simplicity, the word ‘*ofa*’ will be glossed here as ‘love’ in spite of the more complex reality of its meaning(s). The English translation for (52b-e), ‘thank you’, with the relevant context explained for each.

- 52)a. Casual ‘thanks’ to a familiar person:

mālo

‘thanks’ (informal, cannot add specific ‘thanks *for*...’)

- b. To a friend, relative, or other social equal or inferior who has given a gift or done a favor:

mālo te 'ofa

thanks REF love

- c. With the same degree of familiarity as (b), but more emphasis on the thanked party’s role:

mālo tou 'ofa

thanks REF:oGEN:2SG love

d. Use of the emotive article would be obligatory when addressing a village chief. To one's employer or patron, (b) and (c) are possible but somewhat casual; (d) would express greater politeness or more deeply felt gratitude. However, the emotive article in (d) would also be employed when (for example) thanking one's own young child for bringing a glass of water:

mālo si'i 'ofa
 thanks EMO love

e. As in (c), the possessive form of the emotive article may also be used in the same cases:

mālo si'ou 'ofa
 thanks EMO:oGEN:2SG love

f. To add a specific 'thank you for [something], examples (b-e) can add 'i [NP]:

mālo {te/si'i/etc.} 'ofa i te me'a kai
 thanks REF love in REF food
 'Thank you for the food.'

Available texts have no attested instances of plural emotive *na'i* used with additional plural morphemes in the way that referential *te* must be. In the course of fieldwork, I found that at least some speakers considered it grammatical to do so, and a few preferred it; one commented that without an additional plural morpheme, it was "more poetic". The examples in (53a-b) would be grammatical with or without the plural 'u:

53)a. *'e fē-tagī-hi na'i { 'u / ∅ } toe*
 NPST PL-cry-CIRC EMO.PL PL child
 'The dear/poor children are crying.'

b. *'e hiva na'i { 'u / ∅ } aselo*
 NPST sing EMO.PL PL angel
 'The beloved/merciful angels are singing.'

4.4.3. Definitive accent

In this grammar, I adopt the term 'definitive accent' (to be glossed as DA) originally used in Churchward's *Tongan Grammar* to describe the analogous structure in that language. Churchward called it an accent because he perceived and described it as simply a shift in stress, but my reading of the ongoing discussion on the Tongan structure, as well as my own not

inconsiderable observation and elicitation of the East Uvean equivalent, leads me to adopt the view of Taumoeofolau (1998), and Anderson and Otsuka (2006), *inter alia*, namely that the perceived stress shift is not an exception to the otherwise extremely regular stress rules of Tongan and East Uvean, but rather the result of adding morpheme, thereby changing the syllabic structure of the word to which it is suffixed, with a predictable prosodic effect; refer to section (2.3.4) for a phonetic and phonological description of this process. The morpheme in question is a reduplication of the final vowel of the last word in a noun's constituent phrase:

- 54) ...V# ~V
 (word) ~DA

In this section, the DA morpheme will be shown in the first line as the vowel it emerges as on the surface.

Form and distribution

The definitive accent co-occurs with referential articles, but not non-referential ones:

- 55)a. *ko te tagata~a*
 PRED REF man~DA
 'It's the (specific, identifiable) man'
- *b. *ko he tagata~a*
 PRED NREF man~DA

The definitive accent is suffixed not directly to the noun to which it provides definiteness, but the noun's entire phrase (whether one labels this the DP or NP), including but not limited to the variety of structures shown in example (56a-e):

A simple noun with a referential determiner:

- 56)a. *ko te tagata~a*
 PRED REF man~DA
 'It's the (specific, identifiable) man'

A compound noun:

- b. *ko te tagata faiako~o*
PRED REF man teacher~DA
'It's the (specific, identifiable) male teacher.'

A noun with adjective in apposition:

- c. *ko te tagata faiako poto~o*
PRED REF man teacher intelligent~DA
'It's the (specific, identifiable) intelligent male teacher.'

A noun with a prepositional phrase adjunct:

- d. *ko te tagata faiako mai toku kolo~o*
PRED REF man teacher from POSS:1SG village~DA
'It's the (specific, identifiable) male teacher from my village.'

A noun with a relative clause:

- e. *ko te tagata faiako 'ae ne'e ke sio ki ai*
PRED REF man teacher DEM PST 2SG see to ANAPH
'i te vaka~a
in REF boat~DA
'It's the (specific, identifiable) male teacher whom you saw in the boat.'

Observation and purposeful elicitation found that the definitive accent is available to both common and proper nouns, but on proper nouns some speakers consider it unusual and many evaluated it as essentially redundant, except in cases of disambiguation between two people with the same name and similar situations.

Furthermore, I was able to detect DA on nominal phrases in many, if not all, grammatical roles: predicative, non-verbal *ko* constructions, in agent- and patient-like syntactic roles, as intransitive subject, and in more peripheral cases such as dative and locative.

4.4.4. Demonstratives

The set of words with demonstrative meanings focuses primarily on distinguishing what is essentially a space divided into the three grammatical persons, without number agreement. Multiple subsets exist to fill different roles; a paradigm of all of these forms appears in this section, and the non-determiner members of the set will be further described in their particular sections.

Table 8: Demonstrative paradigm with related deictics

	determiner	pronoun		adverb		
Orientation relative to	demonstrative	presentative	locative	directional	spatial	manner
1	<i>'aē-ni</i>	<i>ko-'enī</i>	<i>heni</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>fē-nei</i>
2	<i>'aē-nā</i>	<i>ko-'enā</i>	<i>henā</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>fē-nā</i>
3	<i>'aē age</i>	<i>koia</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>aia</i>	<i>fē-iā</i>

Post-nominal demonstrative determiners

East Uvean has a non-specific post-nominal demonstrative, *'ae*, translatable as ‘this/that/these/those’; there is no indication of number, and proximity can only be shown by adding a clitic indicating proximity to grammatical person, as seen in table 8. Thus the demonstrative with first-person *-ni* describes an object close to the speaker, the second-person *-nā* describes an object close to the listener, and third-person *age* applies to what is not close to the speaker or hearer, and thus relegated to a third person proximity. This contrast appears in examples (57a-d):

57)a. *koteā te me'a 'aē*

what REF thing DEM

‘What is this/that thing?’

b. *koteā te me'a 'aē-ni*

what REF thing DEM-1

‘What is this thing?’ (said of an object near speaker)

c. *koteā te me'a 'aē-nā*
 what the thing DEM-2
 ‘What is that thing?’ (said of an object near listener)

d. *koteā te me'a 'aē age*
 what the thing DEM 3
 ‘What is that thing?’ (said of an object not near to either speaker or listener)

There is no attested instance of a demonstrative determiner co-occurring with a noun having a non-referential determiner, perhaps unsurprisingly.

Presentative demonstratives

These forms are produced by adding person-clitics to the predicative *ko*, and as such, bear some predicative features as in (58) below.

58) *e 'atua ko'eni matou [...]*
 VOC god DEM.PRST 1PL.EXCL
 ‘O god(s), {behold us/here we are}’ (TKU:60)

For more information on the other categories listed in Table 8, see:

- Locative pronouns** (5.4)
- Directional adverbs** (8.1.5)
- Spatial adverbs** (8.1.5)
- Manner adverbs** (8.1.6)

4.4.5. Nouns without determiners

The primary notable instance of nouns without determiners is in noun-stripping, a structure described in greater detail in section (6.8.4) as a transitivity-reducing operation. It is similar to noun incorporation, the primary difference being that while it is indeed stripped of all nominal morphosyntax (and thus differing from the pseudo-noun incorporation described for Niuean in Massam 2001), this noun does not come to form a part of the verb’s phonological word. However, as will be seen below in (60a-e), there are nonetheless much tighter ordering constraints on a stripped noun than on one bearing full nominal morphosyntax.

The co-occurrence limitations are strict in requiring that a stripped noun have no determiners either pre- or post-nominal, no grammatical number, no classifiers, and no demonstratives.

- 59) *kua au fia kai laisi*
 PRF 1SG want eat rice
 ‘I want to eat rice.’

It must also follow directly after the verb of which it is semantically, if no longer syntactically, an argument; no other arguments (b) or adverbs (d) may intervene:

- 60)a. *ne'e kapu puaka ia Soane*
 PST hunt pig HUM Soane
 ‘Soane pig-hunted.’
- *b. *ne'e kapu ia Soane puaka*
 PST hunt HUM Soane pig
 Intended: ‘Soane pig-hunted.’
- c. *ne'e kapu puaka tu'uma'u ia Soane*
 PST hunt pig constantly HUM Soane
 ‘Soane was always pig-hunting’
- *d. *ne'e kapu tu'uma'u puaka ia Soane*
 PST hunt constantly pig HUM Soane
 (Intended: ‘Soane was always pig-hunting’)

To contrast with the above, (60e) shows the sentence without noun-stripping, where the verb is transitive and the adverb *tu'uma'u* is able to come between the verb and the noun itself:

- e. *ne'e kapu tu'uma'u te puaka e Soane*
 PST hunt always REF pig ERG Soane
 ‘Soane was always hunting {the/a certain} pig.’

Nonetheless, these atypical nouns are semantically nouns. This is apparent where a non-overtly derived noun/verb pair exists; repeated here for convenience are taken from section (3.2.5):

- 61)a. *ne'e lau te 'u tohi fuli e Mika*
 PST read REF PL book every ERG Mika
 ‘Mika read all the books’.

- b. *ne'e lau tohi ia Mika*
 PST read {book} *{write} HUM Mika
 'Mika read book(s)' or 'Mika was book-reading'.
 *'Mika read-wrote' or *'Mika was read-writing'.

4.5. Possessives

What is here termed possession is not limited to the semantic concept of ownership, but refers to the grammatical relationship of possessor and possessum with a wide range of possible meanings. East Uvean expresses possession between two nouns using what are called here 'morphologically simple genitive possessives' (4.5.1) and 'pronominal possessive determiners' (4.5.2; 5.2.1).

East Uvean and many other Polynesian languages distinguish morphosyntactically between two kinds or classes of possession, using the genitive prepositions *a* and *o* alone (morphologically simple) or in compounds (pronominal possessive determiners).

4.5.1. Morphologically simple genitive possessives

The two genitives, *a* (glossed aGEN) and *o* (glossed oGEN), contrast in semantic meaning and syntactic function. The difference between *a* and *o* is not always entirely transparent, but some generalizations can be made and exceptional cases discussed. The most basic (and widespread) distinction is to call *a* alienable and *o* inalienable. This holds true for a great deal of East Uvean possession of nominals; for example, it correctly predicts the possessive used for homophonous *kava* 'beard' and *kava* 'the *kava* plant or the intoxicating drink made from its roots':

- 62)a. *ko te kava a te 'aliki*
 PRED REF kava.plant aGEN REF nobleman
 'The nobleman's *kava*' (alienable)

- b. *ko te kava o te 'aliki*
 PRED REF beard oGEN REF nobleman

'The nobleman's beard' (inalienable); this contrast was described for the Tongan cognates of the same words in Churchward (1953:86), which led me to test the contrast in EUV as well.

The distinction extends to culturally specific concepts of alienability, as well as the question of creation or initiation of an object; in (63a), Mika did not build his car, and may well sell it at some point; in (63b), traditional culture would expect that either he or an ancestor built the boat, and at any rate, it is not a possession that would be sold or traded:

63)a. *te motokā a Mika*
 REF car aGEN Mika
 ‘Mika’s car’, culturally considered alienable

b. *te vaka o Mika*
 REF boat oGEN Mika
 ‘Mika’s boat’, culturally considered inalienable

To extend the distinction further, the *a* genitive indicates an active, initiating, or dominant role (64a), while the *o* genitive stands for a more inherent, non-initiating role (64b):

64)a. *te fakamatala a Atelea*
 REF recounting aGEN Atelea
 ‘Atelea’s story’ i.e. the one he is telling

b. *te fakamatala o Atelea*
 REF recounting oGEN Atelea
 ‘the story of Atelea’ i.e. the one about him

These two contrasting genitives and the distinction between them will be of further interest in describing clausal nominalizations, as the contrast persists in the use of the genitives for marking arguments of the nominalized verb (see 4.10.1.3-4).

There is also a connection, however opaque, between this initiating/passive distinction in possession and the use of possessives to describe kinship terms.

Ego’s parents are related to him/her via the *a* genitive:

65)a. *ko Fihkekai, tamai a Manuka*
 PRED Fihkekai father aGEN Manuka
 ‘Fihkekai, the father of Manuka’ (TKU:28)

- b. *Lamagatuitui fa'e a Visiesio Falelavaki*
 Lamagatuitui mother aGEN Visiesio Falelavaki
 'Lamagatuitui, the mother of Visiesio Falelavaki' (TKU:40)

In Ego's same generation, a sibling of the same sex (*tehina*), of different sex (*tokolua*), and spouse (*'ohoana*) are all related to him/her via the *o* genitive:

- 66)a. *Muhakaaka tehina o Tufeie*
 Muhakaaka same_sex_sibling oGEN Tufeie
 'Muhakaaka, the brother of Tufeie' (TKU:41)
- b. *Kihégalu tokolua o Fotuatamai*
 Kihégalu opposite_sex_sibling oGEN Fotuatamai
 'Kihégalu, sister of (the) Fotuatamai' (TKU:51)
- c. *Ko natou ia 'e toko tolu mo '-o-natou 'ohoana*
 PRED 3PL HUM NPST HUM three with REF.PL-oGEN-3PL spouse
 'They numbered three, with their spouses' (TKU:9)

Matters are not so consistent when describing Ego's offspring. The lexical terms differ based on the gender of the parent *and* the gender of the child; *foha* '(father's) son' and *'ofafine* '(father's) daughter' are related to their father with the *o* genitive,:

- 67)a. *ko Tahitala ko te foha o Luaufiufi*
 PRED Tahitala PRED REF son oGEN Luaufiufi
 'Tahitala, son of Luaufiufi' (TKU:18)
- b. *Fuahea 'ofafine o Takala*
 Fuahea daughter oGEN Takala
 'Fuahea, daughter of Takala' (TKU:50)

In contrast, *tama* '(mother's) son' and *ta'ahine* '(mother's) daughter' are related to their mother with the *a* genitive:

- 68)a. *Pea ko te tama a Mataaho ko Laveluapalekuaola*
 CONJ PRED REF son aGEN Mataaho PRED Laveluapalekuaola
 'Now, Mataaho was the son of Laveluapalekuaola' (TKU:40)

- b. *ko te ta'ahine a Malia*
 PRED REF daughter aGEN Malia
 '(it's) Malia's daughter' (SS9.8.14)

4.5.2. Pronominal possessive determiners

What this grammar terms 'pronominal possessive determiners' is a set of morphologically complex words consisting of a reduced form of an article, either aGEN or oGEN, and a reduced form of a personal pronoun. These words perform the role of a determiner, appearing pre-nominally in complementary distribution with the articles. However, they are also formed in part from the personal pronoun representing the possessor of the noun for which they act as determiners. Because the personal pronoun is an essential part of these determiners, they are described in section (5.2.1), after a description of the personal pronouns of East Uvean.

4.6. Grammatical number

The majority of nouns in East Uvean can be made singular or plural, while personal pronouns also have dual forms (see 5.1.2 for grammatical number in pronouns). A noun stem goes uninflected for number within the word itself, but is marked for non-singular grammatical number with a morpheme either falling between the article and the noun (e.g. *te 'u tohi* 'the books'), or composing part of the meaning of the article itself (as in *ni* and *na'i*, see Table 7 above).

Singular nouns are not overtly marked for number. The morpheme for marking grammatical number frequently depends on a noun's class, which phenomenon is discussed below in section (4.7.2), although the default plural morpheme 'u is the most common. Uncountable nouns take numberless classifiers, or simply appear without marked plural number.

4.7. Noun classifiers

Noun classifiers appear to have a largely semantic basis, but sometimes the semantic features a classifier encompasses are not entirely obvious or intuitive, or readily explained by native speakers. There are two primary groups to distinguish here: first, noun classifiers required (at least in some or most contexts) regardless of grammatical number (4.7.1), and second, noun classes requiring different plural morphemes that also represent the noun's class (4.7.2). These

latter classifiers may also carry added semantic meaning and sometimes the choice of different plural classifiers is available for a given noun, depending on the intended meaning.

4.7.1. Obligatory numberless classifiers

The numberless classifiers (CLF) are a fairly a heterogeneous set. Some exist as nouns in their own right and have specialized meaning when used as classifiers of other nouns. Others exist as adjectives, or are unattested in other uses.

These classifiers fit into the nominal morphosyntax after the article and before the noun itself. Some are followed by the preposition 'i, usually meaning 'in, at'; in at least some cases (such as *lau*, *lau 'i*, seen below) the form with and the one without this 'i are synonymous and appear to be in free variation.

article	classifier	('i)	noun
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Some of these classifiers are used with nouns that have only a vague semantic meaning on their own; for example, *niu*, best glossed as 'coconut', needs a classifier to specify whether it refers to the fruit of a coconut tree (*fo 'i niu*), the coconut water or milk (*hu 'a niu*), a piece of the flesh of the fruit (*mo 'i niu*), the frond of the tree (*lau niu*), or the coconut tree itself (*fu 'u niu*).

Obligatory classifiers which do not mark for grammatical number are not applied to every noun in East Uvean; nouns do not have genders or classes requiring such. The classifiers are less than obligatory in casual speech, if the meaning is sufficiently clear based on the context, but they remain frequent even in rapid, informal discourse.

A number of examples are given in Table 9 below:

Table 9: Examples of numberless classifiers

Classifier	Used for	Example(s)
<i>hu'a</i>	liquids	<i>hu'a vino</i> 'wine' <i>hu'a pipi</i> 'milk'
<i>lo'i</i>	drop of liquid	<i>lo'i lolo</i> 'drop of oil'
<i>to'i</i>	drop of liquid poured from a container	<i>to'i soyu</i> 'drop of soy sauce' (poured onto food)
<i>kau'i</i>	long, thin	<i>kau'i flā</i> 'cord, string' <i>kau'i hila</i> 'electrical wire'
<i>lau ('i)</i>	flat, broad	<i>lau'i papa, laupapa</i> 'table, board' <i>lau'i nima, launima</i> 'palm of the hand' (free variation)
<i>fo'i</i>	a whole, unit with surface integrity (including metaphorically)	<i>fo'i niu</i> 'coconut' <i>fo'i piele</i> 'can of beer' <i>fo'i me'e</i> 'group of dancers' (when considered as a cohesive unit)
<i>mo'i</i>	part of a whole	<i>mo'i mei</i> 'piece or chunk of breadfruit'
<i>'io ('i)</i>	(long) slice, cut of	<i>'io 'i 'ika</i> 'lengthwise slice of fish' <i>'io 'i moli</i> 'segment of a citrus fruit'
<i>fu'u</i>	tree (followed by noun of kind)	<i>fu'u niu</i> 'coconut tree'
<i>fua ('i)</i>	fruit of (plant/tree)	<i>fua 'i vī</i> 'fruit of a guava tree'
<i>fui</i>	cluster, bunch (occurs in nature)	<i>fui vite</i> 'cluster of grapes'
<i>fuiiga</i>	cluster, bunch (not naturally occurring)	<i>fuiiga moa</i> 'cooked chickens attached together by legs'
<i>ta'i</i>	bunch (of bananas)	<i>te ta'i sotuma</i> 'a bunch of sotuma-variety bananas'

4.7.2. Class and plural number

This section on noun class-specific plural markers makes no claims of comprehensiveness; for every class now recognized, there may be many more which will emerge only through more elicitation and text-gathering. The goal here is to describe how this part of nominal morphology works, rather than to list many examples which all behave in the same way.

The order of the morphemes in a nominal phrase with a plural noun is DET, PL, N. The generic 'u plural marker has shown up in a number of examples so far, as has the human plural

kau. The word order is, as with numberless classifiers: article, then classifier, then noun. For example:

- 69) *te 'u tohi*
 REF PL book
 'the books'

Below, Table 10 shows a few examples of specific plural markers and the classes or meanings they encompass.

Table 10: Class-specific plural markers, with examples

Plural CLF	Used for	Example
' <i>u</i> (or ' <i>ū</i>)	generic plural	<i>te 'u tohi</i> 'the books'
<i>kau</i>	humans; secondarily, a large group	<i>te kau Falani</i> 'the French people'
<i>tau</i>	kinship (in pairs, sometimes with complementary intergenerational)	<i>te tau tehina</i> 'the siblings' <i>te tau matu'a</i> 'the parents'
<i>faga</i>	living animals in a group; secondarily, a disorganized group	<i>te faga pipi</i> 'the cows / cattle' <i>te faga tamaliki</i> 'the crowd of kids'
' <i>ulu</i>	homogeneous (stand of) trees	<i>te 'ulu niu</i> 'the coconut trees'
' <i>atu</i>	ordered, organized, laid out purposefully	<i>te atu hina</i> 'the bottles' (in a row) <i>te atu puaka</i> 'the arrangement of cooked pigs offered at kava ceremonies'

4.8. Numerals and counting

The basic numerals and the formation of some of the complex numerals of East Uvean can be seen in Table 11 below:

Table 11: Numerals of East Uvean

Basic decimal		Multiples of 10 and 100		Multi-digit combinations	
1	<i>tahi</i>	10	<i>hogofulu</i>	21	<i>'uafulu mā tahi</i>
2	<i>lua</i>	20	<i>'uafulu</i>	22	<i>'uafulu mā lua</i>
3	<i>tolu</i>	30	<i>tolugofulu</i>	23	<i>'uafulu mā tolu</i>
4	<i>fā</i>	40	<i>fāgofulu</i>	101	<i>teau mā tahi</i>
5	<i>nima</i>	50	<i>nimagofulu</i>	102	<i>teau mā lua</i>
6	<i>ono</i>	60	<i>onogofulu</i>	103	<i>teau mā tolu</i>
7	<i>fitu</i>	70	<i>fitugofulu</i>	111	<i>teau hogofulu mā tahi</i>
8	<i>valu</i>	80	<i>valugofulu</i>	112	<i>teau hogofulu mā lua</i>
9	<i>hiva</i>	90	<i>hivagofulu</i>	1000	<i>afe</i>
10	<i>hogofulu</i>	100	<i>teau</i>	1111	<i>afe teau hogofulu mā tahi</i>
11	<i>hogofulu mā tahi</i>	200	<i>lua-geau</i>	9999	<i>hiva afe hiva-geau hiva-gofulu mā hiva</i>
12	<i>hogofulu mā lua</i>	300	<i>tolu-geau</i>	1,000,000	<i>miliona</i>

0	<i>selo</i> (loan)	1/2	<i>vaelua</i>	'and' (tens and ones only)	<i>mā</i>
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4.8.1. Cardinal numbers

To assign a cardinal number to a noun in East Uvean, it is not sufficient to put the two terms in apposition. There are two ways to give a noun number, one for non-humans and another for humans.

Non-humans are assigned cardinal numbers with the structure:

70)a. [N 'e [number]]

- b. *'e i ai 'a-ku tohi 'e fitu*
EXT REF.PL-aGEN-1SG book NUM seven
'I have seven books.'

It is worth asking whether cardinal numbers in East Uvean are actually verbs. The morpheme in (70a-b) glossed as NUM is, after all, identical to the non-past tense marker 'e. Furthermore, the structure of that example, were the number to be replaced with a verb or adjective, would be a matrix and a relative clause; e.g.:

- c. *'e i ai 'a-ku tohi 'e ke loto ki ai*
EXT REF.PL-aGEN-1SG book NPST 2SG want to ANAPH
'I have (the) books that you want.'

However, the past *ne'e*, as well as any aspect marker, is unattested in cardinal number constructions. This may not preclude the status of cardinal numbers as some sort of extremely specialized verb appearing only in a relative clause in a generic non-past tense, but further investigation into the matter is beyond the scope of this work as well as my abilities at this time.

Humans being counted use the marker 'e in addition to the prefix *toko-* in the structure:

71)a. [N.HUM 'e *toko-*[number]]

This yields expressions such as:

- b. *tagata 'e toko-fā*
man NUM HUM-four
'four men'

Note that humans counted in this way do not require any (other) determiner to be grammatical in a phrase, e.g.:

- c. *ne'e olo ki ai tagata 'e toko-fā*
PST go.PL to there man NUM HUM-four
'Four men went there.'

The requirement of NUM 'e does not hold when assigning numerical values to the number of times something has happened; this is likely a compound adverb:

- 72) 'e fakahā te faka'ohoana tu'a tolu
NPST announce REF marriage time three
'The marriage is announced three times.'

4.8.2. Ordinal numbers

To make a numeral ordinal, there is no additional or differing morphology, with the exception of the word for 'first': 'uluaki rather than *tahi*. Ordinal numerals also differ from cardinal numbers in the ordinal number precedes the modified noun:

- 73)a. 'uluaki 'aho
first day
'first day'
- b. lua 'aho
two day
'second day'
- c. tolu 'aho
three day
'third day'
- d. tolu-geau onogofulu mā tolu 'aho
three-hundred sixty and three day
'three hundred and sixty-third day'

4.8.3. Specialized counting systems

There exist also some cardinal number systems for counting specific objects; many of these are archaic and no longer see widespread use, but many middle-aged speakers can still supply examples such as the following for coconuts:

When coconuts are gathered, a part of their husk can be cut free to form a short, flexible length of fibers and then tied to the corresponding length of husk of a second coconut. These pairs of coconuts, with a short, knotted length of husk fibers between them, can be stacked with more coconut pairs such that the connecting husk portion of one pair is perpendicular to the

connecting husk portion of the pair below it; the pairs are stacked into piles of five or ten pairs and are easy to carry by hand or hung on a pole (especially compared with any non-singular number of un-connected coconuts).

A stack of five such pairs of coconuts (10 individual coconuts) is counted as *te kau niu*. Ten pairs (20 coconuts) are *gakau niu*, and the counting from there continues in multiples of twenty; *luagakau* = 40, *tolugakau* = 60, etc. The word (*lau*) *tefuhi* is used when the number of pairs reaches 100 (200 individual coconuts), 200 pairs is *lua gofuhi*, 300 pairs is *tolugofuhi*, etc. 1000 pairs is (*lau*) *tekumi*. That is as high a number as I was able to elicit in this specialized counting system.

Though not a numeral system *per se*, East Uvean also uses (or used) its own measurements of length or circumference. For example:

takai ‘length of circumference of rope or string from palm of hand wrapped around bottom of elbow and back to palm’

takai te pilo ‘length of circumference of rope or string wrapped around the open palm of the hand’

gafa ‘length from chest to tips of fingers of extended arm’

maga ‘length from extended thumb tip to extended index finger tip’

One of the great tragedies of East Uvean, and of the minority languages of the world in general, is that even those that survive in the presence of dominant, colonial languages often lose such culture-specific vocabulary in younger generations.

Finally (and though it goes no further than anecdotal observation), I did remark that among many speakers, even the middle-aged who grew up monolingual before being sent to school, there is a tendency to use French numbers when discussing amounts of money, even when everything else in the utterance is in EUV.

4.9. Non-numeral quantifiers

Table 12: Some examples of non-numeral quantifiers

Quantifier	Gloss	Example	
<i>fuli</i>	all, every, each	<i>te 'aho fuli (pe) o toku ma'uli</i>	'all the days of my life'
<i>kātoa</i>	whole, entire	<i>inu te fo'i vai kātoa</i>	'drink the whole water bottle'
<i>atu</i>	many (CLF.PL)	<i>ne'e i ai tona atu kaume'a</i>	'he had many friends'
<i>lahi</i>	many, much	<i>te 'u fale lahi</i>	'many houses' or 'big houses'
<i>(ni) 'ihi</i>	(NREF) a few	<i>ni 'ihi fehu'i pe</i>	'just a few questions'
<i>mo'i</i>	part of (CLF)	<i>te mo'i mei</i>	'a piece of breadfruit'
<i>ki'i</i>	small, minor	<i>ni ki'i me'a noape</i>	'a few minor things' (TFU:58)
<i>mole he me'a / tahi</i>	nothing / no one	<i>ne'e mole ma'u {he me'a / he tahi}</i>	'there wasn't {anything / anyone}'

Some of East Uvean's non-numeral quantifiers exhibit behaviors similar to those of adjectives and others are more like numeral quantifiers. Some can use an adjective stem with a quantifier meaning; *lahi* 'big' can be employed with the human-associated morpheme *toko-* to form *tokolahi* 'numerous (Adj)' (used also as a noun, meaning 'many people').

Indeed, some words perform a quantifier's function but otherwise behave morphologically as other parts of speech; for example, *fuli* 'all, every' and *kātoa* 'all, whole, entire', both of which can act as adjectives and follow a noun: *kai te laisi fuli* 'eat all the rice'.

One non-numeral quantifying word of interest is the distributive *takitahi* 'each', which can apply to nominals as well as pronominals alike:

74)a. *i tona takitahi fa'ahi o te tagata*

at 3SG:POSS each side of REF man

'On each/either side of the man' (*Utufefe le cannibale*, Wallisien corpus)

b. *olo ia nāua o takitahi te mā'aga vai i te vai*

go.PL HUM 2DU PURP each REF gulp water LOC REF water

'They each went in order to swallow a gulp of water from the spring' (*Le vol d'eau*,

Wallisien corpus)

When accompanied by *pē* in its restrictive sense, *takitahi* means ‘only’:

- c. *takitahi pē koutou te ki'i ipu o inu*
each only 3PL REF little cup PURP drink
‘Only take one cup each to drink from’ (*Le fils de Maui*, Wallisien corpus)

4.10. Case-marking and core grammatical relations

Morphological case in East Uvean is always expressed as a preposition when overtly marked. These prepositional case markers precede the rest of the nominal phrase (i.e. all the nominal morphosyntax seen thus far in chapter 4) in its entirety:

- 75) *ne'e sio'i ia au e [te kau ta'ahine faikehe]*
PST look.at HUM 1SG ERG REF PL.HUM young.woman strange
‘The strange young women looked at me.’

Case marking is one of the major ways in which East Uvean grammar is sensitive to humanness and animacy; the morphosyntactic encoding of semantic roles takes these features into account when selecting cases for a number of roles.

This section begins with an overview of the language’s multiple alignment systems, and then moves on to describe core cases in the context of their relations with each other and to the syntax and semantics of the whole clauses in which they are used.

4.10.1. Alignment systems in East Uvean

Depending on clause type and grammatical person, East Uvean makes use of a few different systems to align prototypical semantic roles with overt case marking. The most common and most relevant to nominal arguments is the ergative/absolutive alignment. First- and second-person pronouns have a nominative/accusative alignment, mentioned briefly in (4.10.1.2) and described in greater detail in (5.1.5). Clausal nominalizations present two different systems of aligning arguments within nominalizations: the most common in modern times is nominative/accusative (albeit with different case markers), while the older system attested in texts and considered grammatical by older speakers is a Fluid-S system; these receive brief mention in (4.10.1.3-4) below.

4.10.1.1. Ergative/absolutive

The case-marking of common and proper noun agent (A), patient (O), and intransitive subject (S) in East Uvean transitive and basic intransitive verbal phrases demonstrates the language's most primary alignment as morphologically ergative/absolutive.

In (76a-b) below, the participants Soane and Petelo are involved in a highly transitive action; the agent is marked with ergative case *e*, while the patient is marked with the morpheme *ia*, which is glossed as HUM (human) but which, as will be discussed in much greater detail in (4.10.3) below, is more accurately described as an everything-but-ergative human marker, and thus frequently correlates with the absolutive case that the human argument bears. In (76c), the intransitive S is marked with this same *ia*, demonstrating that S aligns with P in this system:

- 76)a. *ne'e tā ia Soane e Petelo*
 PST hit HUM Soane ERG Petelo
 b. *ne'e tā e Petelo ia Soane*
 PST hit ERG Petelo HUM Soane
 Both a and b: 'Petelo hit Soane.'

- c. *ne'e moe ia Soane*
 PST sleep HUM Soane
 'Soane slept/was sleeping'

Contrast the above examples with a similar set of transitive/intransitive events, where the human proper noun P and S are replaced with a non-human common noun, showing that the absolutive case itself is morphologically unmarked:

- 77)a. *ne'e tā Ø te kulī te tama*
 PST hit (ABS) REF dog ERG REF boy
 'The boy hit the dog.'
 b. *ne'e moe Ø te kulī*
 PST sleep (ABS) REF dog
 'The dog slept.'

Throughout this grammar, the non-marked absolutive will be not included in glosses except where necessary to show some particular contrast.

In this ergative/absolutive alignment, ergative and absolutive are not the only relevant cases; more peripheral case markers are required by some verbal types like the extended intransitive (see section 6.6) or by some semantic roles (see 4.10.5 below).

4.10.1.2. Nominative/accusative alignment of first- and second-person

The personal pronouns of the first and second person have contrasting morphological forms and word order along a nominative/accusative alignment. That is, transitive A and intransitive subject S have the same form, e.g. *ke* ‘second person singular’ and the same word order, appearing as proclitics before the verb, as in (78a-b). A patient argument P has the contrasting form *koe* ‘second person singular’ and appears postverbally in (78c):

- 78)a. *ne'e ke tā ia Soane*
PST 2SG hit HUM Soane
‘You hit Soane.’
- b. *ne'e ke moe*
PST 2SG sleep
‘You slept.’
- c. *ne'e tā (ia) koe e Petelo*
PST hit HUM 2SG ERG Petelo
‘Petelo hit you.’

Note that the non-ergative human marker *ia* is optional with accusative first and second-person pronouns; this is shown in (5.1.5).

In a transitive clause like those seen in (78a and c), the nominative/accusative alignment co-occurs with the ergative/absolutive. Nominative A has an absolutive patient P in (a), while an ergative A has an accusative P in (c).

4.10.1.3. Nominative/accusative alignment in clausal nominalizations

Clausal nominalizations are discussed elsewhere in relation to other morphosyntactic topics (see ; this sub-section and the next aim only to glance at the alignment systems and the case marking they use. This subsection deals with the most commonly used, more modern nominative/accusative alignment system of arguments within a nominalization.

When a transitive clause is nominalized, one of its arguments may be marked with one of the two contrasting genitives *a* or *o* (which genitives are described in 4.5.1). The \pm alienability, \pm agentivity semantic contrast of the two genitives is extended to apply *a* aGEN to agentive arguments, and *o* oGEN to patientive object arguments. Where the other argument is overtly expressed in the clausal nominalization, it is accompanied by its normal, root clause case marker, whether absolutive or ergative, as in (79b, d):

- 79)a. *'e hāla t-a-na tā*
 NPST wrong REF-aGEN-3SG hit
 'It is wrong that (s)he hit (someone) or 'her/his hitting (of someone) is wrong'
- b. *'e hāla t-a-na tā ia Soane*
 NPST wrong REF-aGEN-3SG hit HUM Soane
 'Her/his hitting Soane is wrong' or 'it is wrong that (s)he hit Soane.'
- c. *'e hāla t-o-na tā*
 NPST wrong REF-oGEN-3SG hit
 'It is wrong that (s)he is/was hit' or 'her/his being hit is wrong'

Note that example (79c) is at least semantically transitive, and simply has an omitted, not demoted agent argument, while the patient represented by *tona* 'her/his' is not promoted or made an intransitive S.

- d. *'e hāla t-o-na tā e Petelo*
 NPST wrong REF-oGEN-3SG hit ERG Petelo
 'It is wrong that (s)he was hit by Petelo' / 'Her/his being hit by Petelo is wrong.' The failure of English to have any non-passive means of expressing this sentence should not be interpreted as labeling it a passive in EUV.

The question is then how the nominalizations mark an intransitive S argument. In this nominative/accusative system, S aligns with A, in that it is marked with aGEN case:

- 80) *'uhi ko t-a-na tale*
 because REF-aGEN-3SG cough
 '...because of her/his cough(ing)'

- 81) *logolā t-a-na mate*
 despite REF-aGEN-3SG death
 ‘...in spite of her/his death/dying’
- 82) *ne’e au sio ki t-a-na tō*
 PST 1SG see DAT REF-aGEN-3SG fall
 ‘I saw her/him fall’ / ‘I saw his/her fall.’

Speakers who use this nominalization alignment do the same with extended intransitive S, which is marked as absolutive (or nominative in the first and second person) in root clauses:

- 83) *’uhi ko t-a-ku logo ki te kalaga*
 because REF- aGEN-1SG hear DAT REF cry
 ‘...because of my hearing (of) the cry’
- 84) *logolā t-a-u ’ofa kīa Soane*
 despite REF- aGEN-2SG love DAT.HUM Soane
 ‘...in spite of your love of Soane’

Table 13: Nominative/accusative alignment of arguments in nominalizations

	Arguments	A	S	O
Nominalization (modern type)	genitive-marked	Nominative		Accusative
	core case-marked	Ergative	-	Absolutive

4.10.1.4. Fluid-S alignment in clausal nominalizations

While doing fieldwork, I noticed that older texts, including pre-Christian legends collected in the nineteenth century and preserved in a collection called *Talanoa Ki Uvea*, do not consistently align a nominalization’s genitive-marked intransitive S with its genitive-marked transitive A. That is, S arguments in nominalizations were case-marked with both *a* aGEN and *o* oGEN. Investigation revealed that older speakers of the language tend to evaluate the instances from the texts as grammatical, as well as some adaptations I made from them to test the limits of the behavior. It emerged that this alignment, which I term the ‘pre-modern’ variety, is a Fluid-S system.

The Fluid-S alignment allows the S of a verb to be aligned with A or P depending on the semantics involved in the utterance, not fixed to the verb itself. If the intransitive subject is more

volitional, purposeful, or generally more agent-like, it will be marked in the same way as a transitive subject; in EUV nominalizations, this translates to occurrence with an aGEN case. At the other end, intransitive subjects with low volition and the like occur with an oGEN case. In this system, transitive A and P behave identically to those in section (4.10.1.3) above.

Examples (85a-b) show the Fluid-S contrast possible with a verb like intransitive *moe*:

- 85)a. *'uhi ko t-a-na kua moe*
 because REF- **a**GEN-3SG PRF sleep
 '...because (s)he had gone to sleep' (on purpose)
- b. *'uhi ko t-o-na kua moe*
 because REF- **o**GEN-3SG PRF sleep
 '...because (s)he had fallen asleep' (non-volitional)

Examples (86a-b) show that extended intransitives (as discussed in section 6.6) are subject to the same Fluid-S alignment possibilities, as their absolutive subject is treated morphosyntactically like an intransitive S. The experiencer of the verb *mataku* 'fear' can thus be marked with *a* or *o* depending on the semantics of the utterance:

- 86)a. *'i t-a-na mataku ki te temonio*
 in REF-**a**GEN-3SG fear DAT REF demon
 '...in her/his fear of the demon' (speakers consider this a reaction to some event)
- b. *'i t-o-na mataku ki te temonio*
 in REF-**o**GEN-3SG fear DAT REF demon
 '...in her/his fear of the demon' (speakers consider the fear to be more inherent to the experiencing person, not necessarily sparked by external events)

Oblique or peripheral cases like the dative *ki* in (86a-b) above cannot be marked by either genitive case in nominalizations.

Table 14: Fluid-S alignment in nominalizations

	Arguments	A	S	P
Nominalization (pre-modern type)	genitive-marked	A = S _A		P = S _P
	core case-marked	Ergative	-	Absolutive

4.10.1.5. Alignment systems in summary

Table 15: The alignment systems of East Uvean

Clause type	Arguments	A	S	P	Alignment
Root	1st and 2nd person pronouns	Nominative		Accusative	NOM/ACC
	3rd person pronouns and all nominals	Ergative	Absolutive		ERG/ABS
Nominalization (modern type)	genitive-marked	Nominative		Accusative	NOM/ACC
	core case-marked	Ergative	Absolutive		
Nominalization (pre-modern type)	genitive-marked	A = S _A		P = S _P	Fluid-S
	core case-marked	Ergative	Absolutive		

4.10.2. Absolutive case

This section touches on the essential facts of the absolutive case's form and function. Sub-section (4.10.3) immediately below addresses the related (or perhaps 'correlated') non-ergative human marker *ia* in greater detail.

The form of the absolutive case is a zero-morpheme; it has no overt phonological form. Thus, nominals with absolutive case contrast with those bearing other cases simply by the absence of other case morphology. This is in keeping with the status of the absolutive as the default case in EUV, used for nominal intransitive subjects, transitive patients, but also in tense-, aspect-, and mood-less clauses such as example (87):

- 87) *Pea 'alu ake ai Kulitea mo Puluiuvea [o fakaala ia Uluimonua]*
 Then go up there Kulitea and PuluiuveaPURP avenge HUM.ABS Uluimonua
 'So Kulitea and Puluiuvea went up in order to avenge Uluimonua' (TKU:39)

With the predicative *ko*, nominals, whether common or proper, cannot appear with any overt case morphology. While I cannot state with any certainty that the \emptyset between *ko* and a nominal is the absolutive \emptyset , it seems plausible that this is indeed the case:

88)a. *ko* \emptyset *{*e* / 'aki / 'i / ki} *te* *fafine*
 PRED ?ABS *{ERG / INSTR / LOC / DAT} REF woman
 'It's the woman' (ungrammatical cases and prepositions may only appear in the following clause with resumptive pronoun)

It is also interesting to note that the first- and second-person pronominal forms available within *ko* phrases are those which align accusatively as post-verbal P arguments, and never the pre-verbal nominative proclitics:

b. *ko* *koe* *(*ke*) *ne'e* *ke* *tagi*
 PRED 2SG.ACC *(2SG.NOM) PST 2SG.NOM cry
 'It's you who was crying.'

4.10.3. Non-ergative human marker *ia*

The non-ergative human marker *ia* has frequent co-occurrence with the absolutive case, but the overlap is only partial. Nominals and pronominals not in absolutive case can also be marked with *ia*, as long as they are not in the ergative case or in the *ko* phrase:

89)a. *ne'e* *au* *sio* *kīa* *Soane*
ki + ia
 PST 1SG see DAT.HUM Soane
 'I saw Soane.'

b. 'e *matou* *manatu* 'īa *te* *tagata faiako*
i + ia
 NPST 1PL.EXCL think LOC.HUM REF teacher
 'We were thinking about the teacher.'

The overlap of *ia* and absolutive case is incomplete in another dimension, in that it does not occur with all nominals in the absolutive case. It is obligatory with proper nouns in the absolutive case, and appears frequently but optionally with human common nouns. Very occasionally, animate non-humans may take *ia*, but common nouns with absolutive case are always unmarked by any overt morpheme correlated with absolutive case.

These co-occurrence behaviors fit nicely into the idea of a nominal hierarchy (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994) where different nominal and pronominal arguments are more or less likely to be agentive, and this likelihood is then expressed in the grammar as some form of

morphosyntactic marking. Thus in East Uvean, proper noun human referents are more likely to be agents than common inanimate nouns. The morpheme *ia* is a way of grammatically showing that the situation is in fact marked, that the human referent (especially if important enough in the discourse to merit a proper name) is not an agent, even though this the role one might expect it to perform in general.

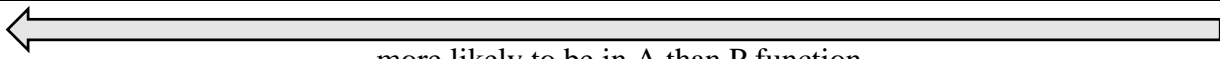
Personal pronouns			Demonstratives	Proper nouns	Common nouns		
1st person	2nd person	3rd person			Human	Animate	Inanimate
 more likely to be in A than P function							

Figure 3: The nominal hierarchy (adapted from Dixon 1994:85, figure 4.5)

For more applications of the nominal hierarchy concept to EUV morphosyntax, see sections (5.1.5-6).

4.10.4. Ergative case

The ergative case marker *e* appears before all other elements of a nominal phrase and has no allomorphs. A prototypical ergative-marked noun performs the semantic role of a transitive agent, initiating an action with volition and affecting a patient, like the ergative argument *e Petelo* in (90), repeated from (4.10.1.1) above:

- 90) *ne'e tā e Petelo ia Soane*
 PST hit ERG Petelo HUM Soane
 'Petelo hit Soane.'

When a highly patient-affecting action is derived into a less-affecting, less direct one, the transitivity of the verbal phrase is altered and an ergative case is no longer semantically valid, as in post-noun-stripping part (b) of example (91) below. For more examples, see (6.8.3-4).

- 91)a. *kua lau te tohi kātoa e Malia*
 PRF read REF book whole ERG Malia
 'Malia (has) read the whole book.'

- b. *ne'e lau tohi ia Malia*
 PST read book HUM Malia
 'Malia read/was reading (a) book(s)

When a nominal lacks sufficient animacy or volition, it cannot be ergative, and must use a different case such as the instrumental or locative (for examples, see the following sub-section, 4.10.5)

On the other hand, not all nominals that are able to grammatically bear the ergative case fully live up to its prototypical features. For example, when an extended intransitive verb of perception or emotion is transitivized (see 6.9.3), the ergative transitive A is volitional and initiating, but lacks the prototypical patient-affecting feature:

- 92) *ne'e logo-'i tanatou tagi e tanatou fa'e*
 PST hear-TR 3PL:POSS cry ERG 3PL:POSS mother
 'Their mother listened to their crying.'

4.10.5. Inanimate agent-like arguments

The ergative case patterns closely with the semantic role of agent, which is very apparent when attempting to mark as ergative a noun semantically incapable of being an agent; humans and, to lesser extent, animate non-human nouns may be ergative-marked agents, but (93b-d) show that different case marking is needed for inanimates like 'key' (instrumental case) and 'wind' (locative case).

- 93)a. *ne'e 'ava-hi te matapā e Soane*
 PST open-TR REF door ERG Soane
 'Soane opened the door.'
- *b. *ne'e 'ava-hi te matapā *e te kalavī*
 PST open-TR REF door ERG REF key
 (Intended: 'The key opened the door.')
- c. *ne'e 'ava-hi te matapā 'aki te kalavī*
 PST open-TR REF door INSTR REF key
 'The key opened the door.' ('The door (was) opened with/by the key.')

- d. *ne'e 'ava-hi te matapā 'i te matagi*
 PST open-TR REF door in REF wind
 'The wind opened the door' ('The door opened in/because of the wind.')

4.10.6. Other cases

One case that does not fit well into core grammatical relations or prepositional cases is the vocative, expressed in East Uvean as the morpheme *e*, glossed as VOC where it is distinct from the homophonous ergative. The vocative can occur before the name or title of the addressee (94a), or after it (94b):

- 94)a. *E, Sione Poe, [...] kua mate Siasi*
 VOC Sione Poe PRF die Siasi
 'O Sione Poe, Siasi is dead/has died' (TKU:47)
- b. *Malia e, 'ofa mai*
 Mary VOC have.mercy DIR1
 'O Mary, have mercy on me!' (exclamation)

For other cases such as dative, locative, and instrumental, as well as prepositional adjuncts, see chapter 9.

5. Pronouns and pronominal morphosyntax

5.1. Personal pronouns

This section describes the grammatical features encoded in personal pronouns, the forms they take, and gives illustrative examples of their use. The full set of personal pronouns appears in Table 16; following subsections address the relevant distinctions of grammatical person (5.1.1), grammatical number (5.1.2), clusivity (5.1.3), and grammatical relations and alignment systems (5.1.5).

Table 16: Paradigm of personal pronoun forms and alignment

pronoun	Forms and alignment			
	A	S	P	
1SG.EXCL	au		(ia) au	Accusative alignment
1SG.INCL	kita		(ia) kita	
1DU.EXCL	ma		(ia) māua	
1DU.INCL	ta		(ia) tāua	
1PL.EXCL	matou		(ia) mātou	
1PL.INCL	tou		(ia) tātou	
2SG	ke		(ia) koe	
2DU	kolua / koulua		(ia) kolua / koulua	
2PL	kotou		(ia) koutou	
3SG	ina / na	∅ / (ia) ia	ia ia	
3DU	nā	ia nāua		
3PL	nātou	ia nātou		

5.1.1. Grammatical person

Unremarkably, East Uvean classifies participants in speech acts by the usual three grammatical persons: first person (the speaker(s) and members of the speaker's group), second person (the other participant(s) in direct speech) and third person, any participant not the speaker or the addressee.

As mentioned in (5.1.4) below, the inclusive first person pronouns include both the first and second person; they do not, however, form a separate grammatical person of their own.

Morphological reference to grammatical person is not confined to personal pronouns, and can sometimes appear redundant:

- 95) ‘*e* *au* ‘*ofa* *atu* *kā* *kotou*
 NPST 1SG love DIR2 to:HUM 2PL
 ‘I love you guys.’

5.1.2. Grammatical number

Unlike nouns, pronouns have a three-way number distinction; singular contrasts with dual and plural number. Thus ‘plural’ in nominals represents two or more, while ‘plural’ pronouns can only be used for three or more.

Pronominal dual number forms are seen in patient-like argument forms (and any roles aligned therewith) as an ending *-ua*, which is reminiscent of the numeral *lua* ‘two’ and is a grammaticalized, then lexicalized form thereof. In fact, this is confirmed in *The Oceanic Languages*, as is the historical connection between the number *tolu* ‘three’ and the plural pronoun forms ending in *-tou*: “There is good evidence that the numerals **rua* ‘2’, **tolu* ‘3’ and perhaps **vat[i]* ‘4’ were cliticised [...] to mark dual, trial and paucal number respectively[...]. When they served as clitics, **rua* and **tolu* were optionally reduced to **ru* and **tou* (the latter reflected in [...] Fiji and Polynesia)” (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:69). However, no documented historical or modern form of East Uvean has a distinct trial or paucal grammatical number in any part of its grammar.

5.1.3. Grammatical gender

East Uvean makes no distinctions of grammatical gender; natural gender is sporadically expressed in the lexicon, typically by forming compounds with *tagata* ‘man’ and *fafine* ‘woman’. All personal pronouns in all grammatical persons and numbers are unmarked for gender. Thus the third-person agent pronoun *ina* in (96) below could refer to a male or a female person:

- 96) *ne'e ina kai taku mo'i laisi*
 PST 3SG eat my CLF rice
 '{She / he} ate my rice.'

Humanness and animacy are far more grammatically relevant features than gender in East Uvean; although separate pronominal forms are not used to distinguish human, non-human animate, and inanimate referents, the alignment systems of personal pronouns and other nominals reflect properties of the hierarchy of humanness and animacy. For more on the subject, see (4.10.3) and (5.1.5).

5.1.4. Clusivity

The first-person pronouns are inherently marked for clusivity; there is no form of this set which is not either exclusive or inclusive. Exclusive pronouns might be thought of as more strictly or purely first-person, since they do not include the second person, while inclusive pronouns refer to both the speaker and the hearer(s). Examples (97a-b) illustrate the clusivity contrast:

- 97)a. *'e ma olo*
 NPST 1DU.EXCL go.NSG
 'We (two) are going (and not you).'
- b. *'e ta olo*
 NPST 1DU.INCL go.NSG
 'We (you and I) are going.'

Dual inclusive refers to the speaker and one interlocutor; plural refers to the speaker and two or more interlocutors. The singular inclusive merits a closer examination and an explanation of what this description means.

The pronoun *kita* has cognates in a number of Polynesian languages; Lichtenberk compares the pronoun's meaning in some of them and finds that it is used in many of these languages as a first-person singular with semantic differences from their basic first-person singular. In Tongan it is a means of expressing humility as a singular first-person referent, and in Samoan it can express humility as well as being in need, or other meanings united by the theme of a speaker's

emotional involvement. In Tuvaluan and Tokelauan, it likewise may include a connotation of humility or need (Lichtenberk 2005:268-271).

Similarly to these descriptions, Rensch’s dictionary of East Uvean, gives the definition of *kita* as simply “*pron. pers. Je, moi, (forme humble)*” without examples (Rensch 1984:200). However, East Uvean’s principal use of the *kita* as I find it in texts (I have not knowingly observed its use in person) is not as a humble equivalent to 1SG *au*, but rather as a first-person inclusive with distributive meaning. In this way, it contrasts with the default collective reading of dual and plural inclusive pronouns. Each member of *kita*’s set of referents, from the first-person singular speaker to the included addressees, is considered as an individual. For example:

98) *ke kita ma’uli ohagē ko he tisipulo a Sēsū*
 SBJV 1SG.INCL live like NREF disciple of Jesus

‘...that we might each live like a disciple of Jesus’ / ‘that each one of us might live like a disciple of Jesus’ (Fa:24)

The distributive reading of *kita* can be related to its use for expressing humility, in that it situates a first-person individual in a larger group, while still acknowledging the individuality of each member of that group.

Example (99) shows one token of *kita* that seems to have an emotional, self-pitying element similar to that described in Samoan, Tuvaluan, and Tokelauan comes from the collection of traditional stories *Talanoa ki Uvea*, where it is part of a possessive determiner (see 5.2.1):

99) *kovi si-’ota vaihu ka lā kita kai*
 bad EMO-POSS:1DU.INCL cooked.fish CONJ Adv 1SG.INCL eat
mo moe ke ’aho
 and sleep CONJ day

‘If only, (what with) our little *vaihu*, we could each eat and sleep until dawn’ (TKU:15)

In these general qualities, EUV’s *kita* appears to be quite similar to Tsukamoto’s description of the cognate pronoun form in closely-related Niufo’ou, where *kita* is applied outside the singular first-person speaker, but is unlike generic pronouns like French *on* and German *man*, which do not necessarily include the speaker in their set, as *kita* in Niufo’ou necessarily does. Tsukamoto further notes that in Niufo’ou, *kita* can also be used to refer to the speaker only, as a means of expressing greater humility (Tsukamoto 1988:228).

5.1.5. Grammatical relations and alignment of personal pronouns

While case on nouns is marked with independent, prepositional morphemes, a personal pronoun's case can be expressed with either the same set of nominal case morphemes, or the existence of two distinct morphological forms for each personal pronoun (which distinct forms also contrast with each other in their syntactic distribution), or in some cases, parts of both sets.

The two morphological forms and corresponding, contrasting syntactic distribution of each pronoun show the alignment of core, prototypical argument roles in two different systems: for first- and second-person pronouns, nominative/accusative; for third-person pronouns, ergative/absolutive. One of each pronoun's two forms is a pre-verbal proclitic, coming between the tense, aspect, or modal auxiliary and the verb itself. For example:

- 100)a. *'e ma fia kai*
 NPST 1DU.EXCL want eat
 'We want to eat' or 'We're hungry.'
- b. *kua ke ha'u mai*
 PRF 2SG come DIR1
 'You've come here.'
- c. *ne'e natou ka~kai te laisi fuli*
 PST 3PL NSG~eat REF rice all
 'They ate all the rice.'

The other form of a personal pronoun is the post-verbal, non-clitic. It appears where a corresponding nominal argument would, and can be marked with independent case morphemes as the same nominals are. For example, (101a-c) show the post-verbal form of three pronouns in absolutive case with the optional, non-ergative human marker *ia* shown in parentheses:

- 101)a. *'e na sio'i (ia) matou*
 NPST 3SG look.at HUM 1PL.EXCL
 'He's looking at us.'
- b. *silou ne'e mole au fia alahi (ia) koe*
 pardon PST NEG 1SG want wake HUM 2SG
 'Excuse me, I didn't want to wake you.'

- c. *kua olo (ia) natou*
 PRF go.PL HUM 3PL
 ‘They’ve (already) gone.’

The peripheral cases, such as dative, locative, and instrumental all use the post-verbal form plus their respective prepositional case marker, as in (102a-b):

- 102)a. *‘e na sio kīa au*
 NPST 3SG see DAT.HUM 1SG
 ‘(S)he sees me.’

- b. *ne’e matou manatu ‘īa koe*
 PST 1PL.EXCL think LOC.HUM 2SG
 ‘We were thinking about you.’

The pre-verbal proclitic forms of the first and second person are used for transitive A and intransitive S, but never for intransitive O, and are therefore aligned accusatively. The third-person pre-verbal proclitic forms are only grammatical when used for a transitive A, and never for an intransitive S or transitive O, and are aligned ergatively. Note that the third-person singular in an S role very frequently has no overt manifestation, but that when it does appear on the surface, it is in the same post-verbal form as is used for transitive P. Below, Table 17 summarizes these alignments; the full paradigm of personal pronouns in Table 16 at the beginning of the section shows this alignment as well, with all pronoun forms.

Table 17: Alignment of personal pronouns by form, grammatical role, and distribution

pronoun group	A	S	P	
1st and 2nd person	Pre-verbal proclitic form		Post-verbal form	ACC
3rd singular	Pre-verbal proclitic form	∅ or overt post-verbal form	Post-verbal form	ERG
3rd non-singular	Pre-verbal proclitic form	Post-verbal form		

The above description is by far the most common pattern of distribution of personal pronoun forms and functions. Note, however, that for particular emphasis, two significant variations do see considerable use in EUV. First, pronouns already represented by a pre-verbal proclitic may

be repeated in their post-verbal form in much the same way as a French *pronom disjoint* (e.g. *Tu viens d'où, toi?*):

- 103) *'e ke ha'u mai-fea koe?*
 NPST 2SG come from-where 2SG
 'Where do you come from?' or perhaps 'You, where do you come from?'

Second, a pronoun in an agent role may be expressed not as a pre-verbal proclitic, but as the post-verbal form preceded by an ergative *e*; this is an unusual and marked construction that emphasizes the agentivity of the ergative argument for pragmatic reasons, as in (104):

- 104) *ne'e kaiha'a e koulua te tohi 'aē 'e au lolotoga lau*
 PST steal ERG 2DU REF book DEM NPST 1SG PROG read
 'You two stole the book I was reading!'

Finally, note that when clefted as part of a *ko* phrase, all personal pronouns appear in their post-verbal form; Compare examples (105a) before clefting and (105b), after:

- 105)a. *ne'e ke inu te fo'i piele*
 PST 2.SG drink REF CLF beer
 'You drank the can of beer.'
- b. *ko koe ne'e ke inu te fo'i piele*
 PRED 2SG PST 2.SG drink REF CLF beer
 'It is you who drank the can of beer.'

5.1.6. Pronominal and nominal grammatical relations in summary

The personal pronoun forms, overt noun cases, human marker *ia*, and the alignment systems into which they fall can be elegantly described in terms of a hierarchy of relative likelihood for a (pro-)nominal to be more A- or P-like (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994) and mentioned in section (4.10.3). This hierarchy is applied to East Uvean core grammatical relations and the means by which they are marked in Table 18 below.

Table 18: The nominal hierarchy as manifested in East Uvean

Alignment	Personal pronouns			Proper nouns	Common nouns	
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person		Human	Non-human
	←more marked as P			more marked as A→		
	NOM/ACC		ERG/ABS			
A and co-aligned	A/S = pre-verbal proclitic pronoun		A = pre-verbal proclitic pronoun	A = Post-verbal <i>e</i> [N]		
P and co-aligned	P = { <i>ia</i> / Ø} post-verbal form		S/P = { <i>ia</i> / Ø} post-verbal form	S/P = <i>ia</i> [N]	S/P = { <i>ia</i> / Ø} [N]	S/P = Ø [N]

5.2. Possessive pronouns

The use of pronouns in possession in East Uvean is tremendously complex, both morphosyntactically and semantically. An explanation of terms and categories is necessary before describing the categories and their particularities.

This section describes three types of possessive word, corresponding to three grammatical/lexical categories: possessive determiners (5.2.1), possessive adjectives (5.2.2), and possessive true pronouns (5.2.3). Though only the last of the three types is strictly speaking a pronoun, all three contain partial form of a personal pronoun expressing its grammatical features of person, number, and clusivity. The morphological processes for forming the three types are also quite similar. Each of the three possessive word types below is first distinguished by its role and distribution, the described in form and function.

5.2.1. Pronominal possessive determiners

The set of possessive determiners occurs pre-nominally, with the same distribution as the set of articles (see 4.4.1-2); that is, after case-marking, before the classifier (if present), and before the noun itself. Example (106a-b) shows the same phrasal environment with an article (a) and a possessive determiner (b):

- 106)a. *kua ke kai te mo'i mei*
 PRF 2SG eat REF CLF breadfruit
- b. *kua ke kai t-a-ku mo'i mei*
 PRF 2SG eat REF-aGEN-1SG CLF breadfruit
- ‘You’ve eaten {a: the / b: my} piece of breadfruit.’

The morphological composition of East Uvean pronominal possessive determiners is to quite complex. Morphologically, they consist of a combination of an article, one of the two genitives (*a* aGEN or *o* oGEN), and a form of the personal pronoun representing the possessor, which contains its grammatical features of person, number and clusivity. Table 19 divides these grammatical features into those of the possessum and those of the possessor:

Table 19: Grammatical information expressed in a possessive determiner

Possessum		Possessor	
Article	±REF or EMO	Person	1st, 2nd, 3rd
Number	SG, PL	Number	SG, DU, PL
Alienability	aGEN, oGEN	Clusivity	EXCL, INCL (1st person only)

The first morphological element of the possessive determiner is the adapted form of the article matching the one that would be used on a corresponding non-possessed nominal. Referential *te* becomes *t-* for a singular possessum, while the plural referential, represented by a glottal stop (‘-’) in possessives, does not have a clear connection to *te* but may come from the generic plural morpheme ‘*u*. Non-referential singular *he* is reduced to *h-*, while non-referential plural *ni* is not reduced at all. The emotive *si’i* is reduced to *si’-*.

These article forms are followed by the genitive *-a-* or *-o-*, depending on the semantics of the possession relationship, as is described in section (4.5.1).

The final part of the possessive determiner is a form of the personal pronoun corresponding to the possessor. All the person, number, and clusivity distinctions available to the personal pronouns as described throughout section (5.1) are likewise present in the possessive determiner paradigm. The morphological parts here described add up to 120 distinct possessive determiner forms in all.

Given this large number of factors, a single table will not be adequate to contain a complete paradigm of every form of this type. Instead, there is one for alienable aGEN (Table 20) and another for inalienable oGEN (Table 21), each table displaying the forms by grammatical person, number, andclusivity of possessor and article and number value of possessum:

Table 20: Possessive determiner paradigm – alienable (aGEN) type

Possessor	SG-REF	PL-REF	SG-NREF	PL-NREF	EMO
1SG.EXCL	taku	‘aku	haku	ni ‘aku	si‘aku
1SG.INCL	ta(ki)ta	‘a(ki)ta	ha(ki)ta	ni ‘a(ki)ta	si‘a(ki)ta
1DU.EXCL	tamā	‘amā	hamā	ni ‘amā	si’amā
1DU.INCL	tatā	‘atā	hatā	ni ‘atā	si’atā
1PL.EXCL	tamatou	‘amatou	hamatou	ni ‘amatou	si’amatou
1PL.INCL	tatatou	‘atatou	hatatou	ni ‘atatou	si’atatou
2SG	tau	‘au	hau	ni ‘au	si’au
2DU	talua	‘alua	halua	ni ‘alua	si’alua
2PL	takotou	‘akotou	hakotou	ni ‘akotou	si’akotou
3SG	tana	‘ana	hana	ni ‘ana	si’ana
3DU	tanā	‘anā	hanā	ni ‘anā	si’anā
3PL	tanatou	‘anatou	hanatou	ni ‘anatou	si’anantou

Table 21: Possessive determiner paradigm – inalienable (oGEN) type

Possessor	SG-REF	PL-REF	SG-NREF	PL-NREF	EMO
1SG.EXCL	toku	‘oku	hoku	ni ‘oku	si‘oku
1SG.INCL	to(ki)ta	‘o(ki)ta	ho(ki)ta	ni ‘o(ki)ta	si‘o(ki)ta
1DU.EXCL	tomā	‘omā	homā	ni ‘omā	si‘omā
1DU.INCL	totā	‘otā	hotā	ni ‘otā	si‘otā
1PL.EXCL	tomatou	‘omatou	homatou	ni ‘omatou	si‘omatou
1PL.INCL	totatou	‘otatou	hotatou	ni ‘otatou	si‘otatou
2SG	tou	‘ou	hou	ni ‘ou	si‘ou
2DU	tolua	‘olua	holua	ni ‘olua	si‘olua
2PL	tokotou	‘okotou	hokotou	ni ‘okotou	si‘okotou
3SG	tona	‘ona	hona	ni ‘ona	si‘ona
3DU	tonā	‘onā	honā	ni ‘onā	si‘onā
3PL	tonatou	‘onaton	honaton	ni ‘onaton	si‘onaton

Note that in these and subsequent possessive paradigms, the form corresponding to first-person singular inclusive is given as *-(ki)ta*; the full *-kita* is found in recent texts such as the Diocese of Uvea and Futuna’s series of doctrinal descriptions (*Fagonogono*), as in (107a-b), while an example of a form using only *-ta* occurs in the older *Talanoa ki Uvea* (107c).

107)a. *‘aki t-a-kita ma’uli*

INSTR REF-aGEN-1SG.INCL life

‘Through our life’ or ‘by our living’

b. *he ‘e kita foaki t-o-kita ma’uli ‘uhi ko*

for NPST 1SG.INCL give REF-oGEN-1SG.INCL life because(of)

t-o-kita ‘ofa ki te ‘Atuá

REF-oGEN-1SG.INCL love to REF God

‘For each of us [i.e. ordained priests] gives his life because of his love for God’ (Fa:24)

c. *si-‘ota vaihu*

EMO-POSS:1DU.INCL cooked.fish

‘each of us, our poor little cooked fish’ (TKU:15)

Referential plural variant

During fieldwork in Wallis in 2014, I observed a significant variation in the formation of referential plural possessive determiners. Rather than using the glottal stop referential plural prefix ‘- seen in the paradigms above, this variant takes the referential singular form and follows it with a separate plural morpheme, typically the generic ‘*u*’; the remainder of the possessive form is identical to what is seen in the paradigms above. For example, the usual form appears in (108a), while (b) shows the variant:

- 108)a. ‘*a-na* *tā’aga ‘akau*
 PL.REF-aGEN-3SG wood carving
 b. *t-a-na* ‘*u* *tā’aga ‘akau*
 REF-aGEN-3SG PL wood carving
 ‘her/his wood carvings’

This variant is used only among a subset of the population. To my knowledge, speakers who produced the variant forms all originated from the southern district of Mu’a, although my primary research focus was devoted elsewhere and my sample size was small enough to render this an anecdotal observation only. Members of this set are dissimilar in age group and gender. The speakers who produced this variant did so consistently, while evaluating the standard form (that is, the form found in texts and the utterances of all other speakers) to be grammatical as well.

Emotive number contrast

A plural-only form of the emotive set remains unattested in my own fieldwork and examination of all available written texts, with the possible exception of one token:

- 109) *Na’i* *aku* *fanau*, ‘*i* *me’a faigata’a foki* *ko* *te* *ulu*
 EMO.PL 1SG child LOC thing difficult Adv PRED REF enter
ki *te* *Pule’aga o te* ‘*Atua!*
 into REF kingdom of REF God

‘Dear/little children, truly what a difficult thing it is to enter into the kingdom of God!’

(*Ko te Evaselio māia Sagato Maleko* 10:24).

Expressing ‘to have’

East Uvean is a non-*habere* language; any verb corresponding to ‘to have’ is absent in its lexicon. Instead, it makes use of the verbal existential *i ai* plus a possessive to convey that meaning. The possessive in question may be a simple genitive and nominal phrase, but is more often a pronominal possessive determiner. Examples of these construction are seen immediately below along with a description of the referentiality contrast found in possessive determiners.

Referentiality contrast in possession

As non-referential or indefinite possessives may not be familiar to many readers, an explanation of their use and contrast with referential possessives is in order. An illustrative example of this contrast follows in (110a-b):

- 110)a. *e i ai t-o-ku fale*
NPST EXT REF.SG-oGEN-1SG house
‘I have a house’ (literally, ‘there is my house’ or ‘there is a house belonging to me’)
- b. *e mole i ai h-o-ku fale*
NPST NEG EXT NREF.SG-oGEN-1SG house
‘I don’t have a house’ (literally, ‘there is not my house’ or ‘there is not any house belonging to me’)

Sentence (110b) obligatorily uses the indefinite form of the possessive to express the fact that the speaker has no house and thus that the referent of ‘my house’ is an empty set. In the affirmative, on the other hand, it would be absurd not to assume that, if the speaker owns a house, the house exists.

Nominalized verb phrases

The referentiality contrast in possessives can be extended to the use of the possessive to mark arguments nominalizations; a referential possessive as in (111a) has a realis reading, while a non-referential possessive as in (111b) is less certain or concrete; its event does not have a certain real-world referent:

- 111)a. *ne’e tou tu’ania t-a-na ha’u mai*
PST 1PL.INCL dread REF.SG-aGEN-3SG come DIR1
‘We all dreaded his coming’, with the indication that his coming was likely.

- b. *ne'e tou tu'ania h-a-na ha'u mai*
 PST 1PL.INCL dread NREF.SG-aGEN-3SG come DIR1
 'We all dreaded his coming / that he might come', said with less certainty.

5.2.2. Pronominal possessive adjectives

This category of possessive adjectives is so called because of its distributional qualities. First, a possessive adjective does not take the place of a determiner, but co-occurs with one located before the noun; second, it follows after the noun in a nominal phrase as attributive adjectives do. An example of both of these characteristics is found in example (112):

- 112) *te 'u kau pepa { 'a'aku / lahi }*
 REF PL notebook aGEN.1SG / big
 '{my / big} notebooks.'

Third, it can also be used predicatively in the same structures as a typical adjective:

- 113)a. *'e 'a'aku te 'u kau pepa*
 NPST aGEN.1SG REF PL notebook
 'The notebooks are mine.'
- b. *ko te 'u kaupepa lahi 'aē 'a'aku*
 PRED REF PL notebook big DEM aGEN.1SG
 'Those big notebooks are mine.'

However, it cannot be used as a substantive; for this use, see (5.2.3) on possessive pronouns, immediately following the present subsection.

- 114)* *ko te 'a'aku*
 PRED REF aGEN.1SG
 (Intended: 'It's mine.')

The pronominal possessive adjective is formed from a glottal stop preceding the form of the genitive, *a* or *o*, appropriate to the semantics of the possession in question; this sequence is doubled to yield *'a'a-* or *'o'o-*. The reduced form of the personal pronoun possessor that follows it is the same form as what is found in possessive determiners (see table ?). Though it goes no further than speculation, it seems possible that the first *'a-* or *'o-* in the form was at one stage an

unbound genitive marker, and that the second forms a part of the historical genitive-specific pronominal form.

The referentiality, emotiveness, and number of the possessum are expressed in the noun’s article and presence or absence of number marker. Thus there are only twenty-four distinct forms of the possessive adjective. This possessive type is far less common than the possessive determiner, and forms given in Table 22 below are shaded where they are projections only, but not yet attested in texts or data available to me or my own observations.

Table 22: Attested and projected possessive adjective forms

Possessor	aGEN	oGEN	Possessor	aGEN	oGEN
1SG.EXCL	‘a‘aku	‘o‘oku	2SG	‘a‘au	‘o‘ou
1SG.INCL	‘a‘a(ki)ta	‘o‘o(ki)ta	2DU	‘a‘alua	‘o‘olua
1DU.EXCL	‘a‘amā	‘o‘omā	2PL	‘a‘akotou	‘o‘okotou
1DU.INCL	‘a‘atā	‘o‘otā	3SG	‘a‘ana	‘o‘ona
1PL.EXCL	‘a‘amatou	‘o‘omatou	3DU	‘a‘anā	‘o‘onā
1PL.INCL	‘a‘atatou	‘o‘otatou	3PL	‘a‘anatou	‘o‘onatou

5.2.3. Possessive pronouns

Unlike the pronominal possessive determiner in the first part of example (115) below, the possessive pronoun is a true pronoun, acting in the role of a nominal phrase within typical nominal syntax: it may be an argument of a verb, or a predicate in a *ko* phrase as seen in the latter half of example (115):

- 115) *Ko t-a-ku tohi.* —‘*Oho, ko ta‘a‘ana.*
 PRED REF.SG-aGEN-1SG book —no PRED REF:aGEN:3SG
 ‘It’s my book.’ —‘No, it’s **his**.’

Rensch’s *Tikisionalio* has definitions for the free morphemes *ta‘a* and *to‘o*, defined as “*celui de, celle de*” (“that of”; Rensch 1984:352,399) for *a* and *o* possession, respectively; his one example uses *ta‘a* with a proper noun (116a). He also defines *ha‘a* as “*equivalent de ‘en’ partitif*” (“the equivalent of partitive ‘en’, Rensch 1984:141) but does not include a corresponding oGEN form *ho‘o*. Rensch’s examples for *ha‘a* include the genitive first-person singular form that appears in possessives, e.g. (116b):

116)a. *te motoka a Soane* → *ta'a Soane*
 REF car aGEN Soane → REF.aGEN Soane
 ‘Soane’s car_i’ → ‘that_i of Soane’ (Rensch 1984:352)

b. *mai ha'a aku*
 DIR1 NREF-aGEN aGEN.1SG
 ‘Give me some’ (Rensch: “*Donnes-m’en*”, 1984:141); more literally, ‘to me, some/any (of) mine’.

The non-referential oGEN *ho'o* missing from Rensch’s data is attested in my own fieldwork:

c. *e mole i ai [h-o-na fale]*
 NPST NEG EXT [NREF.SG-oGEN-3SG house]
 → [*ho'o ona*]
 → [NREF.SG-oGEN oGEN-3SG]
 ‘(S)he has [no house] → [none]’.

I remarked in my own elicitations that there appeared to be a free variation in forms, with *ta'a* shortening to *tā()*, *to'o* shortening to *tō()*, etc. in rapid speech; the pronominal *ho'o ona* from (116c) above alternated with *hō'ona* (116d) in the same elicitation session:

d. *e mole i ai hō'ona*
 NPST NEG EXT NREF.SG:oGEN:3SG
 ‘(S)he has none’ or ‘(S)he doesn’t have one/any.’

I have not personally observed or found in texts a distinct plural set of referential or non-referential possessive pronouns, nor am I aware of any evidence of an emotive set of possessive pronouns. In general, I observed relatively few tokens of the pronominal possessive during my own fieldwork, and likewise find few in available texts. Therefore, projected forms are shaded in Table 23:

Table 23: Possessive pronoun paradigm, with unattested projected forms shaded

Possessor	Possessum referentiality and genitive type			
	REF:aGEN	REF:oGEN	NREF:aGEN	NREF:oGEN
1SG.EXCL	ta'a 'aku	to'o 'oku	ha'a 'aku	ho'o 'oku
1SG.INCL	ta'a 'a(ki)ta	to'o 'o(ki)ta	ha'a 'a(ki)ta	ho'o 'o(ki)ta
1DU.EXCL	ta'a 'amā	to'o 'omā	ha'a 'amā	ho'o 'omā
1DU.INCL	ta'a 'atā	to'o 'otā	ha'a 'atā	ho'o 'otā
1PL.EXCL	ta'a 'amatou	to'o 'omatou	ha'a 'amatou	ho'o 'omatou
1PL.INCL	ta'a 'atatou	to'o 'otatou	ha'a 'atatou	ho'o 'otatou
2SG	ta'a 'au	to'o 'ou	ha'a 'au	ho'o 'ou
2DU	ta'a 'alua	to'o 'olua	ha'a 'alua	ho'o 'olua
2PL	ta'a 'akotou	to'o 'okotou	ha'a 'akotou	ho'o 'okotou
3SG	ta'a 'ana	to'o 'ona	ha'a 'ana	ho'o 'ona
3DU	ta'a 'anā	to'o 'onā	ha'a 'anā	ho'o 'onā
3PL	ta'a 'anatou	to'o 'onatonou	ha'a 'anatou	ho'o 'onatonou

A final observation bears mention in this section: an analogous pair of benefactive prepositions, formed with *a* and *o* genitive, can also join genitive pronominal forms, and the resulting form can have possessive meaning. As with *ta'a* / *to'o* + possessive form above, the benefactive possessives (117a) display the possibility of contraction, as seen in (117b)'s *ma'ana*.

117)a. *ma'a* *mo'o*

BEN.aGEN BEN.oGEN

Both: 'for, on behalf of (N)'

b. *pea* *lea* *age* *ai* *Fiatoga* *ke* *tuku* *ma'ana*

then say DIR3 ANAPH Fiatoga SBJV drop BEN:aGEN:3SG

'Then Fiatoga_i told him to leave it for him_i' (TKU:25)

c. *ke* *i* *ai* *he* *kogame'a* *mo'o* *'ona*

SBJV EXT NREF place BEN.oGEN oGEN.3SG

'that he have a place' (i.e. in our lives; Fa:1)

5.2.4. Emphatic possessive determiner

This form is a variant of the overwhelmingly more common possessive determiner described in (5.2.1). From the limited data available to me, it appears to be formed from the same reduced

article form, e.g. *t-* from *te*, followed by the appropriate genitive *-a-* or *-o-*. It differs from the standard possessive determiner in that the next element is *-a-* or *-o-* before then adding the reduced pronominal form of the possessor.

- 118) *pea 'e tā vaelua, ko ta'au kau*
 CONJ NPST 1DU.INCL half PRED REF.aGEN:2SG group
mo ta'aku kau
 and REF.aGEN:1SG group
 ‘So let’s divide up, (into) my group and your group’ (*Talapili et Talamohe: la guerre contre Havea Fakahau*, Wallisien corpus)

- 119) *'e tuai pē lā 'aia ko ta'atatou he'eki tau atu*
 NPST be.late only DEM PRED REF:aGEN:1PL.INCL not.yet arrive DIR2
 ‘We’ll be the only late ones, (what with) our not yet having arrived’ (*Talapili et Talamohe: la guerre contre Havea Fakahau*, Wallisien corpus).

As mentioned for possessive adjectives in (5.2.2), I hypothesize that what appears to be a redundancy of genitives comes from adding a genitive to an earlier stage’s genitive-specific pronoun.

5.3. Demonstrative pronouns

East Uvean does not appear to have a pronominal form corresponding directly to its demonstrative determiners. That is to say, the nominal phrase appearing in (120a) cannot be replaced by a pronoun with the same deictic, demonstrative features (attempted in *b):

- 120)a. *koteā te me'a 'aē-ni*
 what REF thing DEM-1
 ‘What is this / this thing?’ (said of an object held by the speaker)
 *b. *koteā { 'aē-ni / te 'aē-ni }*
 what { DEM-1 / REF DEM-1 }
 (Intended: ‘What is this one?’)

Although the majority of speakers strongly disfavored attempts such as (*120b) above, a few remarked that in very informal speech, they had heard other speakers produce examples such as the marginal example (121):

121)? *ko te ipu 'aē ne'e foa ka ko 'aē ne'e mole*
 PRED REF cup DEM PST be.broken but PRED DEM PST NEG
foa
 be.broken
 'This cup was broken, but **that (one)** wasn't.'

There does exist a set of presentative (PRST) demonstrative pronouns, which although they co-occur with a given nominal phrase, are essentially clefted pronouns redundantly representing them as a means of emphasis. These are formed from *ko*, used in clefts, and the demonstrative determiner suffixes related to the spatial reference of the three grammatical persons:

122)a. *ko 'enī* *konā koia*
 PRST1 PRST2 PRST3
 'Here is.../ This is.../ Behold this...' 'There is.../ That is.../ Behold that...'

b. *ko 'enī ni fakamatala ne'e to'o mai te*
 PRST1 NREF.PL account PST take.from from REF
hisitolia o Sēsū
 story oGEN Jesus
 '(These are) some accounts taken from the story of Jesus' (TF:26)

5.4. Locative and directional pronouns

The grammatical person-related, three-way demonstrative results in three spatial pronoun forms, seen in the right-most column of Table 24:

Table 24: A partial set of deictic words

	determiner	pronoun	
Orientation relative to	demonstrative	presentative	spatial
1	<i>'aē-ni</i>	<i>ko- 'enī</i>	<i>heni</i>
2	<i>'aē-nā</i>	<i>ko- 'enā</i>	<i>henā</i>
3	<i>'aē age</i>	<i>koia</i>	<i>hē</i>
Generic	<i>'aē</i>	-	

These spatial pronouns are so labeled because they can be used as locations:

- 123)a. *'e au nofo 'i heni*
NPST 1SG live LOC here1
'I live here.'

Or directions, with dative and ablative case:

- b. *'e tou fia olo ki hē*
NPST 1PL.INCL want NSG~go DAT there3
'We all want to go there (not near speaker or addressees)'
c. *ha'u mai henā*
come from there2
'Come from there (where you are now)'

Another set of deictic words performs an adverbial directional function, but their use sometimes has partially pronominal attributes; particularly in extended intransitive verbs (see section 6.6) where an oblique (usually dative or locative) may be represented by both the overt argument and the directional adverb, or the directional adverb alone:

- 124)a. *mai atu age*
DIR1 DIR2 DIR3
'toward 1st 2nd 3rd person'
b. *ne'e mole ke sio mai kīa au*
PST NEG 2SG see DIR1 to.HUM 1SG
c. *ne'e mole ke sio mai*
PST NEG 2SG see DIR1
(both b and c) 'You did not see me.'

5.5. Anaphoric pronouns

When a nominal phrase is salient in the discourse and can be replaced with a pronoun, the personal pronouns described in section (5.1) are used for transitive A, intransitive S, and transitive P arguments, and when in *ko* phrases, including clefting structures for topicalization using *ko*. A nominal phrase that is a constituent of a prepositional phrase, however, is replaced by the anaphoric pronoun *ai* (ANAPH); this is always the case for non-humans and frequently

the case for humans as well. The pair of examples below show the alternation between nominals in prepositional phrases and their replacement by *ai*:

- 125)a. *'e au sio [ki [te televisiō]*
 NPST 1SG see DAT REF television
 'I see the television.'
- b. *'e au sio [ki [ai]]*
 NPST 1SG see DAT ANAPH
 'I see it.'

5.6. Negative pronouns

East Uvean has no morphologically simple negative pronouns, relying instead on analytic structures such as those seen in 126a-b), formed from *mole* NEG, a non-referential singular *he*, and a generic noun such as *tahi* 'one' or *me'a* 'thing:

- 126)a. *'e mole i ai he tahi*
 NPST NEG EXT NREF.SG one
 'No one is there.'
- b. *ne'e mole ma'u he me'a*
 PST NEG find NREF.SG thing
 'There wasn't anything' or 'Nothing was found.'

5.7. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative words of East Uvean fall into two basic classes based on distribution: first, those that are clefted with *ko*, and second, those with adverbial distribution. The latter can further be sub-divided into pre-verbal and post-verbal adverbs. Most question words are not pronouns; in Table 25, forms that are not pronouns are in parentheses.

Table 25: Interrogative pronouns and related forms

		In-situ	Clefted
Person	Who	-	<i>ko ai</i>
	Whose	<i>a ai</i>	-
Thing	What	-	<i>ko (te) ā</i>
	Which	-	<i>(ko te N fea)</i>
Temporal	When (past)	<i>(‘ana-fea)</i>	-
	When (non-past)	<i>(‘a-fea)</i>	-
	What time	<i>(‘i te temi fea)</i>	-
	What (specific) time	<i>(‘i te hola fia)</i>	-
Spatial	Where	<i>(‘i-fea)</i>	<i>ko-fea</i>
	To where (whither)	<i>(ki-fea)</i>	-
	From where (whence)	<i>(mai-fea)</i>	-
Manner / means	How	<i>(feafea ‘i)</i>	-
Reason	Why	-	<i>(ko ‘e)</i>
Number	How many	<i>(N ‘e fia)</i>	<i>(ko N ‘e fia)</i>
	How many (human)	<i>(N ‘e toko-fia)</i>	<i>(ko N ‘e toko-fia)</i>

For more on the structures and functions of these interrogatives, see section (10.3).

6. Verbs and verbal morphosyntax

Chapter 6 describes the morphosyntax associated with verbs, beginning with an overview (6.1), then moving to a description of the morphology of the verb itself (6.2), after which come tense, aspect, and mood (6.3), then clauses and transitivity (6.4-8) and finally transitivity and valency-changing morphosyntactic operations and structures (6.9-10).

6.1. Overview of the verbal phrase

A verb is identified as such in a phrase when it occurs with typically verbal morphosyntax in the form of separate words indicating the tense, aspect, and/or mood (TAM) of the verb, syntactic argument(s) depending on the transitivity and valency requirements of the verb, and adverbs, including temporal and aspectual adverbs as well as those of manner. In some atypical uses, verbs may still be considered as such when they maintain their verbal semantic meaning associated with their verbal form as opposed to a nominal use of the same base (see 3.3.4).

TAM	Adv₁	(Clitic Pron)	Verb	Adv₂	(syntactic arguments) (syntactic adjuncts)
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Figure 4: Parts and order of declarative verbal phrase

6.2. Verb morphology

6.2.1. Verb inflection

The majority of verbs in East Uvean bear no inflectional affixes but, as described throughout the rest of this chapter, relate to information on tense, aspect, mood, grammatical number and person, reflexivity, and other grammatical features through their co-occurrence with separate words in the verbal morphosyntax. However, a few particular cases of verbal inflection by affixation exist and are briefly treated here as relates primarily to their form, with particular functions to be addressed below where relevant. These inflections express number agreement; partial reduplication may apply to a number of verbs, described in (6.2.1.1), while there also exist some verbs with unpredictable or unproductive non-reduplicative number agreement (6.2.1.2).

6.2.1.1. Predictable partial reduplication

This number agreement morpheme takes the form of partial reduplication of the first mora of a verb:

- 127)a. [nofo] → [no~nofo] ‘stay, dwell, sit’
b. [sio] → [si~sio] ‘see’
c. [moe] → [mo~moe] ‘sleep’

The verb thus inflected agrees with either an intransitive subject (S) or a transitive agent or agent-like argument (A). Though it has been labeled ‘plural’ agreement (Rensch 1984, among others), it is strictly speaking a non-singular agreement (glossed NSG), as not only plural S or A, but also dual S or A can trigger it; see examples (128a-c) below:

- 128)a. ‘e ke nofo ‘i te kolo fea?
NPST 2SG dwell in REF village which
‘Which village do you live in?’
- b. ‘e koulua no~nofo koa lā i fea?
NPST **2DU** NSG~dwell Q Adv at where
‘Where do you two live?’ (*La maison des célibataires de Mala‘etoli*, Wallisien corpus)
- c. pea no~nofo ai leva nātou
CONJ NSG~dwell there Adv **3PL**
‘So they dwelled there’ (*Histoire de Poku et de sa femme Fuipulu*, Wallisien corpus)

Some words classified as adjectives according to the criteria in section 3.4 nonetheless display this same number inflection:

- 129)a. [lahi] → [la~lahi] ‘big’
b. [mahaki] → [ma~mahaki] ‘sick’

6.2.1.2. Other number-inflected forms

Two verbs with suppletive singular/non-singular forms exist:

- 130)a. *‘alu* *olo*
 go go.NSG
 ‘I, you, he/she go(es)’ ‘We, you, they go’
- b. *ha’u* *ōmai*
 come come.NSG
 ‘I, you, he/she come(s)’ ‘We, you, they come’

A few verbs display what looks to be internal reduplication, for example:

- 131) *mataku* *ma-ta~taku*
 fear NSG~fear
 ‘I, you, he/she fear(s)’ ‘We, you, they fear’

Perhaps these reflect an earlier stage of the language where the *ma-* was an analyzable, productive prefix and the stem was reduplicated regularly, with the form now having become fossilized and opaque.

A small number of other verbs have non-singular forms involving the prefix *fe-*, which elsewhere appears as the first half of the reciprocal circumfix (see 6.8.2) and as a morpheme associated with collectivity and iterativity:

- 132)a. *kumi* + *fe-* → *fe-kumi*
 seek NSG- NSG-*seek*
 ‘I, you, he/she seek(s)’ ‘We, you, they seek’
- b. *hole* + *fe-* → *fe-hole*
 carry NSG- NSG-*carry*
 ‘I, you, he/she carry/ies’ ‘We, you, they carry’

There also exists at least one instance of *fe-* prefixation with an additional suffixation: *fe-V-Ci*, with the verb *tagi* ‘cry’ if and only if its subject is a human being:

133)a. *ne'e natou fe-taghi-hi*

PST 3PL NSG-cry-CIRC

'They cried' (*Ko te u Kupu Filifili ia mai te Tohi-Tapu:168*)

By way of contrast, the same verb can be transitivity with the -Ci suffix, but interestingly does not use -hi but rather the much more common -'i:

b. *tagi* → *tagi-'i*

cry cry-TR

'mourn someone' (with absolutive direct object)

6.2.2. Derivation to form verbs

Though East Uvean is not particularly rich in affixation, many of the derivational affixes attested in the language deal with changing one stem of a non-verbal grammatical category into a verb. There is substantial overlap between affixes for deriving verbs and those for changing the valency of an existing verb, including transitivity (section 6.9).

6.2.2.1. Deriving verbs from other verbs

Deriving verbs from other verbs with affixation typically involves a change of transitivity or valency, with a few prominent examples described below.

Reciprocal circumfix

To form a reciprocal verb, the circumfix *fe-V-Caki* is employed (see 6.8.2). Though there is both a prefix *fe-* with its own particular uses, as well as the instrumental case preposition '*aki* as a separate morpheme, I feel fairly confident in stating that the reciprocal circumfix is not morphosyntactically analyzable (at least synchronically) as just a combination of those two separate parts. One point of support for this contention is the fact that the typical [ʔaki] of the second half of the reciprocal has allomorphs originating from the word-final consonants which have otherwise been lost, although according to Rensch's *Tikisionalio*, the more common form with [ʔaki] is also attested for many if not all:

[faki]

- 134) *sio* {*fe-sio-faki* / *fe-sio-‘aki*}
see RECP-see-CIRC (Rensch 1984:113)
‘see’ ‘see each other’

[ŋaki]

- 135)a. *‘ilo(-i)* {*fe-‘ilo-gaki* / *fe-‘ilo-‘aki*}
know RECP-know-CIRC
‘know’ ‘know each other’
- b. *‘ita* {*fe-‘ita-gaki* / *fe-‘ita-‘aki*}
be.angry RECP-be.angry-CIRC
‘be angry’ ‘be angry with/at each other’ (Rensch 1984:105)

[naki]

- 136) *‘ofa* {*fe-‘ofa-naki* / *fe-‘ofa-‘aki*}
love RECP-love-CIRC
‘love’^v ‘love each other’ (Rensch 1984:112)

[taki]

- 137) *momono* {*femomonotaki* / *femomono‘aki*}
block RECP-block-CIRC
‘block, plug’ ‘to interrupt each other (while speaking)’ (Rensch 1984:111)

Detransitivizing, stativizing affixes

East Uvean, like Tongan and Niuean (Otsuka 2000), makes use of some affixes that produce derived forms that are variously stative, adjective-like, detransitivized, and so on. Among these is the prefix *ma-*, which is not entirely productive or predictable. Its behavior is discussed in (6.8.6). A few suffix forms with either the same or similar meanings are available to many, but not all, verbs. These suffixes are not productive, and not entirely predictable in their precise semantic meaning. Attested forms include *-a*, *-Ca*, *-Cia*, and *-(C)iCa*. Examples and description of their behavior can be found in (6.8.7).

6.2.2.2. Deriving verbs from other lexical categories

When forming verbs from other lexical categories, a very common means is zero-derivation and distribution into verbal morphosyntax. However, a few affixes are also widespread and fairly productive.

The transitive suffix *-Ci* (where the *C* may manifest as a number of different, unpredictable consonants based on the deleted word-final consonants of an earlier stage in the language) can not only apply to intransitive verbs, but also a number of nouns, some adjectives, and at least a few adverbs. It is readily applied to loanwords and neologisms. Descriptions of its forms and functions can be found in (6.9.1-3).

The causative prefix *faka-* does not have any allomorphic variants, and can apply causativity to a wide range of verbs' different transitivity and semantic values. It is described in (6.9.1, 6.9.4-5).

6.2.2.3. Compound or serial verbs

Stripped nouns (4.4.5, 6.8.4) might resemble verb+noun compounds, as the reduced nominal adds a meaning to the verb but the pair work as a single verbal unit; the two do not, however, form a single phonological word.

Instances of main verbs occurring with various verb forms or adaptations thereof do also exist, but these are instances of grammaticalized verb-to-adverb conversion, frequently for aspectual or spatial uses; they do not form a part of the phonological word of the main verb and are furthermore separable in word order by elements such as preverbal clitic personal pronouns. These are addressed in part in (6.3.2) and (8.1).

East Uvean does not have any constructions like what is termed a serial verb construction in other languages.

6.3. Tense, aspect, and mood

East Uvean clauses can be marked with a variety of tenses (6.3.1), aspects (6.3.2), moods (6.3.2), and combinations thereof, as well as a number of temporal and aspectual adverbs (for which see 6.3.1-2 and 8.1.3-4).

6.3.1. Tense markers

Tense in East Uvean is expressed primarily by preverbal tense markers, and secondarily with post-verbal temporal adverbs. The most basic distinction between past and non-past can thus be further specified to periods of time in the past and future, and direct proximity to the present.

Table 26: Division of tense values

	Past	Present	Future
<i>ne'e</i>	+	-	-
<i>'e</i>	-	+	+
<i>'e ... 'anai</i>	-	-	+

The primary tense contrast is between the past (PST), *ne'e*, and the non-past (NPST), *'e*.

138)a. *'e moe ia Lino*

NPST sleep HUM Lino

'Lino sleeps/is sleeping' (can be habitual, progressive, etc.)

b. *ne'e moe ia Lino*

PST sleep HUM Lino

'Lino slept/was sleeping/used to sleep' (without additional morphemes, may have a number of implied or contextual aspectual values)

There exists an analytic means of expressing future tense, by using non-past *'e* and post-verbal temporal adverb *'anai*, glossed FUT.

139) *'e ha'u 'anai ia te tagata faiako*

NPST come FUT HUM REF teacher

'The teacher will come.'

Phrases with *ko* are numerous and perform multiple functions in EUV. They are tenseless on their own, but when they appear within a tensed clause they are assumed to be co-temporal.

140)a. *ko te tohi*

PRED REF book

'It's a book.'

When forming a zero-copula predication relationship, *ko* can be preceded with a past-tense *ne'e* to specify its non-presentness. It is far rarer to find non-past *'e* preceding a *ko*; non-past is the default.

- b. *ne'e ko te tau tehina ko foha o Vakaana*
 PST PRED REF CLF sibling PRED son of Vakaana
 'The brothers were sons of Vakaana' (TKU:20)

There also exists a subordinate future, *ka*, functioning as a sort of temporal conjunction for sequential actions, events, or states of being.

- 141) ... *'i te vaha'a ka ha'u*
 in REF week CONJ.FUT come
 'in the coming week / next week' (literally 'in the week that will come')

Though not a tense morpheme, the conjunction *pea* 'then, and then, so then, etc.' is very common at the beginning of a verbal phrase with or without a tense marker of its own; *pea* connects the sequential actions or events:

- 142) *ne'e nofo pē [...] pea toe 'alu o nofo i Talikata*
 PST stay EMPH then again go PURP stay in Talikata
 'He lived [there ...] and then went again to live in Talikata' (TKU:41)

Temporal adverbs occur post-verbally and express a specific time or timeframe, e.g. '*anāfi* 'yesterday', '*anapō* 'last night'. The future '*anai* is a part of this group, but is less specific about the particular period or moment it references.

- 143) *ne'e ha'u mai 'anapō*
 PST come DIR1 last.night
 'She/he came last night.'

In addition to temporal adverbs for use in the past and future, the spatial deictic *nei*, and its fully reduplicated form *neinei*, both indicating nearness to the first-person speaker, are extended to a temporal meaning of 'right now'.

- 144)a. *'e feala taku kai neinei?*
 NPST possible 1SG:POSS eat right.now
 'Can I eat right now?'
- b. *tuku ai neinei!*
 drop ANAPH right.now
 'Drop it/stop it right now!'

More on the distribution and function of temporal adverbs can be found in (8.1.3).

6.3.2. Aspect markers

As in the marking of tense, East Uvean has a few primary aspect markers that appear pre-verbally, with more means of expressing additional aspectual meaning available in the form of first, grammaticalized verbs as aspectual auxiliaries, and second, aspectual adverbs.

The aspectual marker *kua* has cognates in most of the Polynesian languages, and its behavior in EUV is similar to many of its analogues. It bears a number of possible aspectual meanings; although I gloss it as perfect (PRF) in most instances, in fact it can simultaneously express multiple aspectual attributes, while other times leaving them ambiguous.

Perhaps the most common use is some form of describing a **completed event** relevant to the discourse's timeframe:

- 145)a. *ko ai? kua au galo'i tona higoa*
 who PRF 1SG forget 3SG:POSS name
 'I've forgotten his/her name'
- b. *kua hola fia? —kua hola hogofulu mā tahi*
 PRF hour how.many —PRF hour eleven
 'What time is it?' —'It's 11:00' (Or: —'It has become 11:00')

It also conveys a **change of state**:

- 146)a. *kua kula momoho ia Atelea*
 PRF red ripe HUM Atelea
 'Atelea turned bright red' or '...has turned bright red'

b. *kua* 'aho
 PRF day
 'It became day' or 'it has become day'

c. *kua au fia kai*
 PRF 1SG want eat
 'I'm hungry'

The aspect marker *kua* can contrast with the past tense *ne'e* in that the latter may describe a past event with no particular relevance to the narrative's present, and depending on context and some aspectual adverbs, may be a completed perfective event or an imperfective one ongoing in the past:

147)a. *kua fakatu'u te fale e te kau tagata*
 PRF build REF house ERG REF PL.HUM man
 'The men **have built** a/the house'

b. *ne'e fakatu'u te fale e te kau tagata*
 PST build REF house ERG REF PL.HUM man
 'The men **built / were building** a/the house'

The past tense can be combined with the perfect aspect to give a pluperfect reading:

c. *ne'e kua fakatu'u te fale e te kau tagata*
 PST PRF build REF house ERG REF PL.HUM man
 'The men **had built** the house' (Telic, completed, and relevant to the narration of other past events)

The aspect marker *kua* is incompatible with negation, but two other markers serve to contrast with it, *kei* 'still (ongoing)', and *he'eki* 'not yet'.

The aspect marker *kei* expresses that an event is ongoing, that a state has not changed (and is relevant to the narrative's timeline):

148)a. 'e *kei moe te toe*
 NPST still sleep REF child
 'The child is still sleeping'

When used with negation, (*mole*) *kei* takes on the meaning of ‘not anymore’, ‘no longer’:

- b. ‘*e mole kei moe te toe*
NPST NEG still sleep REF child
‘The child is not sleeping anymore.’

The aspectual *he’eki* expresses that an event has not yet occurred or been completed, in whatever tense context:

- 149) *he’eki ‘alu ifo Peautau*
not.yet go down Peautau
‘Peautau had not yet gone down/arrived’ (TKU:19)

6.3.2.1. Grammaticalized verbs as aspectual auxiliaries

Some of the common instances of verbs having been grammaticalized with aspectual meaning follow; the examples here are by no means comprehensive or exhaustive. A prominent syntactic difference between this set and the primary aspect markers like *kua* is that the latter precede both the verb and the preverbal clitic personal pronouns, while these follow them (see 6.3.2.2 below).

Completive use of ‘*osi* ‘to end, stop’_{INTR} is preverbal and can co-occur with *kua*:

- 150)a. *kua ‘osi mahino leva ki te tama*
PRF end understand then DAT REF boy
‘Then the boy understood’ (the process of attempting has been completed successfully)
(*La maison des célibataires de Mala’etoli*, Wallisien corpus)

It can also be used without any other tense or aspect markers, frequently with a conjunction like *pea* or, below, *moka* ‘when’ (subordinate):

- b. [...] *moka ‘osi ‘aho ‘e nima*
CONJ end day NUM five
‘when five days had passed’ (FMU:46)

When used post-verbally or post-adjectivally, ‘*osi* becomes a non-aspectual adverb meaning ‘totally, very’, seen in (c) below:

- c. 'e lelei 'osi
 NPST good very
 'It's really/very great.'

This usage appears very similar to the New Caledonian French use of *fin* 'end'_N as an adverb of degree (*C'est fin bon* 'it's really/very great'). The East Uvean usage of 'osi as an adverb of degree predates the most extensive and sustained contact between New Caledonians and East Uveans (beginning in the 1950s). Very cursory investigation reveals that the adverbial New Caledonian usage of *fin* is attested as early as the 1950s at which time it was said to be "très en vogue" (O'Reilly 1953:225); furthermore, that source mentions the long-attested metropolitan French expression *fin prêt* ('completely ready'). It therefore seems likely that the NC French adverbial usage of *fin* is an extension of an existing French expression and not a calque from EUV, or *vice-versa*.

The verb *nofo* 'dwell, stay, sit' has been grammaticalized into a **continuous** aspect:

- 151)a. *pea nofo 'ita ai-pe Toga ki Uvea*
 CONJ stay be.angry ANAPH-EMPH Tonga to Uvea
 'And Tonga was (remained) angry at Uvea' (TKU:24)

- b. *pea nofo tagi-pe te tama*
 CONJ stay cry-EMPHREF boy
 'And the boy was crying' (TKU:32)

Though few tokens are known to me, the verb *hoko* 'happen, occur' can yield habitual, or possibly **iterative** meaning:

- 152) 'e ke hoko kata
 NPST 2SG happen laugh
 'You're always laughing'

The verb *kamata* 'start, begin' can be used to add an **inceptive** aspectual meaning:

- 153) *ne'e ke kamata loi*
 PST 2SG start lie
 'You started to lie' or 'you began lying.'

6.3.2.2. Preverbal aspectual adverbs

The adverb *hoki* conveys **imminence** (to be glossed IMM). When accompanying the past tense or perfective aspect, it yields a **recent past** ‘just, barely’:

154)a. *ne'e hoki moe te tamasi'i*
PST IMM sleep REF little.child
‘The kid just fell asleep.’

b. *kua hoki au kula momoho*
PRF IMM 1SG red ripe
‘I’ve just turned bright red.’

With a future tense, *hoki* expresses a **near future** ‘going to’ or imminent future ‘about to’:

c. *'e hoki moe 'anai*
NPST IMM sleep FUT
‘He/she is about to (go to) sleep’

With nonpast *'e*, *hoki* makes a clause the immediate **sequential** follow-up or result of another clause with a clausal conjunction *pea* or conjunction and condition marker *ka*, with a repeated *hoki*:

d. *'e hoki mate ka hoki lomi'i*
NPST IMM die CONJ IMM flip.switch
‘It (the light) turns out when you flip the switch’, or ‘It doesn’t go out until you flip the switch’.

The word *lolotoga* ‘during, while’ can be employed to describe an ongoing, incomplete, **progressive** aspect:

155) *ne'e lolotoga moe ia Kusitino*
PST PROG sleep HUM Kusitino
‘Kusitino was sleeping.’

The word *toe* can be used in much the same way as the English prefix ‘re-’ or the word ‘again’ to describe an event **repeated only once**:

156)a. *pea toe 'olo ake o mo~moe 'i Haofa*
 then again go.NSG up PURP NSG~sleep in Haofa
 'Then they went back/returned to sleep in Haofa' (TKU:49)

When used with a negation, (*mole*) *toe* means 'not again' or 'not anymore':

b. *'e mole toe moe*
 NPST NEG again sleep
 'He/she's not going to sleep anymore' (said when a baby is awoken by a noise, for example).

6.3.3. Mood markers

Mood values falling on the spectrum further toward the realis are generally the unmarked default; to insist upon the reality of a proposition, post-verbal words such as *pē* 'really, truly, exactly, only' (among other meanings) occurs frequently in written and spoken language.

The **subjunctive** *ke* is used primarily as a clausal conjunction when its subordinate clause is subject to the will, desire, or control of a different participant in the main clause.

157) *ne'e fekau e te toketa kia Soane ke puluaki 'i ia Sosefo*
 PST order ERG the doctor to.HUM Soane SBJV care_for HUM Sosefo
 'The doctor ordered Soane to care for Sosefo.'

158) *'e kole e te pule ke koulua pusiaki ia te*
 NPST ask ERG REF chief SBJV 2.DU raise HUM REF
tamasi'i, he'e kua ma~mate 'ona kaiga
 child because PRF NSG~die its family
 'The chief asks you to raise the child, because all of its family has died.'

Subjunctive *ke* is also used with impersonal clauses of possibility, necessity, and the like:

159)a. *ne'e mole feala ke 'ava te matapā*
 PST NEG possible SBJV open REF door
 'The door couldn't open' or more literally, 'It was not possible that the door open'.

- b. *'e tonu ke ma olo*
 NPST necessary SBJV 1DU go.NSG

‘We have to go’ or more literally, ‘It is necessary that we go’.

Imperatives are discussed in greater detail in (10.5). The description here will focus primarily on the imperative moods. The positive imperative mood is unmarked; the implied subject is omitted, but can be re-inserted after the imperative clause, rather like a disjunctive pronoun in French:

- 160) *tuku tau kalaga, (koe)*
 stop 2SG:POSSshout (2SG, non-A form)
 ‘Stop making noise (, you)!’

The negative imperative as a function can involve a few different morphosyntactic structures, discussed in section (10.4.2); the negative imperative mood itself is formed with a preverbal *'auā na'a*; the subject S or A of the clause is not omitted:

- 161) *'auā na'a ke 'alu ki te lafeti*
 IMP NEG 2SG go to REF party
 ‘Don’t go to the party!’

The mood marker *na'a* on its own means ‘lest’, and is used independent of other mood morphology in multiclausal structures to indicate a non-real and undesired result of another clause (162a), including after a positive imperative (162b):

- 162)a. *na'a hauhau ai te 'atua*
 lest oppress ANAPH REF god
 (in the context of performing a ritual to appease pagan deities) ‘...lest the god oppress them’ (or ‘..so that the god would not oppress them’) (TKU:60).

- b. *ha'u ki heni na'a ke 'uaina*
 come to here lest 2SG get.rained.on
 ‘Come here or you’ll get rained on!’

The basic **conditional** marker is *ka*; it is frequently, but optionally accompanied by *pau*, which elsewhere carries a meaning of ‘to be sure, certain, decided’. Examples of its use follow:

ka (pau) (non-past)... *pea* (imperative)

- 163)a. *ka pau 'e ke mokosia (pea) tui hou kofu mafana*
if NPST 2SG cold (then) put.on 2SG:POSSclothes warm
'If you're cold, (then) put on some warm clothes!'

ka (pau) (non-past)... *pea* (future)

- b. *ka pau 'e lao lelei 'apogipogi (pea) tou 'olo ki te tai*
if NPST nice weather tomorrow (then) 1PL.INCL go.NSG to REF sea
'If it's nice out tomorrow, we'll all go to the beach.'

When the condition is the second clause, *moka* is the conditional marker; compare (163c) and (163d) below:

- c. *ka ha'u 'e au fiafia*
if come NPST 1SG happy
'If he/she comes, I'll be happy'
- d. *'e au fiafia moka ha'u*
NPST 1SG happy if come
'I will/would be happy if he/she comes/came' (c-d both from TFU:284)

When the conditional is counterfactual, the past tense *ne'e* is used after *ka*, regardless of the temporal situation of the counterfactual event:

- e. *ka ne'e lao lelei nei 'e tou 'olo ki te tai*
if PST nice weather now NPST 1PL.INCL go.NSG to REF sea
'If it were nice out, we would all go to the beach.'

6.4. Intransitive verbal phrases

6.4.1. Basic intransitive verbal phrase

Basic intransitive verbs have a single syntactic argument, the intransitive subject (S). Because East Uvean is a morphologically ergative language, nearly all S arguments are in the absolutive case, which very frequently goes without an overt marker; human nouns and human especially proper nouns appear with the marker *ia* which is, strictly speaking, a humanness marker (and is glossed as HUM) that can be applied to all cases except ergative.

The exception to the ergative alignment is found in the pre-verbal clitic personal pronouns of the first and second person, which align the intransitive S form and function with the transitive agent-like form and function (see 5.1.5).

The basic order of a declarative intransitive verbal clause is:

TAM	(Adverb)	Verb	(Adverb)	S argument	(Prepositional or adverbial adjunct)
-----	----------	------	----------	------------	--------------------------------------

The examples in (164a-c) display the gradient of overt marking of S arguments; non-persons are very unlikely to be marked with human, non-ergative *ia*, except in cases of legendary speaking animals. Intransitive subject common nouns representing humans, with the exception of collective nouns, are distributed with and without *ia* with approximately equal frequency. Proper nouns almost never appear without *ia* when in an S role.

164)a. *ne'e moe Ø te kulī*
 PST sleep (ABS) REF dog
 'The dog slept.'

b. *ne'e moe {ia}{Ø} te tamasi'i*
 PST sleep HUM REF little.child
 'The infant slept.'

c. *ne'e moe ia Soane*
 PST sleep HUM Soane
 'Soane slept.'

Example (164d) shows that the intransitive S may sometimes even be omitted altogether, in particular when easily recoverable by interlocutors in the context of the discourse.

d. *ne'e moe Ø*
 PST sleep (implied 3SG S)
 'She/he slept.'

Example (164e) shows that the third-person absolutive pronouns are, like nominal S arguments, post-verbal; (164f) contrasts by showing the preverbal nominative second-person singular pronoun clitic.

e. *ne'e mo~moe ia natou*
 PST NSG~sleep HUM 3PL
 'They slept.'

f. *ne'e ke moe*
 PST 2SG sleep
 'You slept.'

Some of the verbs commonly used as intransitives are in fact labile verbs, where a semantically transitive action such as *fasi* 'break, snap', when used as a syntactic intransitive, assigns the patient-like role to its intransitive S:

165)a. *ne'e fasi te mo'i akau e Atelea*
 PST break REF piece wood ERG Atelea
 'Atelea broke the stick.'

b. *ne'e na ta'ite mo'i akau ki te kaupā pea fasi*
 PST 3SG hit REF piece wood to REF wall then break
 'He hit the stick against the wall and it broke.'

c. *ne'e fasi (pē ia) te fu'u akau*
 PST break EMPH 3SG REF CLF wood
 'The tree snapped (on its own).'

6.4.2. Impersonal and weather verbs

East Uvean has a sub-set of intransitive verbs expressing weather, temperature, and a few other impersonal concepts. A verb in this set has no semantic or syntactic subject, and appears merely with tense, aspect, and/or mood:

166)a. *kua 'ua*
 PRF rain
 'It rained.'

b. *'e vevela aupito*
 NPST hot very
 'It's very hot.'

- c. *ne'e mole feala*
 PST NEG be.possible
 'It wasn't possible.'

6.4.3. Existentials

East Uvean has an existential construction composed of a TAM marker, the pseudoverb *i ai* (morphosyntactically a locative), and then the nominal phrase being said to exist, as shown in (167a) below. The negative existential also uses *i ai*, but with the negative *mole* preceding it, shown in (167b):

- 167)a. *'e i ai hau fo'i piele?*
 NPST EXT NREF:2SG:POSS CLF beer
 'Do you have a can of beer?'
- b. *'e mole i ai haku fo'i piele*
 NPST NEG EXT NREF:1SG:POSS CLF beer
 'I don't have a can of beer.'

6.5. Transitive verbal phrases

6.5.1. Basic transitive verbal phrase

TAM	(Adv)	Verb	(Adv)	ABS P argument	ERG A argument	(Adjunct)
				ERG A argument	ABS P argument	

A typical transitive verb requires an agent-like argument marked with ergative case and a patient-like argument with absolutive case. The ordering of these arguments is flexible, with the VPA (168a) and VAP (168b) orders being roughly equivalent in frequency:

- 168)a. *ne'e tā ia Soane e Petelo*
 PST hit HUM Soane ERG Petelo
- b. *ne'e tā e Petelo ia Soane*
 PST hit ERG Petelo HUM Soane
 (both a and b) 'Petelo hit Soane.'

Third-person pronouns follow the ergative/absolutive morphological alignment of all nominals; the intransitive subject S and transitive patient P align in form and post-verbal location, while the transitive agent A has a different form and appears as a preverbal clitic:

c. *ne'e ina tā ia Soane*
 PST 3SG.A hit HUM Soane
 'He hit Soane' ('he' having replaced ERG Petelo from (168a-b))

d. *ne'e tā ia ia e Petelo*
 PST hit HUM 3SG.O ERG Petelo

e. *ne'e tā e Petelo ia ia*
 PST hit ERG Petelo HUM 3SG.O

(both d and e) 'Petelo hit him' ('him' having replaced Soane from (168a-b))

First- and second-person pronouns in the agent role also appear preverbally, differing only in that the same preverbal form is also used for intransitive S:

169)a. *ne'e ke tā ia Soane*
 PST 2SG.A hit HUM Soane
 'You hit Soane.'

b. *ne'e tā ia koe e Petelo*
 PST hit HUM 2SG.O ERG Petelo
 'Petelo hit you.'

6.5.2. Inanimate transitive subjects

When the argument performing the action of a transitive verb is not animate, the argument order remains the same but the inanimate doer is almost never in the ergative case. Instead, it is put in some more peripheral case, depending on some semantic features of the noun, its patient-like argument, and the action being performed. Examples (170a-c) deal with the opening of a door:

170)a. *ne'e avahi te matapā e Lino*
 PST open REF door ERG Lino
 'Lino opened the door.'

b. *ne'e avahi te matapā {*e/ 'aki} te kalavī*
 PST open REF door *ERG / INSTR REF key

‘The key opened the door’ or ‘The door opened with the key.’

c. *ne'e avahi te matapā {*e/ 'i} te matagi*
 PST open REF door *ERG / in REF wind

‘The wind opened the door’ or ‘The door opened in/from the wind’

6.6. Extended intransitive verbal phrases

6.6.1. Defining the term

Many Polynesian languages have a specific set of verbs with a different arrangement of arguments than either the basic intransitive or the transitive, where the verb has two obligatory arguments but marks the subject as absolutive and the object with an oblique marker; in syntactic tests, the construction is shown to be intransitive.

Semantically, the subject tends to be an Experiencer or of a similar role, and the object is less affected by the verb (common verbs in the class include sensory and emotional meanings such as ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘love/respect’, ‘think about’ and ‘fear’). While other authors have given this Polynesian sentence type different labels (Chung 1978 opts for ‘middle’, for example, and the majority of Polynesian descriptions seem to follow her lead in doing so), I adopt the descriptive term ‘extended intransitive’ from Dixon 1994, in which he describes it as “a subset of the intransitive class, which we can call 'extended intransitive', that involves two core roles - one is mapped onto S relation and the other is marked in some other way, e.g. by dative case” (Dixon 1994:121).

In defense of my divergence from the widely-used term ‘middle’ as descriptor of this class, I cite Dixon and Aikhenvald: “This plethora of different uses for ‘middle’ scarcely makes for typological clarity. We would recommend that the term be restricted to its original Greek-based sense (or else avoided entirely)” (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:12). Indeed, the extended intransitive of Western Polynesian languages does not much resemble many of the structures described by the same term in other languages, and so ‘extended intransitive’ is more precise and runs less risk of confusion by mistaken assumptions.

6.6.2. Describing the extended intransitive

TAM	(Adv)	Verb	(Adv)	ABS S argument	Oblique argument	(Adjunct)
				Oblique argument	ABS S argument	

The extended intransitive verbal phrase is truly morphosyntactically intransitive, treating its Experiencer (or similar role) just as a basic intransitive S. However, the oblique (more peripheral) Theme (or similar role) is necessary to the phrase and is a full participant, though less directly affected than a typical transitive object. One syntactic test to contrast the extended intransitive S with the transitive A is to cleft one of each outside of their clause and observe where a resumptive pronoun is obligatory; (171a) is intransitive, (171b) is extended intransitive, and (171c) is transitive:

171)a. *Ko Mika ne'e Ø moe*

PRED Mika PST (S) sleep

'It's Mika who slept.'

b. *Ko Mika ne'e {Ø/*na} 'ofa ki te 'ofafine~e*

PRED Mika PST {(S)/*3SG.ERG}love to REF girl~DA

'It's Mika who loved the girl.'

c. *Ko Mika ne'e {na/*Ø} avahi te matapā*

PRED Mika PST {3SG.ERG/*(S)}open REF door

'It's Mika who opened the door.'

Examples (172a-b) show that the order of arguments can be either VSOblique or VObliqueS:

172)a. *'e sio ia Soane ki te puaka*

NPST see HUM Soane to the pig

b. *'e sio ki te puaka ia Soane*

NPST see to the pig HUM Soane

(a and b) 'Soane sees the pig.'

Example (172c) shows that the nominative/accusative alignment of first- and second-person personal pronouns is maintained in extended intransitives as well; the subject of *sio* is treated in

all respects like an intransitive S, as can be seen in the realization of 2SG in its A/S form *ke* below:

- c. *'e ke sio ki te puaka*
 NPST 2SG.S see to the pig
 'You see the pig.'

All of EUV's attested extended intransitive verbs are more morphologically simple than their transitivized equivalent. The transitive suffix *-Ci* not only changes the morphosyntax of the argument structure, but also the semantics of the verb, adding volition as shown in the contrast of (173a-b) below. The alignment of the transitivized verb then returns to the basic ergativity described in section (6.5.1).

- 173)a. *'e sio ia Soane ki te puaka*
 NPST see HUM Soane to REF pig
 'Soane sees the pig.'

- b. *'e sio-'i e Soane te puaka*
 NPST see-TR ERG Soane REF pig
 'Soane is looking at the pig.'

The peripheral argument with *ki* or *'i* ('to' and 'in', respectively, although of course with many other possible translations in context) may also be accompanied or even replaced by the directional word (see 8.1.5) corresponding to the grammatical person it represents:

- 174)a. *ne'e mole ke sio kīa au*
 PST NEG 2SG see to.HUM 1SG
- b. *ne'e mole ke sio mai kīa au*
 PST NEG 2SG see DIR1 to.HUM 1SG
- c. *ne'e mole ke sio mai*
 PST NEG 2SG see DIR1
 (a-c) 'You did not see me.'

6.7. Ditransitive verbal phrases

A few verbs in East Uvean, without additional derivation, require an agent, a patient-like argument, and a third, less affected or more peripheral participant. The verb *foaki* ‘to give’ serves as a representative member of this set; in example (175a-b), the flexible order of arguments is shown:

- 175)a. *ne'e foaki te me'a 'ofa e Sefo ki tona 'ohoana*
 PST give REF gift ERG Sefo to 3SG:POSS spouse
- b. *ne'e foaki e Sefo te me'a 'ofa ki tona 'ohoana*
 PST give ERG Sefo REF gift to 3SG:POSS spouse
- (a and b) ‘Sefo gave the/a gift to his wife.’

As in extended intransitives, the peripheral argument with *ki* or *i* may be accompanied by or replaced with a person-related directional:

- 176)a. *foaki te tohi 'aē-nā kīa au*
 give REF book DEM-2 to.HUM 1SG
- b. *foaki mai te tohi 'aē-nā kīa au*
 give DIR1 REF book DEM-2 to.HUM 1SG
- c. *foaki mai te tohi 'aē-nā*
 give DIR1 REF book DEM-2
- (a-c) ‘Give me that book (near you)!’

6.8. Transitivity and valency reduction

East Uvean has a number of means of reducing the number of syntactic participants in a phrase, or of demoting some participants to less central syntactic roles. This section describes the forms they take and the functions they perform.

6.8.1. Reflexives

The reflexive construction in East Uvean is not formed from a dedicated morphological process, and most reflexive meanings are not encoded lexically, either. There is no set of

dedicated reflexive pronouns. Instead, a few methods are available to co-reference the subject and semantic object of a verb:

pē (ia)

177)a. *ne'e tā pē ia au*

PST hit EMPH HUM 1SG

‘I hit myself’ (or ‘I hit only me’, perhaps)

b. *ne'e fasi pē (ia) te fu'u 'akau*

PST break EMPH 3SG REF CLF tree

‘The tree broke’ (that is, without outside influence; admittedly, a reflexive would not be used for this sentence in English, where ‘break’ is labile, but in French it was *l'arbre s'est cassé*)

tokotahi

178) *kua māpunu tokotahi te matapā*

PRF be.opened alone REF door

‘The door opened itself’ or ‘The door opened all on its own’

Finally, verbs derived with *faka-* can sometimes, unpredictably, have a primary or secondary reflexive meaning, e.g. *faka-mate* ‘cause to die’ or ‘cause oneself to die’; see (6.9.1).

6.8.2. Reciprocals

When the multiple subjects and objects of a verb perform the action reciprocally, that is, to each other, the morphological reciprocal circumfix *fe-V-Caki* (most commonly/productively, *fe-V-aki*) is employed. The syntactic transitivity of the verb is thereby reduced:

179)a. *ne'e fe-tā-aki ia te tau tehina*

PST RECP-hit-CIRC HUM REF CLF sibling

‘The pair of siblings (of the same gender) hit/fought each other’

b. *ne'e fe-tā-aki ia Viko mo Lino*

PST RECP-hit-CIRC HUM Viko and Lino

‘Viko and Lino hit/fought each other.’

The extended intransitive verbs have two participants, even with their low transitivity; reciprocals of extended intransitive verbs do indeed exist but can take on the meaning of either their underived extended intransitive or the derived, transitivized form:

- 180)a. *ne'e fe-sio-'aki ia Miguy mo Mika*
 PST RECP-see-CIRC HUM Miguy and Mika
 'Miguy and Mika saw (or looked at) each other.'

The pre-verbal adverb *tau'aki* 'each one' emphasizes the reciprocity:

- b. *ne'e tau'aki fe-sio-'aki ia Miguy mo Mika*
 PST each.one RECP-see-CIRC HUM Miguy and Mika
 'Miguy and Mika **each** saw (or looked at) each other'

The circumfix *fe-V-Caki* can, it should be noted, have non-reciprocal meanings in a distribution apparently determined lexically, albeit with a tendency for the syntactic criterion of true intransitivity to correlate with it. It yields some iterative or frequentative meanings, among others, as in (181), where it is simply glossed as aspect (ASP):

- 181) *ne'e fe-'alu-'aki pē leva i te 'u palokia*
 PST ASP-go-CIRC EMPH Adv in REF PL ward
 'He [Father Henquel] went all around the wards' (TKU:Introduction)

6.8.3. Patient to oblique demotion

A patient-like argument may be demoted to an oblique case such as *ki* DAT or *'i* LOC when it is less affected or not completely affected by the action, or when the agent-like argument is less agentive or volitional. When this occurs, the sentence becomes syntactically intransitive and the former transitive A becomes an intransitive, absolutive S:

- 182)a. *ne'e tu'usi te fu'u 'akau 'aki te hele e Petelo*
 PST cut REF CLF tree INSTRREF knife ERG Petelo
 'Petelo cut the tree with a/the knife.'
- b. *ne'e tu'usi ki te fu'u 'akau 'aki te hele ia Petelo*
 PST cut DAT REF CLF tree INSTRREF knife ABS Petelo
 'Petelo cut at the tree with a/the knife.'

183)a. *kua au fia kai te laisi fuli*
 PRF 1SG want eat REF rice all
 ‘I want(ed) to eat all the rice.’

b. *kua au fia kai ki h-a-ku mo'i laisi*
 PRF 1SG want eat to NREF-aGEN-1SG CLF rice
 ‘I want(ed) to eat (at) some rice.’

6.8.4. Noun stripping

Noun stripping has already been a topic of discussion in sections (3.2.5) and (4.4.5), where its bearing on nounhood and nominal meaning was the focus. Since the form and the nominal meaning have already been described, a few examples illustrating the verbal behavior and transitivity and valency effects will suffice here.

Noun stripping most often applies to basic transitive patient-like objects, as in (184), similar to examples found in (4.4.5):

184) *'e matehi namu ia Atelea*
 NPST kill mosquito HUM Atelea
 ‘Atelea mosquito-kills’ or ‘Atelea goes mosquito-killing.’

185) *ne'e au haka laisi ma'a koe*
 PST 1SG cook rice BEN 2SG
 ‘I cooked rice for you’ or ‘I rice-cooked for you.’

Nouns in peripheral cases are potentially subject to stripping, as the locative from (186a) and its demotion in (186b) show:

186)a. *ne'e au 'alu 'o ma'anu 'i te tai*
 PST 1SG go PURP bathe in REF ocean
 ‘I went to bathe in the ocean.’

b. *ne'e au 'alu 'o ma'anu tai*
 PST 1SG go PURP **bathe ocean**
 ‘I went to ocean-bathe.’

Instruments or means may undergo noun-stripping as well:

- 187)[...] *'e mole kita sio-mata ki ai*
NPST NEG 1SG.INCL **see-eye** DAT ANAPH
'...we don't see it with our eyes' (TF:2)

One more notable instance of stripping is in phrases with essive ('as a [N]') meanings:

- 188)[...] *o hoko atu ai tana nofo hau*
PURP happenDIR2 there 3SG:POSS sit/reign king
'...in order that his reign(ing)i as king should happen there' (TKU:21)

No stripping of intransitive S or transitive A, however, is attested.

As noted in (4.4.5), no verbal morphosyntax or intransitive S subjects may intervene between the verb and the stripped noun. Morphosyntactically, then, the noun is not only stripped of its nominal morphology, but must be immediately adjacent to the verb itself. Examples (189a-d) are repeated from that section:

- 189)a. *ne'e kapu puaka ia Soane*
PST hunt pig HUM Soane
'Soane pig-hunted.'
- *b. *ne'e kapu ia Soane puaka*
PST hunt HUM Soane pig
Intended: 'Soane pig-hunted.'
- c. *ne'e kapu puaka tu'uma'u ia Soane*
PST hunt pig constantly HUM Soane
'Soane was always pig-hunting'
- *d. *ne'e kapu tu'uma'u puaka ia Soane*
PST hunt constantly pig HUM Soane
Intended: 'Soane was always pig-hunting'

6.8.5. The *haga o* construction

The verb *haga*, on its own, has two listed meanings in Rensch's *Tikisionalio*; loosely translated from French, these are: 1, 'to set about, busy oneself with, apply oneself to' and 2, 'be

directed or turned towards’ (Rensch 1984:143). The first of these definitions involves necessarily a multiclausal structure, *haga o* [verb], where the intransitive subject of *haga* is co-referential with what would be subject of the second verb in a monoclausal structure, including an ergative subject of a transitive verb. Example (190) is taken from *Talanoa Ki Uvea*, a collection of history and legends collected not long after European contact with ‘Uvea; it displays the essential morphosyntax of the structure with a subordinated transitive verb:

190) *kae haga leva nāua o fakanofu tanā tamai*
 but undertake Adv 2DU PURP install 2DU:POSS father

ko Takumasiva ke hau
 PRED Takumasiva SBJV king

‘But they then set about to install their father, Takumasiva, as (that he be) king’ (TKU:27)

The single argument of the upper clause, *nāua*, is an absolutive S, while the single overt argument of the lower clause, *tanā tamai* [...], is an absolutive P. The structure effectively detransitivizes and removes the availability of ergative case, though this would have been incidental to the function of the construction at this stage.

Though this structure is indeed attested in some of the oldest recorded examples of EUV, during the course of my fieldwork, I observed somewhat of a generational difference in its use. While speakers over approximately the age of 40 do indeed use the construction, it is usually in the sense of Rensch’s definition and example (190) above; its subjects purposely initiate or continue an action for a purpose.

Among younger speakers, however, I noticed a tendency to use the *haga o* construction pervasively, sometimes to the extent that it seemed to act as a default way of expressing a semantically transitive action or event. In this use, it might be termed a ‘periphrastic transitive’ that avoids use of any ergative case. Among speakers who make such common, and even default, use of the construction, there is no difficulty using the fully transitive, monoclausal equivalent.

I attempted to test the morphosyntactic limits of the construction, and among my findings were the following contrasts and constraints:

Active intransitives allowed, but not less-active ones:

191)a. *ne'e haga ia Soane o gāue*
 PST haga HUM Soane PURP work
 'Soane (set to) work.'

*b. *ne'e haga ia Soane o { 'alu / moe / mate }*
 PST haga HUM Soane PURP { go / sleep / die }
 (Intended: 'Soane (set to) going / sleeping / dying.')

This suggests that there is still an element of initiation and agentivity involved in the construction, and that when this is not semantically present, the use of *haga o* is ungrammatical.

With clefted subjects of semantic transitives, the ergative pronoun resumption is not available to *haga o* (192b), but obligatory to the syntactic transitive (192a):

192)a. *ko Soane ne'e {na / *∅} tā te kulī*
 PRED Soane PST RP / *∅ hit REF dog
 'It's Soane who (he) hit the dog.'

b. *ko Soane ne'e { *na / ∅ } haga o tā te kulī*
 PRED Soane PST *RP / ∅ haga PURP hit REF dog
 'It's Soane who (set to) hit(ting) the dog.'

In testing the aspectual possibilities of construction, I found that my attempts to use it with the aspect marker *kua* (with a range of perfective, perfect, and inceptive/inchoative, and other meanings possible in different contexts) were met with disapproval. Furthermore, in a hypothetical situation set up during a purposeful elicitation, it emerged that if Soane initiates the action of hitting Petelo, but is blocked by a third party before actually making contact, the example (193) would not be grammatical, indicating that among these speakers, at least, *haga o* has taken on a more completed meaning than just 'to set about [verb]ing' or 'apply oneself to [verb]ing':

193) *ne'e haga ia Soane o tā ia Petelo*
 PST haga HUM Soane PURP hit HUM Petelo
 'Soane hit Petelo.'

*'Soane initiated hitting Petelo' (but was stopped before accomplishing it)

6.8.6. The *ma*- prefix

The morpheme *ma*- (glossed AFF) is prefixed to a significant number of verbs and some other categories of word in East Uvean, though it is not productive in today's language. Some of the verbs to which it attaches are already intransitive; its tendency is to make a word more stative or to reduce direct affectedness of the intransitive subject S, as *foa* is in (194a); the contrast between the intransitive unergative there, the transitivized *foa'i* in (194b), and the *ma*- prefixed (194c); the idiomatic English translation in line three of (a and c) expresses a close approximation of the difference between a basic intransitive and its corresponding *ma*-prefixed form.

- 194)a. *kua foa te 'ipu~u*
 PRF be.broken REF cup~DA
 'The cup broke/became broken'
- b. *ne'e foa'i te 'ipu~u e te tama*
 PST break-TR REF cup~DA ERG REF boy
 'The/a boy broke the cup'
- c. *kua ma-foa te 'ipu~u*
 PRF AFF-be.broken REF cup~DA
 'The cup got broken'

Affixation on the noun (also noun classifier) *hu'a* in (195a-b) further shows the contrast between the result or less directly affected state of the *ma*- prefixed word in (a) and the transitivized version in (b):

- 195)a. *hu'a* → *ma-hua*
 liquid spilled (intransitive/stative; without volition, unergative)
- b. *hu'a* → *hua-'i*
 liquid pour, spill (transitive, ergative)

Finally, (196) shows that sometimes the decrease in affectedness can even go so far as to make a verb with a result into an incomplete process:

- 196) *fasi* → *ma-fasi*
 break, snap AFF-snap
 ‘be bent over/double under a weight’ (Rensch 1984:244)

6.8.7. The *-...a* suffixes

A set of suffix forms ending in *-a* are available to many verbs to produce derived forms that are variously stative, adjective-like, detransitivized, and passive-like. These suffixes are not productive, and not entirely predictable in their precise semantic meaning. Attested forms include *-a*, *-Ca*, *-Cia*, and *-(C)iCa*:

-a

- 197) (*logo~*)*logo* → *logo~logo-a*
 hear be.heard

-Ca

- 198) *taki* → *taki-na*
 lead ‘be led, guided’ (Rensch 1984:360)

-Cia

- 199) *hāla* → *hāla-‘ia*
 (be.)wrong (±human subject) be.incorrect (+HUM) (Rensch 1984:146)

-(C)iCa

- 200) *‘ua* → *‘ua-ina*
 rain (be.)wet (from rain)

6.8.8. Argument omission

It is possible to simply omit an argument in a transitive sentence, especially when the omitted argument is a third person and recoverably present in the information structure, yielding acceptable utterances like (201c-d) in contrast with (201a-b):

- 201)a. *ne’e foa te ipu~u*
 PST break REF cup~DA
 ‘The cup broke.’

b. *ne'e foa-'i te ipu~u e te tama*
 PST break-TR REF cup~DA ERG DET boy
 'The/a boy broke the cup.'

c. *ne'e foa-'i e te tama~a Ø*
 PST break-TR ERG REF boy~DA [unstated object]
 'The boy broke (**something**).'

d. *ne'e foa-'i te ipu~u Ø*
 PST break-TR REF cup~DA [unstated agent]
 '(**Someone**) broke the cup.'

6.9. Transitivity and valency increase

6.9.1. Morphological forms

The set of morphemes that can increase the transitivity or valency of a verbal phrase bears multiple complexities. First, a single morpheme from this set may have quite different syntactic and semantic effects on different bases. Second, a single base may be compatible with more than one of these morphemes, including sometimes simultaneously; furthermore, the contrast in meanings may be great or small or essentially nonexistent. Third, some of these morphemes are also used in structures where they do not increase valency or transitivity and indeed may actually decrease it in some cases.

With these caveats in mind, the primary members of this set are listed below in approximate order of their frequency and productivity:

-Ci

The *C* here stands for any consonant from EUV's inventory, although by far the most common allomorph is <'i> [ʔi]. As seen in a few other morphemes of EUV and related Polynesian languages, the consonant is unpredictable and remains as a relic of a previous stage in the language's history before word-final consonants disappeared. This suffix is frequently added to nouns, adjectives, and intransitive verbs. It is very productive and is available to loanwords, in which cases the default -'i allomorph is invariably used:

- 202)a. *hāmale* → *hāmale-'i*
 ‘hammer’ ‘hit with a hammer’
- b. *kafe* → *kafe-'i* *kafe'i te ipu*
 ‘coffee’ ‘pour coffee into’ coffee-TR REF cup
 ‘Pour coffee into the/a cup!’

faka-

This prefix is extremely productive, but very frequently forms adjectives (see chapter 7) and adverbs (chapter 8) as well as transitive, causative verbs. When deriving verbs, however, it can also significantly change the semantic meaning of the base and, in some instances, produce non-transitivized and even reflexive meanings. When it does communicate causativity, *faka-* tends to express a less direct cause, as seen in the contrast of (203a) –*Ci* and (203b) *faka-* on the same base:

- 203)a. *mate* → *mate-hi*
 ‘die’ ‘kill’
- b. *mate* → *faka-mate*
 ‘die’ ‘cause to die’ (or ‘cause oneself to die’)

-Caki

As with *-Ci* above, the *C* here represents a historical consonant from an earlier stage of the language. When used on its own and not as a part of the reflexive circumfix *fe-* *-Caki*, this suffix can yield a variety of semantic additions or changes, as well as a range of different transitivity and valency levels. It is not productive, and indeed many of the instances of its use that I am aware of are found in texts and not my own observation or elicitation. This suffix is attested with bases originally used as nouns (204a-b), adjectives (204c), stative verbs (204d), intransitive verbs (204b, e, f), and transitive verbs (204e, g):

- 204)a. *tu'a* → *tu'a-naki*
 ‘back, gut, dorsal part’ ‘rest on, confide in, rely on’ (TFU:403)
- b. *lohi* → *lohi-'aki*
 ‘lie’ (N or v) ‘trick, fool someone’ (TFU:233)

- c. *tapu* → *tapu-'aki* *tapu-'i* *faka-tapu*
 'sacred or forbidden' 'bless' 'forbid' 'make sacred, forbidden'
- d. *mu* → *mu-gaki* ; *mū-gaki*
 'be bright, lit (of a fire)' 'warm oneself by fire' -TR 'make shine' +TR (TFU:289)
- e. *kai* → *kai-naki*
 'eat' ±TR 'bring provisions for, supply travelers, nourish' (TFU:179)
- f. *hola* → *hola-taki*
 'flee' 'make flee' or 'take something while fleeing' (TFU:162)
- g. *tanu* → *tanu-maki*
 'bury' +TR 'surround a plant's base with dirt' +TR (TFU:367)

The derived *-Caki* verbs frequently have a semantic association with their base where their S or A 'uses' the base (whether a concrete object, an event, or a more abstract concept) to perform the derived action. It then seems plausible that this suffix has some historical association with the instrumental case marker *'aki*.

Zero-derivation (conversion)

It is very common for a base to see use in different lexical categories without any overt, surface morphological changes to the base itself. The phrasal distribution and the semantic meaning change. When a noun is so derived into a verb, it may increase in the number of syntactic or semantic participants required or available to it, from zero arguments to one intransitive S or a transitive A and P.

- 205)a. *mata* N → *mata* v (intransitive)
 'eye' 'to appear, seem'
- b. *pule* N → *pule* v (transitive)
 'chief' 'to command, lead (someone)'

Partial or full reduplication

There exist instances, though non-productive, uncommon, and unpredictable, of full and partial reduplication of a base producing a derived verb with increased transitivity or valency,

with some added or altered semantic meaning. Often, this altered or added meaning co-exists with a usage of the same reduplicated word as a non-singular number agreement (see 6.2.1.1). Many reduplication pairs could indeed be assumed to be instances of non-singular number inflection reduplication where, with more than one subject, the verb can then take on secondary semantic meanings unavailable to a singular subject, as may well be the case in (206b).

206)a. *fili (mo)* → *fi~fili ki* (TFU:118-9)
 ‘to be enemies’ (with) ‘to quarrel or dispute with, have a grudge against’

b. *moe* → *mo~moe* Inflection
 ‘sleep’ v NSG-sleep

→ *mo~moe* Derivation (perhaps after inflection)
 ‘sleep together; have sexual relations with’ (still intransitive, but with multiple semantic participants in a reciprocal relationship)

6.9.2. Deriving verbs from nominals

6.9.2.1. N to stative

‘S is N’, ‘S has N’, ‘S is characterized or affected by N’

This derivation increases the number of participants to one intransitive S. Because stative verbs are very low on the transitivity scale, a noun derived into a stative verb is almost always converted directly without any affixation of transitivity morphemes:

207)a. *lāvaki* → *lāvaki*
 ‘solitude’ ‘to be empty, deserted, uninhabited’ (TFU:223)

b. *la’a* → *la’a*
 ‘sun’ ‘to be dried up (said of soil)’ (TFU:211)

6.9.2.2. N to active intransitive

‘S does N’, ‘S performs action using N’, etc.

It is beyond the scope of this work to determine whether one member of pairs such as *lea* N ‘language, speech’ and *lea* VINTR ‘speak’ is more primary than the other, or whether both are derived from a lexical category-neutral root. The semantic relationship between the two is often so close that there does not seem to be any obvious directionality. Such pairs are extremely

common in EUV, and whatever their derivational provenance, they result in an intransitive verb with a subject S.

- 208)a. *lea* → *lea*
 ‘language, speech’ ‘to speak’
- b. *mate* → *mate*
 ‘death’ ‘to die’
- c. *folau* → *folau*
 ‘voyage’_N ‘to voyage’_v

6.9.2.3. N to transitive:

‘A acts as N toward P’, ‘A does N to P’, ‘A uses N on P’

When a noun is derived into a transitive verb, it gains an agent-like A argument and a patient-like P argument; the A may have a range of initiating, controlling, or volitional roles in the event described by the verb, while the P is affected by the event.

- 209)a. *hau* → *faka-hau*
 ‘king’ ‘oppress, rule as a tyrant’
- b. *lolo* → *lolo-i*
 ‘oil’ ‘to oil, anoint someone/something’
- c. *ala* → *ala-i*
 ‘road, path’ ‘travel on/along’

6.9.3. Transitivity extended intransitives

‘S experiences VEXT.INTR toward OBL’ → ‘A actively/purposely initiates VEXT.INTR toward P’

Extended intransitives have two semantic roles but intransitive morphosyntax. When they are derived into syntactic transitives, their semantic participants likely remain the same, but the absolutive S is promoted to transitive, ergative A and the oblique is promoted to absolutive P.

With the suffix *-Ci*, the semantics change as well as the syntax; sensory verbs like *sio* ‘see’ become volitional and purposeful, e.g. *sio’i* ‘look at’.

210)a. *'e sio ia Soane ki te puaka*
 NPST see HUM Soane to the pig
 'Soane sees the pig.'

b. *'e sio-'i e Soane te puaka*
 NPST see-TR ERG Soane the pig
 'Soane is looking at the pig.'

Table 27: Examples of transitivity morphology with extended intransitive verbs

Extended intransitive		V-Ci		faka-V	
	gloss		gloss		gloss
<i>logo</i>	'hear, sense'	<i>logo-'i</i>	'listen to, feel' TR	<i>faka-logo</i>	'listen, obey, submit to'
<i>sio</i>	'see'	<i>sio-'i</i> <i>sio-fi</i>	'look at' TR 'examine' TR	<i>faka-sio</i>	'look at, examine' TR or 'show' DTR
<i>'ita</i>	'be angry at'	-	-	<i>faka-'ita</i>	'become or be angry' INTR
<i>manatu</i>	'think (about)'	<i>manatu-'i</i>	'think about, remember' TR	<i>faka-manatu</i>	'remember' INTR or 'remind' TR
<i>mataku</i>	'fear, be afraid of'	-	-	<i>faka-mataku</i>	'scare, frighten'
<i>'ofa</i>	'love, respect, pity'	-	-	<i>faka-ofa</i>	'elicit pity or kindness'

6.9.4. Causatives of intransitive verbs and adjectives

6.9.4.1. Stative to transitive:

When a stative verb is derived into a transitive verb, the S undergoing or experiencing the stative transitions into the role of patient-like argument. The same effect is seen in (6.9.4.2) with transitive derivation of adjectives.

'S is in a state of VSTAT' → 'A causes P to VSTAT'

211)a. *hoha'a* → *hoha'a-si*
 'to be troubled' 'to trouble or worry someone'(TFU:160)

6.9.4.2. Adjective to transitive:

‘S is Adj’ → ‘A causes P to become Adj’

- 212)a. *hino* → *hino-i*
 ‘clear, understandable’ ‘show, explain’ (TFU:159)
- b. *kula* → *faka-kula*
 ‘red’ ‘cause to become red’

6.9.4.3. Intransitive (active) to transitive:

‘S does VINTR’ → ‘A causes P to VINTR’

In this form of transitivization, the intransitive S’s role is taken by the transitive P (both are in absolutive case), and a causer is added as an ergative A. This type of transitivity increase is therefore a causative construction. The morphemes used for this particular meaning are almost exclusively *-Ci* and *faka-*.

- 213)a. *‘ala* → *‘ala-hi*
 ‘wake up’_{INTR} ‘wake (someone) up’_{TR}
- b. *ne’e ‘ala ia Soane*
 PST wake HUM Soane
 ‘Soane woke up.’
- c. *ne’e ‘ala-hi ia Soane e Malia*
 PST wake-TR HUM Soane ERG Malia
 ‘Malia woke Soane up.’
- 214)a. *foa* → *foa-i*
 ‘to break’_{INTR} ‘to break (something)’_{TR}
- b. *kua foa te ipu~u*
 PRF be.broken REF cup~DA
 ‘The cup broke/became broken’
- c. *ne’e foa-i te ipu~u e te tama*
 PST break-TR REF cup~DA ERG REF boy
 ‘The/a boy broke the cup’

- 215)a. *nofo* → *faka-nofo*
 ‘to sit, stay’ ‘to install, enthrone (someone)’
- b. *ne’e nofo ai ia Lavelua*
 PST stay there HUM Lavelua
 ‘Lavelua (Uvean king’s title) stayed/dwelled/reigned there.’
- c. *ne’e faka-nofo ia Lavelua e te kau ‘aliki*
 PST CAUS-reign HUM Lavelua ERG REF PL.HUM noble
 ‘The noblemen installed/enthroned Lavelua.’

There are, as briefly noted elsewhere, instances of affixes primarily associated with increasing transitivity being used in ways that either maintain or even decrease transitivity. For example:

→ ‘S does VINTR with greater intensity’ (no change in transitivity)

- 216) *ako* → *faka-ako*
 ‘learn, study’ ‘study diligently’ (NB: also ‘cause to learn’)

→ ‘S does VINTR’ → ‘A does VINTR to self’ (transitivity unchanged or decreased)

- 217) *mate* → *faka-mate*
 ‘die’ ‘cause oneself to die’ (commit suicide)
 (NB: may also mean ‘cause someone else to die’)

6.9.5. Causatives of transitive verbs

In my own research of texts and subsequent fieldwork, I found that instances of causatives of transitive verbs are extremely uncommon in natural speech and writing. In the judgment of speakers I consulted with, my own attempts to derive three-participant causatives of transitives from a range of transitive verbs using *faka-* and *-Caki* were evaluated as somewhere between a charitable ‘unusual’ to what I suspect is a more accurate ‘ungrammatical’.

Instead, I found that there is a different structure used to convey such a meaning, which sees moderate use in the written and spoken language. This is done by making the causer the argument-like A of *faka-hoko*, ‘cause to happen’ and then nominalizing the clause of the caused event with its participants marked with one of the two genitives and/or other case markers:

218) *ko te 'atua ne'e na fakahoko t-a-ku fakamolemole*
 PRED REF God PST 3SG cause REF-aGEN-1SG forgive
kāa koe
 to.HUM 2SG
 'It's God who caused me to forgive you.'

Since I could find no attested causatives of ditransitive verbs, I did resort to attempting to produce some of my own and asked speakers experienced with consultant work to evaluate and repair if possible. They tended to be fairly uncomfortable with any attempts at quadrivalent causative-ditransitives.

Some of the results of that line of questioning follow below, with the caveat that they were produced only in response to my flailing attempts and were not spontaneously produced speech. The intended meaning involved a giver, receiver, object received, and then a causer:

219)? *ne'e faka-foakina te me'a 'ofa kāa Soana e Sosefo*
 PST CAUS-given REF gift to.HUM Soana ERG Sosefo
 (*ia) {*maā* / 'akā} Atelea
 *HUM(ABS) {from:HUM / INSTR:HUM} Atelea
 Intended: 'Sosefo made Atelea give a gift to Soana.'

Actual meaning closer to 'Sosefo caused the gift to be given to Soana on behalf of/by Atelea.' (Consultants' supplied French equivalents of *maā* / 'akā: {de la part de / par})

Note that to even attempt to form such an utterance, the speaker employed *foakina*, with the detransitivizing suffix *-Ca*, kept the absolutive and dative arguments as they would be in the ditransitive sentence, added the giver as an ablative or an instrumental, and introduced the causer as an ergative.

6.9.6. Lexical causatives

Because they are lexically determined, the lexical causatives are not regular, predictable, or productive, and a non-native speaker researching the language can only hope to stumble upon them in observation and elicitation.

As one example, the labile verb *kai* 'to eat' is used in (220a) as a transitive verb; in (220b), the lexical causative *fafaga* treats the causer as agent, the argument that was agent in (a) is

demoted to absolutive patient, and the patient-like argument from (a) is further demoted to the instrumental case with *'aki*.

220)a. *ne'e au kai te mo'i laisi*
 PST 1SG eat REF CLF rice
 'I ate some rice' (more literally: 'a lump of rice')

b. *ne'e ke fafaga ia au 'aki te mo'i laisi*
 PST 2SG feed HUM 1SG INSTRREF CLF rice
 'You fed me some rice'

Though the word *fafaga* may well have been transparently derived at an earlier stage of the language, it is currently opaque and fully lexical.

6.9.7. Applicatives

'S does VINTR' → 'A does VINTR to P'

Members of this transitivized set are not causatives; the intransitive verb's S argument corresponds to the derived transitive verb's A argument; a new P argument is introduced or promoted from a more peripheral role. This construction fits the criteria for applicatives of intransitives (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:13). The *-Caki* suffix is primarily used for these applicatives.

221)a. *'ala* → *'ala-faki*
 'wake up'_{INTR} 'stay awake to watch over'_{TR}
 b. *lohi* → *lohi-'aki*
 'lie' (N or v) 'trick, fool someone' (TFU:233)

Applicatives derived from already-transitive verbs are unknown to me.

7. Adjectives and their morphosyntax

Adjectives are modifiers capable of appearing as predicates and attributives, but not substantives:

222)a. *e lahi te tagata~a*
NPST big REF man~DA
'The man is big.'

b. *ko te tagata lahi*
PRED REF man big
'It's the/a big man.'

*c. *ko te tagata fea? *– ko te lahi*
PRED REF man which PRED REF big
'Which man? –*The big.'

Since much of the distributional behavior of adjectives was already described in section 3.4 as justification for making them a separate class, this chapter focuses primarily on inflectional and derivational processes related to adjectives, much of which is shared with verbal morphosyntax and will therefore be briefly mentioned and cross-referenced.

7.1. Inflection on adjectives

A small set of adjectives inflects for non-singular number in the same way that a small set of intransitive verbs does. Though the two sets have this inflection in common, they still differ in the distributional criteria for their respective categories. The form of the inflection is a (C)V~reduplication, e.g.

223)a. [lahi] → [la~lahi] 'big'
b. [mahaki] → [ma~mahaki] 'sick'

The relevant grammatical number is that of the nominal being modified, and the opposition is indeed singular/non-singular, such that a dual nominal's adjective from this set will inflect with the partial reduplication as well as that of a plural. The adjectival non-singular inflection occurs whether the adjective is used predicatively or attributively.

7.2. Derived adjectives

A number of morphological means of deriving adjectives exist, with degrees of productivity ranging from high to zero.

7.2.1. Zero-derivation to form adjectives

With the tendency of many un-derived stems to exist with distinct semantic meanings in multiple lexical categories, I take no stance on which, if any, category is more inherent to a particular stem; it might therefore be more accurate to call these ‘adjectives with forms identical to other lexical categories’. A few examples follow:

Noun and adjective:

- 224) *ko te kaukava* → *kua ke kaukava*
PRED REF facial.hair_N PRF 2SG bearded_{Adj}
‘(It’s) facial hair’ ‘You became bearded’

Verb and adjective:

- 225) *kua au kina* → *‘e kina te fono*
PRF 1SG be.tired NPST tiring REF meeting
‘I am tired/bothered/bored’ ‘The meeting is tiring/bothersome/boring’

7.2.2. Prefixation to form adjectives

aga-

The human-denoting *aga-* is prefixed to existing adjectives like *lelei* ‘good’, *kovi* ‘bad’, *(to)tonu* ‘right, correct’, as well as some actions or nouns denoting habits and qualities. The adjective *lelei* ‘good’ may not be used to modify a human nominal; it must be derived into *aga-lelei*:

- 226)a. *‘e lelei te me’a kai*
NPST good REF food
‘The food is good.’
- b. *‘e ‘aga-lelei ia Malia*
NPST HUM-good HUM Malia
‘Malia is good’ or ‘Malia is a good person.’

fa'a-

This prefix emphasizes an ability, tendency, or commitment to a given verb or noun, e.g.:

- 227) *ko te fāmili fa'a-kai*
PRED REF family Adj-eat

‘That’s a family that really knows how to eat / really eats a lot.’

faka-

This prefix, in addition to forming causative verbs, can form adjectives, especially demonyms:

- 228) ‘Uvea → *faka'uvea*
‘Uvea, Wallis island’ ‘Uvean/Wallisian’ (people, customs, language’)

fia-

This prefix comes from the verb ‘to want to’ and adds such a meaning to the adjective it derives; a nominal so modified has a desire, will, or tendency to perform a verb or be a noun:

- 229) *ko te 'aliki* → *'e fia-'aliki ia natou*
PRED REF noble.person NPST Adj-noble HUM 3PL
‘It’s a person of noble lineage’ ‘They’re ambitious/pretentious/ostentatious’

- 230) *ne'e tu'u ake* → *ko te tama fia-tu'u*
PST stand up PRED REF boy Adj-stand
‘He/she stood up’ ‘He’s a stubborn/opinionated boy’

loto-

The verb *loto* (*ki*) also means ‘to want’, with somewhat different semantics and morphosyntax; when used to derive an adjective, it tends to produce a description of an emotional or mental state:

- 231) *tahi* → *kua tou loto-tahi*
‘one’ PRF 1PL.INCL Adj-one
‘We are/have become united/of one mind’

232) *mālohi* → *ko te tama loto-mālohi*
 ‘strong’ PRED REF boy Adj-strong
 ‘He’s a courageous boy’

ma-

This prefix is essentially completely unproductive, though widespread; some words to which it has historically applied no longer exist as words without the prefix. Many or most instances of this prefix are actually stative verbs; for more on it, see section (6.8.6).

7.2.3. Suffixation to form adjectives

The suffixes *-a*, *-(C)ia*, *-(C)ina* frequently produce a passive-like meaning, stative verbs, and some words with the syntactic distribution of adjectives; these are described in section (6.8.7).

V-gafua

This suffix adds a meaning of ‘-able’ or ‘easy to V’:

233) *tala* → *tala-gafua*
 ‘tell’ tell-able ‘obedient, easy to command’

V-gata’a

This suffix contrasts with *-gafua*; it means ‘difficult to V’ or ‘not V-able’:

234) *tala* → *tala-gata’a*
 tell tell-difficult ‘disobedient’

7.2.4. Reduplication to form adjectives

Reduplication can be a derivational process to form adjectives; when this is the case, it is typically full reduplication. For example:

235) *‘ita* → *‘ita~‘ita*
 ‘be.angry’ ‘angry’

236) *fia* → *fia~fia*
 ‘want, like’ ‘happy’

237) *piko* → *piko~piko*
 ‘bent, lazy’ ‘twisting, winding’ (e.g. of a path)

7.2.5. Compound adjectives

These are distinguished from, for example, attributive noun-adjective combinations in that the entire compound adjective, regardless of its parts’ original sense, becomes a single adjective to then be used in adjectival morphosyntax. Stems from any lexical category can be found in compound adjectives; a comprehensive listing or description of every such combination type is beyond the scope of the present work, but the examples in Table 28 below are chosen to be representative and suggestive of the general phenomenon.

Table 28: Examples of compound adjectives

Part 1	Gloss	Part 2	Gloss	Compound	Gloss
<i>kai-</i>	‘eat’	<i>-vale</i>	‘crazy’	<i>kaivale</i>	‘gluttonous, piggish’
		<i>-pō</i>	‘night’	<i>kaipō</i>	‘of one who eats in secret; greedy’
<i>mata-</i>	‘eye’	<i>-kovi</i>	‘bad’	<i>matakovi</i>	‘ugly’ or ‘having poor eyesight’
		<i>-kivi</i>	‘blind’	<i>matakivi</i>	‘blind or one-eyed’
<i>sino-</i>	‘body’	<i>-kovi</i>	‘bad’	<i>sinokovi</i>	‘skinny (body)’
		<i>-lelei</i>	‘good’	<i>sinolelei</i>	‘well-fed, large (body)’

8. Adverbs and their morphosyntax

Adverbs are a diverse and, in many ways, heterogeneous class. This chapter considers their sub-categories on the basis of syntactic distribution and meaning (8.1), and then describes some prominent derivational processes for forming adverbs (8.2).

8.1. Adverb classes and word order

Adverbs can usefully be divided into pre-verbal and post-verbal sets.

Table 29: Adverb classes and sub-classes

TAM	Pre-verbal Adv	Verb	Post-verbal Adv
	Aspectual 1		Aspectual 2
	Modal		Temporal
	Evidential		Degree
			Manner
	Location/direction		

8.1.1. Pre-verbal adverbs

The pre-verbal adverbs follow the tense/aspect/mood auxiliary and add secondary aspectual, modal, or evidential meaning. These form a closed class. A pre-verbal adverb follows after a personal pronoun proclitic, distinguishing it distributionally from primary aspect or mood markers:

- 238) *kua au 'osi fakatu'u toku fale*
 PRF 1SG COMPL build 1SG:POSShouse
 'I finished building my house.'

Many of these adverbs are described in more detail in sections (6.3.2-3).

8.1.2. Post-verbal adverbs

Post-verbal adverbs follow the verbal base, and can intervene between it and full syntactic arguments, but not a verb and a stripped noun. The post-verbal adverbs can further be subdivided into temporal, aspectual, manner, degree, and location/direction adverbs, seen in (8.1.3-7) below.

8.1.3. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs serve to specify a more exact time or time period than the basic tense distinction of past vs. non-past. They themselves can generally be divided into past and non-past sets, seen in Table 30:

Table 30: Temporal adverbs

Past		Non-past	
<i>'ananai</i>	recent past	<i>'anai</i>	(near) future
<i>'anāfi</i>	'yesterday'	<i>'apogipogi</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>'anapō</i>	'last night'	<i>'apō</i>	'tonight'
<i>'anaheafi</i>	'the day before yesterday'	<i>anoiha</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
<i>(kua) fualoa</i>	'a long time ago'	<i>loa aipe</i>	'a long time from now'
Interrogative			
<i>'anafea</i>	'when?' (past)	<i>'afea</i>	'when?' (non-past)

A few examples of usage:

- 239) *ne'e mate* { *'ananai* / *'anapō* / *kua fualoa* }
 PST die {recently / last.night / long.ago}
 'She/he died {recently / last night / a long time ago}'.

The temporal adverb may precede the arguments of the verb:

- 240) *'e ina ma'u 'anai te tagata o kai Ø*
 NPST 3SG find FUT REF man PURP eat (3SG)
 'He will find the/a man in order to eat (him)' (The eater being a demon; FMU:54)

The word *nei*, usually spatial 'here', may also be employed as a temporal 'now', referring to the immediate present.

8.1.4. Post-verbal aspectual adverbs

Post-verbal aspectual adverbs are not interchangeable with their pre-verbal counterparts. These former might more loosely be called adverbs of manner, albeit with specifically aspectual meanings. For example:

241) *'e gāue aipe*
 NPST work still
 ‘She/he’s still working’ (continuous, imperfect)

242) *'e gāue tu'uma'u*
 NPST work constantly
 ‘She/he’s always working’ (frequent, but not continuous)

8.1.5. Adverbs of location and direction

East Uvean has a large, heterogeneous set of words referring to location and direction; these are also described in part in section (4.4.4). A number of these words with adverbial uses are described in the context of that function in this section.

The core set of location and direction words makes a three-way deictic distinction in reference to proximity to or movement in relation to the three grammatical persons.

Table 31: Grammatical person-related adverbs of location, direction, and manner

Person relation	directional		locational		manner	
1	<i>mai</i>	to/toward 1	<i>nei</i>	near 1	<i>fe-nei</i>	like this
2	<i>atu</i>	to/toward 2	<i>nā</i>	near 2	<i>fe-nā</i>	like that (2)
3	<i>age</i>	to/toward 3; ‘along’	<i>aia</i>	near 3	<i>fe-iā</i>	like that (3)

Manner adverbs shown in this table are described in sections (8.1.2) and (8.2.3) below. East Uvean also prominently uses other spatial adverbs including those in Table 32, with examples following.

Table 32: Other spatial (directional or locational) adverbs

Spatial category	Adverb	Gloss
relative elevation	<i>ake</i>	‘up, upward’
	<i>ifo</i>	‘down, downward’
relative to water/land	<i>gātai</i>	‘seaward’
	<i>gā'uta</i>	‘inland’
relative to context	<i>kehe</i>	‘away’

Directional members or uses of this set have an adverbial use when they accompany a verbal phrase and specify the direction in which an event takes place:

243) *kua ha'u mai*
 PRF come DIR1
 'He/she came toward me/us' or '...came here'

244) *'alu {ake / gātai / kehe}*
 go {up seaward away}
 'Go {up / toward the sea / away}!'

245) *pea lea ifo te Tu'i Toga [...]*
 then speak down REF King of Tonga
 'Then the King of Tonga spoke: [...]' (down to inferiors)

Locational members or uses of this set do not involve movement, and can be used with verbal or prepositional phrases:

246) *'e mole palalau te faka-pilitania 'i 'Uvea nei*
 NPST NEG speak REF English in Uvea near1
 'English isn't spoken in Uvea' (where the speaker is located while uttering the example)

8.1.6. Manner adverbs

Adverbs of manner may modify verbal phrases or adjectives. Many are identical in surface form to adjectives:

247) *ko te hiva lelei* → *'e hiva lelei*
 PRED REF song good NPST sing well
 'It's a good song' 'He/she sings well.'

Many others are derived with the prefix *faka-*:

248) *'e gāue faka-nima*
 NPST work Adv-hand
 'She/he works by hand'

The person-based deictics of the locational/directional set are combined with the prefix *fe-* to form manner adverbs (see 8.2.3) below for the forms). The meanings can be demonstrated with the following situation:

249) Situation: Atelea, a foreigner, is learning how to open a young coconut in order to drink the contents. He demonstrates the way he thinks it should be done and asks:

a. *'e au fai fe-nei?*

NPST 1SG do like-1

'Do I do it like this?'

Soe laughs (not unkindly) at his clumsy demonstration and shows him how to do it yet again.

Atelea says,

b. *'e faigata'a kau fai fe-nā*

NPST difficult that.1SG do like-2

'It's hard for me to do it like that' (i.e. the way the second-person interlocutor is doing it)

Soe points to Mone, who is doing it more clearly (and slowly). She says:

c. *fai fe-iā!*

do like-3

'Do it like that!' (i.e. the way a third-person referent is doing it)

8.1.7. Degree adverbs

The distribution of adverbs of degree overlaps with that of manner adverbs, but adverbs of degree often also modify adjectives. A prominent difference between the two sets is that some degree adverbs do not have a transparent etymological or derivational connection to other lexical categories, such as *'aupito* 'very'.

250)a. *kua 'ita aupito ia Kusitino*

PRF be.angry very HUM Kusitino

'Kusitino got very angry.'

b. *'e lelei aupito te me'a kai*

NPST good very REF food

'The food is very good.'

8.1.8. Means of transportation

To express a means of transportation, a verb of motion is modified by an adverb expressing the means of transportation; these are almost all derivations of the corresponding noun of the means of transportation in question, with the exception of *lalo* ‘by foot’, which is used as an adjective ‘low’ or a noun ‘underside, lower portion’ and forms a part of the compound prepositions (9.1) ‘*i/ki lalo*, ‘under/beneath’.

In Table 33 below, the listed means of transportation are attested, but shaded members of the list indicate that the more common structure is as a compound preposition (e.g. ‘*alu ‘i te motokā* ‘go in the car’); note that these members of the shaded set are vehicles which contain the transported person or thing, although ‘bus’ appears to fall outside this generalization. For more on compound prepositions, see (9.1).

Table 33: Derived adverbs expressing means of transportation

Means of transportation	Gloss
<i>‘alu/ha‘u...</i>	go/come by/on...
<i>lōlue</i>	bicycle
<i>hosi</i>	horse
<i>vēsipā</i>	scooter (Vespa)
<i>lalo</i>	foot
<i>papapika</i>	bus
<i>motokā</i>	automobile
<i>vaka</i>	boat
<i>vakalele</i>	airplane

251)a. ‘*e i ai taku lōlue, pea ‘e au ‘alu lōlue*
 NPST EXT my bicycle CONJ NPST 1SG go bicycle
 ‘I have a bicycle, so I go by bicycle.’

b. *kua ha‘ele lalo*
 PRF come.HON low
 ‘(S)he came on foot.’

8.2. Adverb derivation

Adverbs can be derived from a number of bases, and for a number of functions. Sometimes the form and function correspond fairly tightly, but in cases of zero-derivation or compounding in particular, this is not the case.

8.2.1. Zero-derivation of adverbs

As with adjectives, many adverbs share a base form with words in other lexical categories; the overlap is particularly frequent between adjectives and adverbs:

- 252) 'e kovi_{Adj} tana gāue → 'e gāue_{Adv} kovi
NPST bad 3SG:POSS work v NPST work badly
'His/her work is bad' 'He/she works badly' or '...does bad things'

8.2.2. With *faka-*

The prefix *faka-*, when forming an adverb, is used to derive adverbs of manner and degree, and is highly productive, including on loans such as:

- 253) 'e mole ilo'i faikuka faka-falani
NPST NEG know cook Adv-France
'She/he doesn't know how to cook *à la française* / like the French.'

Some adverbs derived with *faka* exist as underived adverbs with similar or the same meanings; for example (*faka-*)*fokifā*:

- 254) kua tō pē (*faka-*)*fokifā*
PRF fall EMPH (Adv-)sudden
'It fell suddenly / all of a sudden.'

8.2.3. With *fe-*

As described above in (8.1.2), the prefix *fe-*, when added to grammatical person-related morphemes, yields a three-way deictic manner distinction between *fe-nei* 'here' (near first person), *fe-nā* 'there' (near second person interlocutor), and *fe-iā* 'there' (near third person, away from both speaker and hearer).

8.2.4. Compound adverbs

Much like compound adjectives, compound adverbs can be formed from a variety of bases; many compound adjectives can be used as adverbs without additional morphology.

Two examples of compound adverbs follow:

Table 34: Examples of compound adverbs

Part 1	Gloss	Part 2	Gloss	Compound	Gloss
<i>fua</i>	'whole, complete'	<i>loa</i>	'length, long'	<i>fualoa</i>	'for a long time'
		<i>noa(noa)</i>	'short'	<i>fuanoanoa</i>	'briefly, not for long'

9. Prepositions

Prepositions precede the nominal phrase they modify, and serve to put it into spatial, temporal, grammatical, or other relationships with a variety of larger structures. In East Uvean, prepositions can be classified by form into two groups: simple and compound (9.1). In semantic and functional terms, this chapter makes no claims of comprehensiveness, but classifies prepositions broadly into spatial (9.2), temporal (9.3), and grammatical case-marking (9.4); the primary focus is to give a basic description of forms and functions, with illustrative examples.

9.1. Simple and complex prepositions

Simple prepositions are single morphemes with opaque etymology; many of them are attested in the same or similar uses in Proto-Oceanic and earlier in Proto-Austronesian (e.g. locative *i, Crowley, Lynch, Ross 2002:79) with relatively little change.

The majority of complex prepositions are formed from a simple preposition and a noun; many of these exist as pairs of *i*, *ki* (LOC, DAT) with a noun or adjective partially grammaticalized into a semantically related spatial relation; for example:

255)	<i>i</i>	+	<i>loto</i>	→	<i>i loto</i>	<i>kolo</i>
	LOC		center		inside	village
	‘in/at’		‘center, heart’		‘inside/at the center of (the) village’	

More examples follow in the sections grouped by function (9.2-4).

9.2. Spatial prepositions

Spatial prepositions can be simple or compound. They divide into the primary sub-sets of locational, with no movement implied, and directional, which can further be divided into movement toward or from a reference point.

The variations in (256a-c) show the use of locative *i*, dative *ki*, and ablative *mai*:

256)a.	<i>e</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>nofo</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Amelika</i>
	NPST	1SG	live	LOC	America
	‘I live in America.’				

b. *'e ke 'alu ki Amelika?*
 NPST 2SG go DAT Amelika
 'Are you going to America?'

c. *kuau ha'u mai Amelika*
 PRF.1SG come ABL America
 'I come from America'

Compound prepositions with spatial meaning frequently have contrasting dative and locative forms to express movement or the lack thereof:

257)a. *ke 'alu ki loto kolo*
 SBJV go to center.of village/fort
 '...that she should go to the center of the village' (TKU:56)

b. *i loto Mu'a, 'i Mala'efo'ou, ko Matulalahi*
 at center.of Mu'a LOC Mala'efo'ou PRED Matulalahi
 '...at the center of (the district of) Mu'a, in Mala'efo'ou, that is Matulalahi' (TKU:31)

Table 35: A comparison of some pairs of locative and dative spatial prepositions

Locative compound prepositions	Gloss	Dative compound prepositions	Gloss
<i>'i mu'a</i>	in front of	<i>ki mu'a</i>	toward the front of
<i>'i muli</i>	behind	<i>ki muli</i>	behind
<i>'i oluga</i>	above	<i>ki 'oluga</i>	above, upward
<i>'i (te) fuga</i>	on, on top of	<i>ki (te) fuga</i>	toward the surface of
<i>'i lalo</i>	under, beneath	<i>ki lalo</i>	below, downward
<i>'i loto</i>	inside, into	<i>ki loto</i>	inside, into

For other grammatical means of expressing spatial relations, see (4.4.4, 5.3, 5.4, 8.1.5).

9.3. Temporal prepositions

Three temporal prepositions will serve as illustrative example, seen in Table 36:

Table 36: Three examples of temporal prepositions

Gloss	Temporal preposition	Followed by:
‘before’	<i>‘i mu‘a o</i>	+ nominal phrase, including nominalized verbal phrase
‘during’	<i>lolotoga</i>	
‘after’	<i>‘i te ‘osi o</i>	

- 258)a. { *‘i mu‘a o* / *lolotoga* / *‘i te ‘osi o* } *te fono*
 { before during after } REF meeting
 ‘{before / during / after} the meeting’

The preposition *lolotoga* can also be used as an aspectual adverb of continuousness, including within a clausal nominalization:

- b.... *‘i te lolotoga moe o te tamasi‘i*
 LOC REF ASP.Adv sleep of REF little.child
 ‘in/during/by the (ongoing) sleep(ing) of the small child.’

9.4. Grammatical case prepositions

This section, though not comprehensive, gives some description and examples of the grammatical case-marking uses of instrumental, dative, and locative prepositions.

‘aki INSTR

The instrumental case is marked with the preposition *‘aki*; it can be used to express a prototypical instrumental meaning, as in (259a), or an added, non-core argument, as in (259b), which is repeated from section (6.9.6):

259)a. *'aki te hele*
 INSTRREF knife
 'with/using a/the knife'

b. *ne'e ke fafaga ia au 'aki te mo'i laisi*
 PST 2SG feed HUM 1SG INSTRREF CLF rice
 'You fed me some rice'

Furthermore, as described in (6.5.2), some prepositional cases are used when the noun producing or causing an event is inanimate and cannot be in the ergative case:

c. *ne'e avahi te matapā {*e / 'aki} te kalavī*
 PST open REF door *ERG / INSTR REF key
 'The key opened the door' or 'The door opened with the key.'

ki DAT

Among the many uses of the dative *ki* is the marking of the theme of extended intransitive clauses, e.g:

260) *ne'e ke sio ki te tagata faiako?*
 PST 2SG see DAT REF teacher
 'Did you see the teacher?'

'i LOC

The locative prepositional case *'i* is not only used for locations, but also as another means of marking theme of extended intransitives, particularly when they are less animate or more static:

261)a. *ne'e ke sio 'i te Tour Eiffel 'i Palesi?*
 PST 2SG see LOC REF Eiffel Tower LOC Paris
 'Did you see the Eiffel Tower in Paris?'

Locative *'i* may, similarly to *'aki*, express an inanimate cause or reason for an action or event, transitive or intransitive, as in (261b):

b. *kua mapunu 'i te matagi*
 PRF shut by REF wind
 'it shut by/due to the wind'

There is a pair of benefactive/purposive prepositions corresponding to the genitive forms *a* (alienable, active) and *o* (inalienable, passive):

***ma'a* 'for' (BEN)**

262) *ne'e na fai te laisi ma'a* {*'aku / koe / ia / ia pe ia*}
PST 3SG make REF rice BEN {1SG / 2SG / 3SG / 3SGREFL}
'(S)he made the rice for {me / you / him / himself}'

***mo'o* 'for' (PURP; elements of BEN/INSTR)**

263) *'e mo'o keli 'o te kele*
NPST for dig of REF dirt
'it's for digging dirt'

***mo* 'and, with' (COM)**

The preposition/conjunction *mo* 'and, comitative-with (COM)' can be used to coordinate nominal phrases and adjectives, but not clauses.

264) *ko te tohi mo te kau pepa*
PRED REF book and/with REF notebook
'(They're) a book and/with a notebook.'

10. Basic syntactic structures and functions

This chapter cannot hope to address all or most of the fascinating complexities of East Uvean syntax, but aims for a brief examination of some of the basics with illustrative, representative examples, or cross-references to description and examples of the syntax in question.

10.1. Declarative sentences

A “basic declarative sentence” may range significantly in composition, length, and function. A majority of sentences are verbal, and East Uvean is a verb-initial language. Almost all verbal sentences begin with a tense, aspect, or mood marker, or some combination thereof, as do sentences formed around a predicative adjective (see 6.3). Predicate nominals and predicate nominalizations of verbal phrases, however, tend to begin with *ko* in its predicative role.

Depending on the argument structure of the verb or noun, the sentence may range from zero participants (e.g. weather verbs, see 6.4.2) to ditransitives with three required arguments. With the exception of pre-verbal proclitic personal pronouns (see 5.1.5) and clefted nouns (10.3), all arguments of a verb follow after it, although the word order is quite flexible; intransitives have a basic VS word order, while basic transitives vary freely between VPA and VAP.

10.2. Negation

The negative morpheme *mole* performs the vast majority of negation in East Uvean, including in finite declaratives:

- 265) *ne'e i ai ni me'a ne'e mole mahino katoa ki ai*
PST EXT NREF.PL thing PST NEG understandevery DAT ANAPH
'There were some things she didn't understand [...]' (TK:5)

With *ko* phrases:

- 266) *mole ko he me'a faigafua te tui ki he me'a [...]*
NEG PRED NREF thing easy REF believeDAT NREF thing
'e mole kita sio-mata ki ai
NPST NEG 1SG.INCL see-eye DAT ANAPH
'It's not an easy thing, believing in something [...] we don't see with our eyes' (TF:2)

Within clausal nominalizations:

- 267) *'aki tana mole fia ma'uli fakatahi*
INSTR his/her NEG want live together
'With/because of his/her not wanting to live together' (TF:14)

It is also used to form analytic negative pronouns (see 5.6).

The negative aspectual *he'eki* 'not yet', one of the very few other negations in the language, contrasts with perfect aspect *kua*, which itself cannot co-occur with the negation *mole* (see 6.3.2).

10.3. Clefting and other uses of *ko*

The most basic syntactic function of the morpheme *ko* (glossed PRED) in East Uvean is to allow a nominal phrase to appear outside of verbal or prepositional morphosyntax. This can be used to allow a nominal phrase to be attributive:

- 268) *ne'e mā felave'i mo tana tehina ko Sosefo*
PST 1DU.EXCL meet COM his brother PRED Sosefo
'We met his brother, Sosefo.'

A *ko* phrase is used to form EUV's zero-copula equivalent of 'to be':

- 269) *tama, ko koe Silakauhaki*
boy PRED 2SG Silakauhaki
'Boy, you are Silakauhaki [...]' (TKU:30)

Many question constructions use *ko* (see 10.4.2.3) to cleft their question word out of the main clause. Topicalization with *ko* brings its topic outside of the main clause and makes it unavailable to morphosyntactic cases:

- 270)a. *ne'e tā e Petelo ia Soane*
PST hit ERG Petelo HUM Soane
b. *ko Soane ne'e tā e Petelo*
PRED Soane PST hit ERG Petelo [t]
'It's Soane who/that Petelo hit.'

In (b) above, an absolutive patient can be clefted out of the clause and needs no resumption, but note that in (c), when the ergative argument is clefted out of the main clause, it must be resumed by the ergative/agent pronoun *na*:

c. *ko Petelo ne'e na tā ia Soane*
 PRED Petelo_i PST 3SG_i hit HUM Soane
 'It's Petelo who/that hit Soane.'

When clefting a nominal from a prepositional phrase, the anaphoric *ai* is required as a resumptive pronoun; (271a) shows the basic sentence and (271b) is the product of clefting:

271)a. *'e au 'alu ki Falani*
 NPST 1SG go DAT France
 'I'm going to France.'

b. *ko Falani 'e au 'alu ki ai*
 PRED France_iNPST 1SG go DAT ANAPH_i
 'It's France that I'm going to.'

10.4. Questions

This section moved from direct, yes/no questions (10.4.1) to direct information questions (10.4.2), and then on to indirect questions, which subsection is in turn divided into indirect yes/no questions (10.4.3.1), indirect *in situ* information questions (10.4.3.2), and indirect clefted information questions (10.4.3.3).

10.4.1. Yes/no questions

A **yes/no question** in East Uvean can take the same form as an affirmative statement, accompanied by a rise in intonation at the end of the question.

272) *'e ke 'alu ki 'Uvea 'i te vakalele?*
 NPST 2SG go to Uvea on REF airplane
 'Are you going to Uvea on the airplane?'

(Non-question equivalent to (272): *'e ke 'alu ki 'Uvea 'i te vakalele*).

The word *pe*, with many uses, can function as an optional question marker, including in yes/no questions; is glossed as simply Q:

- 273) (pē) ne'e kua ke ha'u lā ki fale?
 (Q) PST PRF 2SG come then to house
 'Did you come to the house, then?'

10.4.2. Information questions

Information (or *wh-*) questions take two basic syntactic forms: first, *in situ* question words, and second, clefted question words appearing in *ko*-phrases. Each of these types is illustrated and briefly described in the subsections below.

Table 37: Question words and phrases by semantic group and syntactic structure

		In-situ	Clefted
Person	Who		<i>ko ai</i>
	Whose	<i>a ai</i>	
Thing	What		<i>ko (te) ā</i>
	Which		<i>ko te N fea</i>
Temporal	When (past)	<i>'ana-fea</i>	
	When (non-past)	<i>'a-fea</i>	
	What time	<i>'i te temi fea</i>	
	What (specific) time	<i>'i te hola fia</i>	
Spatial	Where	<i>'i-fea</i>	<i>ko-fea</i>
	To where (whither)	<i>ki-fea</i>	
	From where (whence)	<i>mai-fea</i>	
Manner / means	How	<i>feafea 'i</i>	
Reason	Why		<i>ko 'e</i>
Number	How many	<i>N 'e fia</i>	<i>ko N 'e fia</i>
	How many (human)	<i>N 'e toko-fia</i>	<i>ko N 'e toko-fia</i>

10.4.2.1. Questions in situ

Question words appearing *in situ* can produce a question very similar in structure to its answer. Not all of these question words are always used *in situ*, but this section will attempt to demonstrate the overall, general tendency only, primarily by comparing and contrasting questions and their answers.

‘Whose’ *a ai* (Genitive)

274) *ko te tohi a ai?* → *ko te tohi a te tama*
PRED REF book whose PRED REF book aGEN REF boy
‘Whose book is this?’ ‘It’s a/the boy’s book.’

‘When’ (non-past) *‘afea* (Adv)

275) *‘e ke ‘alu ‘afea?* → *‘e au ‘alu ‘apogipogi*
NPST 2SG go when.NPST NPST 1SG go tomorrow
‘When are you going?’ ‘I’m going tomorrow.’

‘When’ (past) *‘anafea* (Adv)

276) *kua ha’u ‘anafea?* → *kua ha’u ‘i te ‘aho nei*
PRF come when.PST PRF come today
‘When did (s)he come?’ ‘(S)he came today.’

‘What time / what time (specific)’ *‘i te temi fea / { ‘i te / kua } hola fia* (Adverbial PP)

277)a. *‘e kamata te fono ‘i te {temi fea / hola fia}?*
NPST begin REF meeting LOC REF {time which / hour how.many}
‘{When / at what time} does the meeting start?’

→ *‘e kamata ‘i te {ho’ata / hola hogofulu mā lua}*
NPST begin LOC REF {noon / hour twelve}
‘It starts {at noon / 12:00}.’

The word *hola* ‘hour’ can also act as a stative verb with the number indicating the time following it:

b. *kua hola fia?* → *kua hola tolu*
PRF hour how.many PRF hour three
‘What time is it?’ ‘It’s three o’clock.’

‘Where’ *ifea* (Locative)

278) *‘e ke nofo ‘i-fea? → ‘e au nofo ‘i Niumea*
NPST 2SG stay LOC-where NPST 1SG stay LOC Nouméa
‘Where do you live?’ ‘I live in Nouméa.’

‘To where’ *kifea* (Dative)

279) *‘e koulua olo ki-fea? → ... ki te lafeti*
NPST 2DU go.NSG DAT-where DAT REF party
‘Where are you two going?’ ‘To a/the party!’

‘From where’ *maifea* (Ablative)

280) *‘e ke ha’u mai-fea? → ‘e au ha’u mai Seattle*
NPST 2SG come ABL-where NPST 1SG come ABL Seattle
‘Where do you come from?’ ‘I’m from Seattle.’

‘Which N’ *te N fea* (Determiner)

281) *‘e ke ‘ako te lea fea? → ‘e au ‘ako*
NPST 2SG study REF language which NPST 1SG study
te lea faka-pilitania
REF language English
‘What language are you studying?’ → ‘I’m studying English.’

‘How many’ *te N ‘e fia* (Quantifier) (see 4.8.1)

282)a. *‘e i ai tau tohi ‘e fia? → ko ‘aku tohi ‘e ‘uafulu*
NPST EXT your book NUM how.many PRED my book NUM 20
‘How many books do you have?’ ‘I have 20 books.’

‘How many (human)’ *te N toko-fia* (Quantifier) (see 4.8.1)

b. *ko tou tehina ‘e toko-fia? → ko ‘oku tehina ‘e toko-tolu*
PRED your sibling NUM how.many PRED my sibling NUM HUM-three
‘How many brothers do you have?’ ‘I have three brothers.’ (NB: *tehina* is a
sibling of the same sex as ‘ego’; in the author’s case, it means ‘brother’)

‘How’ (manner/means) *feafea’i* (Adv)

283) *‘e au fai feafea’i?* → *fai fē-nei*
 NPST 1SG do how do like-1
 ‘How do I do it?’ ‘Do it like this!’

Questions formed *in situ* may come from many different lexical and grammatical categories, but they behave similarly on a syntactic level, as seen above.

10.4.2.2. Questions clefted with *ko*

Clefting with *ko*, briefly discussed in (10.3), is the means of forming a number of questions. These questions do not match their corresponding basic declarative answers, as the question word appears not where the answer would be, but in a separate clause with *ko*. As with *in situ* questions, these question words themselves do not form a natural class of lexical or grammatical category, nor do they group semantically; in fact, there is some redundancy between *ko*-clefted questions and *in situ* questions with the same basic meaning.

A notable phenomenon that is brought to the forefront in clefted questions and answers is the requirement that clefted nominal phrases from the ergative case/A-role, as well as those from prepositional phrases, are obligatorily resumed in their clause of origin, as seen in (284a,c) and (285b):

‘Who’ *ko ai* (Pronoun)

284)a. *ko ai ne’e na kai taku mo’i moa?*
 who_i PST 3SG_i eat my CLF chicken
 ‘Who ate my piece of chicken?’ (Q = A; resumption required)

b.→ *ne’e kai tau mo’i moa e Soane*
 PST eat your CLF chicken ERG Soane
 ‘Soane ate your piece of chicken’ (Basic declarative answer)

c.→ *ko Soane ne’e na kai tau mo’i moa*
 PRED Soane PST 3SG eat your CLF chicken
 ‘It’s Soane who ate your piece of chicken.’ (Clefted answer; resumption req.)

‘What’ *ko ā/ koteā* (Pronoun)

285)a. *koteā (te me’a) ‘e ke fai? → ‘e au gāue*
what REF thing NPST 2SG do NPST 1SG work
‘What are you doing?’ ‘I’m working.’ (Q = P; no resumption)

b. *koteā te kupu ‘e ke manatu ki ai?*
what REF word_i NPST 2SG think DAT ANAPH_i
‘What’s the word you’re thinking of?’ (Q = Prepositional; resumption req.)

‘Why’ *ko e* (Adverb)

286)a. *ko e he’eki ke ha’u mai?*
why not.yet 2SG come DIR1
‘Why haven’t you come here yet?’

b. → *he’eki au tau ‘uhi ko te tu’utamaki ‘i te ala*
not.yet 1SG arrive because.of REF accident LOC REF road
‘I haven’t arrived yet because of an accident in the road.’

c. → *ko te ‘uhi kua hoko te tu’utamaki ‘i te ala*
because PRF happen REF accident LOC REF road
‘Because an accident has happened in the road.’

‘Where’ *ko-fea* (locative adverb)

287)a. *ko-fea te tagata faiako? → ‘e kei ‘i tona fale*
where REF teacher NPST still LOC his house
‘Where is the teacher?’ ‘He’s still in his house.’

10.4.3. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are quite similar to direct ones, but introduce the indirect question with *pē* (Q), seen in (10.4.1) as an optional question marker for direct yes/no questions; here, it corresponds in some respects to English ‘whether’, but this is not always the case. The sub-subsections below examine the contrast between pairs of direct and indirect versions of yes/no questions, information questions *in situ*, and clefted information questions with *ko*.

10.4.3.1. Yes/no questions

Direct question version:

- 288)a. *kua 'alu ia Soane?*
PRF go HUM Soane
'Did Soane (already) go?'

Indirect question version:

- b. *'e fia ilo'i e Sosefo pē kua 'alu ia Soane*
NPST want know ERG Sosefo Q PRF go HUM Soane
'Sosefo wants to know whether Soane (already) went.'

10.4.3.2. *In situ* questions

Direct question version:

- 289)a. *'e ke 'alu ki-fea?*
NPST 2SG go DAT-where
'Where are you going?'

Indirect question versions:

- b. *ne'e mole na 'ui mai pē 'e 'alu ki-fea*
PST NEG 3SG say to.1 Q NPST go to-where
'He didn't say where he's going.'

Example (c) serves to confirm that the *'e* appearing in the second clause of other indirect questions above is, in fact, the non-past tense marker and not a part of the indirect question marker 'whether'.

- c. *ne'e mole na 'ui mai pē ne'e 'alu ki-fea*
PST NEG 3SG say to.1 Q PST go to-where
'He didn't say where he was going.'

Currently, I have not personally observed or found any aspect markers such as *kua* in such a position, but if speculating, I suspect it would be grammatical.

10.4.3.3. Clefted questions

Direct question version:

- 290)a. *ko ai ne'e na fafagu ia au?*
who PST 3SG.ERG wake HUM me
'Who woke me up?'

Indirect question version:

- b. *'e au fia ilo'i pē 'e ko ai ae ne'e fafagu ia au*
NPST 1SG want know Q NPST who DEM PST woke HUM me
'I want to know who (it is that) woke me up.'

10.5. Imperatives

10.5.1. Positive imperatives

Forming positive imperatives for the second person is a simple matter of deleting the tense, aspect, and mood auxiliaries as well as the S or A argument of a declarative:

- 291)a. *'e ke tuku tau kalaga*
NPST 2SG drop 2SG:POSS shout
'You stop shouting.'

- b. \emptyset \emptyset *tuku tau kalaga!*
drop 2SG:POSS shout
'Stop your shouting!'

The post-verbal form of a second-person pronoun can be added after the imperative clause for emphasis:

- c. \emptyset \emptyset *tuku tau kalaga, koe!*
drop 2SG:POSS shout 2SG
'Stop your shouting, you!'

One common way to add politeness, among a number of others, is to pre- or post-pose the imperative phrase with *fakalelei tou loto*, seen and defined in example (292):

292) *fakalelei tou loto*
 pardon your soul/desire/will
 (idiomatic) ‘Please’

A first-person cohortative or a third-person jussive can be formed with a subjunctive *ke*, and maintains the S or A pronoun:

293) *ke tou no~nofo ‘i te kalasia o te Atua!*
 SBJV 1PL.INCL NSG~stay in REF grace of REF God
 ‘Let us/may we all remain in the grace of God.’

The same strategy is used to form an indirect imperative to command a second person transitive patient or otherwise non-active, undergoing argument:

294) *ke ke pala ‘i te ‘ua!*
 SBJV 2SG get.wet by REF rain
 ‘Get wet from/in the rain!’ or ‘May you get wet from/in the rain!’

10.5.2. Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives can be expressed in a few different ways, with slight differences in meaning. The most prototypical negative imperative uses ‘*auā na ‘a*, an overt negative imperative mood (10.5.2.1, see also 6.3.3). Other negative imperatives follow in (10.5.2.2).

10.5.2.1. With ‘*auā na ‘a*

This negative imperative is a strong deontic command, not a request. The negative imperative morpheme ‘*auā* combines with modal *na ‘a*, ‘lest’ (for lack of a more concise modern English equivalent) and the second-person S or A argument being commanded remains in the sentence:

295)a. ‘*auā na ‘a ke foa-‘i te ipu*
 NEG IMP 2SG break-TR cup
 ‘Don’t break the cup!’

b. ‘*auā na ‘a kolua ‘ua-ina*
 NEG IMP 2DU rain-NTR
 ‘Don’t get rained on/wet from rain!’

The second-person pronoun may be repeated after the imperative clause, as in positive imperatives, although this anecdotally appears to be less common:

- c. *'auā na'a ke foa-'i te ipu, koe!*
 NEG IMP 2SG break-TR cup 2SG
 'Don't break the cup, you!'

More similarly to *vaka'i* and *tokaga* in the next section, the negative *'auā* can be dropped and the effect of command is reduced to one of warning:

- d. *na'a ke tō!*
 lest 2SG fall
 'Don't fall!' (said when the possibility of the addressee falling appears imminent to the speaker)

10.5.2.2. With *vaka'i* and *tokaga*

These indirect negative imperatives are partially grammaticalized verbs: *vaka'i* when used as an independent verb means 'to keep watch over', 'to watch out (for)':

- 296)a. *ne'e au vaka'i te faga puaka*
 PST 1SG watch.over REF CLF.PL pig
 'I watched over the herd of pigs.'

The verb *tokaga* (*ki*) means 'to be careful (of/for)' and is often a positive imperative:

- b. *tokaga ki tou 'ufa!*
 be.careful DAT 2SG:POSS buttocks
 'Look out for your butt!' (said to someone sitting cross-legged on the ground in a cloth skirt, or getting up from a sitting position in the same, if the skirt begins to ride up)

When used as negative imperatives, the effect is indirect:

- 297)a. *vaka'i na'a ke 'ua-ina*
 watch.out lest 2SG rain-NTR
 'Watch out, or you'll get wet!'

b. *tokaga* *na'a* *ke* *tō*
be.cautious lest 2SG fall

‘Be careful not to fall!’ or ‘Be careful, or you’ll fall!’

Examples (297a-b) are much less imminent, as well as less direct, than the *na'a*-only example in (295d) in section (10.5.2.1).

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Appendix A: Organizational and technical information

After consulting a number of descriptive grammars, as well as books and articles on writing descriptive grammars (in particular, *Grammar writing for a grammar-reading audience*, Noonan 2006), I have ended up following (what I believe is) a fairly unremarkable organization for the subjects of this condensed grammar. By placing one subject before or after another, I do not make any claims about relative importance or validity thereof. In general, however, I attempt to build upwards from smaller units of structure to larger ones, from form to function, and from the concrete to the abstract.

The phonetics and phonology of East Uvean is one of my personal weaker points; detailed recordings proved difficult to make in the field, and my own specialization leans far more toward the morphosyntactic side of language. The presence of phonetics and phonology at the beginning of the grammar, then, mainly serves the purpose of familiarizing the reader with the sound inventory, prosody, and orthography of the language before moving on to the much more intertwined morphology and syntax.

Rather than trying to draw a sharp line between morphology and syntax, I attempt to place word-bounded processes and complex sentences at opposite ends of a spectrum which is revisited throughout the sections on morphosyntax. Thus, after presenting a rationale for defining the grammatical categories of East Uvean, I present various features of nominal morphology, then verbal morphology, then modifiers and prepositions. Morphemes indicating case, number, tense, aspect, etc., are discussed in sections roughly corresponding to the grammatical category to which they contribute information in a phrase.

With this accomplished, the grammar moves on to the combinations of different syntactic phrases into utterances of increasing complexity, dealing with different kinds of syntactic functions and the forms used to accomplish them.

To readers who do not care for these organization decisions, I offer my apologies and hope that the table of contents and index organization will help conveniently locate topics of interest in this sketch grammar.

Topical index

Accusative case	5.1.5	Extended intransitive verbs	6.6
Accusativity	5.1.5	Family relationship of East Uvean	1.3
Adjectives (grammatical category of)	3.4	Features, suprasegmental	2.3
Adverbs (grammatical category of)	3.5	Fluid-S	4.10.1.4
Alignment	4.10, 5.1.5-6	Gender, grammatical	5.1.3
Applicative	6.9.7	Genetic classification	1.3
Articles	4.4.1-2	Genitive	4.5
Articles, definite	4.4.1, 4.4.3	Geographical distribution	1.1
Articles, indefinite	4.4.1	Grammatical categories	3
Articles, polite	4.4.2	Grammatical gender	5.1.3
Articles, respectful	4.4.2	Grammatical number	4.6, 5.1.2
Aspect	6.3.2, 8.1.4	Grammatical person	5.1.1
Case	4.10, 5.1.5, 9.4	Grammatical relations	4.10, 5.1.5-6
Causative	6.9.4-6	Headedness	1.5.2
Class, noun	4.7	Imperative	10.5
Classifiers, noun	4.7	Impersonal verbs	6.4.2
Clusivity	5.1.4	Inclusive	5.1.4
Compound nouns	4.3	Incorporation, noun	4.4.5, 6.8.4
Consonants	2.1	Indefinite articles	4.4.1
Counting systems	4.8.1, 4.8.3	Indefinite possessives	4.4.1, 5.2.1
Definite article	4.4.1, 4.4.3	Indirect clauses, transitive	6.6
Definitive accent	2.3.4, 4.4.3	Inflection	6.2.1
Demographic information	1.2	Information questions	1.5.3.2, 10.4.2, 10.4.3.2-3
Demonstrative pronouns	4.4.4, 5.3	Interrogative pronouns	5.7
Demonstratives	4.4.3, 5.3	Lexical categories	3
Derived nouns	4.2	Loanword adaptation	2.3.3
Determiners	4.4	Middle verbs	6.6
Determiners, possessive	4.5.2, 5.2.1	Mode	6.3.3, 10.5
Dual number	5.1.2,	Modifiers	3.4, 3.4.1-2
Emotive articles	4.4.2	Mood	6.3.3, 10.5
Ergativity	4.10.1.1, 4.10.4, 5.1.5	Morphology, ergative	4.10.1.1, 4.10.4, 5.1.5
Exclusive	5.1.4	Morphology, nominal	4
Experiencer verbs	6.6	Morphology, verbal	6

Negation	5.6, 10.2	Prosody	2.3.2
Negative pronouns	5.6	Quantifiers	4.9
Nominal hierarchy	4.10, 5.1.5-6	Questions, information	1.5.3.2, 10.4.2, 10.4.3.2-3
Nominal morphology	3.2, 4	Questions, yes/no	1.5.3, 10.4.1, 10.4.3.1
Nominative case	5.1.5	Reduplication	4.4.3, 6.2.1.1, 7.1
Noun class	4.7	Referentiality	4.4.1
Noun incorporation	4.4.5, 6.8.4	Resumptive pronoun	10.3, 10.4.2
Nouns (grammatical category of)	3.2	Spelling	2.4
Nouns, classes	4.7	Stress	2.3.2, 2.3.4
Nouns, compound	4.3	Suprasegmental features	2.3
Nouns, derived	4.2	Syllable structure	2.3.1
Noun-stripping	4.4.5, 6.8.4	Tense	6.3.1, 8.1.3
Number, grammatical	4.6, 5.1.2	Transitive indirect clauses	6.6
Numerals	4.8	Transitivity	6.4-9
Orthography	2.4	Typology	1.5
Parts of speech	3	Verbal morphology	6
Person, grammatical	5.1.1	Verbs (grammatical category of)	3.3
Personal pronouns	5.1	Vocative	4.10.6
Phonetics	2	Vowels	2.2
Phonology	2	Weather verbs	6.4.2
Phonotactics	2.3.1	Wh- questions	1.5.3.2, 10.4.2, 10.4.3.2-3
Polynesian family, lexical categories of	3.1	Word order	1.5.1
Possessive determiners	4.5.2, 5.2.1	Writing system	2.4
Possessive pronouns	5.2.2-3	Yes/no questions	1.5.3, 10.4.1, 10.4.3.1
Possessives	4.5, 5.2		
Pronouns	5		
Pronouns, demonstrative	4.4.3, 5.3		
Pronouns, interrogative	5.7		
Pronouns, negative	5.6		
Pronouns, personal	5.1		
Pronouns, possessive	5.2.2-3		