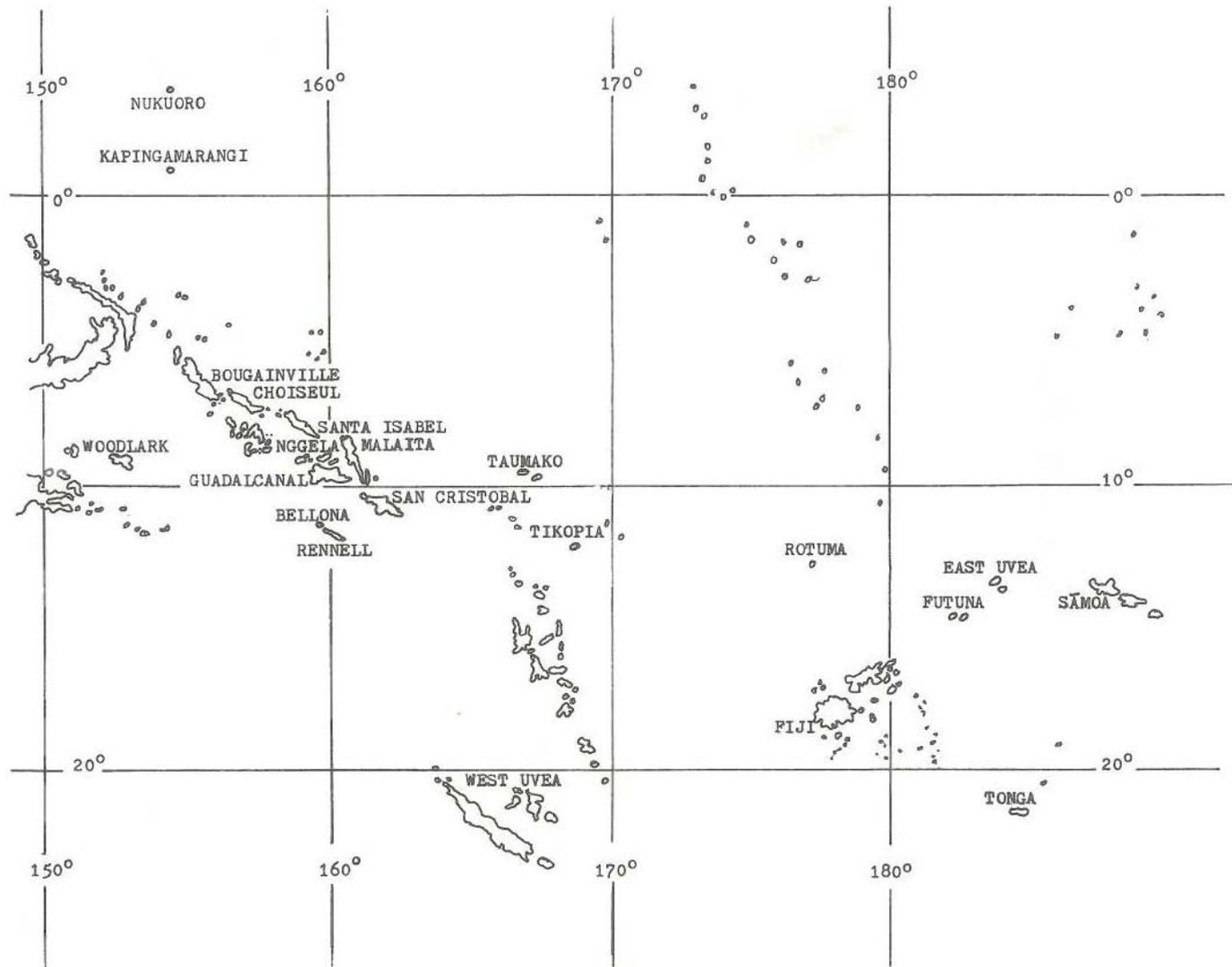


Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 22

Echo of a Culture
A Grammar of Rennell and Bellona

Samuel H. Elbert

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Samuel H. Elbert
Special Editor Albert Schütz

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This book is the eighth volume on the language and culture of Rennell and Bellona islands by a group of Danish and American scholars.

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"The real trouble is our conviction that each piece must definitely be assigned to one morpheme or another. Why? I think real languages are less neat and orderly than that."

Charles F. Hockett
(personal communication)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Most of the abbreviations listed below occur only in the interlinear morphemic translations, or parenthetically in the titles of sections and subsections.

a: the possessive <i>a</i> 'of'	demon: demonstrative
agt: agent	direct: directional
A: Animal Stories, see Kuschel in References	dir obj: direct object
anaph: anaphor	distr: distributive
art: article	dubit: dubitative
B: base	ex: example, examples
ben: benefactive	exc: exclusive
bro: brother	fut: future
Canoes: see Elbert and Monberg in References	gen: general
caus: causative	gf: goal focus
cf: compare	hesit: hesitant
com: common	honor: honorific
comit: comitative	inc: inclusive
concern: concerning	indef: indefinite
cond: conditional	indir obj: indirect object
cont: continuative	instr: instrumental
D: Dictionary, see Elbert 1975 in References	intens: intensifier
D, Part 2: see Elbert, Kuschel, and Taupongi in References	intent: intentive
	interr: interrogative
	<i>i(a)</i> -t verb: see 4.1.1

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ke go</i> : fut	R: ritualistic, religious
<i>ki(a)-t verb</i> : see 4.1.2	R: Feuds, see Kuschel forthcoming in References
<i>kitai</i> : mood dubit	recip: reciprocal
lit: literally	redup: reduplicative
loc: locative	rslt: resultative
moment: momentary	sep: separate
neg: negative	sg: "singular"
nom: nominative	sib: sibling
nonsp: nonspecific	sim: similitude
num: numeral	sis: sister
o: the possessive o 'of'	sp: speaking
o: older	ss: same sex
obj: object	subj: subject
obl: oblique	super: supernatural
pauc: paucal	t: transitive, see <i>i(a)-t, ki(a)-t</i>
PEPN: Proto East Polynesian	temp: temporal
perf: perfective	top: topic
pl: "plural"	v: verb
PN: Polynesian	V: verse (in rituals)
PNP: Proto Nuclear Polynesian	VN: nucleus of a verb phrase
POC: Proto Oceanic	ysib: younger sibling
PPN: Proto Polynesian	
punc: punctual	

Abbreviations

1p: first person	♂: male
2p: second person	♀: female
3p: third person	>: becomes
∅: zero class	<: comes from

References to texts in Elbert and Monberg are given as T50[B]:11 for Text 50, Version B, verse 11, and N147:II for Notes to Text 147, part II.

References to Monberg, forthcoming, are to chapter and section numbers plus verse numbers if the reference is to a ritual text. If it is merely to an explanatory text, only the chapter and section numbers are given. Thus 15.2 V24 is to be read "Monberg, forthcoming, chapter 15, section 2, verse 24" and 16.1 is to be read "Monberg, forthcoming, chapter 16, section 1".

Spellings in sentences taken from *Canoes*, *Animal Stories*, and the *Elbert Dictionary of the Language of Rennell and Bellona*, as well as translations, do not always agree with the original. The spelling and translations in this grammar are now preferred. Sections and subsections in the *Grammar* are referred to by number; e.g. 4 for Section 4, and 4.1.1 for that subsection.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. **Nature of the grammar.** This grammar is different from most Pacific grammars in that I have at times intruded myself in the explanations and have hinted at a few of my experiences. And I have introduced as much of the culture as could be done unobtrusively, as in the explanations of some of the illustrative sentences which are scattered throughout the book. Also I have avoided as many technical terms as possible and have entered such as I do have in the index at the end of the book. It would, of course, have been preferable to have an informant at my side during the past six months, but none were available.

Another unusual feature is that I have included historical data in a discussion of loan words; the Structuralist ban on history in a grammar seems to deprive readers of essential facts about a language.

I have depended a great deal on the stories in Elbert and Monberg's *From the Two Canoes* (1965), and have discovered that careful study of the tales based on some knowledge of the culture, sheds a great deal of light on the grammar, which then becomes lively and fascinating. I refer to the symbiotic relationship of culture, folktales, and grammar. For example, this grammar attempts to explain directionals that serve as personal pronouns, a rather rare *ange₂* that is an emotional intensifier and not a directional at all, the differences between the two anaphoric particles *ai* and *kinai*, why one says "go down north" and "up south", the sky is "far down" from the earth, and why "I kiss your buttocks" is the politest thing one can say.

Altogether I was on Rennell and/or Bellona in 1957-58 for eight months, in 1960 for three months, in 1962 for almost six months, and in the Solomons in 1972 for three months. In addition I worked with Taupongi of Bellona for about a year in Honolulu and in Denmark, and with Joseph Puia of Rennell in Honolulu. Also, I taught courses in Rennellese grammar at the University of Copenhagen and the University of Hawai'i. Thus a great part of my adult life has been devoted to Rennellese and Bellonese, and even when interrupted by other pursuits (such as revising the *Hawaiian Dictionary*), it has always been in the back of my mind. It has been a great satisfaction to have been able to concentrate on this grammar during the last four months of 1984, and I find myself repeating Rennellese phrases, laughing at some of the jokes, and even thinking in the language.

The object of this book is to present the essential elements of Rennellese and Bellonese not according to a particular linguistic theory, but simply in a format that will be clear to Polynesianists and other linguists without undue struggle, and eventually to the Rennellese and Bellonese themselves. The explanations are based on my notes and on data from *Two Canoes* (1965); *Elbert's Dictionary of the Language of Rennell and Bellona, Part 1 Rennellese and Bellonese to English* (1975); *Elbert, Kuschel and Taupongi, Part 2, English to Rennellese and Bellonese* (1981); *Monberg's The Religion of Bellona Island, Part 1* (1966) and his forthcoming; and *Rolf Kuschel's Animal Stories* (1975) and *Vengeance is the Reply* (forthcoming).

The gestation of this book has been long, but a grammar, like a dictionary, is never finished. One keeps finding new insights into a language, but at some point, one must stop.

Why did I choose Rennellese and Bellonese? I made my decision in about 1934 while in the Marquesas Islands, my first visit to the South Sea islands. I was weary of trying to reconstruct traditional Marquesan culture, which had mostly disappeared, even though of course the language was flourishing (but depleted) and many of the legends and songs were known to older people. Still I longed to see a culture that was still alive, and at that time Christianity had not yet reached Rennell and Bellona. This gave me the urge to try to get there, but it took twenty-three years to achieve this ambition.

1.2. Why is Denmark the center for studies of Rennell and Bellona? This fact is partly due to fortuitous events. The Danish corvette *Galathea* sailed around the world in 1845-47. The closest she came to the Solomons Islands was Java, the Philippines, and Borabora. A second *Galathea*, a frigate of the Royal Danish Navy, visited the South Pacific in 1950-52. This ship arrived at Honiara in October 1952, leaving there ethnologist Kaj Birket-Smith, zoologists Torben Wolff and Harry Knudsen, and photographer Mogens Hoyer. They were on Rennell within a few days. Birket-Smith, well-known for his studies in the Arctic, wrote in the introduction to his report of 1956: "If you have spent a considerable part of your lifetime studying the Eskimo and American Indians of the Arctic and Subarctic, you may sometimes feel a yearning to stroll on a white sand beach in the shade of swaying coconut palms, and if then your dreams can be combined with a scientific purpose, it is easy coming to a decision."

Birket-Smith's report dealt principally with material culture. It attracted much attention in Denmark and he was soon followed in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s by anthropologist Torben Monberg, zoologist Wolff again, botanist Henry Dissing, geographer Sofus Christiansen, technical entomologist William Buch, cultural sociologist Leif Christiansen, archaeologist J. I. Poulsen, social-psychologist Rolf Kuschel, ethnomusicologist Jane Rossen, Kristian Paludan, and by me, the only non-Dane. The results of their researches are evidenced in a great number of publications and a film about the proposed digging of phosphate on Bellona.

1.3. Prehistory and the Hiti. Jens Poulsen is the only archaeologist to dig on Bellona. In 1968 he described seven sites, five of them of the pre-Bellonese *Hiti* people. Radiocarbon dating of six of the sites places the earliest dates at 1060 ± 100 B.P. The seventh site, which had a single piece of pottery, had a date of 2070 ± 80 B.P. M. Chikamori (1975) and a team of archaeologists from Keio University, Japan, excavated numerous sites on Rennell. Their earliest radiocarbon date was very similar to that of Poulsen, 2090 ± 105 B.P. Oral traditions, on the other hand, go back only twenty-three generations before 1960. Even counting generations as thirty years, as Poulsen does, 23 generations is only six or seven hundred years. Poulsen went against Rennellese and Bellonese traditions in another way. He found no differences between *Hiti* mounds and Bellonese mounds, and concluded that the *Hiti* were a Polynesian people. For the *Hiti*, see subsection 12.1.1.4.

1.4. Publications in Rennellese. Probably the first time Rennellese was written was in 1937 or early 1938 by Moa of Hutuna on the Lake. Moa had played a major role in the tempestuous adoption of Christianity on Rennell (see his own handwritten account T235[A], T235[B], his photograph in *Canoes*, Figures 4, 5B). After the frenzy on Rennell had quieted down, Moa took the new and strange religion to Bellona and was instrumental in bringing a temporary peace to two fighting enemies on that island, achieved partly by his courageous destruction of the two stone images that were the embodiments of two of the most powerful and feared of the gods. The destruction of these stones convinced the people, reluctant to change religions, that Moa's god was more powerful than their own gods, and (within three months' time) Bellona accepted Christianity, and the two belligerent factions made a peace of sorts.

1.4. INTRODUCTION

A few months later Moa went to the Seventh-Day Adventist station at Batuna on New Georgia in the Solomons, and translated 30 hymns that were published in a small hymnal that was lost for many years until Rolf Kuschel found it in 1972 at the bottom of a great pile of papers on Bellona. In 1975 Kuschel had the book mimeographed and sent many copies to Bellona. In the introduction Kuschel wrote:

"As it will appear from the translation, he [Moa] possessed a surprising and admirable intuition and empathy for the new language, religion and culture. The result of his effort is nothing less than a remarkable deed if one takes into consideration that Moa was brought up within a totally different culture on a small island, Rennell, which until 1938 had been almost isolated from the outside world."

In his hymnal, Moa wrote *p, t, k, b, g, gh, h, m, n, ng, s,* and ' about as they are written today, a remarkable achievement. Less fortunate was his *th* for today's *l* (*thothogi* for *lologi* 'weak', *ghathi* for *ghali* 'fast', *haithobo* for *hailobo* 'try'. He made the same mistakes made by the highly educated translators of Bibles for other Polynesian languages (including Tahitian, Hawaiian, and Samoan) by not showing initial glottal stops (as in 'aabaki, 'aso, 'aamonga, 'ao, 'oti), and he too made no indication of long vowels.

Moa did better in many ways than was done in the Rennellese translation of the four gospels, Acts, and Revelation, by Clare Waterston, whose book was probably the next to appear. It was published in Sydney in 1950 for the South Seas Evangelical Mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society in Australia. The translator was apparently not permitted to visit Rennell (this had not been possible, with some exceptions, since the murder of the teachers on Rennell in 1910), but several Rennellese went to the Solomons and helped her with the translations. She had studied Maori, Tahitian, and Tongan, and had worked on Malaita languages for many years. She made several changes in Moa's orthography (but of course she probably had not seen this), many of them unfortunate. She wrote *v* for *b* (a few people at the Lake seem to pronounce *v* as an occasional alternant), *l* for Moa's *th*, an italicized *g* for *gh*, an italicized *n* for *ng*, and omitted the glottal stop except in a few words which she feared might be misunderstood: *a'u* 'come' (cf *au* 'I'), *ga'u* 'gift' (cf *gau* 'leaf, hundred'), *ta'u* plural marker (cf *tau* 'your'), *u'a* 'neck' (cf *ua* 'fighting club' and *ua* 'rain'), and *va'i* 'every' (cf *bai* 'water'). She also wrote *ga'unga* for

'hire' (cf *gaunga* 'counting' and *ga'unga* 'inland'). Apparently her orthography was not used by the Rennellese and Bellonese, who since the 1950s have been writing with Moa's spelling except for replacing Moa's *th* with *l* and not bothering to indicate all of Moa's glottal stops. This spelling is much like that used in the Dictionary and in this grammar, except that vowels are not doubled, glottal stops are usually not indicated, and word division is erratic.

During my visits to the Solomons in 1957, 1958, 1962, and 1972, the Rennellese Gospels and Revelation were not used at all. English, perhaps, seemed an appropriate language for God and Jesus to speak. After all, they were both white (see the drawing in Monberg 1978:134). Another reason for reluctance to use the Rennellese Bible was suggested by Nico Damms, who in 1978 began the immense task of retranslating Waterston's work, as well as translating the rest of the New Testament. Mr. Damms regretted (personal communication) that the people had a great reluctance to read the Scriptures in their own language, preferring to try to read the English Bible. They read their own language with great difficulty, he said, and were afraid that the people would criticize any mistakes they might make, whereas they would not recognize an English mistake.

Damms's orthography differed from that in this grammar in the perpetual difficulty of word division. He wrote *mataa* and *mi'i* as separate words (cf 8.5 and 8.6), and his *gu'ana* 'his two' and *gu'ou* 'your two' for *gu ana* and *gu ou* in this grammar (6.5).

A few early religious publications have been discovered, including an undated syllabary printed by the South Seas Evangelical Mission. Each of the five vowels is listed, followed by 12 consonants in a rather confusing order (*ku, su, nu, mu, nu, gu, lu, tu, gu, pu, hu, vu*; no mention of *gh, ng*, or the glottal stop). Probably one of the two *nu*'s is the italicized *n* of the Rennellese Bible, just as one of the two *gu*'s is probably the italicized *g*. A few common Rennellese words come next. The pamphlet was intended, doubtlessly, as a teaching aid.

Mimeographed copies of two other undated pamphlets, both in Bible spelling, are available. One contains 27 hymns; the other is a 35-page South Seas Evangelical Mission pamphlet entitled "Rennell Question", with translations of various verses in both the Old and New Testaments.

Hanne Salto (no date) wrote a very practical paper in the Rennellese Dictionary spelling (see References) for children learning to read, write, and count.

1.5. Acknowledgements. My greatest thanks go to the people of Rennell and Bellona, who received me with great hospitality and did everything possible to help me in my work. Toomasi Taupongi of Bellona was for many years my trusted informant on the two islands, in Honolulu, and in Denmark. My Danish collaborators Torben Monberg and Rolf Kuschel were invaluable as both companions and colleagues. They are fluent speakers of Bellonese and their constant help made this book possible. Monberg supplied the ritual texts scattered throughout the book, but cautioned me that they are usually not framed in colloquial language. They are important to comparativists because of their many obsolete terms. Fortunately, Kuschel's astonishing data about feuding and assassination were not available upon my first introduction to Rennell, or I might have been too frightened to do my job. His fascinating volume supplied many data and a number of lexical discoveries. Sofus Christiansen and his book (1975) provided much information on the islands' flora and fauna, as well as interisland distances in kilometers. Brian Hackman helped with Melanesian terms and arranged the valuable two-day camping trip in search of new cognates (subsection 12.1.1). In Honolulu, Albert J. Schütz read the entire manuscript, and his advice on many matters was of the greatest importance. He also served as final editor for the book. Michel Kaiser drew the map and made a great many constructive and sensitive suggestions. I am indebted to George W. Grace of the Editorial Board of Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, for sagacious editorial advice and cooperation all along, and to the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa for publishing this book and for helping to support the immense job of computerizing and editing it; this was done by Greg Carter. However, he did more than simply enter the data, for he checked much of the material and made excellent linguistic and editorial suggestions, most of which I gratefully accepted.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Segmental phonemes. The segmental phonemes in Rennellese include four plain stops /p t k '/, one prenasalized stop /g/, four fricatives /b s gh h/, three nasals /m n ng/, one lateral /l/, and five vowels /i e a o u/. Bellonese has all these phonemes except /g/ (see below).

Phonetic descriptions of these phonemes follow, and later minimal pairs attest their phonemic status.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop, slightly aspirated.

/t/ voiceless dental stop, slightly aspirated; usually palatalized or replaced by an alveopalatal affricate before front vowels and occasionally before the back vowel /u/ (especially in Bellonese), as in *hači* 'to break', *ia če ia* 'to him', *hakačeeče* 'to stroll', *če bana* 'the sea urchin', *čugu* 'to leak'. The palatalization is most noticeable on Bellona.

/k/ voiceless velar stop, slightly aspirated. In fast speech the particles *kua* and *ki* suggest to the English ear ['ua] and ['i].

/'/ a glottal stop; its distribution differs from that of other consonants in that in utterance-initial position, it occurs predictably before words that otherwise begin with vowels. Thus *e u'u e te hokai* 'the lizard bites' and '*U'u mai!* 'Bite!' This predictable glottal stop may be considered a feature of initial vowels.

/g/ voiced prenasalized velar stop [g]. In Bellonese, /g/ is replaced by /ŋg/. In emphatic speech the prenasalization may be slightly lengthened, as *ngnggaoi* 'very good'.

/b/ voiced bilabial fricative [b], with two rare allophones: a dental [v], especially at the Lake on Rennell, perhaps most commonly in midutterance word-initial position; a prenasalized [mb], chiefly heard in loan words, such as *tiba* [timba] 'timber' and *meba* [membə] 'member', and occasionally in native words, such as *boo* [mboo] 'they went', *ana bogo* [mbo go] 'his package', and *i na ba'e* [mba'e] 'to the feet' (Note 5 to T113:5). This shift may be due to Melanesian influence. See also /m/.

/s/ voiceless alveo-palatal fricative. See /h/ below.

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/gh/ voiced velar fricative [ɣ], in words of non-Polynesian origin (Elbert 1962), with considerable friction in the Central Rennellese dialect, but with less in Bellonese.

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative, often labialized after /u/, as *he'e tau h'wai 'anga* 'nothing to do'. /si/ is heard more commonly than /hi/ in two words: *tasi* 'one' and *pa'asi* 'side'. *Maasina* 'moon' is an uncommon variant of *maahina*. *Se* instead of *he*, the singular specific article, has been noted by Torben Monberg in rituals (cf PNP *se*), and *sou*, singular second person possessive, *o*-class, instead of *tou* (6.5 and Table 10).

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal. /m/ and /b/ interchange in a few words, as *mababa*, *mamaba* 'to open', and *baabene* and *haamene* 'to enter' (base *mene* 'to enter').

/n/ voiced dental nasal.

/ng/ voiced velar nasal. In fast Bellonese, /ng/ drops in some words, as in *pengea* 'person', usually > *pea*; *hakabangebange* 'to argue', frequently *hakabaabange* or sometimes *hakabaabaa*; *ngeke* 'to bend' is sometimes *eke*. Rennellese has /g/ in these words.

/l/ voiced lateral with a dental [d] as a common allophone in free variation, in words of non-Polynesian origin only (Elbert 1962).

All the consonants may be lengthened in certain environments in fast Bellonese speech (more in 2.6).

/i/ and /e/ are front unrounded vowels at high and mid positions. /u/ and /o/, also at high and mid positions, are back rounded vowels. Final *i* and final *u* after *a* are lowered and are often mistaken by an English speaker for *e* and *o* (note the discussion of diphthongs in 2.4). /a/ is low central, but may be raised slightly in unstressed position. All vowels are somewhat unvoiced or are dropped before pauses and between either voiced or unvoiced consonants, especially on Bellona. They may be nasalized near nasal consonants. No vowels contain offglides.

All vowels occur long as well as short. Long vowels are longer than short ones and are always stressed (more later). They are written doubled, a phonemic convention started in *From the Two Canoes*, 1965, and in the *Dictionaries* 1975 and 1981, in articles and books by Torben Monberg, Rolf Kuschel, Sofus

Segmental Phonemes 2.1.

Christiansen, and myself, and is being gradually, hesitatingly, accepted by a few speakers. The last part of the long vowel may be devoiced in final position, but never the first part. Long vowels are of two types, acoustically very different, and are described in 2.3. Stressed short vowels are longer than unstressed ones, as in /háge/ 'house'. Vowels following glottal stops tend to be shorter than those following other consonants: /aga/ 'road' and /'aga/ 'to wake up'. Stressed vowels are usually (but not always) at a higher pitch level than neighboring unstressed vowels.

Vowel values are approximately as in the following English words, but without offglides:

i	Event	ika	'fish'
ii	sEEd	'ii	'the letter "i"'
e	jElly	tege	'to run'
ee	cAme	peenaa	'that way'
a	alArm	hahine	'woman'
aa	pAlm	haahine	'women'
o	bOat	logi	'to grab'
oo	bOne	ioo mugi	'later'
u	bOot	puna	'to fly'
uu	pOol	tuu	'ground pigeon'

Following are a few of the many minimal contrasts attesting phonemic status:

p/b/m:

te	papa	'the sounding board'
te	baba 'anga	'the carrying'
te	mama	'the chewing'

2.1. PHONOLOGY

t/k/':

te kata 'the laugh'
te 'ata 'the picture'
te kataha 'the frigate bird'

s/t/h:

haahaa 'to wander' *hoa* 'to crack' *husi* 'swamp'
saasaa 'to protrude' *soa* 'companion' *huti* 'banana'

n/ng/g/gh:

gago 'west, below'
ghaagho 'to make twine (Rennell)'

na gango 'the flies' *na ngago* 'the deaths'
na gano 'the lakes' *na ghagho* 'the shells (for
inlay), button (Rennell)'

te tangata e nguunguu 'the man speaks softly'

i/e:

bai 'water'
bae 'cane'

o/u:

tago 'taro'
tagu 'net'

Vowel-length contrasts:

masanga 'road branch' *sasa* 'crazy'
maasanga 'twin' *saasaa* 'to protrude'

ghagha 'to hold in mouth (Rennell)'
ghaghaa 'to roar'

Phoneme Frequencies 2.2.

<i>ga'a</i> 'gift'	<i>maui</i> 'right (not left)'
<i>ga'aa</i> 'sun'	<i>Maui</i> male name
<i>mai</i> 'One' 'from 'One'	<i>tu'a gima</i> 'fifty (mollusks)'
<i>maa i</i> 'One' 'there at 'One'	<i>tu'aa gima</i> 'back of hand'
<i>sisi</i> 'shell'	<i>teegaa</i> 'that (far)'
<i>siisii</i> 'to fish with line'	<i>teegaa utunga</i> 'their (dual) food'
<i>too</i> 'to fall'	<i>totoo kino</i> 'to lose weight'
<i>toto</i> 'blood'	<i>totoo</i> 'to chop'
<i>sosogo</i> 'to clean'	<i>magu</i> 'shade'
<i>soosaga</i> 'extra'	<i>maguu</i> 'soft'
<i>tuu</i> 'ground pigeon'	<i>tutuu</i> 'to emit scent'
<i>tutu</i> 'burning'	<i>tuutuu</i> 'to pound'

2.2. Phoneme frequencies. The figures in tables 1 and 2 are based on a count of 2,910 phonemes in Rennellese and 2,401 phonemes in Bellonese. The Hawaiian percentages were published in Elbert and Pukui (1979:34) and were taken from a count of 2,247 phonemes in Elbert's Fornander Selections. Kuki (1969:76) counted 2,582 Tuamotu phonemes. The ratio of consonants to vowels is higher in Rennellese than in the other languages. Could this be attributable in part to a higher number of consonants (13 in Rennellese, 9 in Tuamotuan, and 8 in Hawaiian)? No explanation is suggested for the slightly higher percentages of *gh*'s in Bellonese than in Rennellese, surprising since about 44 of 100 *gh* ... *gh* words in Rennellese become *gh* ... *ng* or *ng* ... *gh* in Bellonese (12.3). Present-day forms that differ from PPN forms follow percentages in parentheses. Hawaiian *n* < PPN *n*, *ng*.

Table 1
Consonant frequency percentages

PPN	Rennellese	Bellonese	Hawaiian	Tuamotuan
t	9.1	8.7	8.0 (k)	6.9
k	7.3	7.0	7.2 (')	8.0 (k,')
h, f	4.6	4.3	5.8	5.9 (h,f)
n	4.6	4.5	5.6	3.2
'	4.2	4.0	---	---
m	4.2	4.0	3.9	2.5
g	3.7	---	6.6 (l)	5.9 (r)
p	1.2	1.4	2.1	2.0
ng	1.2	5.6	---	1.5
s	1.0	1.0	---	---
w	1.1 (b)	1.2 (b)	1.4	0.7 (v)
l	0.3	0.3	---	---
gh	0.2	0.3	---	---
	42.7	42.3	40.6	36.6

Note that a reflex of PPN t is found everywhere but is k in Hawaiian; in all the languages it is the most common consonant. PPN k is reflected everywhere, but in Hawaiian is a glottal stop, as it is sometimes in Tuamotuan. Rennellese g is l or r elsewhere and of course is lacking in Bellonese; it is of comparatively low frequency in Rennellese. Rennellese b is w and v elsewhere, and an allophone [v] (rarely) at the Lake on Rennell. Rennellese g and ng coalesce in Bellonese; hence one would expect Bellonese ng to have as high percentages as Rennellese g and ng combined. It is of very slightly higher

The Syllable 2.3.

frequency in Bellonese perhaps because a large number of Rennellese *gh*'s are *ng* in Bellonese. Rennellese *l* and *gh* are found nowhere else in Polynesia; they do not occur much in Canoes, from which most of the Rennellese percentages were computed.

In Table 2 below, long and short vowels were not given separate totals in Tuamotuan.

Table 2
Vowel frequency percentages

	Rennellese	Bellonese	Hawaiian	Tuamotuan
a	20.7	18.6	22.2	----
	23.3	20.0	24.9	24.4
aa	2.6	1.4	2.7	----
i	9.3	11.8	11.3	----
	9.5	12.0	12.0	10.7
ii	0.2	0.2	0.7	----
e	8.7	8.8	7.6	----
	9.0	9.4	7.7	14.6
ee	0.3	0.6	0.1	----
o	8.6	8.0	7.9	----
	9.0	8.8	9.0	10.2
oo	0.4	0.8	1.1	----
u	6.8	6.8	5.8	----
	6.8	6.9	6.1	4.0
uu	0.0	0.1	0.3	----
	57.6	57.1	59.7	63.9

2.3. The syllable: stress groups. The nucleus of a syllable is a vowel peak. In Rennellese it may begin with a consonant but in ordinary speech never ends with one. The concept of the stress group in Polynesian languages was suggested by A. J. Schütz. I found it very useful in the revision of the Hawaiian Dictionary. In that work I marked off every stress group, in entries, with periods, and will do the same in this section. It

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is probably easiest to give examples of types of stress groups in Rennellese and Bellonese. Primary stress is shown by , secondary stress by .

Stress groups without long vowels:

CVCV *háge* 'house'

CVCVCV *manáha* 'settlement'

Stress groups with long vowels:

\bar{V} = long vowel

\bar{V} = diphthong

C \bar{V} *táa* 'to hit' *tái* 'sea'

CVC \bar{V} *totóo* 'to fall' *hu'ái-* 'big'

C \bar{V} CV *ibiibi* 'bony'

ebéebe 'to scatter'

ghaághe 'to hum'

Many examples of the most common type of long vowel are given in 2.1. A second and much less common kind of long vowel occurs with rearticulation between the two identical vowels, usually *a*'s. Milner (1966:XVI) characterized such vowels for Samoan as "a pulse of rearticulation [that] can be regarded as a feature of syllable juncture or word junction". He wrote that not all long vowels in Samoan have a pulse of rearticulation. Samoan *tō* 'to get' and *tōfā* 'goodbye' have no medial pulse.

Schütz distinguishes what he calls long vowels and geminate vowels in Tongan, and has kindly prepared the following:

"Like Hawaiian (but unlike Fijian), Tongan allows accent units of the shape CV:CV and CVCV:CV. Churchward, however, thought otherwise, saying "such words as *hu:fi* and *fakaha:i*, with the stress or final stress on the *u*: and the *a*: respectively, would be virtually impossible." Thus, he wrote those words as *huufi* and *fakaha*o*'i*. A very common word with that orthographical pattern is *ngaahi* (plural marker).

The reason for his decision is (I think) that in slow speech, there is a pitch change over vowels in that position --

The Syllable 2.3.

rather a stairstep effect, with the higher pitch on the latter portion, making it sound like a geminate cluster with stress on the second portion. However, this pronunciation is either old-fashioned or especially formal. On a tape of Tupou Pulu recorded in 1984 reading her stories, which is in a style midway between formal and casual, there is no discernible pitch rise or rearticulation of the long vowel in *nga:hi*; it is simply *nga:hi*. That is, even at the phonetic level, there are no double vowels in this style of Tongan."

It is noteworthy, perhaps, that none of the words with the rearticulated *aa* are of Polynesian origin. One word in the list is an English loan. The following are of the type marked above as CVCV. The higher pitch level on the list below is marked.

<i>baágha</i>	'beads'
<i>baánga</i>	'busy'
<i>baáto</i>	'canoe connective'
<i>ghaáge</i>	'to hum'
<i>ghaágho</i>	'to make twine' (Rennellese)
<i>ghaási</i>	'glasses' (from English)
<i>maálo 'ugi</i>	a kind of eel
<i>maálu</i>	'pandanus grove'
<i>maáne</i>	'bubble'
<i>maáno</i>	'damp'
<i>maángi</i>	'to be annihilated'
<i>maápu</i>	'to fall'
<i>taáni</i>	'to put stones in earth oven'

A somewhat anomalous duo is *betaápe* (Rennell) and *beétape* (Bellona), a kind of yam. They would be written CVCVCV and CVCVCV. They are phonemically and phonetically different and are only distinguished if the writing system indicates the two stress groups in *taa.ngata*.

2.5. PHONOLOGY

2.4. Diphthongs, clusters, and long vowels. Diphthongs consist of stressed vowel + higher vowel (*ái, áe, áu, áo, éi, éu, ói, óu*) or of two high vowels (*iu* or *úi*). The pairs *ai/ae* and *au/ao* are sometimes hard for English speakers to differentiate, as in *bái* 'water' and *báe* 'to separate', and *ngáu* 'to chew' and *ngáo* 'molar tooth'. In the two high-vowel diphthongs, as in *biu.biu* 'tiny' and *búi.búi*, a kind of ginger, the stress is less clearly higher on the first vowel. Diphthongs form stress groups if used alone (*ái* 'who'), preceded by a consonant (*kái* 'to eat'), or followed by a vowel (*gáo* 'good') or CV (*táina* 'younger sibling'). The V_1V_2 sequences that are not diphthongs may be called vowel clusters and include all other vowel combinations. If such clusters are followed by \emptyset , stress is on the first member, but if the cluster is followed by CV, stress is on the second member (*súa* 'ceremonial paddle' and *suáso*, a kind of tree). Long vowels other than the rearticulated portion described in 2.3, stress the first portion of the vowel (*túu* 'to stand') and before a pause the last portion may be devoiced, or the whole vowel shortened, leaving only the stress to distinguish it from a short vowel in that position.

2.5. Juncture, stress, and pitch levels. In addition to the open transition shown by periods (2.3), the following types of juncture are noted:

/,/ a non-final juncture consisting of a slight pause within an utterance, longer than that of open transition; the vowel immediately preceding is usually on a lower pitch level.

/.../ hesitation suspension, with prolonged final vowel but without much change in pitch level, common in narration (cf 2.6.2) and especially after the particles *te* and *o*.

/./ final juncture, with the voice fading out gradually. The final vowel is frequently voiceless, or, on Bellona, may be lost. Final CV_1V_1 sequences do not contain voiceless vowels. The next-to-the-last syllable is usually stressed and at a higher pitch level than the final syllable. The final junction period is distinguishable from the stress group period which occurs within words.

/?/ question with rising intonation; the voice is cut off rather sharply. After questions introduced by the interrogative particle *po* (9.3.4), there is falling intonation. Phrase stress is similar to word stress discussed in 2.3, but extends throughout the phrase. Thus in a phrase there is usually one

and, except in very short phrases, one or more secondary stresses.

<i>4Móa! 4Á'u!</i>	MOA! COME!
<i>2Tèegàa te 3àga, i 3kóo¹.</i>	There's the path, over THERE.
<i>2Tèe³gáa te 3àga, i 3kòo¹.</i>	THERE'S the path, over there.
<i>2Tèegàa te 3ága, i 2kòo¹.</i>	There's the PATH, over there.
<i>2Kùa 3'óti te ngàgùe¹.</i>	The PREPARATIONS are finished.
<i>2Kùa 'òti tè ngàgùe³?</i>	Are the preparations FINISHED?

Pitch levels have been shown in these phrases. 4, in the first phrase, is at the highest pitch level, as in calling Móa. Most phrases begin with 2 and raise to 3 on primary or secondary stresses. Phrases generally have 1 before /./.

2.6. Fast Bellonese speech. Some of the changes listed in this section may also occur in Rennellese, which has not been studied as carefully as Bellonese. The first change ($C_1VC_1VCV > C_1C_1VCV$) has not been noted in Rennellese. To produce a long consonant, the onset is held before the rather tense release of the coda, perhaps somewhat as in Japanese and Italian, but contrasting with English double voiceless stops that are aspirated, as in hip-pocket, part-time, and book-keeping (Martin 1954:15). Bellonese long consonants occur most conspicuously in partial reduplications (8.2):

Slow	Fast	Gloss
<i>babange</i>	<i>bbange</i>	'to play'
<i>bebete</i>	<i>bbete</i>	'to untie'
<i>hahatu</i>	<i>hhatu</i>	'to fold'
<i>kakata</i>	<i>kkata</i>	'to laugh'
<i>lolongi</i>	<i>llongi</i>	'weak'

2.6.1. PHONOLOGY

<i>mama'o</i>	<i>mma'o</i>	'far'
<i>momoe</i>	<i>mmoe</i>	'to lie down'
<i>nanamu</i>	<i>nnamu</i>	'to smell badly'
<i>ngangaha</i>	<i>ngngaha</i>	'to measure'
<i>papanga</i>	<i>ppanga</i>	'rotten'
<i>pipiki</i>	<i>ppiki</i>	'to keep'
<i>sasaka</i>	<i>ssaka</i>	'to beg'
<i>tatau</i>	<i>ttau</i>	'to tattoo'
<i>titiko</i>	<i>ttiko</i>	'to defecate'

Similar losses occur noninitially in some words that are not reduplications. The sound that is commonly lost on Bellona is in parentheses: *gh(a)ghaghaba* a plantain; *gh(a)ghighasa* a limpet (also *ghagh(a)ghasa*); *ighaati(gh)i* a general name for small fish; *ma(ng)a* 'only, just'; *ma(ng)anga'e* 'forehead'; *mu(ng)emu(ng)e* an insect; *mu(ng)ingaa ngenga* 'turmeric in a shell'; *nimo hina(ng)ango* 'to be forgetful'; *nok(o)kiu* (from *noko kiu*) 'were ten thousand' (see 7.5); *paa(ng)onga* 'stones along a grave'. *Pegea* 'person' is nearly always *pea* on Bellona.

For vowel changes in particles see *e* (4.2.2), *ka* (4.2.3.3), *kua* (4.2.4.2), *ke* (4.2.5.1), *te* (5.3.1), *gua* (5.3.2), *na* (5.3.3), *ni* (5.3.6).

2.6.1. Loss of vowels at word and morpheme boundaries.

<i>Baiango</i>	<i>Baiang</i>	male name
<i>hai ga'a atu</i>	<i>hai ga'atu</i>	'to give a gift'
<i>hakasingimanga</i>	<i>hakasingimang</i>	'to relieve bitterness'
<i>hakataupapa</i>	<i>haktpap</i>	'ship'
<i>kakabe mai ia Moa</i>	<i>kakabe mai a Moa</i>	'come with Moa'
<i>kona na noho</i>	<i>kona nnoho</i>	'like that'

Definitive Accent 2.6.2.

<i>manga ana goi 'anga</i>	<i>manga na goi 'anga</i>	'just his lying'
<i>ma te tokagua</i>	<i>mat tokgua</i>	'with the two'
<i>teenei na me'a</i>	<i>teenei nme'a</i>	'these were the things'
<i>mungi tango</i>	<i>mungi tang</i>	'taro tuber'
<i>sanisopu</i>	<i>sansop</i>	'soursop'
<i>tamangiki</i>	<i>tamngiki</i>	'children'
<i>te momo bai</i>	<i>te mom bai</i>	'the small water'
<i>tena uka</i>	<i>tna uka</i>	'his fishline'
<i>te potu ma koo</i>	<i>te pot ma koo</i>	'the corner over there'

2.6.2. Definitive accent. This term was coined by Churchward (1953: 6-10, 25-27, 88-95, 268-269) for Tongan. It is of common occurrence in Rennellese and Bellonese, particularly during excited speech and for emphasis and definiteness, and consists of higher pitch levels before pauses and lengthening final and sometimes mid vowels: final vowels are usually replaced by *oo* or even *ooo* or *oooo*, as in this example from a taped story by Taupongi, in which it occurs with a usually unstressed demonstrative *-na* and two nouns:

Ko ai te hai mai -nóo? Tena tau'óoo!

top interr punc make/ direct-demon 0 3p fight
do hither near 2p a sg

'Who's working here? His fighter!'

Ko ai te hai mainóo? Tena tau'óoo!

'Who's working here? His fighter!'

Ko ai mai Baitupunóooo? Tena tau'ooo!

'Who is here at Baitupuna? His fighter!'

(In ordinary staid speech, the words that carry stress are *maina*, *tau'a*, and *Baitupuna*. For *-na* see 6.3.5.3.)

2.6.3. PHONOLOGY

A striking feature of Rennellese narrative style that is consistent with the cultural traits of modesty, self-depreciation, and lack of self-assertion is frequent hesitation. A hesitation may come anywhere in a narrative. The final vowel before the hesitation is usually lengthened. Hesitation usually follows the article *te*, or the sequence *ma te*, 'and' + punctual marker. In the following text, dictated by Temoa of Bellona, hesitations are shown by '...'. Beneath Temoa's dictation is written ordinary speech without hesitations:

Mautikitikioo. Āee ... nohu, te banaa oo ... manga ... kangaa oo

Mautikitiki. Te nohu, te bana manga kakanga

e i te ngotoo, naa 'ungakooa.

e i te ngoto, na 'ungakooa.

'Mautikitiki. The balloonfish, the sea urchin, just pain-inflicting, are in the lagoon, 'ungakooa mollusks.'

Since the definitive accent imparts the feature 'definiteness', the translation of *te* + noun-with-definitive-accent may become 'that':

<i>Hakatino e ia ki te</i>	}	<i>hatu.</i>	'He turned into	}	<i>a stone.'</i>

<i>E i te</i>	}	<i>kunga nei.</i>	'/He/ is at	}	<i>this place.'</i>

The following excited shout was recorded by Kuschel, with *mo'u* replacing usual *ma'u*: *Ku mo'u teenei ta'atatau!* 'This [thing] of ours is stuck firm!'

2.6.3. Vocative changes and other short shouts. In personal names that are called out, final vowels are often lengthened (and thus accented) and changed (-i > -e and -ee; -iu > -eu, -eoo; -a > -o or -oo), especially if the addressee is not paying attention or is out of sight. Pitch levels are high; males sometimes speak falsetto. The same applies to short questions and commands. The following have been noted on Bellona:

Ceremonial Language 2.6.4.

	Slow	Shouted
-i > -e or -ee	<i>Taupongi</i>	<i>Tauponge, Taupongee</i>
-iu > -eu or -eoo	<i>Sangkiu</i>	<i>Sangkeu, Sangkeoo</i>
	<i>Haikiu</i>	<i>Haikeu, Haikeoo</i>
-e > -ee	<i>Tatiase</i>	<i>Tatiasee</i>
	<i>Tobene</i>	<i>Tobenee</i>
	<i>Topue</i>	<i>Topuee</i>
-a > -o or -oo	<i>Tegheta</i>	<i>Tegheto</i>
	<i>teiana</i>	<i>teiano, teianoo</i>
	<i>Teika</i>	<i>Teiko, Teikoo</i>
	<i>Temoa</i>	<i>Temoo</i>

Oo is favored for shouted short questions and commands:

Ee aa? > *Ee oo?* 'What?'

I hea? > *I heoo?* 'Where?'

A'u! > *A'oo!* 'Come!'

Matanginoo! Matanginoo! Boo mai, kitatou taa 'ia te tau'a nei!
(R119) 'Men of Matangi! Men of Matangi! Come here, we'll kill the fighter here!'

2.6.4. Ceremonial language and curses. Ceremonial language was whispered, but curses were spat out rapidly and loudly. Ceremonial speech (but not the swearing) is now obsolete, and is heard only when anthropologists ask for it. It is now replaced by banalities such as 'I have come'. Monberg (1979-80) and I (1967 and 1981) have described it. It was used in welcoming an important chief or sacred relative, such as a brother-in-law. One likened oneself to the *tobigha* or *noko* (anus) of the honoree, self-humiliation because the *tobigha* is less than handsome, affectionate because of the closeness implied of speaker to the honoree; any Freudian connotation is unheard of.

Most of the stories in *Canoes* are without salacious language, but when Taupongi, the star storyteller, was in Honolulu, he let himself go and in T136[C] he used a gamut of "four-letter words", ones that concern sexual relations and eating genitals. When I asked Taupongi why he had not told this story before, he said he was afraid that a woman or a brother-in-law might be present and hear the dreadful words. During sessions with informants, I was often warned if a brother-in-law entered the house, as if I had been using the words constantly.

For emphasis or contrast in ceremonial language, vowels may be lengthened and spoken at a higher pitch level; e.g., Bellonese /²hu'a³ingaoi/ 'very good' becomes /²hu'aaa⁴ingaoi/ or /²hu'a⁴ingaoi/ 'very very good'. In one text *kegi* 'to paddle fast' becomes /⁴keengi/. A few speakers lengthen consonants, as *nniti* 'very tight'.

3. FROM AFFIX TO DISCOURSE

The hierarchy of elements in Rennellese and Bellonese includes affixes, particles, bases, derivatives, compounds, phrases, determiners, sentences (simple, complex, and verbless), clauses, and discourse. Attempts at definitions of these terms are made in this section so that the reader may have an overview of the language before proceeding to the details.

Affixes (prefixes and suffixes) may consist of single sounds, such as *-i*, a plural suffix for verbs. They rarely contain more than four sounds (cf the nominalizer *-ganga*).

Particles may consist of a single syllable, such as *e*, a subject marker after *i(a)-t* verbs (4.1.1), or *ki(a)*, a distal preposition. Most particles are of two syllables, as *noko*, past tense. The conjunction *masi'igoa* 'although' is unusually long.

Most affixes and particles have grammatical meanings. They are not intelligible, usually, unless connected in various ways to bases, which usually have lexical rather than grammatical meanings, and are understood by native speakers even without accompanying affixes and particles. Affixes + bases form derivatives (8).

Most affixes and particles that consist of short syllables are pronounced as part of the base and do not form separate stress groups, such as *te baka* 'the canoe'. Many affixes and bases are separated from bases as separate stress groups, as *hàge.ína* 'many houses', *nòko háno* 'did go'. A reciprocal affix is discontinuous:

i te he- pake -'aki 'anga
caus punc cheat nom
 recip

'because of deceiving one another'

Bases may consist of one long syllable or two, three, four, or five syllables and sometimes more:

kii a plant

háge 'house'

<i>manáha</i>	'settlement'
<i>bàge.báge</i>	'to tease'
<i>tapàni.hútu</i>	a fighting club
<i>kága.lòghu.lóghu</i>	a bush

A few particles act as bases in some environments:

Noko hano koe ki hea?

past go 2p to where
sg sg interr

'Where did you go?'

Ko koe noko i hea?

top 2p to be at where
sg interr

'Where were you?'

The particles (almost 100) and affixes (more than 50) are exhaustively listed in this grammar. New ones are rarely if ever added to the repertory. The number of bases in a language is endless -- new ones keep being invented or borrowed.

Affixes differ from particles in that they are inseparable from bases, whereas most particles may be separated from the bases they modify by other particles or bases.

Many bases (but no particles) when used with certain affixes are called *derivatives*. These constructions are complex and numerous in Rennellese. For example,

<i>góngo</i>	'news' base	
<i>bàa.góngo</i>	'to tell' causative	
<i>hàka.góngo</i>	'to hear' causative	
<i>hègongói</i>	'to exchange news'	(<i>he- ... -i</i> is a discontinuous plural affix)

gòngo.gòngo 'to listen carefully' (full reduplication)

gogóngo 'song of praise' (partial reduplication)

Several bases may occur in sequence. Usually (but not always, as in the second example below) the first base is considered the head, the others qualifiers.

tè tangàta susúgu

art man white

sg sp

'the white man'

te tòkatògu tàuiku tà'ahine làe màne

art three old (animate) lady without money (Eng.)

sg sp

'the three penniless old ladies'

te kài óhi

art eat fire

sg sp

'the cigarette' (This is a compound and an idiom; the meaning is not deducible from the meaning of the parts.)

Proper names are often compounds:

Te - hai- nga - 'atua

art make-nom god

sg sp do agt/
rslt

'Tehainga'atua' [the great grandfather god].

Phrases are of two types, noun phrases (NP) and verb phrases (VP). NPs commonly contain a preposition, an article, a noun base, and sometimes qualifying particles and bases. VPs commonly

contain a verb marker, a verb, and sometimes adverbs and bases following the verb.

The parts of speech in Rennellese and Bellonese follow:

Nouns: potential occurrence after the singular specific article *te* or its alternants, or the articles *gua*, *na*, *he*, *ba'i* and their alternants; NPs are described in section 5.

Verbs: potential occurrence after verb markers such as *e*, general verb marker, or *noko*, past tense. Verbs are of two types: transitive (*i(a)-t* and *ki(a)-t*) and intransitive (motion and stative). Statives mark condition or state. One type of stative verb may qualify nouns, as in the phrase *te hãge gãoi* 'the good house'. VPs are described in section 4.

Particles: small elements marking or qualifying nouns and verbs; except for adverbs, they have grammatical meanings.

Noun-Verbs: bases that occur both as nouns and verbs, as *mata* 'eye, to look'.

Adverbs: ten particles with lexical more commonly than grammatical meaning. Three of them come directly between verb markers and verbs; the others occur in sentence-initial position or follow conjunctions and directly precede verbs. (See 4.4.)

Prepositions: particles introducing NPs. They are described in 5.2.

Conjunctions: particles that connect phrases and sentences (defined below). See section 9.

Numerals: see section 7.

Interjections: see section 11.

Substitutes for nouns (see section 6)

Pronouns	}	most of these are morphologically complex; most particles and affixes are not
Demonstratives		
Possessives		
Interrogatives		

Verbless (equational) sentence

Ko Mòà te tisa. 'Moa is [or was] the teacher.'

The order in the first sentence is verb (V) + subject (S) + object (O). The order in the second sentence is VO + VP + VP.

Many writers with reference to discourse have emphasized that sentences cannot be treated as independent entities. They are the result of what has preceded or followed. 'They' in the preceding English sentence is elliptic and is clear only when one knows its antecedent, which here happens to be 'sentences'. So sentences in expository writing as well as in dialogue can be analyzed semantically only with reference to the context and to the culture. In this grammar the discussion of discourse includes something about the narrator's personal style.

The term word in this section is conspicuous for its absence. The reason is that a suitable definition of this convenient term has not been discovered. A word may consist of a simple long syllable and may contain as many as nine syllables, as does the derivative *hehakabagebage'aki* 'teasing one another frequently'. Nor is it a base, a term excluding affixes and particles. It is not equivalent to a stress group, as many bases contain more than one stress group, as *tiàge.táha*, a kind of fighting club. In this grammar a word is simply defined as an element preceded and followed in writing by spaces or juncture markers. This leaves open the question that is so difficult to answer, when do we leave spaces? The answer seems to be: spaces are left before and after particles, bases, and derivatives.

4. VERB PHRASES (VPs)

Sandra Chung states that Polynesian verbs "include predicates describing states and adjectival properties as well as activities" (Chung 1978:20).

Section 4.1 presents a fourfold classification of Rennellese verbs, and is followed by descriptions of the elements making up a VP: verb markers (4.2), verb markers used as verbs (4.3), preverb adverbs (4.4), the nucleuses of VPs (4.5), and then the post-nucleus particles: directionals (4.6), goal-focus 'ia (4.7), the final particles *mu'a*, 'okoia, *ma'u*, *aano* (4.8), and the anaphors (4.9).

4.1. Classification of verbs. The two principal ways to classify Rennellese and Bellonese verbs are by semantics or according to accompanying particles, as shown in Table 3. The particles in the table are prepositions, except for 'ia (4.7) and t-. The selection of prepositions depends on the verb classes, and this is one reason that VPs are described before noun phrases (NPs). There are two sets of preverb particles that mark tense (4.2.3), five markers of aspect (4.2.4) and mood (4.2.5), and (4.4) a set of adverbs usually with lexical rather than grammatical meaning. t- in Table 3 refers to determiners. Cf Table 4 in 4.2.1.

Table 3
Verb classes

	Goal-focus marker	Personal subject marker	Object markers before		
			Common noun	Personal name	Pronoun and kin
Transitives					
<i>i(a)-t</i>	'ia	e	∅, a	<i>i(a)</i> , ∅	<i>i(a) t-</i> , <i>a t-</i> , ∅
<i>ki(a)-t</i>	∅	a, ∅	<i>ki(a)</i>	<i>kia</i>	<i>ki(a) t-</i>
Intransitives					
motion verbs	∅	a, ∅	----	----	----
statives	∅	a	----	----	----

Following are sentences illustrating the use of subject and direct-object prepositions with an *i(a)-t* verb (*taa* 'to strike, kill') and a *ki(a)-t* verb ('*agoha* 'to pity'):

<i>Noko taa e ia</i>	}	<i>ia Moa.</i>	'He struck	}	Moa.'
		<i>ia te kimatou.</i>			us.'
		<i>ia toku tamana.</i>			my father.'
		<i>te 'agiki.</i>			the chief.'

'*agoha*, *ki(a)-t* verb subj preceded by *a*, obj preceded by *ki(a)*, *ki(a) t-*

<i>Noko 'agoha a ia</i>	}	<i>kia Moa.</i>	He pitied	}	Moa.'
		<i>kia te kimatou.</i>			us.'
		<i>kia te baka.</i>			the crew.'
		<i>ki te 'agiki.</i>			the chief.'
		<i>ki toku 'agiki.</i>			my chief.'

(For *baka*, a personalized locative, see 5.5.1.)

Chung bases her classification of verbs largely on semantic criteria. She has approximately the same classes of transitive verbs as given here but uses different terminology. She calls (1978:47) the *i(a)-t* verbs canonical, but does not explain this or any other of her terms. She says that canonical transitive verbs "produce a direct, often physical effect on the direct object", whereas the *ki(a)-t* verbs, which she calls middle, "describe events that do not affect the direct object immediately".

Hopper and Thompson (1980:253) use Chung's terminology and say that *i(a)-t* verbs are more individuated. Thus:

Noko kai e te 'atua a Moa.

past eat subj art ghost obj Moa
SG SP

'The ghost ate Moa.'

Noko 'agoha a Tebegi kia Moa.

past pity subj Tebegi obj Moa

'Tebegi pitied Moa.'

The first sentence shows a more direct effect on Moa than the second. The subject and object markers reveal that *kai* (in this sentence) is *i(a)-t* and that *'agoha* is *ki(a)-t*. And in 5.2.6 we will see that the preposition *ki* implies distance.

For some verbs that can be *i(a)-t* or *ki(a)-t*, see 5.2.3.

4.1.1. *I(a)-t* verbs. The *i(a)-t* verbs are distinguished from the other three classes of verbs in that they may be followed by the personal subject marker *e* (sometimes the *e*-phrase precedes the verb). They differ from intransitive verbs in that they may take object markers, as indicated in Table 3 in 4.1.

i(a)-t verb

<i>tau</i> 'to grab'	<i>hakatau</i> 'to join'
	<i>beetau</i> 'to have sexual intercourse'
<i>na'a</i> 'to know'	<i>hakana'a</i> 'to cause to know'

ki(a)-t verb

<i>'agoha</i> 'to pity'	<i>haka'agoha</i> 'to cause pity'
-------------------------	-----------------------------------

motion verb

<i>'aga</i> 'to wake up'	<i>baa'aga</i> 'to waken someone'
<i>kaukau</i> 'to bathe'	<i>haakaukau</i> 'to bathe someone'

stative verb

<i>gaoi</i> 'good'	<i>hakagaoi</i> 'to reconcile'
<i>mataku</i> 'afraid'	<i>hakamataku</i> 'to frighten'

4.1.2. *Ki(a)-t* verbs. Verbs of saying are usually *ki(a)-t*:

Noko hai a ia kia tona hosa ...

past say subj 3p ind 3p son
sg obj 0 sg 0 sp

'He said to his son ...'

Since *hosa* is 'son of a male' the pronoun *ia* is 'he' and the possessive *tona* is 'his'. Cf *hai* 'to make, have', which is *i(a)-t*.

Other common *ki(a)-t* verbs of saying include:

<i>'ati gongo,</i>	'to tell'	<i>ngege</i>	'to call'
<i>taga</i>			
		<i>saka,</i>	'to insult'
<i>babage</i>	'to tease'	<i>tapa ingoa</i>	
<i>gea, gegea,</i>	'to speak'	<i>singi</i>	'to sing'
<i>hegeu</i>			
		<i>sogi</i>	'to pray'
<i>hakaanu</i>	'to ask a question'		
		<i>sunu</i>	'to complain'
<i>hakatau</i>	'to answer'		
		<i>tuku kupu</i>	'to pledge'
<i>kaunaki</i>	'to order'		

Exceptions seem to be the common *i(a)-t* verbs *hogahoga* 'to promise', *mate* 'to say', and *oho* 'to call'.

After the verb *'agoha*, both *i(a)* and *ki(a)* prepositions are possible. *I(a)* is a proximate preposition and is closer to the subject (and more intimate and polite) than the distal *ki(a)*. The context of the following example is that Mautikitiki has forced a supernatural creature (*ngosengose*) to swallow hot stones. He is so afraid of being burned to death that he farts inordinately and says:

Ko koe 'agoha ia te au o haangai ka ko au te ka
top 2p show mercy obj art 1p rslt feed and/ top 1p punc fut
sg sg sp sg but

mate nei. (T41[A]:13)

die/ demon \emptyset
 faint near 1p

'You had mercy on me and gave food but now I'm about to die.'

The desperate animal is trying to emphasize his gratitude for the food as evidence of his intimate relationship to the culture hero.

Many *ki(a)-t* verbs express emotion:

E 'agoha (a) Moa kia Sina.

gen pity subj Moa ind Sina
obj

'Moa pitied Sina.'

(Some informants omitted *a* in this sentence.)

Other common *ki(a)-t* verbs expressing emotion include:

<i>haiteke,</i>	'angry'	<i>magepe</i>	'to mourn'
<i>'ika'ika</i>		<i>ma'ine</i>	'to love, desire'
<i>he'e maka</i>	'to disagree'	<i>siahai</i>	'to like'
<i>'ita</i>	'jealous'		

Another very common verb taking a direct object is *ki(a)-t*:

... *ma te ina mai kinai a Tepuimatangi o hai mai:*

and punc see direct anaph subj Tepuimatangi rslt say direct
hither dir obj

"*Ina 'ange gaa ki teenei kainanga ...* (T103:3)

see direct demon ∅ dir demon worshipper
emotion punc obj near 1p
emotion

'... Tepuimatangi watched him and said: "Just look at this fine worshipper ...'

4.1.3. Motion verbs.

Noko sehu (a) te tama 'iti'iti.

past walk subj art child small
sg sp

'The child walked.'

An example of the care with which motion verbs may be followed by *a* plus subject, and *i(a)-t* verbs by *e* plus subject:

Ko Teosi na boo a Nausu ma gu ona hai-taina o

top Teosi past go/come subj Nausu comit art 3p ∅ kin-ysib rslt
punc pl pauc o sg set ss

taa e kigatou.

beat subj 3p
pl

'As for Teosi, Nausu and his younger brothers went and they beat [him].'

A common idiomatic use of motion verbs concerns food-getting.

<i>Hano</i>	} <i>te</i>	} <i>utunga.</i>	} 'The	} { harvester has gone; has gone for food.'
<i>go</i>				
<i>sg</i>				
<i>Boo</i>				
	} <i>sg sp</i>			
<i>go/come</i>				
<i>pl</i>				

The nominalizing suffix *nga* (8.11) often marks an agent. *Utunga* is either harvester or food (cf *utu* 'to get food'); the base of *ihonga* is *iho* 'down, seaward'. These two words here are the subjects. They are heard every day except on the sabbath. Informants rejected **hano te 'uhi* *'go for yams' or **hano te laoa* *'go for clothes'; yams and clothes can hardly be the subject of motion verbs. One informant rejected **hano na utunga*, as he thought the plural article implied cooked food. Acceptable but less common are *hano te hekau* 'going to work', *hano te tautai* 'going fishing', *hano te tiikonga* 'going to defecate', and *boo te usunga* (T178:8) 'the feasters left'.

Some intransitive verbs that do not seem to imply excessive motion are considered, nevertheless, motion verbs rather than stative. Here are some:

<i>hakaga'aa</i>	'to sun-bathe' (rarely done)	<i>taka</i>	'to stay, delay'
<i>kakai</i>	'to live, stay'	<i>titiko</i>	'to defecate'
<i>mimi</i>	'to piss' (vulgar)		

Here are some other common motion verbs:

<i>bega</i>	'to burn'	<i>kakau</i>	'to swim'
<i>eke</i>	'to sit'	<i>seseē</i>	'to stray'
<i>gege</i>	'to fly, hop, jump'	<i>tautai</i>	'to fish'
<i>hogau</i>	'to sail'	<i>tege</i>	'to run'

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Ina 'to stay' and its plural derivative *hi-ina-'i* are also classed as motion verbs. They are not statives as they are impermanent or temporary. Similarly *noho* 'to stay, sit' and *tu'u* 'to stand, stop' are motion verbs.

... o gosigosi kinai a Nukuahea o taki hi- ina -'i
 rslt build anaph obj Nukuahea rslt separate stay
 ben pl

ai te tau tupuna. (T6[A]:5)

anaph art pl grandparent
 at sg sp

'... and built Nukuahea for him, and grandparent and grandchild lived separately there.'

Teegaa te me'a noko mataa-noho ai, te pangati. (T10:2)

demon art thing past first-stay anaph art beetle
 near 3p sg sp at

'That was the thing that first stayed there, the beetle.'

Ka noko tu'u ai ba'i me'a ... (T8:2)

and/ past stop anaph art thing
 but at distr

'And everything was there ...'

4.1.4. Stative verbs. In an article about Polynesian statives, Robin Hooper (1984) calls them neuter verbs and in Tongic and Samoic languages, nonagentive verbs. I once called the latter in Hawaiian *loa'a*-type verbs. I am now calling the two types verbal statives and adjectival statives. The latter have stative meanings and include words that are translated as English adjectives, such as good, big, kind.

Hooper lists the following verbal statives as very common in Tongan, Tikopian, and Tokelauan. Those also in Rennellese include:

gabe 'to be caught, entangled' *ngago* 'to be weary, to die'
momo 'to be broken into pieces' '*oti* 'to be finished'

Here are some characteristics of all statives, both adjectival and verbal:

(1) They do not take agent *e*.

(2) They do not take '*ia*, goal-focus. The equivalent of *hati* 'to break (as waves)' in most languages is stative. The Dictionary, however, lists *hati* '*ia* in Rennellese. *-Hia* occurs with *motu* 'to be severed' and *-sia* with *ha'a* 'to be cracked'. By this definition these words are not statives in Rennellese.

(3) Many words (including nouns) take the stative prefix *ma(a)*. Examples are listed in 8.4.

(4) Neither type of stative is used (except rarely) transitively. An exception: ... *nimaa* '*oti mai e Ngae te baka* ... (T59:7) '... when Ngae had finished the canoe ...'

(5) Nor are they used imperatively. 'Be good' in Rennellese is *Hai ke a'aki gaoui* 'necessary to behave well'.

(6) Some words most commonly used as nouns, as *longokui* 'long trousers' and *taauga* 'medium' also occur as verbal statives: *Ko ia e longokui*. 'He wears long trousers.' ... *boo mai o taauga i na pegea* (T101:3) '... comes and possesses people'. Many noun-verbs are statives.

Here are some Rennellese verbal statives:

<i>bega</i>	'to be burned'	<i>maakona</i>	'to be full after eating'
<i>gigo</i>	'to be lost, to have disappeared'	<i>mamae</i>	'to hurt'
<i>ghaghi</i> (Bellona <i>ngaghi</i>)	'to begin'	<i>masa</i>	'to be empty of liquid'
<i>honu</i>	'to be full of liquid'	<i>mate</i>	'to be dead, faint'
<i>kona</i>	'to be salty'	<i>ma'u</i>	'to be firm, stuck'

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<i>nimo</i>	'to be forgotten, to have vanished'	<i>puni</i>	'to be entangled'
<i>noho,</i> <i>toe</i>	'to be left, remaining'	<i>saga</i>	'to be incorrect'
		<i>tonu</i>	'to be correct'

Sengeika pointed out in 1982 that one can say *Te poati kua pepe'e e Moa*. 'Moa broke the bottle.' But not **Te poati kua mape'e e Moa*. What is wrong? *Pepe'e* is an *i(a)-t* verb and takes *e* subject marker, but *mape'e* is stative and is followed by a subject marker.

4.1.5. Irregular verbs. A very few common verbs have semantic and structural peculiarities.

4.1.5.1. Singular and plural verbs.

Singular only	Plural only	Glosses
<i>hina iho</i>	<i>boo iho</i>	'to go or come down'
<i>hinake</i>	<i>boo ake</i>	'to go or come up'
<i>hinatu</i>	<i>boo atu</i>	'to go away'
<i>hoki</i>	<i>giu</i>	'to go back'
<i>sehu</i>	<i>lango</i>	'to walk, stroll'

The directionals (*iho*, *ake*, *atu*) may change the meanings; see 4.6.2 for details. Only *a'u* 'to come (sg)' and *hano* 'to go' are not followed by directionals.

Many verb plurals are shown in derivatives, the most common probably being by reduplications (8.2) or by *he- ... -Ci* (8.9). A few words indicate plural by the infix *a* (8.2).

4.1.5.2. Verbs used only after *he'e*. No bases have been discovered for these verbs. *He'egahi* and *he'emaka* are the most common of those listed below.

(1) *He'egahi* and *he'emaka*.

... *ta'aki e ia te gangi o hano he'egahi iho.* (T11:3)

lift subj 3p art sky rslt go far direct
sg sg sp sg down

'... he lifted up the sky, going far up.' (See 4.6.3 for an attempt to explain this puzzling use of *iho*.)

A valued informant, Misianga (Canoes, pp. 37-38), drilled me in 1957 and 1958 on the various ways to say *he'egahi mai* 'not near, not at the present time, long ago'.

He'emaka, singular, and *he'emamaka*, plural, mean to refuse to permit, not agree, difficult to do.

Ngenge i tena tama'ahine ke a'u o he'emaka.

call to 3p daughter, imp come rslt not agree
a sg wife, sis or sp sg

'[He] called to his daughter to come, but [she] refused.'

... *ki te kakai 'anga ... o he'emamaka.*

to art live nom rslt not agree
sg sp people pl

'... [asked] the people ... [they] did not agree.'

Nimaa songi ai a te tamana, manga he'emakamaka ke

when pray anaph subj art father just/ not agree imp
dir obj sg sp only pl

boo 'aatea na haangiki ... (T190:4)

go/come far art supernaturals
pl pl sp

'When the father prayed to her, the supernaturals refused to go away ...'

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(2) *He'e'oigua* 'to disregard, ignore, not act, do nothing, overlook, be helpless' is used with both singular and plural subjects:

... *ma te 'ua, ma te he'e'oigua au, o haka-'ua.*

and punc rain and punc do nothing 1p rslt caus-rain
sg

'... and [it] rained, and I could do nothing and got wet.'

Ka he'e'oigua Angahugu ma ona hai-taina... (N57[A]:II)

do nothing Ten comit 3p kin-ysib
and/but o sg set ss

'Ten and his younger brothers could do nothing ...'

4.1.5.3. *Taakoe* 'please', *tugou* 'permission'. Both of these words are polite. *Taakoe* is not heard often, and *tugou* only in rituals. Both are only in utterance initial position. Rennellese *taakoe* may be causative *taa + koe* 'you (sg)' (8.3). *Taa ko ee* exists in Tongan (Churchward 1959:445, with long vowels doubled) 'behold!' *Tugou* goes back to PPN *tulou*.

Taakoe mai he bai kau binu ai. (D)

please direct art water 1p sg drink anaph
hither sg nonsp intent dir obj

'Please a little water that I may drink it.'

Tugou Tetupu'a! Tugou ma tou tuhahine! (R)

permission Tetupu'a permission comit 2p sister
o sg

'Permission, Tetupu'a! Permission and [that of] your sister!' (Tetupu'a is another name for the grandfather god, Tehainga'atua. Sikingimoemoe is his sister and wife. The worshippers are asking permission to pray.)

Ergative Construction? 4.1.6.

4.1.5.4. *Pau* and *tutahi*, intensifiers. These two intensifiers occur as complete verb phrases, or as the nucleus of longer verb phrases. They are often followed by the resultative conjunction *o* and have a nuance of permanency.

Pau o he'e tau hai 'anga.

intens rslt neg intens make/ nom
do

'Nothing doing at all.'

Moe iho ka noka te tutahi o moe. (D)

sleep/ direct and/ neg art intens rslt sleep
lie down but sg sp

'Lie down but don't go to sleep.'

Pau o hano 'gone permanently'; *tutahi o boo* 'gone permanently or altogether' (this is a second meaning of *tutahi*).

4.1.6. Does Rennellese have an ergative construction? According to R. M. W. Dixon in his monograph on ergatives (1979:60-61), "a language is said to show ergative characteristics if intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as transitive object, and differently from transitive subject". Certainly by this definition, subjects of *i(a)-t* verbs and all other types of verbs treat subject differently. However, *i(a)-t* verbs have four ways to treat objects, and *ki(a)-t* verbs have two ways (Table 5). Numerous examples in *Canoes* show *ia* marking personal-name objects of *i(a)-t* verbs (T69:4,6; T66:60,73,76, and many others). But in informal conversations, informants when asked to translate sentences invariably preceded proper-noun objects after *i(a)-t* verbs by *a*. This seems the most common alternant in informal speech, and is thus closer to the usual definition of ergative.

I have called *e* and *a* subject markers in order to show their parallel relationships. Chung and others call *e* and *a* ergative and absolutive. The *ki(a)-t* verbs are accusative rather than ergative because they treat intransitive subject and transitive object differently.

4.2. Verb phrases.

4.2.1. Inventory of preverb markers. Verbs may be distinguished from nouns on the basis of their potential occurrence after *e*, general verb marker. Verb markers are exhaustively listed below in Table 4. They show tense, aspect, and mood in addition to the general marker *e*. They occur in seven positions before the preverb adverbs (Table 5 in 4.4). Variants in the table are separated by commas.

Table 4
Preverb markers

Gen (4.2.2)	<i>e</i>						
Tense (4.2.3)	<i>noko₁</i> <i>na</i>						<i>ka, ka go,</i> <i>ke go, go,</i> <i>no</i>
Aspect (4.2.4)			<i>te</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>maa</i>		
				<i>noko₂</i>	<i>manga</i>		
Mood (4.2.5)	<i>ke</i> <i>hai ke</i>	<i>mei</i>		<i>poi</i>	<i>noka</i>	<i>kitai,</i> <i>ketai</i>	

A function of verb markers following nouns is to introduce an embedded sentence modifying the noun. See Other ways of showing anaphoric relations in 6.2.7.

4.2.2. *E*, general verb marker (gen). The variant *ee* tends to occur before primary stress. It is marked in the sentences in 4.2.2 only, as it is generally predictable.

Descriptions of this common West Polynesian particle are varied. Carroll (1965:210) wrote that *e* in Nukuoro was "neutral in respect to time and intention, often merely definitional". Yet on the same page he called *e* "general aspect". This label was also used by Hohepa in 1969 for Luangiua (p. 323) and by

Lieber and Dikepa for Kapingamarangi (1974). Feinberg was not afraid of the word "tense" and for Anuta defined *e* as "present tense". Chung, also not afraid, but more cautious, said that in Rennellese it was an "unidentified tense". For Samoan (1978:200-201) she called it "unspecified tense-aspect-mood".

In his Samoan dictionary, Milner (1966:39) wrote that *e* is a predicative particle with reference to present or future and that it is "frequently ... indefinite as to time and duration". Krupa (1982: Tables 46-50) called *e* in Tongan, Samoan, Nukuoro, and Sikaiana a nonpast tense marker.

In legends, verbs are often preceded by *e*, as in the first two examples below. It is commonplace in legends to translate such verbs by past tense. But note the first sentence below concerning cannibalism in a story dating from after the "discovery" of Rennell 10 generations earlier (this would be approximately 13 generations before present, and cannibalism on Rennell was noted in only a few stories).

So I have decided to call *e* in Rennellese by a very neutral term. When informants are asked to invent a sentence with a particular word, if the word is a verb, they are wont to precede it by *e*. (This *e* is not to be confused with the homophonous subject marker after *i(a)-t* verbs.)

... *ke hano hailobo ee ia a Gabagu e kai pegea goa.*

imp go challenge subj 3p obj Gabagu gen eat person intens

(T116:3) '... he would go to challenge Gagabu who ate people so much.'

... *ma te 'ati gongo kia Gauatana e ka ta'ia i tena*

and punc tell news ind Gauatana gen fut kill/hit caus 3p
obj gf o sg

saka. (T204:4)

poem

'... and tell Gauatana that [he] will be killed because of his poem.'

E 'agoha a Moa kia Sina.

gen pity subj Moa obj Sina

'Moa pitied Sina.'

Ko koe ee a'u ke aa?

top 2p gen come imp interr
sg sg what

'Why have you come?'

Ee gaai!

gen good

'Fine! Good!'

Koutou e kigi 'ugi.

2p gen skin black
pl

'You are black skinned.' (*Kigi 'ugi* after *e* becomes a verb.)

E before numerals or numeral interrogatives is common:

E angahungu oku toki ... E iba oku toki. (T57[A]:3,4)

gen ten 1p \emptyset adze gen nine 1p adze
o sg

'I have ten adzes ... I have nine adzes.'

Ee hia? E hia pegea?

gen interr gen interr people
how many

'How many? How many people?'

Te bàka kàa á'u.

art canoe fut come
sg sp

'The canoe will come.'

Ko àu kàa léiti.

topic 1p fut late
sg

'I'll be late.'

Ko àu ka masáki.

topic I fut sick

'I'll be sick.'

4.2.3.4. Ka go and ke go (fut). A young informant well versed in English suggested that these markers carried different nuances: *Ka ngo a'u te pegea*. 'The person will (definitely) come.' *Ke ngo a'u te pengea*. 'The person (promises) to come.' (The tone of voice might have been less certain in the *ke go* example!) And *ke* may carry a nuance of the imperative/intentive mood marker *ke* (4.2.5.1).

T91:5 confirms this use of *ke go*:

Tuku kupu kinai a Tausapa ke go to'o mai ma'agaa ni

give word anaph subj Tausapa fut take/ direct ben art
ind obj bring hither a dual pauc

utunga ...

food

'Tausapa promised them to bring some food for them ...'

But such a distinction is rarely apparent in Canoes. *Ke go* is perhaps used more frequently on both islands than *ka go*:

4.2.3.5. VERB PHRASES

Hai ake ke ge'o, ke go 'oti agatou utu-nga ... (T108:11)

say direct imp guard fut finish 3p harvest-nom
 up a pl agt/
rslt

'[He] said to watch out, their food will be finished ...'

Ko au ke go hoki.

top 1p fut go back
sg sg

'I'll go back.'

... ko kimaaua ka ngo kai e te haka-tahi-nga nei.

top 1p fut eat subj art caus-one -nom demon ∅
dual sg sp agt/ near 1p
rslt

(T50[A]:23) '... the people of this gathering are going to eat us.'

4.2.3.5. Go, future poetic (fut poet). Poetic uses are difficult to analyze and translate and contain irregularities. Here are a few attempts:

From a lament (*tangi*, T234:7):

'Au mai go henua tahi ee.

give direct fut land same/ refrain
 hither different

'Give, [we] will have the same land.'

From a *kanogoto* harvest ritual (T96:8):

Kau 'aga go oho ia Nika ... (R)

1p wake fut call obj or voc
sg intent honor

'I rise to greet the honored gentleman ...'

A few examples have been noted in which *go* is used in ordinary conversation -- perhaps fast speech for *ke go* or *ka go*.

Mano kitai go a'u.

dubit mood fut come
dubit sg

'Maybe [he] will come.'

See 4.2.5.3 for *tekai go* and *kitai na*.

The Dictionary lists *no* as a variant of *go*: 'Ai kau no hano.
 'So, I'll go.'

4.2.4. Aspect markers.

4.2.4.1. *Te*, *punctual (one time) aspect (punc)*. This verb marker is unusual in that it almost never begins a VP and most commonly follows the conjunction *ma* or the causal and temporal preposition *i*:

Ma te too te 'ua, ma te gae ki te luga, o

and punc fall art rain and punc turn to art coastal rslt
sg sp ledge

haka-magu i te noko 'ua ... (T88:1)

caus-shelter caus punc cont rain

'And rain fell, and [he] turned off to the coastal ledge, and found shelter because it was continually raining ...' (This complex sentence is composed of three coordinate clauses and an embedded clause [*te noko 'ua*]. The five uses of *te* are, respectively, *punctual*, *article*, *punctual*, *article*, and *punctual*.)

4.2.4.2. *Kua*, *kuu*, *ku* perfective aspect (perf). Bellonese frequently replace *kua* by *kuu* before primary stress or by *ku* before words receiving less than primary stress. Slower Rennellese seem to retain *kua* (but see the last sentence below).

Kuu háno. '[He] has gone.'

Ku háno ki Mugába. '[He] has gone to Rennell.'

The difference between *maa* momentary aspect and *kua* perfective, was clearly brought out on Rennell by the shouted directions to a man high in a coconut tree as he adjusted a radio antenna. The people on the ground kept shouting *maa gaoi*, *maa gaoi* 'okay, okay' while he was working, but when he had finished they shouted *kua gaoi* 'all right now'. In this example *kua* is inceptive, as well as perfective, because the satisfactory situation is new (has just started).

In the following example, *kua* contrasts with past punctual *na*:

E 'eha me'a na hai. 'Many things were done [perhaps last week].'

E 'eha me'a kua hai. 'Many things were done just now.'

Although *kua* is usually translated by present or past, it may also be translated by a future. (See also two sentences in 4.2.5.4 and the sentence after *kese-a* in 8.12.1.3.)

Ka ku aa ai, kitai go bilaabei? (T176:2)

and/ perf interr anaph mood fut meet
but caus dubit

'And why then may there be a meeting?' (*Ka ku aa ai* was transcribed *kakuai*.)

4.2.4.3. *Noko₂*, continuative aspect (cont). *Noko₂* commonly follows imperative *ke* (Table 4 in 4.2.1). It is not to be confused with the much more common generalized past marker *noko₁*.

Hai ke noko ose.

intent imp cont sing an ose chant

'Please do continue singing *ose* chants.'

Ke noko kai, ke noko kai. (T13:6)

imp cont eat imp cont eat

'[I] will keep eating, keep eating.'

The following from Monberg's collection of rituals is rather unusual, as ritual language so often is:

Ka ke haa -ngiu ... noko ngaangamu pipiki te

and/ imp caus-worship cont promise keep art
but pl sg sp

haka-huna te mango ... (Hakauu 54)

caus-loincloth art loincloth

'And to worship ... keep continually the promise to put on the loincloth ...'

4.2.4.4. *Maa*, momentary aspect (moment). This particle is less clearly inceptive or "new" than *kua* (see the contrast of *kua* and *maa* under *kua*).

Kua masa te kopi? Maa noho.

perf empty art coffee moment remain
sg sp

'Is the coffee gone? [Some] is left.'

Te kunga nei maa he'e o'o te hatu.

art place demon \emptyset moment neg crowded art stone
sg sp near lp

'This place is not for the moment crowded with stones.' (*Hatu* 'stone, stones' is a collective noun, 5.5.2.)

Maa may follow *noko*, the generalized past marker:

... o *noko maa tugemoe* ... (T120)

rslt past moment doze

'... and dozed for a bit ...'

A common sequence is *maa* + *ka*, future (4.2.3.3). The following are often complete utterances: *maa ka 'ao* 'tomorrow', *maa ka poo* 'tonight, at night', *maa ka hea?* 'when (in the future)?'.

Maa contrasts with *e*, general marker.

Ko Moa	{	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>e</i></td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 0 5px;"><i>maa</i></td></tr> </table>	<i>e</i>	<i>maa</i>	}	<i>gaoi.</i>	{	<table style="border: none;"> <tr><td>'Moa has a good character.'</td></tr> <tr><td>'Moa is well at the moment.'</td></tr> </table>	'Moa has a good character.'	'Moa is well at the moment.'	}
<i>e</i>											
<i>maa</i>											
'Moa has a good character.'											
'Moa is well at the moment.'											

See the list in 5.2.8 for homonyms and near homonyms of *maa*.

4.2.4.5. *Manga* introducer, 'just, only'. By far the most common use of *manga* is to introduce a clause or sentence. Sometimes it is preceded by a conjunction (such as *ka*, *kae*, or *o*), and it is usually followed by a one-time action verb. As a kind of punctuation mark, it sometimes seems to give the speaker time to think. In the following rather extreme example, taped by Rolf Kuschel in 1977, it is translated 'just'. The dots indicate pauses.

... i *na 'uu* ... *manga tau* ... o *manga ngepo* ...

<u>instr</u> <u>art</u> arrows	just/ fight	<u>rslt</u> just spy
<u>pl</u> <u>sp</u>	only	

kae manga pake ... *manga hana ake* ... *manga aano manga*

and just trick	just shoot <u>direct</u>	just and just
	up	then

ngengema'ungi ...

surprised

'... with arrows ... just fought ... and just spied ... and just tricked ... just shot ... and then were just surprised ...'

Perhaps native speakers feel that use of *manga* is an indication of modesty and lack of assertiveness or aggressiveness, virtues greatly admired by the Rennellese and Bellonese. In English a sensitive speaker may hedge his remarks by use of such mildly deprecatory words as 'probably, perhaps, would, might', to show that he is not cocksure, dogmatic, uncompromising, or impervious to suggestion. *Manga* seems to fill some such role in Rennellese.

Much less common is the following: *manga tokagua* 'just two, only two'.

A very funny and sarcastic slang expression popular on Bellona in 1962 was *manga na'a* '[he] just [thinks he] knows [everything]'.

Maa for *manga*:

In fast speech on Bellona *-ng-*, as in *manga*, is sometimes dropped. In 2.6 numerous examples are given. This loss apparently does not happen in the slower speech of Rennell. On Bellona, *maa* may replace *manga*, but *manga* does not replace *maa*, momentary aspect. A Bellonese in 1982 gave these sentences as both meaning 'I'm just working.' It would have two Bellonese translations as indicated below.

Ko au $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{manga} \\ \textit{maa} \end{array} \right\}$ *hai hekau.* 'I'm $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{just} \\ \textit{now} \end{array} \right\}$ working.'

4.2.5. Mood Markers.

4.2.5.1. *Ke*, imperative/intentive (imp). The allomorph *kee* commonly precedes primary stress. It is written only in this subsection.

Kèe nóka! 'Don't! Stop it!'

Ke tàpu kìa te áu ... te hatutigi ... (T30) 'Thunder ... be sacred for me ...'

Kèe áa? 'What for? Why? To do what?'

Kae boo mai te tau'a o ge'o e kigatou kèe taa...

and go/come direct art war rslt watch subj 3p imp hit
pl hither sg sp pl

(T107:9) 'And the war party came and they watched in order to attack ...'

Ke is frequently preceded by *hai* 'must':

Na utunga nei e hai ke ta'o ke baghi gua. (T196:8)

art food demon Ø gen must imp bake imp divide num
pl sp near 1p 2

'This food must be baked and divided in two.'

Hai ke tu'uti ma'u ta'ana ... (T200:4)

must imp cut also 3p
a sg redup

'[He] was about to cut his [coconut] also ...'

In colloquial conversation, short commands are not accompanied by markers other than intonation. Thus: *Boo atu!* 'Go away!' (Said constantly to children.) *A'u!* 'Come!' *Mau'inge!* 'Let go!' *Ina'ange!* 'Look here!' "*Kitaa boo o tautai.*" (T50[A]:1) "Let's go fishing." "*Ngongo ake a Hu'aitebai ...*" (T119:2) "Hu'aitebai should listen ...".

4.2.5.2. *Mei*, in ritual entreaties (R). What follows is based on Monberg's exhaustive study of Bellonese harvest rituals and does not necessarily apply to Rennellese ones. *Mei* is used repeatedly in Monberg's temple and house harvest rituals. It is most often used in prayers to the sky god (Tehainga'atua) and his sister (sometimes), and grandson, or by the prime vehicle (an important official) speaking for the sky god. It usually follows *ke*, imperative/intentive, or occasionally the resultative conjunction *o* 'and'. English 'may' seems usually to be as good a translation as any other. It seems to add politeness to rituals, but informants would say only that it was the language of the gods. Here are some examples:

He 'inati ma'ungi ... ke mei ngiu ai tou kainanga

art share life imp R worship anaph 2p subject
sg nonsp instr o sg

... (16.2 V59)

'A share of life ... that your subject may worship with ...'
 (Good crops that may be used as offerings; but only "a" share, as
 entreaties must be modest in keeping with Bellonese mores.)

O mei e hanohano ke mei hakauu tou mango ... (17.2 V19)

rslt R gen continue imp R ritual 2p loincloth
o sg

'And may [we] continue may [we] perform the *hakauu* ritual for
 your loincloth ...'

The following from a *manga'e* ritual (18.2 V9) was somewhat
 aberrant:

Kua singa tou tai, kau mei tuha.

perf come 2p sea 1p R distribute
o sg sg intent

'Your sea has come that I may distribute.'

4.2.5.3. Kitai, tekai, mood dubitative (dubit).

... Kitai go bilaabei? (T176:2)

mood fut meet
dubit

'Perhaps [we] will meet?'

Kitai amo e au ia te kougua ...

dubit accuse subj 1p obj art 2p
 of incest sg sg sp dual

'Perhaps I'll accuse the two of you of incest ...'

4.2.5.4. *Poi*, conditional (*condit*). *Poi* follows pauses, the conjunctions *ka* and *o*, punctual *te*, or past punctual *na*. Translations are 'if' or 'almost'.

Poi hai ma'aku he kiba, kua boga.

condit have ben 1p art knife perf clear
a sg sg nonsp

'If I had a knife, I would clear off [brush].'

Ka poi mate koe, ko au ku hano.

and/ condit die 2p top 1p perf go
 but sg sg sg

'And if you die, I will have gone.'

Notice that *poi ... ku(a)* indicates a future conditional.

Poi ... po is usually translated 'maybe': *Poi gaoi, po si'ai!* 'Maybe good, maybe not!' (Cf *po* in 9.3.)

4.2.5.5. *Noka*, negative imperative (*neg imp*). *Noka* is a marker of limited distribution and has been noted as a sentence word (*Noka!* 'Stop it!, Don't!'), at the beginning of a sentence, and after *ke*, *kae*, *kua*, and *ku*. It may be followed by a noun phrase beginning with *te*, a *t* possessive, or \emptyset possessive. Perhaps these noun phrases may be considered direct objects of *noka* used as a transitive verb 'to stop'. It also may be followed by an NP beginning *i* or *ma*. Common in conversation, it is rare in texts. Here are examples:

Ke noka! (T185[A]:6) 'Stop it!'

Noka te hano. 'Don't go.'

Noka te gea. 'Don't speak.'

Noka tetatou nge-ngea i te poo nei. (T36[C]:12)

neg 1p a p1- talk in art night demon \emptyset
imp inc pl sg sp near 1p

'Let's us not talk tonight.'

Noka aku pegea ... (T235[B]:30)

neg 1p ∅ person
imp a sg

'Leave my people alone ...'

Kae noka te ho-hoa ki toku ikaamu'a. (T55:5)

and neg art pl-crack to 1p front of
sg sp o sg turtle shell

'And don't crack [the coconuts] on the front of my shell [turtle speaking].'

... noka heoka kia tona hunga ... Ka na noka i te

neg angry ind 3p child- and/ past neg obj art
imp obj o sg in-law but punc sg sp

siasia i te 'asu 'anga te upo ... (T220:5-6)

happy caus art catch nom art eel

'... [he] was angry at his daughter-in-law ... But stopped because of the pleasure of catching eels ...'

The following beautiful *huaa pati* clapping song was composed by Paul Sengeika as a lament for his old age (*Canoes* p.40), and has been translated rather freely and feelingly by Monberg. It provides insight into traditional Bellonese values.

*... Noka i ba'i tegeu'a, noka
i ba'i ngahonga*

... Nevermore do [I] think,
nevermore do [I] make plans

*Kua noka toku sau 'ungua, kae
noka toku sao ghatogha*

Nevermore do I catch a wealth
of 'ungua fish, nevermore do
[I] make an offering of
ngeemungi fruit

*Kae noka ma toku bugho ngoa,
kae noka toku kupenga 'apa*

Nevermore do I catch fish with
my long net, and nevermore do
[I] catch *nga'ea* fish in my
net

4.4. VERB PHRASES

*Noka toku sau 'angaba i te au
taki ma'anusanga*

Nevermore will there be a
wealth of shark for me at each
fishing ground

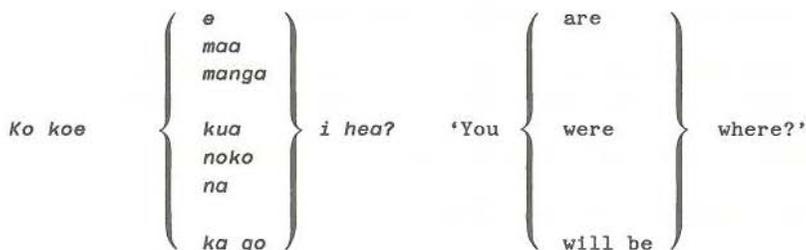
*Noka oku ba'e ma toku papa.
Seu oku ngima o tahonga*

Nevermore do my legs move in
dance or does my sounding
board sound. My hands are
useless and they rest

*Noka i toku hai pengea ma te
noko taki i aku me'a ...*

Nevermore do I make friends,
those I invited to my feasts
...

4.3. Verb markers used as verbs. Most of the particles listed in Table 4 in 4.2.1 can be used as verbs, especially before *i hea* 'where?', as the following diagram shows:



Another example is:

Tehea te pegea? Maa i te hage. 'Where's the person? Just now
in the house.'

4.4. Preverb adverbs following markers of tense, aspect, and mood. Following the seven slots occupied by verb markers (Table 4 in 4.2.1) are four slots occupied by ten particles. In contrast to the verb markers, most adverbs have lexical rather than grammatical meanings, and only *ta'anga*, *tangani*, and *mani* commonly follow verb markers. The others frequently occur in sentence-initial position or after conjunctions.

Table 5
Preverb adverbs

<i>kabe</i>	<i>taki</i>	<i>he'e</i> (<i>he'e tau</i>)	<i>ta'anga</i>
<i>koi</i>			<i>tangani</i>
<i>te'itoo, te'ioo, 'itoo</i>			<i>heki, hoki</i>
			<i>mani</i> ₁
			<i>mani</i> ₂

Of the above, only *he'e* may function as a verb. *He'e tau* precedes nouns. All except common *he'e tau* and rather rare *tangani* are diagnostic for verbs.

4.4.1. *Kabe*, intensifier (*intens*). The intensifier *kabe* is common on Rennell, but on Bellona the prefix *hu'ai-* 'big' is more common:

Rennell	<i>kabe gaoi</i>	} 'very good'
Bellona	<i>hu'aigaoi</i>	

Other examples of *kabe*:

Te *kumete nei kabe he- gu -ti.* (T41[A]:6)

<u>art</u>	bowl	<u>demon</u> 0	<u>intens</u>	} shake
<u>sg sp</u>		<u>near</u> 1p	<u>pl</u>	

'This bowl certainly shakes.'

Kabe kai songosongo!

intens eat bad

'What disgusting food!'

4.4.2. Koi 'still, yet'. Koi usually precedes verbs directly or *he'e* 'not' + verb:

... *te ga'akau koi toto* ... (T50[B]:9)

art tree still blood
sg sp

'... the tree still bleeds sap ...'

Ko kimatou koi he'e gongo ia God.

top 1p still neg hear source God
exc pl

'We still had not heard about God.'

Au tagipou, ako koi tama. (poetic)

2p harvest learn still child
a sg

'Your garden harvests, learned while still a child.' (*Tama* is used as a verb here.)

4.4.3. *Te'itoo*, *te'ioo*, *'itoo* 'to have just, for the first time'. The three variants are listed in approximate order of frequency; *'itoo* is rare.

te tama 'iti'iti te'itoo haa

art son small have just/ born
sg sp ♀ sp/child first time

'the newborn child, the child just born'

Te'itoo mate te ingoa o te hatutigi ... (T30)

have just/ say art name of art thunder
first time sg sp

'For the first time the name "thunder" was spoken ...'

Tou ta'e nei kua he'e tau pegea, aano te'ioo a'u

2p feces demon Ø perf neg intens person and have just/ come
o sg near 1p then first time sg

mai nei koe o ina kinai.

direct demon 2p rslt see anaph
 hither sg dir obj

'Your feces here have no relatives at all, and you are the first to come here to see me.' (Ceremonial greeting to a visitor: speaker likens himself to the feces of the visitor and claims he has no relatives. The anaphor *kinai* here is humbling; cf *kinai* in 4.9.)

4.4.4. Taki 'separated' (sep).

taki noho 'live separately' (< noho₁ 'to live')

taki hai noho 'of a different kind' (< noho₂ 'kind, nature')

taki boo 'go separately'

taki hai gaataki 'with different meanings'

Noko tuha-tuha o taki 'ugu epa ai te ta'u

past pl -distribute rslt sep sacred anaph art pl
 mat at sg sp

ngauguenga ... (T9:3)

temple

'There was [food] distribution and every temple had thereupon its own sacred mat ...' ('Ugu epa is used as a verb here. The antecedent of *ai* is in the previous verse.)

4.4.5. He'e, negative (neg) and he'e tau, negative intensifier (intens). He'e occurs before verbs and he'e tau as an intensifier before nouns. Cf. 4.1.5.2.

He'e na pegea maa'ogi.

neg art person real
pl sp

'Not real people.'

He'e tau mane.

neg intens money

'No money at all.'

Maa gaoui i te poi he'e 'ua.

moment good temp punc condit neg rain

'Fine now if [it] doesn't rain.'

For the negative conjunctions *si'ai* and *'oisi* see section 11.4.

Te tama'ahine a Mautikitiki na hai, manga mangangi-ngangi,

art daughter/ of Mautikitiki past have just/ smooth -intens
sg sp wife/sis/ punc only
or sp

he'e tau soni. (T43)

neg intens vagina

'The daughter that Mautikitiki had was completely smooth, no vagina at all.'

4.4.6. Ta'anga 'usually, commonly, customarily' (com).

Noko ta'anga ta-tangi i na poo ... (T2[B]:10)

past com pl-cry in art night
pl sp

'[The birds] usually cried at night ...'

Te kupu ta'anga hai.

art word com say
sg sp

'Common word.'

Ko ba'i 'aso e ta'anga hano ai au ki mouku ... (T20:3)

top art day gen com go anaph ip to bush
distr sg temp sg

'Every day I usually go to the bush ...'

4.4.7. *Tangani* 'vainly'. The many glosses of this word include 'without reason, use, utility, understanding, profit, value, money; needlessly, foolishly, helplessly, poorly, vainly'.

tangani moe 'to sleep poorly, vainly'

Noka te tangani tangi. 'Don't cry for no reason at all.'

... *noko maa tangani gutiguti.* (T117:2) '... just foolishly noisy.'

Tangani also precedes nouns: *tangani pegea* 'person of low prestige'.

4.4.8. *Heki, hoki* 'not yet'. *Heki* is common in conversations on Rennell, *hoki* on Bellona; neither is very common in legends.

Hai atu mu'a ai na me'a heki hai ... (T118:7)

make/ direct dubit anaph art thing not make
do thither loc pl sp yet

'First do things there not yet done ...'

... *ngua 'uhi mea hoki moso.* (T128:7)

num yam red not cooked
2 yet

'... the two red yams are not cooked yet.'

Hoki a'u. 'Not yet come.'

This particle is not to be confused with the extremely common verb *hoki* 'to come or go back, return (sg)', which also follows verbs as a part of the verb nucleus (4.5) meaning 'again'.

4.4.9. *Mani*₁ 'later'. This particle is particularly common in the idiom favored by procrastinators *ioo mani hai* (lit. 'future later do') 'later, by-and-by, mañana'.

Te 'umu, ke go mani kai.

art oven imp fut later eat
sg sp

'The oven food will be eaten later.'

4.4.10. *Mani*₂, *mani hai* 'carefully, properly, slowly'.

Mani hai atu i te tarake-na, na'e ketai
careful direct obj art car -demon 0 lest/or/ dubit
away sg sp near 2p because

he- upi -'aki!
beat
recip

'Be careful of that car or you might have a collision!'

... *he'e mani hai atu* ... (T190:8) '... not behave properly; misbehave ...'

Kai mani ma-mata ... (D)

eat slowly pl-watching

'Eat little by little, sparingly.'

4.5. The nucleuses of verb phrases. Everything in a sentence following the preverb markers (4.2.1) and adverbs (4.4) and preceding the postverb particles (4.8) is the verb nucleus (VN). The nucleuses may take affixes and be followed by directionals (4.6) or the goal focus particle (4.7), as well as qualifiers, as will be illustrated below. VPs and VNs may contain many elements and may overlap. Here are a few examples.

Taugua mai!

sing direct
 hither

VN

VP

'Sing!'

Kua a'u.

perf come

sg

VN

VP

'[He] has come.'

Ko Moa hu'ai- hai -sini.

top Moa intens-make/-sin

do

VN

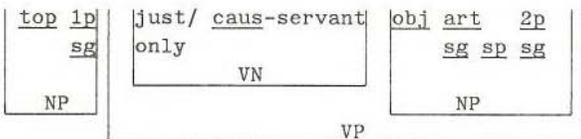
NP

VP

'Moa copulates very much.' (*Sini* is from English 'sin' and follows only *hai*; a common euphemism, it applies alike to man and beast.)

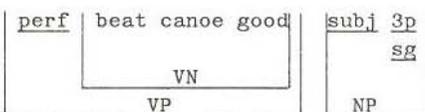
4.5. VERB PHRASES

Ko au manga haka-guani ia te koe.



'I'm just an inferior association in your presence.' (This is an example of polite self-abasement, as in the presence of an elder or brother-in-law.)

Kua taa baka gaoi e ia.



'He makes good canoes.'

This last sentence shows that a VN may consist of a sequence of verb + noun + noun/verb qualifier. Words such as *taa* with many nuances and meanings are frequently followed by other words:

taa haka-gebageba

disease caus-to throb

'to have asthma, asthma'

taa 'aga'aga te baka

cut shout art canoe
sg sp

'to shout while felling a log for a canoe'

kai haka-na'a

eat caus-know

'to eat and save food'

T- a -a'aki e kingaua te hange kae ta'aki tataka e
 | |
 | pl |
 | lift |
 subj 3p art house and lift crush subj
 dual sg sp

Tangosia ia Sangoihenua.

Tangosia obj Sangoihenua

'The two picked up [the roof of] the house and Tangosia lifted up and crushed Sangoihenua.' (Note the plural infix *a* in the first word.)

Common verbs of motion frequently follow other verbs imparting nuances of continuing, prolonged, or plural activity.

'aabaki 'to participate, help': kai 'aabaki 'to eat together, share food'

'agu 'to follow': ... taghaghi 'agu ai te tao ... (T17[A]:6)
 '... the spear was hurled after him ...'

a'u 'to come (sg)': hahangu a'u [te ahi] (T18:3) '[the fire] came roaring'

boo 'go, come (pl)': hekaau i boo 'swimming on and on, continuously'

hano 'go (sg)': Aku tago noko 'usi hano. (poetic) 'My taro was green everywhere.'

sehu 'to walk': ... hai tena pota ugi, kite tupe sehu i na 'umu ... (T50[C]:8) '... made his taro-shoot puddings and threw them here and there in the ovens ...'

4.6. Directionals (direct).

4.6.1. Inventory. One of the most complicated features of Rennellese and Bellonese is the set of six directionals, in some ways differing from the directionals of other Polynesian languages. The four most common directionals are *atu* 'thither', *mai* 'hither', *ake* 'up', and *iho* 'down'. Their relative frequency in six stories taped by Rolf Kuschel on Bellona in October 1977 is (with digits referring to the number of examples) *atu* 44, *mai* 35, *ake* 27, and *iho* 20. The frequency varies with the speakers and the situations in the stories. The female Lake informant in

1957 (T229) had this tally: *ake* 15, *atu* 7, *mai* 3, and *iho* 3. The fifth and sixth directionals (*ange*₁ and *ange*₂) are treated in 4.6.7. *Ange*₂ is the only directional occurring as a noun qualifier and differs in other ways from the other directionals. Stative verbs rarely are followed by directionals; motion verbs commonly take them, as do *i(a)-t* verbs and *ki(a)-t* verbs.

Two common verbs ending with *a* coalesce with *atu*, *ake*, and *ange*:

'*aba*- 'to give': '*abatu*, '*abake*, '*abange* but '*au mai* and '*aba iho*.

hin- 'to go, come (sg)': *hinatu*, *hinake*, *hinange*, but *hina iho*.

Three common verbs with double vowels coalesce with the directionals beginning with vowels:

to'o 'to take, bring': *to'atu*, *to'ake*, *to'ange*, *to'iho* (but *too iho* in T100:6).

too 'to fall': *to'atu*, *toake*, *toange*, *toiho*.

tu'u 'to stand': *tu'atu*, *tu'ake*, *tu'ange*, *tu'iho*.

The common *ki(a)-t* verbs *ina* 'to see, stay' and their plural derivatives *hiina'i* are usually followed by glottal stops before directionals beginning with vowels: *ina'atu*, *ina'ake*, *ina'ange* (T103:3), *ina'iho*; *hiina'i'atu*, *hiina'i'ake*, *hiina'i'ange*, *hiina'i'iho*.

Other contractions noted frequently in the texts are *a'agake* (< '*aga* 'to wake'), *sigake* and its reduplicated form *sisigake* (< *siga* 'to pass by'), and *tegeu'ake* (< *tegeu'a* 'to think').

4.6.2. *Mai* and *atu*. The glosses for these directionals in interlinear translations are 'hither' and 'thither'. Meanings of some bases change according to following *mai* and *atu*.

After verbs of motion:

boo mai 'to come here (pl)' *boo atu* 'to go away (pl)'

ghali mai 'to come here quickly' *ghali atu* 'to go away fast'

hoki mai 'to come back (sg)' *hoki atu* 'to go back (sg)'

4.6.3. VERB PHRASES

Noho mai i Mugaba.

stay direct at Rennell
hither

'Staying nearby on Rennell.' (The speaker is on Bellona.)

Not to be confused with common *noho* 'to stay, live' is the almost equally common *noho* 'to resemble':

He'e noho mai ko Te'unguhenua.

not resemble direct top Te'unguhenua
hither

'[He] didn't look to me like Te'unguhenua.'

The directional *mai* is not to be confused with the source preposition *mai* (note examples in 5.2.7).

4.6.3. Ake 'up' and iho 'down'.

Hiti ake te uguugu.

open direct art wife
up sg sp

'The wife opened [her eyes].'

Te ga'aa e sopo ake.

art sun gen appears direct
sg sp up

'The sun rises.'

'Aabaki ake mai poo'ugi.

help direct source underworld
up

'Provide help up from the underworld.'

Kai ake!

eat direct
up

'Eat!' (Food is lifted up to the mouth.)

Perhaps swallowing is akin to eating. Mautikitiki tells the mythical creature *ngosengose* to swallow (*hongo ake*) a stone which he has just thrown (*tupe atu*) into the *ngosengose's* open mouth (T41[B]:16).

And a highly restricted curse about sexual relations takes *ake*:

Koutou he'iti ake! (T136[C]:2)

2p fuck direct
pl up

'Fuck you!'

Sa'u ake te polo i te kete.

take direct art coconut source art basket
up sg sp

'Take the coconut up from the basket.'

Iho 'down, lower', *keu iho* 'look down', *noho iho* 'sit down':

Mio iho na go'imata.

trickle direct art tear
down pl sp

'The tears trickled down.'

A mouse begs mercy of Sina: '*Agoha iho kia te au ...* 'Have mercy (down) on me ...' In T99:2 the phrase is '*agoha ake*, but this is said by a sick wife looking up at her husband, who has blackened his face to perform a curing ceremony.

4.6.3. VERB PHRASES

Similarly, in a conversation in T40:5 between Mautikitiki (M), the famous Polynesian culture hero and trickster, and a sandpiper (S), M talks down (*iho*) to S and S speaks up (*ake*) to M:

Haa iho a M
'M said'

Hakatau ake te mugikaakoni
'S answered'

Hakaanu iho ma'u
'[M] also asked'

hakatau hakahoki ake te mugikaakoni
'S answered again'

hakaanu iho ma'u
'[M] also asked'

Ma te hai ake ma'u ... o hai ake
'[S] said also ... [S] said'

hakaanu hakahoki iho ma'u
'[M] also asked again'

Hakatau ake te mugikaakoni
'S answered'

haa iho a M: "Hakahua iho!"
'M said: "Suit [yourself]"'

Another interpretation of this scene is that Mautikitiki is inside the house and talks down to the sandpiper, who is outside the house. The house is thought of as higher than the ground, and even in old times the dirt floor was on a low earthen mound. (Today most houses are built on stilts so that the difference in altitude is quite obvious.)

In 1962 the late District Headman Solomon Puia sent a telegram to his radio operation on Rennell which began:

Haa iho ki na pegea -na ...

say direct to art person-demon g
down pl sp near 2p

'Speak down to the people near you ...'

Solomon used *iho* even though he was talking from Honiara to Rennell (see 4.6.4). An informant suggested that this was because the radio operator was directed to speak to the people standing or sitting outside his house. *Haa* is an assimilated colloquial equivalent of *hai*.

Ake and *iho* are used in some contexts without regard to relative elevations of speaker and addressee: only the elevation

Ko Moa manga kumu ake i tona manaha.

top Moa just/ cares direct obj 3p homestead
 only up o sg

'Moa just takes care of his homestead.' (Cf *Ko Laasia manga kumu atu i Saina*. 'Russia takes care of China.' Russia is so far from China that *atu* is used.)

The same dichotomy applies to the two islands versus the outside world. The 'house' or home is equated with the two islands; the outside world is outside the house. Thus the speaker on Rennell and Bellona goes "down" (*iho*) to the outside world, and anyone outside goes "up" (*ake*) to Rennell and Bellona. The two islands represent the top of the world. A Bellonese expressed it this way:

Namaa hi- ina -'i kitatou i Mugaba, hai ake ko au e
 when stay 1p at Rennell say direct top 1p gen
pl exc pl up sg

hina -ke i Honiala ki Niupani nei.

go/come-direct source Honiara to Niupani demon ∅
sg up near 1p

'When we stay at Rennell, [we] say I come up from Honiara to Niupani here.'

Namaa hiina'i kitatou i Honiala nei, hai ake ko au e hina iho i Mugaba. 'When we stay here at Honiara, [we] say I come down from Rennell.'

I recall that when I was in Honiara I was surprised when the Bellonese there kept asking me when are you going up (*hinake*) to Bellona. When Sengeika was in Denmark in 1982 he said: *Ko au noko hina iho ki Denmark nei*. 'I came down here to Denmark.' The Western map-conditioned idea that south is 'down' is hard to overcome, and does not exist on the two islands.

Thoughts and feelings are probably conceived as coming up from the belly.

Ma te hano koe o he'e na'a ake ia te kimatou. (D)

and punc go 2p rslt neg know direct obj art 1p
sg sg up sg sp exc pl

'And you go away and will know nothing about us.'

Tu'ia a sa'a Kaitu'u o langalanga ake. (T160:9)

surprised subj clan Kaitu'u rslt puzzled direct
up

'The Kaitu'u clan was surprised and puzzled.'

But in some contexts *iho* rather than *ake* follows a verb expressing feeling.

Toku manaba manga tipa iho.

1p heart just/ beat direct
o sg only down

'My heart is beating.'

Haka-pungaga iho e te ua'a tau'a te hai nei ...

caus-alert direct subj art storm fight punc make/ demon Ø
down sg sp sign do near 1p

(T196:11) 'The storm signal warns of a battle to happen today ...'

In both of these sentences (and especially the first), the fears do not emerge but stay down in the heart.

Ake and *iho* also mean landward and seaward. *Boo ake ki ga'unga*. This sentence can be translated in two ways. If the people in a canoe are talking to each other, they say *boo ake ki ga'unga* 'go up ashore'. If the people on land are talking to those in the canoe, they say the same thing, 'come up ashore'. *Boo* can mean either 'go' or 'come', depending on context. For the directional, the relative position of the speakers is important. If the people in the canoe are talking to each other, and *Moa* is about to wade ashore, they may say *Ko Moa e*

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hinake i te baka. 'Moa is going ashore (*ake*) from the canoe.'
Hinake, like *boo*, may mean both 'come' and 'go' (4.1.5).

The following shows clearly the distinctions of *iho*, *mai*, and *ake*.

... o *boo iho ki te baka, o boo mai ki Mugaba*
rslt go/come direct to art canoe rslt go direct to Rennell
pl down sg sp hither

nei, o boo ake ki Mugihenua, o boo mai ki te
demon Ø rslt go direct to Mugihenua rslt go direct to art
near 1p up

tugi aga. (T196:14)

beginning trail

'... and went down to the canoe, and came this way to Rennell here, and went up to Mugihenua, and came here to the trail beginning.'

4.6.5. Double directionals. These seem very rare, but the following was noted in T41[B]:15: Mautikitiki is talking to the *ngosengose* and says:

Baa -mangamanga ake mai tou ngutu.

caus-open direct direct 2p mouth
up hither o sg

'Open up your mouth for me.'

4.6.6. Directionals as verbs. *Mai*, *ake*, and *iho* (but not *atu* or *ange*) are sometimes used as verbs. *Mai* functions as an imperative verb without preceding particles. *Mai!* 'Look here! Give [it] to me!' *Mai te kogoana* ... (T50[B]:4) 'Give me the *tapa* by you ...'

Ake and *iho* also function as verbs, but unlike *mai*, may be preceded by verb markers and followed by directionals. *E'a ake mai ki ga'unga!* 'Climb up this way!' *Na pogo e ake.* 'The surgeonfish are running [into the lagoon from the sea].' (This greatly desired small fish at times runs in enormous schools into

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Cf similar examples (all with 'abange) in Canoes: 52[A]:15; 88:10; 94:1; 147:3; 159[A]:29; 183:2; 194:2; and others.

One informant, after giving several examples of 'abange 'give to a third person', translated 'give to you' as 'abotu kia te koe.

In certain idioms, a third person is not mentioned: *te uiki e sigi ange* (D) 'last week'; *soo ange* 'move away, clear out'.

4.6.7.2. Ange₂

Ange₂ was very puzzling. In some examples, it seemed to have nothing to do with directions. The Tongan dictionary offered important clues. Churchward wrote that *ange* adds "a touch of politeness to a request", and with the definitive accent "indicates that the speaker wants the thing done here and now" (not 'please', as in his grammar). After long discussions with Monberg and Kuschel, and after having collected many examples, a kind of consensus was reached (the informants were not able to provide much help). *Ange₂* seemed to be a way of softening entreaties, sometimes with a nuance of emotion (hope, sorrow, pity, affection, pleasure). Three examples from *Canoes* follow. In contrast to *ange₁*, it occurs after quite a number of verbs and may even follow nouns and the negative *si'ai*.

The story of Sinakibi ('blind Sina') is an important and difficult tale and a favorite of the people. In spite of its complications, it was the first story told me in 1958, and to Monberg in 1959. Its importance is due partially to the presence in the story of Sina, a culture heroine, and her mischievous children, the two stone gods, the most powerful supernaturals in the Rennellese pantheon. T1[A] contains a counting sequence, with blind Sina breaking off portions of a yam and counting them backwards from ten to one. When she tries to get the last yam, her hand grabs Moesabengubengu (an unworshipped goddess who had curative powers -- henceforth M), whose husband's life principle (*ma'ugi*) has been stolen by the powerful and capricious stone gods. "Oh, please let go," M says to Sina, "and I'll cure your terrible affliction":

Mau'i ange, ka kau hai 'ia tou tamaki-na ke
 release emotion and/ 1p make/ gf 2p malady-demon Ø imp
 but sg int do o sg near 2p

noka.

neg

imp

Sina releases M's hand and she restores Sina's sight. As a reward, Sina gives M the missing life principle. The question is: how should *mau'i ange* be translated? M's hand is held by a powerful goddess. Does *ange* carry nuances of anxiety or depression?

In T103:3 a man named Temoa tries to extract a painful tooth and lies on the ground moaning and scowling. His god appears and says:

"Ina'ange gaa ki teenei kainanga e haki
 look-emotion demon Ø ind demon worshipper gen break
obj near 1p
emotion

haka-ma-mata te niho kia te au."

caus-intens/ art tooth ind art 1p
 see sg sp obj sg

"Behold then this beloved worshipper who has broken his tooth and is scowling at me."

The god feels so sorry for Temoa that he grants him longevity (but nothing is said about the tooth).

T196:9 was told by a middle-aged woman who liked to tell stories about women in love. In order to get rid of her husband so that she may run away with her lover, the woman in the story says to the husband: "*Hinange ki te manaha?*" "Don't you want please to go to the settlement?"

The same *ange* occurs in set idioms, many associated with certain stories. *Ange* in such idioms is often followed by *goa*, here an intensifier:

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Si'ai ange goa i te mama'o a Mugaba kau hano

neg emotion intens caus art far of Rennell 1p go
sg sp sg int sg

kinai!

anaph

to

'If only Rennell weren't so far away I'd go there!'

Maase'i ange teenei me'a!

bad emotion demon thing
near 1p/
emotion

'How wonderful this thing is!' (Ange seems to negate maase'i. If the speaker had said gaoi 'good' the gods might punish him for bragging.)

Punua ngaoi ange mu'a nei tau tama'ahine-na ...

child good emotion dubit demon Ø 2p daughter/ -demon Ø
near 1p a sg wife, sis near 2p
emotion Ø sp

(T159[B]:9) 'What a very very beautiful child your daughter there is ...' (The intended victim is carrying his little daughter on his shoulders. His enemy flatters him by praising his daughter so that he may come nearer and be more conveniently assassinated. This was recorded in 1960. An almost identical situation and language were recorded by Kuschel from a different informant in 1977. Punua gaoi ange is one of the set phrases good story tellers are so fond of repeating verbatim, and which serve mnemonically as well as providing the pleasure of the familiar.)

Ko au noko noho i Mungaba kae hetae ange tau leta.

top 1p past stay at Rennell and arrive emotion 2p letter
sg a sg

'I was staying on Rennell and your letter came.' (Sengeika, who wrote this as the beginning of a letter to Kuschel, said afterwards that *ange* indicated that he was not certain just when the letter arrived. He may have been apologizing for the long delay in answering the letter, or he may have been happy at receiving a letter from his friend.)

He henua ange kau mata. (T219:14) 'Do I behold a land?' This is in a *ngeba* religious song asking why the gods no longer bring gifts. In Monberg's collection of Bellonese rituals, *ange* does not occur, although *ngeba* do.

Po ko ai te hakao'oue ange? (T22:2) 'Who is saying o'oue?' (The great district god Tehu'aigabenga is rebuking the god of snakes for daring to use his private expression for 'aue 'thank you'.)

God ange to'a. (Moa, n.d.) This was the translation of Lord God almighty by Moa, who took Christianity to Bellona and smashed the two powerful stone gods. He wanted to impress his stubborn countrymen with the sublime and mystic power of Jehovah (cf 1.4).

In some ways, *ange*₂ is an emotional intensifier.

4.7. 'Ia, goal focus (gf). Four common *i(a)*-t verbs are exemplified below. In each group of two sentences, the first verb is translated by a transitive, the second by a passive.

<i>Kai e Moa te 'uhi.</i>	'Moa ate the yam.'
<i>Te 'uhi kua kai 'ia.</i>	'The yam was eaten.'
<i>Noko to'ake e Moa a Sina.</i>	'Moa took Sina up.'
<i>Te bai noko to'ake 'ia.</i>	'The water was brought up.'
<i>Noko ti'aki e Moa a Sina.</i>	'Moa abandoned Sina.'
<i>Ko Sina noko ti'aki 'ia.</i>	'Sina was abandoned.'
<i>Na'ana'a kinai 'ai ko koe taa</i> (e) Moa.	'Be careful of him or Moa will kill you.'
<i>Ka Moa noko ta'ia.</i>	'Moa was killed.'

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The fact that the 'ia forms in these examples are translated by passives might indicate that 'ia is a passivizer. But some verbs with 'ia may be translated as transitives, and the same verbs without 'ia may be translated by passives.

Transitive translations (with 'ia):

- Kau kai to'a 'ia te utunga.* 'I'll eat lots of food.'
Hai kau kai 'ia te utunga. 'I'll have to eat the food up.'
Hai kau ti'aki 'ia toku uguugu. 'I'll have to abandon my wife.'

Passive translations (without 'ia):

- Te bai noko to'ake i ga'unga.* 'The water was taken up.'
Te tama'iti'iti noko ti'aki e te tinana. (T206:1) 'The child was abandoned by the mother.'
Ko ia kua taa e te masaki. 'He was struck by the sickness.'

If 'ia is not a passivizer, what then are we to call it? Milner in various articles (see Krupa 1982:118, also Milner 1976) vigorously opposes the designation "passive" and suggests "perfective". This term is used by Carroll and Soulik for Nukuoro; Lieber and Dikepa write of imperative (transitivizing) in Kapingamarangi.

Morton in his Tongan grammar characterized the so-called transitive suffixes in Tongan as "evidencing the terminative aspect (i.e. emphasize action upon a goal rather than action by an actor)". This seems to be the situation in Rennellese and Bellonese, especially since the sentences with 'ia in the first part of this subsection cannot take an actor. One can say: *Te bai noko binu e te tangata* or *Noko binu e te tangata te bai* 'The man drank the water', but one cannot say **Te bai noko binu 'ia e te tangata*. (One can say *Te bai noko binu 'ia*, but an agent may not follow.)

So we are taking the function of 'ia to be goal focus, a term used in Table 3 in 4.1. This could be shown in translations by italicizing the goal: *te bai noko binu 'ia* 'the water was drunk'.

In general, bases in CV₁V₁ contract to CV₁ before 'ia. Other translations than those that follow might be possible.

<i>bii</i> 'bitter'	<i>bi'ia</i> 'to have a bitter taste'
<i>goo</i> 'ant'	<i>go'ia</i> 'to be covered with ants'
<i>mii-</i>	<i>mi'ia</i> 'to be pissed on'
<i>puu</i> 'pierced'	<i>pu'ia</i> 'to make a hole'
<i>sii</i> 'to spurt'	<i>hakasi'ia</i> 'to cause to spurt'
<i>suu</i> 'wet'	<i>su'ia</i> 'to be wet'
<i>taa</i> 'to hit'	<i>ta'ia</i> (sg), <i>taa'ia</i> (pl) 'to hit, be hit'
<i>tuu</i> 'to be surprised'	<i>tu'ia</i> 'to be surprised'

'Ia has alternants (-*bia*, -*gia*, -*hia*, -*kia*, -*mia*, -*nia*, -*ngia*, -*sia*, -*tia*, - \emptyset *ia*: also cf -*a*, -*ina*) discussed in 8.10. These alternants are treated as suffixes because they may not be separated from bases, whereas 'ia may be separated by directionals or qualifiers from its base:

Kai to'a 'ia te utunga.

eat intens gf art food
sg sp

'The food was all eaten.'

A major distributional difference between the transitive and passive uses of 'ia is that the directional comes before 'ia used as a transitive, and after 'ia used as a passive.

Te baka hai kau toso ake 'ia te baka.

art canoe must lp drag direct gf art canoe
sg sp sg intent up

'I'll have to drag the canoe up.'

Te baka kua toso 'ia ake. 'The canoe was dragged up.'

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Kau hai ga'a atu te kete.

1p make/ gift direct art basket
sg intent do thither sg sp

'I'll make a gift of the basket.'

Te kete kua hai ga'a 'ia mai. 'The basket was given to me.'

Hai kau kaia'a atu 'ia te paolo. 'I'll steal the chicken.'

Te paolo kua kaia'a 'ia atu. 'The chicken was stolen.'

4.8. The tails of verb phrases and noun phrases. Particles in both VPs and NPs occurring to the right of the nucleus are listed in Table 6. Numbers in parentheses are of subsections in which the particle is discussed.

Table 6
 Particles following the nucleus

	'ia (4.7)	directionals (4.6)	'anga (5.6)	maa (4.8.1)	nei (6.3.1)	mu'a (4.8.2)
Of VPs:	+	+	+		+	+
Of NPs:				+	+	+
	<i>gaa</i> (6.3.5.4)	<i>'okoia,</i> <i>koia,</i> <i>koioo</i> (4.8.3)	<i>ma'u</i> (4.8.4)	<i>aano</i> (4.8.5)	<i>ai,</i> <i>kinai,</i> <i>iinai</i> (4.9)	<i>nei</i> (6.3.5.1)
Of VPs:		+	+	+	+	+
Of NPs:		+	+			

Some differences occur in the ordering of these particles. As just shown, 'ia follows directionals if the meaning of the verb is transitive rather than passive (4.7), and on Bellona (but not on Rennell), nei follows mu'a.

4.8.1. *Maa* 'and wife'. This particle follows directly after names of males and (rarely) pronouns. ... *maa iai a Kagebu maa* ... (T178:7) '... Kagebu and his wife were there ...' *Ko ia maa* 'he and his wife'.

4.8.2. *Mu'a*, dubitative (dubit). *Mu'a* with various meanings follows verbs and nouns, and is often used in questions and sometimes in deferential requests. (See the example in 4.4.8 under *haki/hoki*.) It is not to be confused with the locative noun-verb *mu'a* 'front, before, first' (*Ko au te mu'a* 'I am (the) first'), or the noun *mu'a* 'cause, reason' (see Dictionary).

Bellonese informants gave the following examples that were not acceptable to a young Lake informant in Honolulu in 1970:

Ko tai mu'a nei e mangino po si'ai?

top sea dubit demon ∅ gen calm or neg
near 1p

'Is the sea here calm or not?'

E hai mu'a nei, kau hano po kau moe?

gen make/ dubit demon ∅ 1p go or 1p sleep
do near 1p intent sg

'Should I go or sleep?'

The Rennellese informant gave this example:

Te kakai 'anga nei mu'a kitai gaho mai kinai te

art to live nom demon ∅ dubit mood blame direct anaph art
sg sp near 1p dubit hither ind obj

kaia'a gaa?

steal demon ∅
dubit

'These people might be blamed for the robbery?'

Note that the Bellonese order was *mu'a nei* and that of Rennell *nei mu'a*. Rennellese seldom used this idiom, according to a check in *Canoes*.

Both islands accepted the following: *Ko ai mu'a te tuki mai te belo?* 'Who could be striking the bell?' *Si'ai mu'a!* 'Not that! Certainly not!'

Some sentences seem to be ambiguous. Does *nei mu'a* also indicate 'before here'? Cf T52[A]:14 and T159[B]:5, 9.

4.8.3. 'Okoiā, koia, koioo, interrogative (interr). This is a question particle indicating doubt in both NPs and VPs, sometimes with a hint of peevishness, most commonly heard after the question words *aa*, *ai*, *kohea*, *tehea*. *Koia* (or emphatic *koioo*) is perhaps more common on Bellona, 'okoiā on Rennell.

Ni aa 'okoiā? 'What is that?'

Ku aa koia? 'What happened?'

Kohea 'okoiā? Kogaa. 'Where are [they]? Over there.'

Tehea 'okoiā? Teegaa. 'Where is it? Over there.'

Ko Moa 'okoiā po si'ai? 'Is it Moa or not?'

Ko au 'okoiā go kai po si'ai? 'Shall I eat or not?'

Ko ai 'okoiā? 'So who?'

Ko koe 'okoiā manga tauha i te aa? 'So why are you angry?'

Cf *gaa* in section 6.3.5.6, a demonstrative also expressing doubt. One informant thought that *gaa* indicated greater uncertainty than 'okoiā. I remember on Rennell hearing 'okoiā much more than *gaa*.

4.8.4. *Ma'u* 'also, again'. In NPs the common meanings are 'also, too' and in sentences with negatives 'either'. In VPs the same meanings are possible, and also the meaning 'again'.

Ko au ma'u. 'Me too. So do I.'

Ko au ma'u e he'e na'a e au. 'I don't know either.'

I te hage nei ma'u. 'In this house too.'

Te hage nei gaa ma'u e aa?

art house demon ∅ demon ∅ also/ gen interr
sg sp near 1p dubit again what

'This house also, what about it?'

Kae hoki iho o hai ma'u ai tena tuha -nga ...

and go back direct rslt make/ also/ anaph 3p share-nom
sg down do again at a sg agt/
rslt

(T67:47) '[He] came down again and made his distribution there ...'

4.8.5. Aano, continuative (cont). This extremely common particle occurs with equal frequency as a conjunction at the beginning of sentences and clauses (section 9), and as a particle near the end of VPs, indicating a continuing process.

Kae kakau a Puakegi, o sahe taha'aki ki 'One, o okioki

and swim subj Puakegi rslt reach last to 'One rslt rest

aano ai.

cont anaph
at

'Puakegi swam and reached 'One last, and rested there for a while.'

Hano taha te tai i te tina'e, honu ake aano te tai...

go touch art sea prep art stomach full direct cont art sea
sg sg sp loc up

(T63:11) 'The sea went and touched the stomach [of the victim], and the sea kept rising ...'

Ko au kua hano aano. 'I went on and on.'

Hai aano is an idiomatic VP with similar functions.

0 *hai aano ke 'ua, he'e 'ua.*

rslt have cont imp rain neg rain

'[It] was about to rain, [but] didn't rain.'

4.9. The anaphors. Elbert and Pukui (1979:96) describe various terms used for *ai* by Hale, Pratt, Alexander, and Milner, which the last (1969:9) dubbed "anaphoric". This name has been widely used since then. The word "too" would be anaphoric in English *Moa likes taro too*. We have been told already that *Moa* likes also sweet potatoes and bananas, or that *Jason* also likes taro. This "too" is at times ambiguous. In Polynesian it is usually rather easier to discover an antecedent; it is ordinarily not far ahead of *ai* and will be amply illustrated in this subsection.

In the 1970s three well-known grammarians wrote about Polynesian anaphors. In 1974 Paul Chapin published an extensive study of **ai*. He did not mention *kinai* and stated near the beginning of his article (p.259): "In brief my conclusions will be as follows: PPN has a single anaphoric particle **ai* and possibly one or more non-anaphoric particles with the same form, which may or may not have been related to it."

Ross Clark's treatment (1976:61-62) is as follows: "Most NPs introduced by **i* or **ki* were replaced by *ai* ... In addition such forms as TON[gan] *aki*, SAM[oan] *a'i* for Instrumental anaphora, and NUK[uoro] *agina*, REN[ell] *kinai* for Dative-Directional, strongly suggest that an anaphoric particle reflecting P[roto] E[ast] O[ceanic] **akinia* (Pawley 1972:43-46) was present in PPN, though its exact form and function are unclear ... There does not seem to have been any sharp grammatical distinction between the two types of anaphora."

Sandra Chung (1978:287-293) gave two examples of Rennell *kinai*, which she glossed as "pronominal copy" (sentence 53b) and "to-pronominal copy" (sentence 54b). In 55b *ai* is also glossed as "pronominal copy". Chung made no comments about *kinai*.

I will discuss these comments later, and will begin with Rennellese and Bellonese *ai* and *kinai*, which seem to be of about equally frequent occurrence.

Kinai in Rennellese and Bellonese has fewer semantic functions than has *ai*, but *ai* and *kinai* seem to be about equally common. *Kinai* is indivisible, although *ki-* in *kinai* is probably the preposition *ki*. Are there rules that explain the choice of *ai* or *kinai*? Are both anaphors? Have they the same meanings? Are they in complementary distribution?

To understand the explanations that follow, one must accept the probability that at least some Rennellese speakers associate *ai* with the preposition *i*, and *kinai* with the preposition *ki*. I will call (5.2.6) these prepositions proximal and distal, and these spatial attributes play a part in the semantic separation of *ai* and *kinai* that is to follow.

I use this terminology:

<i>ai</i> :	proximal anaphor	<i>i/ia</i> :	proximal preposition
<i>kinai</i> :	distal anaphor	<i>ki/kia</i> :	distal preposition

The close-far relationship of all this is quite apparent in these examples:

<i>tunu</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ai \\ kinai \end{array} \right\}$	'to cook	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} at' \\ for' \end{array} \right\}$	(sentences 8 and 9 below)
<i>moe</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ ki \end{array} \right\}$	<i>te hahine</i>	'to sleep with the woman	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} (and\ have\ sex)' \\ (and\ don't\ touch)' \end{array} \right\}$

Table 7 below lists the functions of the proximal anaphor *ai* and the distal anaphor *kinai*. The deities are in a separate category; they and their lands were considered far away (no human has ever been there) and invisible; hence supernatural beings are distal. Although invisible and remote, they were not considered mysterious. Their deportment was very much down to earth.

The sixteen sentences to follow illustrate the categories.

Table 7
Functions of anaphors

	<i>ai</i>	<i>kinai</i>		<i>ai</i>	<i>kinai</i>
locative (at)	5,7,8		benefactive		9
allative (to)		7	instrumental	11	
indirect object	3		temporal	12	
source	1,7		referential		13
causative	10		supernatural	16	2,4,6,7, 10,14,15

Some of the selections of *ai* or *kinai* may seem arbitrary. Probably speakers have a certain freedom as to which to use. The sentences below the table will show that some verbs may take both anaphors, but with different meanings. Examples are *sopo*, *hai* 'to say', *ina* 'to look', and *tunu*.

4.9.1. *Sopo ai* 'to come from' and *sopo kinai* 'to come to'.

(1) *Te 'uhi noko sopo ai a Ekeitehua ... (T5:1)*

art yam past come anaph subj Ekeitehua
sg sp source

'The yam that Ekeitehua came out of ...' (Note in the next sentence the preposition *i*, source.)

(2) *Too iho ma'u a Tangagoa ke to'o ma'ana he*

fall direct also/ subj Tangagoa imp take/ 3p ben art
 down again bring a sg sg nonsp

pegea ma'u i te haanau a Tehainga'atua. Ma te

person also source art offspring of Tehainga'atua and punc
sg sp

sopo kinai ma tena 'uu ... (T14:3,4)

come anaph comit 3p arrow
super a sg bundle

'Tangagoa came down again to take for himself another of Tehainga'atua's children. And [Tehu'aigabenga] went against him with his bundle of arrows ...'

Since *ai* and *kinai* are proximal and distal, the distance implied in some instances may be emotional or antagonistic, as in this sentence and others to come. And of course *kinai* in (2) refers to the mischievous and malicious god Tangagoa.

4.9.2. Hai ai 'to say to them' and hai kinai 'to say to him (super)'.
 (3) ... o kite ia gu ona hai-taina o hai atu ai ...

rslt see obj num 3p ∅ kin-ysib rslt say direct anaph
 2 o sg set ss thither ind obj

'... and saw his two younger brothers and said to them ...'

(4) ... kae hai kinai tena titi -nga i ana kai pegea

and say anaph 3p scold-nom caus 3p ∅ eat person
super a sg agt/ a sg
rslt

'anga. Gehu aano kinai ... (T116:11-12)

nom scold cont anaph

'...and rebuked him for his man-eating. Then scolded him...'

In these partial sentences are two examples of antagonism towards an abnormal person (a cannibal), although the first *kinai* is an indirect object, and the second a direct object.

4.9.3. Ina ai 'to see there', hai ai 'to make there', ina kinai 'to see a supernatural'.

(5) ... sahe ki Hengokingoki o ina aano ai tona tina'e
 arrive to Hengokingoki rslt see cont anaph 3p stomach
 at o sg

o hai ai tana maasanga tangata. (T52[A]:3)

rslt make/ anaph 3p twin man
 do a sg

'... arrived at Hengokingoki and looked there at her stomach there making male twins.'

(6) Of a supernatural bird:

... e hitaiaki kia pegea ... Noko manga tangi o
gen near to person past just/ sing rslt
 only

hakagongo kinai a pegea, ka noko he'e ina kinai pegea.

hear anaph subj person and/ past neg see anaph person
super but

(T8:5,6) '... was near people ... Just sang and people heard it but the people did not see it.' (The bird belonged to the deity Tehu'aigabenga; though it was near the people, as a supernatural it takes the distal *kinai*; it could also be construed as an indirect object.)

4.9.4. Tau ai 'to touch there', noho kinai 'to stay with a supernatural', hiina'i kinai 'to watch them', 'ita kinai 'jealous of them'.

(7) 0 'agu'agu e Baetunamaea o mene ki te kie
rslt chase subj Baetunamaea rslt enter to art pandanus
sg sp
o tau ai a Sina ia Baetunamaea o noho kinai
rslt touch anaph subj Sina obj Baetunamaea rslt stay anaph
at super
a Baetunamaea ... A'aki iho i te kie ki taha
subj Baetunamaea come direct source art pandanus to side
down
o hiina'i kinai te manaha o 'ita kinai, o
rslt see anaph art settlement rslt jealous anaph rslt
gii e kigotou. (T50[C]:6,7)
tie subj 3p
pl

'Baetunamaea chased [a rat which] disappeared in a pandanus tree, and Sina there touched Baetunamaea, and Baetunamaea stayed with her ... [The couple] came down from the pandanus tree and the people of the settlement watched them and were jealous of them, and they tied [them] up.'

This sentence is hard to understand because a direct object (the rat) and a subject (the couple) were omitted by the teller (it was her first experience at dictation). During the lengthy discussions that followed and retelling by knowledgeable informants, these important personages were supplied, as indicated by the brackets in the translation above.

The characters in this drama are B (male) and S (female) -- both unworshipped demigods, a supernatural rat, the people of the settlement, and Sina's father. S has asked the rat to decoy B, with whom she is in love. She is in a pandanus tree and gets B to climb up too. She "touches" him as a sexual signal and B

makes love to her: the informant was an elderly lady of lowly status who was somewhat embarrassed and wished to avoid the term *haisini* 'to sin', commonly used for sexual relations. She also used the distal anaphor *kinai*; actually one would expect proximal *ai* for such a tender relationship, but she may have wanted to conceal what B and S did in the tree. She succeeded. More likely, *kinai* is used because the story is about demigods, who do not take the same particles as mortals do. The villagers, green with envy, planned to eat B, but not S. Sina immediately sent the rat to get her father, who came to the rescue, untied the couple, circled the house with a net, and set fire to the net and house, which were destroyed with all the people. The revenge motif here is very strong. (Cf Rolf Kuschel's forthcoming book, *Revenge is the Reply*.)

The antagonism of the people is probably present in *hiina'i kinai* and definitely in *'ita kinai*.

Additional note: *'ie'ie* or its equivalent is called *Freycinetia* in Hawaiian, Samoan, and Tahitian, and is distinguished from *hala* (or its equivalent) which everywhere is termed *Pandanus*. The Rennellese and Bellonese dictionary calls *kie* a pandanus, as do Tongan and Anutan. We did not get a scientific name for Rennellese and Bellonese *kie*, a small tree with rather sparse leaves used for fine mats. It has very short branches and is a less than inviting love nest.

4.9.5. *Tunu ai* 'to cook at' and *tunu kinai* 'to cook for'.

(8) ... *ka kau go hai 'ia he kunga ke go tunu ai.*

and/ 1p sg fut make/ gf art place fut cook anaph
but intent do sg nonsp at

(T31[A]:10) '... I'll find a place to cook at.'

(9) *Tehea te pegea ke tunu kinai he gaugau?*

interr art person imp cook anaph art food
where sg sp ben sg nonsp basket

(T51[A]:2) 'Where is the person to cook food baskets for?'
(The distinction of benefactive and indirect object is at times vague.)

4.9.6. Mimi kinai 'to piss on it' and saa'ago ai 'therefore smell'.

(10) *Soo mai ma'u a Mangoo ma te mimi kinai a*

come direct also/ subj Shark and punc piss anaph subj
hither again super

Mautikitiki, ma te saa'ago maase'i ai te mangoo ...

Mautikitiki and punc smell bad anaph art shark
caus sg sp

(T35[A]:6) 'Shark again came close and Mautikitiki pissed on it and so sharks smell bad ...'

Mautikitiki is dangerously close to the shark and pisses on it, an unfriendly act. The word *mimi* is slightly vulgar and is often avoided.

4.9.7. Sengesenge ai 'cut with it'.

(11) ... o hai te ngau tongo o senge-senge ai te

rslt make/ art leaf sugar rslt cut -intens anaph art
do sg sp cane instr

mata. (T1[A]:9)

eye

'... and [she] had a sugar cane leaf and operated on the eye with it.'

4.9.8. Hai ai 'to make then'.

(12) *Te 'aso noko hai ai te ahi ...* (T44:1)

art day past make/ anaph art fire
sg sp do time

'The day the fire was made on ...'

4.9.9. Hai kinai 'say about him'.

(13) Ko Sa'eangaba, teegaa te tautupu'a e hai kinai. (T163)

top Sa'eangaba demon art story gen say anaph
 far sg sp referential

'As for Sa'eangaba, that's the story told about him.'

4.9.10. Sosongi ai 'to press noses with her' and 'oso kinai 'to touch her'.

(14) ... kae e 'oso atu kinai a tona matu'a o

and gen touch direct anaph subj 3p husband rslt
 thither super o sg

sosongi ai. (T52[B]:10)

press noses anaph
 at

'...and her husband touched her and pressed noses with her.'

The antecedent of the two anaphors is the mother, mentioned four lines previously. 'Oso is a *ki(a)-t* verb and *sosongi* probably *i(a)-t*, indicative of a close relationship.

by the informant or the transcriber, or it may show that native speakers do not always follow the rules fabricated by analysts.

4.9.13. Conclusions.

1. A difficulty of the analysis is that the differences between some of the categories are vague, and that the category "supernatural" takes precedence over others.

2. The near/far opposition is quite pervasive. The hypothesis presented here is that *ai* and *kinai* are separate morphemes. Note also in 10.4 that when an NP is fronted, *ai* and *kinai* may be inserted after the verb, probably to draw attention to the fronted NP.

4.9.14. Ritual anaphors. *Kinai* in rituals is usually replaced by *inai* after *i* and by *iinai* elsewhere. Since the rituals concern gods and deities, *ai* is rarely used as it is in sentence (5) below. The examples are from Monberg, forthcoming. The translations of the anaphors are capitalized.

(1) *He 'inati ma'ungi ke mangu tou noho 'anga. Ke oko'aki inai e koe ...* (16.2 V65) 'A share of life to protect your lineage. May you keep your promise IN THIS ...'

(2) *Hinake he Tino-Matu'a o noko 'anga'angahi inai te Tapungao o tou 'aitu.* (18.2 V122) 'Come up, some honorable elder and dance long there for The-Sole-of-Your-Foot, your deity.' (*Inai* refers to the sounding board.)

(3) *Ka ke sa'u atu tou kaba ... o haabinumi inai ...* (16.2 V99) 'May your *kaba* offering be given to drink OF ...'

(4) *Ka noko kangokango tamaki Tou Tapungao, hunasi inai te 'aamonga o te makapuu, ka noko tapaki inai te kaba ...* (16.2 V38) 'But the Sole-of-Your-Foot has been very angry and the land of your descendant has THEREFORE been punished with disease and has THEREFORE invoked the *kaba* rite ...' (Prayer for recovery from a pestilence believed brought by Tehu'aingabenga.)

(5) *Noko hakatu'u hekau ai te kainganga o te makapuu o ngaaki inai te angatonu ki Tou Takapau. Ngaaki inai to'oa te kaba o te makapuu ...* (15 V2) 'The subjects of your grandson have begun the work THERE and bring *kaba* offering for your grandson TO HIM ...'

(6) *Ngo ngamu iinai te hakauu ki tou mango ...* (19.2 V23)
 'Promising HEREWITH a *hakauu* ritual for your loincloth ...'

(7) ... *ke mei hengiu'aki inai koe ...* (16.2 V63) '... SO
 you may be presented offerings ...'

4.9.15. Iai. There now remains the second part of Chapin's conclusions: "PPN has ... possibly one or more non-anaphoric particles with the same form." He seems to be referring usually to *i ai* and *ki ai* (written as two words or one).

"*Maa konei na noho na 'agoba'e o tou ta'okete ...*

moment demon pl art kind art thigh of 2p o sib
sim near 1p pl sp tattooing o sg ss

te iai oku?" (T177:3)

punc anaph 1p
v o sg

"Are the thigh tattooings of your older sister ... SUCH AS (*te iai*) mine?"'

T8.2 in *Canoes* contains a description of Nukuahea, the faraway home of the gods. Ten lines after the name Nukuahea in this fragment: *Noko iai te hu'aihage ...* 'A huge house was THERE ...' We easily remember that Nukuahea is the antecedent.

In the following sentences, the antecedents are closer to *iai* (see also sentence 1 in 4.9.1):

E gaoi to'a te manaha, iai na 'umanga ma na
gen good strong/ art settlement anaph art garden comit art
 very sg sp v pl sp

huti, 'eha me'a noko iai ... (T88:7)

banana many thing/ past anaph
 reason

'The settlement was very good, there were gardens and bananas, many things were THERE ...'

Kae hoki iho ki te baka, maa iai gu ana 'atua.

and go back direct to art canoe moment anaph num 3p Ø god
sg down sg sp v 2 a sg

(T67:22) 'And [he] went back down to the canoe, two of his gods were THERE.'

Ko 'Atagangahenua noko hai tena hosa, ia Mautikitiki ka

top 'Atagangahenua past make/ 3p son source Mautikitiki and/
do a sg o sp but

noko iai te haka-a'aki maase'i i tona hosa o hai hekau

past anaph art caus-act bad loc 3p son rslt make work
v sg sp at o sg

mouto'o ai ... (T33:1)

mischief anaph
ind obj

'Atagangahenua had as his son Mautikitiki, and [his] behavior to his son was bad, and he did mischievous acts TO HIM ...'

Iai is glossed as an anaphoric verb. Note its use as a verb after the markers *te*, *Ø*, *maa*, and *noko*.

I fail to understand Chapin's statement near the beginning of 4.9 about "non-anaphoric particles that contain the same form". He must be referring to *iai*. It seems to me that the examples just cited are indeed anaphoric.

Chapin gives examples of *ki ai*, *ki ai*, *ki ei* as marking what he calls goal, accusative, and dative in West Polynesian languages, especially East Uvean, Niuean, Pukapuka, Tikopia, and Vaitupu. Perhaps these usages correspond to Rennell-Bellona *kinai*. This is beyond the scope of this grammar.

4.9.16. Kapingamarangi anaphors? In Elbert 1948 are eighty-nine Kapingamarangi texts collected in 1947 with fairly close English translations. About twenty examples of *kinæ* (probably a wrong final vowel: cf *kinai* in Lieber and Dikepa's dictionary) were noted. Of these, twelve were in ancient texts recited by

my best informant, Kiatii, aged forty-seven, who had been instructed by her much older husband, who had died in 1945. She had also learned from her maternal grandmother. In a few modern songs in this collection, only one *kinæ* was discovered, and in a 1958 catechism (see Kennally in the References), none at all. Thus one might think that *kinai* is an old form that seems to have disappeared.

Following are several examples of *kinai* from Elbert 1948, and two examples from Lieber and Dikepa 1974. (Elbert's *kinæ* has been changed to *kinai*.) Antecedents and translations of *kinai* are capitalized.

... ka kite ia ti ahina, ku hana atu kinai ... (p. 90) '... having seen THE WOMAN, [he] went TO HER ...'

Keiokoo ti ahina ku penepene ia tana mee teeraa hihai kinai ia ... (p. 73) 'Then the woman prepared HER THINGS THAT she wanted ...'

In similar examples, Kiatii used such phrases as: hana kinai (p. 73) 'came TO HIM', hane iha kinai (p. 90) 'came down AFTER IT', ku hai kinai tona roto (p. 90) 'made HER his wife', hakatau atu kinai 'recited TO IT'.

An antecedent usually preceded verb + *kinai*.

Since most informants did not use *kinai* at all, and in a rather long collection of modern songs only one example was noted, I suspect that *kinai* is or is becoming obsolete.

Lieber and Dikepa (p. xlvi) have two examples of *ginai*, glossed as 'to it'. (They write *g* for *k* elsewhere, as do Carroll and Soulik for Nukuoro.)

Goe au goaa i golo e hanahana ginai goe? 'Do you have YOUR LANDS there that you go TO IT?'

Au agu goaa i golo, malaa au hakalee hanaga ginai. 'I have LAND there, but I do not go TO IT.'

These authors say nothing about the frequency of this form, and no informants were available in Honolulu from either Kapingamarangi or Nukuoro.

5. NOUN PHRASES (NPs)

5.1. Overall view. The NP may consist simply of preposition \pm determiner + noun, but we will outline the possibilities of expansion (numerals refer to subsections):

preposition \pm articles \pm demonstrative \pm quantifiers + nucleus
5.2 5.3 6.3 5.4 5.5

\pm 'anga \pm maa \pm mu'a \pm ma'u \pm nei \pm gaa₃
5.6 4.8.1 4.8.2 4.8.4 6.3.1 6.3

5.2. Prepositions.

5.2.1. Inventory. The reduplicated and benefactive prepositions are discussed with possessives in 6.5. See 10.2 for the order of prepositional phrases in sentences. Numbers below refer to subsections.

Ko, topic marker (5.2.2)

E and *a*, personal subject markers, and (*i*)*a*, object marker (5.2.3)

A/∅, apposition markers (5.2.4)

O and *a* possessives (5.2.5)

Proximal *i(a)* and distal *ki(a)* (5.2.6)

Mai and *i(a)*, indicators of source (5.2.7)

Ma, comitative (5.2.8)

Pe, simulative (5.2.9)

Taa, vocative (5.2.10)

5.2.2. *Ko*, topic marker (top). This is the way Taupongi began T163, and this is why the name "topic marker" seems appropriate. *Ko Sa'oangaba, teengaa te tautupu'a e hai kinai.* 'As for Sa'oangaba, this is the story told about him.' It is true that *ko* phrases in some instances mark the subject, but the common subject markers are *a* and *e* (cf 4.1.1 to 4.1.6).

Andrews (1838:403) introduced the term "o emphatic" for Hawaiian 'o, and Alexander (1968:34-55, first published in 1864) accepted this name and gave several examples of Hawaiian translations of "I give this to you" in which the emphatic element was fronted and preceded by 'o. Pukui and I pointed out in the *Hawaiian Grammar* (pp. 132-133) that these 'o phrases are emphatic only at the beginning of a sentence and are not at all emphatic after a verb.

Examples of Rennellese initial *ko* phrases follow:

Ko ai? Po ko ai? Ko Moa. 'Who? So who? Moa.' (The personal interrogative *ai* is not to be confused with the homophonous anaphor.)

Ko ai tona ingoa? 'What's (lit. who's) his name?'

Ko ia e tagamagie. (T122:9) 'He is grateful.'

Ko teenei te kunga gaai. 'This is the good place.'

Here are examples of final *ko* phrases. The *ko* phrase defines the initial phrase and might be termed a "namely" phrase. These three sentences are verbless.

Te ingoa o te hahine ko Pita. (T146[B]:2) 'The name of the woman was Pita.'

Tegatou manaha ko Tapa'ago. (T176:1) 'Their settlement was Tapa'ago.'

Teegaa te 'atua noko hai kinai te he- ngiu -'aki-nga

<u>demon</u>	<u>art</u>	god	<u>past</u>	make/	<u>anaph</u>	<u>art</u>				
<u>near</u>	<u>3p</u>	<u>sg</u>	<u>sp</u>	do	<u>ben</u>					
								worship		-nom
								recip		<u>agt/</u>
										<u>rlst</u>

... *ko Tehu'aigabenga.* (T149:9)

top Tehu'aigabenga

'That's [the name of] the god for whom the ritual was made ... Tehu'aigabenga.' (*Teegaa* + *ko* phrase is a common and forceful way to emphasize the noun following *ko*.)

5.2.2. NOUN PHRASES

In these sentences *e ia* is not permitted after the verb *kai*, and in the last three *a ia* is not permitted after the verbs:

<i>Ko Moa noko</i>	{	<i>kai te 'uhi.</i> <i>bage kia Sina.</i> <i>sehu ki Matangi.</i> <i>gaoi.</i>	‘Moa	{	‘ate the yam.’ ‘teased Sina.’ ‘walked to Matangi.’ ‘was good.’
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Similarly, one can say *Te laoa kua 'ugi*. ‘The loincloth was dirty.’ But not **Te laoa kua 'ugi a ia*. This last sentence is correct if *Te laoa* or *a ia* is omitted. There seems to be a taboo in these cases against two subjects, but of course this taboo does not apply if the initial phrase is the object:

Ko te tinana kua kai e te tamana.

top art mother perf eat subj art father
sg sp

‘The father ate the mother.’ (The *ko* phrase is the object.)

Ko God e sogi ai a pegea.

top God gen pray anaph subj person
ind obj

‘People pray to God.’ (The *ko* phrase is the indirect object.)

Ko ba'i 'aso e ta'anga hano au ki mouku ... (T20:3)

top art day gen com go 1p to inland
distr sg sg

‘Every day I usually go inland ...’ (The *ko* phrase is a locative.)

Very brief *ko* sentences are common in discourse, as in the following dialogue:

Ko ai teegaa? ‘Who is that?’ *Ko Moa.* ‘Moa.’

Tehea te utunga? ‘Where’s the food?’ *Ko teegaa.* ‘There.’

5.2.3. E and a, personal subject markers, and (i)a, object marker. Many examples of subjects and objects with the four types of verbs are given in 4.1.1 to 4.1.6. In this subsection we will only point out two peculiarities: (1) nonhuman nouns used as subjects are not ordinarily preceded by subject markers, and (2) a given verb may change a following preposition, with change of meaning.

(1) Nonhuman subjects. *E gaoi te taha'ata.* 'The morning is good.' (This has become a common equivalent of 'Good morning', replacing precontact, perhaps, silence. Another greeting today is *E gaoi?* 'Are [you] well?' The answer is *E gaoi.* '[I'm] well.')

... *e'a mai te kataha ...* (T136[C]:9) '... the frigate bird arrived ...'

Tu'u te 'umata ... (T136[C]:10) 'The rainbow appeared ...'

But a personified non-human actor may be followed by *a* or *e*:

Ma te hai atu a Mangau: (T35[A]:4) 'And Squirrelfish said:'

A after a verb may be the possessive preposition rather than a subject marker:

Teenei te 'oti -nga o te ta -'ia a Baabenga.

<u>demon</u>	<u>art</u>	<u>finish-nom</u>	of	<u>art</u>	<u>hit/-gf</u>	of	Baabenga
<u>near 1p</u>	<u>sg sp</u>			<u>agt/</u>	kill		
				<u>rslt</u>			

(T175:12) 'This is the ending [of the story] of the killing of Baabenga.'

Subject *e* --> *a* if the verb has no object:

Kai e Moa te 'uhi. 'Moa eats the yam.' *Kai a Moa.* 'Moa eats.'

E haka'eha'eha e Moa kia Puia. 'Moa praises Puia.'

E haka'eha'eha a Moa kia Puia. 'Moa boasts of superiority to Puia.'

(2) Change of postverbal preposition.

Kite e ia te baka. 'He sees the canoe.'

Kite a ia i te baka. 'He sees in the canoe. He sees from the canoe.'

E kaone e Moa toku ake. 'Moa borrows my shirt.' (*Kaone* is from English 'account'.)

E kaone a Moa ki te hoka. 'Moa has an account with the hawker.'

Subject *e* --> *a* if the object precedes the subject:

E tuha e Panio te kaba. (T118:3) 'Panio distributes the *kaba*.'

... *tuha a gua mangoo a Moa.* '... Moa distributes the [meat of] two sharks.' (The first *a* in this last sentence is the object marker; the second is the subject marker.)

5.2.4. A/Ø, apposition markers (app).

Ko Sikingimoemoe noko siahai ke haka-pigi ia tena tunga'ane,

top Sikingimoemoe past want imp caus-close at 3p bro ♀ sp
a sg

a Tehainga'atua. (T12:1)

app Tehainga'atua

'Sikingimoemoe wanted to stay with her brother, Tehainga'atua.'

Manga boo mai aano gua 'atua, a Guatupu'a ma

just/ go/come direct and num god app Guatupu'a comit
only pl hither then 2

Tepoutapu. (T1[C]:13)

Tepoutapu

'The two gods just came, Guatupu'a and Tepoutapu.' (This is ambiguous. Without a comma, the *a* could be a possessive, but everyone knows the names of the two mischievous stone gods.)

The possessive pronouns as well as the possessive prepositions (6.5) make this distinction, and many of the examples in this subsection will be of the first person singular possessives (*toku, taku*). Although the third singular possessives (*tana, tena, tona*) are very common, they are not valid as witnesses to the *o*- and *a*-classes, as most speakers have levelled the differences in the third singular, except for speakers from the Lake.

Care must be taken to distinguish the many uses of *a*:

as personal subject marker after *ki(a)-t*, stative, and intransitive verbs (4.1 and Table 3)

as personal object marker after *i(a)-t* verbs (4.1.1)

as apposition preposition (5.2.4)

as possessive preposition (5.2.5)

A in the following sentence can best be interpreted in one way:

Noka taa te baka a Angahugu. (T57[C]:1)

past cut art canoe subj Ten
 SG SP

'Ten cut a canoe.'

Baka a Angahugu is not 'canoe of Ten' because canoe takes *o*. Nor is it in apposition to *baka*. Can *a Angahugu* be the object of the verb *taa*? Yes, verb-object-subject is possible, but not common. The sentence would then be translated 'The canoe cut Ten.' See another example of VOS in 10.1.

We will now review various semantic labels, and indicate words that may take both *o* and *a*, with different meanings.

5.2.5.1. Body parts. One's own body parts take *o* unless they are used figuratively, i.e. do not refer to ego's true body parts, as *toku gima* 'my hand' and *taku gima* 'my mitten'. In the following, the *a* uses are self-debasing and polite, or are curses. Only the curses are used in these Christian times.

ghogheghoghe: *taku ghogheghoghe* 'my genitals' (affectionate and demeaning, as parents to child), *toku ghogheghoghe* 'my genitals'

lango ba'e: *taku lango ba'e* 'my toenail' (demeaning reference to self, implying that one is but the toenail of the honoree), *toku lango ba'e* 'my toenail'

ibi: *taku ibi paolo* 'my chicken bone' (that I'm chewing), *kai ma'au te ibi* 'eat penis' (lit. eat for yourself the bone, a curse), *toku ibi* 'my bone'

ibi hogo: *taku ibi hogo* 'my vital bone' (a woman's polite term for a guest), *toku ibi hogo* 'my own vital bone'

noko: *e a'u taku hu'ainoko* 'my great backsides has come' (self-demeaning term of address to a visitor, as a woman to her son-in-law), *songi tou noko* '[I] embrace your backsides' (a common self-demeaning politesse)

tobigha: *Taku mama tobigha ku mate!* 'My chewed buttocks have died!' (demeaning expression of grief for the death of a loved one) *Kai mai toku tobigha!* 'Eat my buttocks!' (insulting)

uge: *Kai ake ma'au te uge o Moa!* 'Eat for yourself Moa's penis!' (An insult, the real penis is meant.) *'Ei tau uge!* (T125[B]) 'Fuck your penis!' (also an insult)

5.2.5.2. Kinfolk. The terms for kin that one does not himself acquire a relationship to, that he is born with, or accrue to him through other persons, take *o*: ancestors and grandparents (*tupuna*), parents (*tamana*, *tinana*, *maatu'a*), mother's brother (*tu'aatina*), siblings (*ta'okete*, *taina*, *tuhahine*, *tunga'ange*), brother- or sister-in-law (*ma'aa*), male's sister's children (*'igaamutu*), relatives (*pegea*).

Taking *a* are kin considered less permanent than those taking *o*, and to whom ego has caused the relationships, including:

children (*haanau*) (sons, daughters)

daughter (*tama'ahine*), daughters are considered "temporary" since upon marriage they join the husband's household

sons of women (*tama*), but a son of a male (*hosa*) takes *o*

5.2.5.3. NOUN PHRASES

spouse ('*aabanga*, a less respectful term than the usual names for wife (*uguugu*) and husband (*matu'a*), which take *o*)

In his important study of PPN possessives, Wilson (1982:36-37) discusses six Rennellese forms the equivalents of which are not found, he says, in Triangle Polynesia, Kapingamarangi, or Takuu:

<i>te tupuu</i> 'your grandfather'	<i>tona tupuna</i> 'his grandfather'
<i>te tamau</i> 'my (or your) father'	<i>tona tamana</i> 'his father'
<i>te tinau</i> 'my (or your) mother'	<i>tona tinana</i> 'his mother'
<i>te tu'aatinau</i> 'your mother's brother'	<i>tona tu'aatinana</i> 'his mother's brother'
<i>te taiu</i> 'your younger brother (to a male)'	<i>tana taina</i> 'his younger brother'
<i>te makapuu</i> 'your grandson'	<i>tana makupuna</i> 'his grandson'

Wilson considers the following as base morphemes for these kin terms: *tupu-*, *tama-*, *tina-*, *tu'aatina-*, *tai-*, *makupu-*. *-U* is the term for first person singular possessive and second person singular possessive, or just the latter. *-Na* forms the third person possessives. *Te* also of course may replace *tona* and *tana* in the second column.

The terms, like all kinship names in this book are collateral (generational). *Tupuna* may include 'ancestors' and *makupuna* may include 'descendants'. *Tetupuu* and *Temakupuu* are terms of reference to the grandfather god *Tehainga'atua* and his grandson *Tehu'aigabenga*.

5.2.5.3. Other folk. Usually taking *o*: '*agiki* 'chief', *ako* 'teacher', *guani* 'servant' (T204:4), *hakahua* 'chief', *kainanga* 'worshipper', *kakai'anga* 'people, inhabitants'. Usually taking *a*: *ha'unga* 'lover, *hemasi'inga* 'friend, lover', *tau'a* 'fighter', *tu'uganga* 'group'.

Lovers and friends may be temporary anywhere, and fighters so often were killed in their continual feuding; the *o*-individuals (except *guani*) seem to have been highly respected, as they certainly seemed to be during my four visits from 1957 to 1972.

5.2.5.4. Supernaturals. 'Atua is the general name for god, spirit, ghost, devil, Lord -- whether good or bad, powerful or weak, worshipped or not worshipped. Other meanings for 'atua that are just as common include rough, stormy, quarrelsome, destructive, deviant, peculiar, aberrant, bad-tempered, frightful, inedible, worthless, rascal, scamp. These latter meanings are uniformly pejorative. Is this why 'atua is in a-class?

In some stories people are nasty to gods, and lesser gods maltreat the more powerful ones. Tangagoa, a lesser god, is usually the much-admired trickster, and Tehainga'atua is often the victim in spite of his (at least in theory) great power. In T2[A] the two stone gods (the most feared of all) are baked in the oven (they fly away as terns). In T275, a man beheads Tehainga'atua's wife for stealing (she flies away as a heron). Tangagoa flirts with another wife of Tehainga'atua. The woman's son bludgeons Tangagoa with a rock, but he flies away (T15). In revenge Tehainga'atua's grandson kicks Tangagoa in the buttocks and boots him away (T16). Tangagoa and an accomplice try to drive Tehainga'atua away from Rennell, but the great god is so weak he merely stands on one leg. In my notes to this story I wrote: "All the stories about Tangagoa caused considerable laughter. Tetaamogi [teller] and others present laughed at the mention of Tehainga'atua's weakness (*maasaki*) and at his standing on one leg." Nearly two weeks later when I had returned to my village "a crowd gathered and asked to hear the story, laughing merrily and apparently getting satisfaction out of hearing of the great god's humiliations."

It is apparent in these stories, and the people's reactions to them in 1958, that reverence or love for the gods was lacking, but fear was, and gratitude for food and children given them by the gods. The gods were not revered, and this may be one reason that they take *a*.

A more important reason for *a* is that the relationship of the worshipper to a deity was to a large extent actually controlled by the worshipper by the size and frequency of his offerings of food and goods.

'Aitu, a name for district god, had sacredness "which lay between the 'atua *ngangi* on the one hand, and the worshipped ancestors" (Monberg 1966:58). The 'atua *ngangi* 'sky gods' had more power than the district deities who were of a later generation. Except for two references in T67:38, the 'aitu had

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scant roles in *Canoes*. The Bible translators in the 1970s called Jesus an 'aitu but called Jehovah God. 'Aitu, which has no pejorative connotations such as 'atua has, takes o-possessive.

Names for the many mischievous and malevolent supernaturals include *tama'auge*, *haagiki*, 'apai, and *haka'apai*. They do not seem to be used with possessives. Who would speak of these nuisances as 'my devil', or 'my evil spirit'?

5.2.5.5. Artifacts. Important manufactured objects are listed in this subsection. Examples from *Canoes* illustrating use of o or a are noted if available.

Traditional handmade objects take o, including:

<i>aganga</i> 'weapon (general term)' <i>te aganga ogatou</i> (D)	<i>kumete</i> 'bowl' <i>te kumete o'ona</i> (T41[A]:6)
<i>bai</i> 'gourd' <i>toku bai</i> (D)	<i>kupenga</i> 'net (general term)'
<i>baghu</i> 'coarse mat' <i>toku baghu</i> (D)	<i>malikope</i> 'fine mat'
<i>baka</i> 'canoe' <i>toku baka</i> (T57[A]:8)	<i>ngaguenga</i> 'temple' <i>te ngaguenga o Tehainga'atua</i> (D) but <i>te ngaguenga a Hu'aitebai</i> (T119:1) 'a temple [newly established] by Hu'aitebai'
<i>bugho</i> 'long net' <i>te bugho o Patikonge</i> (T21[B]:2)	
<i>hage</i> 'house' <i>na hage o Tehainga'atua</i> (T7)	<i>see</i> 'spear point'
<i>igi</i> 'fan (tucked in the back of loincloths of male dancers in religious dances)'	<i>tao</i> 'spear' <i>na tao o Tehu'aigabenga</i> (T14:6)
<i>kaha</i> 'sennit' <i>te kaha o te tamana</i> (T227[A]:3)	<i>toki</i> 'adze' <i>oku toki</i> (T57[A]:10) but not the loan words 'aakisi 'axe' (from English) and <i>kiba</i> 'knife' (of unknown origin): see below.
<i>kogoa</i> 'tapa' <i>te kogoa tahi o tona matu'a</i> (T50[A]:9)	

Canoe parts usually taking o:

<i>'ago</i> 'hold' <i>te 'ago o te baka</i> <i>kiato</i> 'boom' <i>ona kiato</i> (T227[A]:4) (T57[B]:2)
<i>ama</i> 'outrigger float' <i>lakuga</i> 'gunwale poles'
<i>giu</i> 'bilge, hold' <i>loghuloghu</i> 'thwarts'
<i>hata</i> 'platform' <i>tata</i> 'bailer'

House parts usually taking o:

<i>'ato</i> 'thatch' <i>pou</i> 'post'
<i>paagaba</i> 'walls' <i>tagaa hage</i> 'house ends'
<i>potu</i> 'room' <i>ta'ohuhu</i> 'ridgepole'

A-objects include one of the primary concerns of the culture before 1936: fighting. Fighting clubs were of great variety, and all of them take a:

<i>baukianga, te baukianga a</i> <i>paumatangi</i> <i>Ngausu</i> (T149:4)
<i>ga'akau</i> (a general term), <i>paupau</i> <i>taku ga'akau</i> (T211:2) <i>tapigoba, angatou tapigoba</i> (T225:4)
<i>ghoghaabalo</i> (Bellona, <i>ngughaabalo</i>) <i>tiagetaha</i>
<i>kiakia</i> <i>'ua, te 'ua a Haga</i> (T211:5)
<i>ngututaba</i>

Other weapons and instruments often used as weapons take a:

<i>'aakisi</i> 'axe' <i>kiba</i> 'knife' <i>aku kiba</i> (T228[B]:3)
<i>kasu</i> 'base of an arrow' <i>ngasau</i> 'arrow'
<i>kauhutu</i> 'bow' <i>'uu</i> 'tied bundle of arrows'

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Baskets (mostly made by women) take *a*:

ganga tahi, ghinighini 'small coconut-leaf baskets'

kete 'basket (general term)' *taku kete* (D)

pogapoga 'large coconut-leaf basket'

Miscellaneous nouns taking *a*:

ali 'scoop' *taku ali* (D) *kabenga* 'burden'

ghau 'fishhook' *nebe, pali* 'women's burdens'
taku nebe (D)

hoe 'paddle' (see above) *uka* 'cord, rope'

It is perhaps noteworthy that a fairly large proportion of words taking *a* are probably not of Polynesian origin. These include (listed above) 'aakisi, ali, baukianga, ghau, ghinighini, ghoghaabalo, kiakia, kiba, nebe, ngututaba, pali, and paupau.

5.2.5.6. Actions. One-time acts are usually ephemeral and take *a*. Examples are *hegeunga* 'speech', *hekau* 'work', *lango* 'anga' 'strolling', *miti* 'dream', *pake* 'trick', *puugenga* 'conference', *sooginga* 'church service, worship', *tegeu'a* 'thinking'. Some actions take both *a* and *o* with different meanings:

ihonga: *taku ihonga e lae* 'my fishing was unsuccessful', *te ihonga o Mugaba* 'the Rennell fishing'

kubinga: *te kubinga a Moa* 'Moa's intercourse scratches' (made by him), *te kubinga o Tebegi* 'Tebegi's intercourse scratches' (made on her, presumably by Moa)

ngangana 'anga': *te ngangana 'anga a na tamagiki* 'the shouting of the children', *te ngangana o te polo* 'the (involuntary) gurgling of the coconut'

paaunga: *te paaunga a te pegea* 'the (transient) decision of the person', *na paaunga o te kumete* 'the characteristics of the bowl'

5.2.5.7. Land. Large and important pieces of land that are probably inherited usually take *o*:

henua 'land'; usually *o*, but *a* in T215:7 when castaways are vainly trying to return to their distant unknown land (*tegatou henua*)

manaha 'privately owned settlement, homestead'

kege 'dirt, soil, earth'

'*umanga* 'garden'; *o*-class in T150:1, T236:11

kunga henua 'utilized land'; *o*-class in T89:4, T107:1

'*aamonga* 'island; although ordinarily not privately owned, usually *o*-class, but in T67:2 a god is claiming a land for himself and says *Aku 'aamonga* 'These lands are for me'

Taking *a* usually are fallow and harvested gardens, taro swamps, and planted areas -- places that are being worked on:

husi 'taro swamp'; *a*-class in T208:16

kunga sanga 'planted area'; *a*-class in T31[A]:5

ma'aga 'fallow garden'; *a*-class in T45, T108:16

tagipou 'newly fallow lands, harvested gardens'; *na tangipou tau'a a toku tupuna* (T66:8) 'the empty gardens and fighting places of my ancestor'

5.2.5.8. Plants. In general, wild plants take *o* and cultivated plants and plants being cooked or eaten take *a*. Recently introduced plants are usually named for the introducer (see taro below).

bananas '*huti*', *taku huti* (D) 'my bananas being cooked', *toku huti* (D) 'my growing bananas', *aku huti* (T88:11) 'my bananas [just cut]'

coconuts, *te niu o te tangata* 'the man's coconut palms', *te polo a te tangata* 'the coconuts [the fruit] of the man'; coconuts were not always planted; *polo* is a foreign word

fern-like palm 'paipai', *hai ke kiki ki gu atatou paipai* (T220:4) 'to eat with our two paipai', *o suki ai tona tohi paipai* (T67:33, Lake informant) 'and planted his paipai cuttings' (one would expect *tana* or *tena*)

papaya (pawpaw) 'mamiapu', *toku mamiapu* (D) 'my (growing) papaya', *taku mamiapu* (D) 'my [picked or being eaten] papaya'

sweet potato 'pateto'

taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) 'tago', all examples are *a*; taro is always planted and cultivated and is a man's pride, *aku tago* (D) 'my taro', *taku tago* (D) 'my taro patch', *tago a Halo* (D) taro introduced by Halo

taro (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), giant dry-land 'kape', *toku kape* (D) 'my [growing] dry-land taro', *taku kape* 'my [cooked or eaten] dry-land taro', *te kape o Hakangaunoa* (T133:4) 'the kape of Hakangaunoa'

yam (*Dioscorea alata*) ''uhi', *taku 'uhi* (D) 'my yams being eaten', *aku 'uhi* (D) 'my yams in garden or being eaten', *te 'uhi a 'Ale* 'the yams introduced by 'Ale'

yam (*Discorea esculenta*), panna ''uhigaba', *taku 'uhigaba* (D) 'my single panna [being eaten]', *aku 'uhigaba* 'my pannas [being eaten]', *na 'uhigaba o Mugaba* 'the yams of Rennell'

Other yams:

abubu (*Discorea bulbifera*), a cultivated yam with edible bulbils above ground, *te giunga abubu a Mautikitiki* (T42[A]:6) 'the yam offering of Mautikitiki', *kai ana abubu* (T42[A]:6) 'eat his yams'

betaape (*Bellona beetape*), related to *suinamo*

boiato (*Discorea pentaphylla*)

soi, uncultivated yam similar to *abubu*, *te soi a Taukiu* (T133:1) 'Taukiu's soi' (since *soi* is uncultivated, one would expect *o-class*)

suinamo (*Discorea nummularie*)

(Christiansen (1975:199-200) lists 79 types of yams that are distinguished.)

5.2.5.9. **Fish.** Fish and probably other seafood take *a* when caught unless they refer to place (*na ika o te tai* 'the fish of the sea'). *Na 'ugua agatou* (T89:2) 'their 'ugua fish', *ana kainga kauri* (T84:3) 'his fish food', *gua tahoga'a a Temoa* (T100:9) 'two whales of Temoa [given him by the gods]', *tena mangoo* (T110:2, Lake informant) 'his shark'

5.2.5.10. **Poetry and stories.** Composers take *a*, honorees *o*: *Taku tagatupu'a noko hai, te tagatupu'a o Mautikitiki* 'the story I made, the story of Mautikitiki'; *te tangi a Tebegi* 'the lament composed by Tebegi'; *te tangi o Moa* 'the lament honoring Moa'. Other songs following this dichotomy include *huua mako* (men's circle dance and song), *mu'aa baka* (women's circle dance and song), *pese* (clapping song), *pogipogi* (taunt), *taugua* (song), 'ugu (opening chant), and many others. The *o/a* distinction does not apply to *kananga* (short secret love chants), which always take *o*. Monberg 1974 described these highly cryptic verses as coded messages. Since they concern sexual relations they are banned by both missions on the islands as sinful. In theory at least, *kananga* are unintelligible to those not involved, and are considered anonymous; they do not contain personal names. This may partially explain the absence of *a*-composers.

5.2.5.11. **Inanimates take possessives.** Animals that speak in stories and act like people, naturally take possessives. A turtle speaks of *toku ikaamu'a* (4.2.5.5 and T55:5) 'the front of my shell'. The skipjack fish refers to the skink fish as *tona taina* (A6.2) 'his younger brother'. But without acting as humans, animals and plants may possess objects. *Siahai te tokitoki ki tena utunga.* 'The dog likes its food.' ... *te baebae susungu e ngongoa ona hua, kae noko pupuku ona hua.* (R41:1) '... the pale plantain, its fruits are long, but its fruits [in ancient times] were short.'

5.2.6. **Proximal i(a) and distal ki(a).** The distinction of forms with and without (*a*) is that the forms with *a* occur usually before kinship terms, pronouns, or personal names (*ia Moa, kia Moa*). The speaker's speed may also influence the use of (*a*). In fast speech the shorter forms may be more common. Joseph Puia, from the Lake on Rennell, who was married to a Bellonese, remarked in 1970 that the Rennellese seem to say *ia t-* and *kia t-*, whereas the faster speaking Bellonese use the shorter forms without (*a*).

It is recommended that the reader refer to Table 7 in 4.9, which lists the proximal uses of *ai* and the distal uses of *kinai*.

5.2.6.1. *I(a)* and *ki(a)* as locative and allative prepositions. *I(a)* forms usually mean 'at, in, on, with (proximal)'. *Ki(a)* forms usually mean 'to', but if distance is to be emphasized 'at, in, on, with (distal)'. The "at" forms may be called locative, the "to" forms allative.

te kako i Mugaba 'the cargo at Rennell', *te kako ki Mugaba* 'the cargo for Rennell'

Hano ki Mugaba. 'Go to Rennell.' *Noho i Mugaba.* 'Stay at Rennell.'

Noho i te nohonga nei. 'Sit in this chair (nearby).' *Noho ake ki te nohonga.* 'Sit there in the chair.' (The addressee is probably outside the house and is invited to come up (*ake*) into the house.) ... *ke hano he pegea ia te tu'aatinana a Ngoha.* (T159[A]:15) '... someone should go to the uncle, Ngoha.'

A common salutation to letters is *noho gaa, songi ou noko ki mama'o* 'goodbye, [I] embrace your backsides so far away'.

Ki te hage! can be a complete utterance that rudely tells someone to go home immediately.

i taku maanatu 'in my opinion' (*i* is referential)

In fights, 'against' may be a useful translation of *ki(a)*; cf 4.9 for the hostility often expressed by *ki*.

... *te sua noko to'o mai e X mai tena tau'a ki*
art ritual past bring/ direct subj X source 3p fight to
sg sp paddle take hither a sg

Tengano. (R30:3)

Tengano

'... the ritual paddle that X brought from his fight against Tengano [district].'

... *boo mai ma'u te tau'a mai Matangi kia Muia.* (R46:1) '... the fighters came also from Matangi against Muia.'

Kua haka-mataku na tama'auge kia te au.

perf caus-fear art ghost ind art 1p
 pl sp obj sg sp sg

'Ghosts frighten me.'

E maase'i kia te au!

gen bad ind art 1p
 obj sg sp sg

'I think that's bad!'

Noka te hai kia Moa! (D)

neg art make/ ind Moa
imp sg sp do obj

'Don't have dealings with Moa!'

5.2.6.4. I(a), causal and ki(a), direct and indirect objects.

Ko Moa e gehu ia Sina. 'Moa scolds because of Sina.'

Ko Moa e gehu kia Sina. 'Moa scolds Sina.'

E beka a ia i ana tamagiki. 'He is stingy because of his children.' (He doesn't let them out for adoption.)

E beka a ia ki ana tamagiki. 'He is stingy to his children.'

Te tama'iti'iti e mataku i te ahi. 'The child is afraid because of fire.'

Ko Moa e mataku kia Puia. 'Moa is afraid of Puia.'

5.2.6.5. I(a), causal and locative.

Ko au noko haka-pata i teenei ia te koe.

top 1p past caus-near loc demon caus art 2p
sg at near 1p sg sp sg

'I stayed here because of you.'

Te bai noko magingi ia Moa. 'The water was spilled by Moa.'

Kua 'ugi te laoa ia Sina. 'The loincloth was dirty because of Sina.'

Kua manga haka-pigi kinai, i te me'a gaa, kua

perf just/ caus-close anaph caus art thing/ demon ∅ perf
 only to sg sp reason that

tangani ina te pegea, i te kua he'e tau hinangago.

vainly see/ art person caus punc perf neg intens heart
 stay

(T97:28) '[He] just clings to them (*kinai*) because [such] people merely exist, because of having no hearts.' (The last five words are an embedded sentence after *i*, a common construction. *I te me'a gaa* is a common way to say 'because'.)

5.2.6.6. I(a), source (ablative). See 5.2.7 for *mai*, also meaning source.

Te haka-tu'u hitu noko to'o mai i 'Ubea ... (T153)

art caus-stand/ num past bring/ direct source 'Ubea
sg sp go 7 take hither

'The seven original [clans that] were brought from 'Ubea ...'

Te launatasi i gu oku hosa ...

art num source num 1p ∅ son
sg sp 1 2 o sg o sp

'One of my two sons ...'

... o hai tana maunu i te kangae. (T39:1)

rslt make/ 3p bait source art swamp hen
do a sg sg sp

'... and had the swamp hen as his bait.'

Ko 'Atagangahenua noko hai tena hosa ia Mautikitiki ... (T33:1)

'Atagangahenua had Mautikitiki as his son ...'

Note in the following examples that subject *e* changes to *a* if the verb has no object (cf 5.2.3). I in these sentences seems to mean 'make a selection from'.

Kai e Moa te 'uhi.

eat subj Moa art yam
sg sp

'Moa ate the yam.'

Noko kai a Moa i te 'uhii i te husi.

past eat subj Moa dir art yam source art swamp
obj sg sp

'Moa ate of the yams from the swamp.' ('Uhi receives the definitive accent.)

Noko to'o e Moa te kiba.

past take subj Moa art knife
sg sp

'Moa took the knife.'

Noko to'o a Moa i te kiba.

past take subj Moa source art knife
sg sp

'Moa took the knife (one of many).'

Noko haka-pau e kigatou te meba.

past caus-choose subj 3p art member
pl sg sp

'They chose the member.'

Noko haka-pau a kigatou i te meba.

past caus-choose subj 3p source art member
pl sg sp

'They made a selection from the members.'

5.2.6.7. I(a) and ki(a) introducing benefactees.

... ke hai ni polo po ni 'uhi ke hai ai he

imp make/ art coconut or art yam imp make anaph art
do pauc instru sg nonsp

'oso ia tou matu'a ... (T159[A]:7)

offering ben 2p husband
o sg

'... you have a few coconuts or yams to use as an offering for your husband ...'

Ka noko 'eha manaha noko hano o tangi kinai i tana

and/ past many settlement past go rslt weep anaph caus 3p
but sg to a sg

hakasoko ia te tamana ... (T159[A]:10)

seek ben art father
avenger sg sp

'And there were many settlements [which she] went to and wept because of her seeking avengers for [her] father ...'

te tangi a Tebegi kia Moa

art lament of Tebegi to Moa

sg sp

'the lament by Tebegi for Moa'

5.2.6.8. I(a) and ki(a) referential.

Ko au e hakahegeu ia Tebegi kia Moa. 'I spoke about Tebegi to Moa.

Ki(a) may be used if the reference is less direct or to a supernatural.

Kitaaua noko hegeu ki te baka nokotaa. (D, Part 2) 'We talked about the canoe that had been cut.'

te tagatupu'a kia Tehainga'atua (T17[A]:1) 'the story about Tehainga'atua' (This is a conventional beginning of a tale and is common; cf T101:1 and T162:1.)

... *Kia te koe, Sikingimoemoe!* (19.2 V27) '... For you, Sikingimoemoe!' (A verbless sentence consisting of a benefactive NP and a goddess benefactee to whom a food offering is being presented.)

An unusual utterance collected by Kuschel also begins with a *ki(a)* phrase: *Ki te nga'akau taa e e'a iho* 'With a club hit penetrating downward'. The rather free translation was 'Someone is getting clubbed to death'.

E na'a e ia te gongo.

gen know subj 3p art news

sg sg sp

'He knows the news.'

E na'a a ia i te gongo.

gen know subj 3p concern art news

sg sg sp

'He knows about the news.'

E na'a a tai po e magino?

gen know of sea or gen calm

'Is [it] known about the sea if [it] is calm?'

5.2.6.9. I(a) and ki(a), temporal.

Tegeu'a i te 'aso nei. 'Think about today.' Cf *Tegeu'a ki te ahiahi.* 'Think about evening.' But: *i te poo nei* 'tonight'.

5.2.6.10. I(a) instrumental.

... *ka na boo i na baka ...* (T125[A]:1) '... and they went by canoe ...'

Kae hano a Tegheta o loghoni i te maniniaa gima ke too ki tu'a te niu ... (T235[B]:24) 'Tegheta went and pressed with his finger so that the coconut tree would fall backwards ...'

5.2.6.11. I(a) sigi, comparison.

Sigi teenei i teegaa. 'This surpasses that; this is better than that.'

Te hage o Moa e sigi i teegaa hage. 'Moa's house is larger than that house.'

Te polo e hua'eha o sigi i te polo nei. 'The big coconut is bigger than this coconut.'

Ko Moa e ngoa o sigi ia Temasu'u. 'Moa is taller than Temasu'u.'

5.2.6.12. Ki(a) with implied distance. Supernaturals and their rites and artifacts are usually preceded by the preposition *ki(a)* and may be followed by the anaphor *kinai* (4.9). The supernaturals include sky gods, district deities, worshipped and non-worshipped gods, worshipped (male) ancestors, and animals in which the noumenals embody themselves. The supernaturals, although invisible, are believed to be close by and in attendance at the rituals; they speak through their human representatives. To the worshippers it is not strange that they are near and far at the same time. They are referred to as '*atua ki te gangi*, contrasting with the epithet for the Christian God, '*atua i te gangi*. Christians emphasize the nearness of their God, the Rennellese and Bellonese the remoteness of theirs.

An important harvest ritual is called *kaba ki hage* 'kaba in house'. This ritual takes place in various houses and is addressed particularly to the district deities (they have charge of Man's activities), but the great sky god Tehainga'atua (who has charge of Nature) cannot be slighted and is especially invited. He arrives from his home in the east and is addressed at the beginning of the ceremonies. In Monberg's terms (16.1) his arrival brings Man and Nature together.

The coconut water always drunk at these ceremonies is called *kaba*, a term most certainly cognate with the widespread Polynesian drink (PPN *kawa*) made from the root of *Piper methysticum* that is unknown on the two islands or in the nearby Solomons.

A later ritual devoted to the sky gods, a great social event attended by many, is called *kaba ki gangi* 'kaba for heaven'.

The distal preposition is used also for Tehainga'atua's home, *Taha-ki-gangi*, possibly 'place in heaven'; his sacred paddle is *sua-ki-gangi*.

Examples of *ki(a)* and *kinai* with supernaturals are illustrated in 4.9, especially in 4.9.1 referring to the children of the sky god, and in 4.9.3 referring to his supernatural bird which is said to be 'near' but is invisible and takes *kinai* twice as an anaphor.

We can now understand the use of *ki* instead of *i*, but why is there no article? Two theories are suggested. The lack of a singular specific article *tē* is sometimes indicative of plurality, as illustrated in 5.3.1. More likely, the worshippers prefer to remain vague, as their rituals and exegeses definitely are, and avoid the singular specific as inappropriate for majesty. Perhaps similarly, they avoided direct names for important flora and fauna mentioned in rituals and substituted descriptive phrases that had not a transparent relationship to the object (Elbert 1981:128-129), as *Kai-Katoa* 'complete sea' for flying fish, *Gau-Tetea* 'White leaves' for taro, and *Uga-Henua* 'land crown' for coconut palms. In the old days when poetry flourished they would, if necessary, ask for two coconut-eating insects (*gu kaluba polo*) for a coconut, or a single unripe banana (*he lakaa huti*) for a ripe banana. Now they merely say *he mi'i hoto polo* 'a tiny little coconut' or *he momo pa'asi huti* for a ripe banana. (For more on this topic, see 5.3.4.)

Language, of course, is not logical or consistent, and there are exceptions to this dichotomy. 'Brothers in Christ' has somehow been translated *hepegea'aki ki Christ* (lit. reciprocal relation to Christ) even though Christ is *te 'aitu i te gangi* 'the deity in the near heavens'. And Monberg once recorded that the god *Tehainga'atua* stayed *i te ngangi*.

5.2.7. Mai and i(a) as indicators of source. These two prepositions have about the same meanings, but *i* has a wider semantic range, and *mai* cannot always replace it. For example, under "Source" in 5.2.6.6 were several sentences in which *i* seemed to mean 'a selection from'; it is doubtful that *mai* could be used in this sense. An informant gave this contrasting pair: *te pegea a'u mai Mugaba* 'the person who has come from Rennell (for a visit)', *te pegea a'u i Mugaba* 'the person who has come (permanently) from Rennell'.

Here are other examples:

Kae sosopo ake na haahine mai tai. (R20:3) 'And the women came up from the sea.'

... *te sua noko to'o mai e X mai tena taua ki Tengano.* (R34:3) '... the ceremonial paddle X brought from his fighting against the Lake.'

Care must be taken to distinguish *mai te hage* 'from the house' and *maa i te hage* 'just now in the house'.

5.2.8. Ma, comitative (comit).

Ko Mautikitiki ma ngu ona haitaina ... (T34[A]:1) 'Mautikitiki and his two younger brothers ...'

Hegeu aano a Mautikitiki ma te taina ... (T34[B]:3) 'Mautikitiki spoke a bit with the younger brother ...'

Instead of saying 'Moa and I', it is more common to say 'we two exclusive with Moa': *Kimaaua ma Moa na boo ngatahi.* 'Moa and I went together.'

The following should be distinguished:

ma comitative 'and, with', 5.2.8

ma conjunction 'and', 9.2.1

ma(a)- stative, 8.4

maa momentary 'for the moment', 4.2.4.4

maa = *manga* 'just, only', 4.2.4.5

5.2.9. *Pe*, simulative 'like, in the manner or style of, as though' cf *peenei*, *peena*, *peegaa*.

e hua pe te ta'e 'to be the same size as excreta'

Te pegea manga sehu manga ghotoi pe te haina ahi ... (T66:2)
'The person just strolls and just resembles the one making fire ...'

... *noko he'e siahai a Mangakenga ... ke noho pe ia.* (T136[A]:1)
'Mangakenga didn't want ... to be like him.'

Te hahine ... e sugu te igi pe te tangata. (T183:10) 'The woman ... wears a fan [in her back] in masculine style.'

5.2.10. *Taa*, vocative. This rare vocative directly precedes names of people and in commands or entreaties or in times of danger: *To'o mai taa taku tama'ahine taku kiba.* 'Daughter, bring me my knife.' *Ko koe taa Naia!* 'Naia, be careful!'

5.3. Articles. The articles, listed below, may precede nouns and follow prepositions. They are mutually exclusive.

Te singular specific (sg sp) (5.3.1)

Gua, gu 'two, two or three, a few', paucal (pauc) (5.3.2)

Na plural specific (5.3.3)

He singular nonspecific (sg nonsp) (5.3.4)

Ba'i distributive (distr) (5.3.5)

Ni paucal (pauc) (5.3.6)

The articles *te*, *na*, and *ni* have long variants *tee*, *tii*, *naa*, and *nii* that occur next to initial vowels of head words with primary stress, as will be explained below, or if the articles themselves receive primary stress.

5.3.1. Te, singular specific (sg sp). The variants are *tee*, *ti*, *tii*, and *čē*. *Tee* and *tii* occur as described in 5.3 above. *Ti* is rare, and has been noted only in *ti tinana* (T21:7) 'the mother' and *ti tinau* (T183:9) 'your mother'. *Čē* is extremely common in fast colloquial Bellonese (cf 2.1 and 2.6.2). Here are examples of *tēē* and *tii* before word-initial vowels with primary stress. (The stress groups are indicated below, but it is not recommended that they be written long in ordinary writing, their occurrence being predictable before words beginning with primary stress on initial vowels.)

<i>Tēē.íka</i> common male name	<i>tēē.úa</i> 'the artery'
<i>tēē.íka</i> 'the fish'	<i>tii.ása?</i> 'the what?' (The questioner is greatly puzzled.)
<i>tēē.ába</i> 'the waterfront'	

Short forms are maintained in such phrases as *tē háge* 'the house', and *tē 'úgu'úgu* 'the outer reef'.

In ordinary speech *tē* does not receive primary stress, and is therefore not lengthened.

In earlier Polynesian grammars *tē* is called a "definite article". However, Ross Clark in his study of PPN reconstructions (1976:47) contrasts English and Polynesian ideas of "definite" and "indefinite": "The Polynesian 'definite' article is used whenever the speaker has a particular individual in mind, whether or not the addressee is expected to be able to identify the individual." He goes on to say that the Polynesian distinction corresponds more precisely to that between specific and nonspecific. Chung agrees and says (1978:23): "The specific articles indicate that the speaker can pick out the reference of the NP, while the nonspecific articles do not indicate this." If a teller begins a story *Ko Tugeika tē tangata* (T80[A]:1), he means 'Tugeika is the man [of the story]'. *Ko Tausapa tē pegea i Tegano*. (T91:1) 'Tausapa was a man at the Lake.'

Often one can translate *tē* by 'the', and nearly always if the emphatic word ends with the definitive accent (2.6): *Noko kai a Moa i tē 'uhii i tē husi*. 'Moa ate the yam in the taro patch.' Or in an unpublished paper by Paul C. Stottlemeyer: *tē hagee e uga* 'the house is red'. In the following it seems necessary to translate the third *tē* by 'a': *Tē tagatupu'a ki tē ga'aa ma tē mahina noko tua tē hau*. (T27:1) 'The story of the sun and the moon [which] cut down a hibiscus tree.'

Rennellese use *te* before mass (uncounted) nouns: *E gaoui te 'agoha*. 'Compassion is good.' *Maga te kigi o te kape*. (T191) 'Alocasia skin is bitter.' The lack of an article before a noun may indicate that the noun is plural. Cf 'Au mai te kauri. 'Give me the fish.' 'Au mai kauri. 'Give me fish.' Also, Rennellese use *te* before names of body parts and kin; English clarity in translation demands a possessive: *Ioo logha kinai te uka ki te uma ...* (T106:4) 'Then tied a string on him to his shoulder ...' *Sasage e na 'atua a'ana ma te tamana ...* 'His gods and his father searched ...'

In Kuschel's collection of 1,624 personal names of Bellona (Appendix C in D, Part 2), nearly 40 percent of the names begin with *Te*. Kuschel decided not to translate most of these *Tes*. For example, if he translated the feminine name *Teaaiika* 'the fish enclosure' he would have had a rather peculiar name (even to the Bellonese) that the inventor of the name, Temoa, proudly gave to his granddaughter in honor of his own netting of enormous schools of surgeonfish.

In Hawaiian the article is often omitted in the vocative; *Nā-maka* 'the eyes' is usually called *Maka*. Under this influence I once spoke of my friend Temoa simply as Moe, but was told that the two names *Moe* and *Temoe* are not the same.

5.3.2. *Gua*, paucal (pauc) article and numeral 'two'. *Gua* and its variant *gu* have two roles. The paucal article indicates a small number, two or three, a few: *Gua pegea na boo mai*. 'Two or three people came.' The article, in contrast with the numeral, does not take a counting classifier; one would need the classifier in *Tokahaa pegea na boo mai*. 'Four people came.' This is an exact figure, not an approximation. *Gua* may be shortened to *gu* before an unstressed vowel: *Kimatou e to'ake gu amatou sasabe, kae he'e 'eha*. 'We took a few flying fish ashore, but not many.' (This would mean from twenty to one hundred flying fish: in contrast to Euroamericans, Rennellese and Bellonese fishermen belittle even the most splendid fish catch, an example of modesty lacking in more advanced societies.)

For counting classifiers, see 7.2 and Table 11.

5.3.3. Na, plural specific (pl sp). *Naa* is a variant of *na*, usually before primary stress, but not before CVV (*na haahine* 'the women', *na kaui* 'the fish') but *naa hage* 'the houses'. It is written short because its occurrence is in general predictable. The article *na* and the aspect marker *na* are easily distinguished.

Namaa te 'aso na 'oti ai te puge-nga a na 'atua

when art day past finish anaph art plan-nom of art god
sg sp temp agt/ pl sp
rslt

... (T101:3)

'On the day when the council of the gods was finished ...'

E'a ake a Tugiaba ... o tungu 'ia i na genga ...

come direct subj Tugiaba rslt smell gf caus art turmeric
 up pl sp

(T113:4) 'Tugiaba came up ... and smelled of the turmeric ...'
 (*Genga* here is plural.)

Na is sometimes replaced by *gua*:

Noko he'e mu-muna gua hai-taina kia te ia. (D)

past neg pl-speak num kin-ysib ind art 3p
 2 set ss obj sg sp sg

'The two younger brothers did not speak to him.'

Like *tə*, *na* is often used before mass (uncounted) nouns and kin terms:

... o laua ai na ahato, e kai e na ahato.

rslt bore anaph art longicorn gen eat subj art longicorn
 at pl sp

'... and longicorn beetles bore there, and eat [the dead trees].'

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... o taani te tino, ma te 'ugu, na gima, ma na

rslt put hot art body and art head art hand and art
stones sg sp pl sp

ba'e, kae taani taha'aki te ngutu. (T93:12)

foot and put last art mouth

'... and put hot stones on his body, head, hands, and feet, and lastly on his mouth.'

In 5.5.2 are listed certain common locative nouns that are always plural in Rennellese but singular in English.

5.3.4. He, singular nonspecific (sg nonsp). A variant heard in a few taped rituals is *se*. Cf Samoan *se*.

Here we will use the convenient term "determiner", which is a *t-* word preceding nouns (as *te*, *taku*, *teenei* ...) and its usually plural replacements (articles, possessives, and demonstratives not beginning with *t-*).

The distribution of *he* suggests that of *te*. A few examples follow of preposition + *he*:

... sui iho kinai he tama'auge. '... a ghost will take his place.'

Mano ko he pegea ia Moa ma Nika.

maybe top art person source Moa comit or honor
sg sp

'Maybe either Moa or Nika.'

E he'e na'a e he pegea.

gen neg know subj art person
sg nonsp

'Nobody knows.'

Mano te hage o he pegea lae.

maybe art house of art person poor
sg sp sg nonsp

'Maybe the house of a poor person.'

'Abatu ki he pegea.

give away ind art person
obj sg nonsp

'Give to someone.' (Note the various translation of *he pegea*.)

Hai kau hano atu he ngaga 'anga. (T196:13)

must lp sg go direct art flee nom
intent sg thither sg nonsp

'I'll have to go away [as] a runaway.'

Torben Monberg has called my attention to the fact that in ancient Bellonese prayers, the object requested is preceded modestly by *he*. One simply does not ask for a lot! The following examples of the minimizing singular nonspecific *he* are from Monberg's Bellonese rituals:

... *se kai e toe ngaa kia te koe ma tou tunga'ane* ... (17.2 V55)
 '... a food is left there for you and your brother ...' (A food offering is left for the stone goddess and her brother during the *hakau* ritual.)

<i>E suki ki he</i>	{	<i>ma'ungi.</i>	'Implant for	{	life.'
		<i>honotupu.</i>			?

(12.2) (Part of a prayer for cleaning a place to build a temple.)

Mortals today do the same thing (a part of the modesty syndrome). '*Au mai he kai.* 'Give me a bit of food.' *Tua mai he lakaa hutu.* 'Cut me a banana flower.' (He is humbly requesting an unripe banana.)

5.3.5. *Ba'i*, distributive (*distr*). One of the definitions of 'distributives' (Webster III) is a word "referring singly or without exception to the members of a group (each, every, either, neither, and none) ..." The last three senses have not been noted in Rennellese and Bellonese. The Dictionary glosses *ba'i* 'each, every, all, many, other, different'. *Ko ba'i me'a noko gaoui*. 'Everything was good.' *I ba'i kunga* 'everywhere', *i ba'i 'aso* 'every day, often', *ko ba'i me'a* 'everything, something else, different'. These glosses must be taken with caution. When a cyclone hit Bellona in 1979 people reported that *ba'i me'a* was destroyed. Subsequent investigation discovered that this did not mean 'everything', although it certainly seemed like 'everything' to the stricken people! Perhaps the Dictionary erred in not including in the definition 'much, a great deal'. *Ka noko sehu ana ha'unga ki ba'i 'aamonga*. 'His canoe sailed to many islands.'

5.3.6. *Ni*, paucal (*pauc*). The paucal *ni* is glossed 'a few, many, some'. The variant *nii* occurs in stressed positions, as in *nii aa?* 'what?'. ... *o hakaene ma'ana ni huaa 'umanga* ... (T191:2) '... and ask for himself some garden tubers ...' *Namaa hati ni ngangu susungu, ko au he'e taa e ia* ... (T50[A]:3) 'If any white waves break, he will not have killed me ...' *E gaoui poi boo mai ni pegea?* 'Is it okay if some people come?' *Ko Matahenua e iai nii hage?* 'As for Matahenua, are there any houses there?'

5.4. **Quantifiers.** The quantifiers indicate number. They include numerals (section 7 and especially Table 12), and *ta'u*, an indicator of a mass or group. They occur after *t-* words (*te* and the possessives beginning with *t* and their plurals without *t*) and before nouns.

oku ta'u pegea 'my relatives'

... *tena ta'u 'uhi noko ahe ma'u* ... (T139:8) '... his many yams, another thousand pairs ...'

... *te ta'u pegea taa* ... (T229:3) '... the slain people ...'

Te ta'u aa? Te ta'u huti. 'The many what? The many bananas.'

O ina ki te ta'u takotonga ... (T235[A]:63) 'And [he] saw the many graves ...'

Numerals may come between the article *te* and a noun; they may be taking classifiers. In the following, the classifiers for human beings precede numerals:

Ko te $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tokatogu} \\ \textit{tino angahugu} \\ \textit{tino gua} \\ \textit{tino gau} \end{array} \right\}$ *pegea noko boo mai.*

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{'Three} \\ \textit{'Ten} \\ \textit{'Twenty} \\ \textit{'One hundred} \end{array} \right\}$ *people came.'*

Ko te launatasi pegea noko a'u. 'One person came.'

tena launatasi kiba 'his only knife'

Tasi and its variant *tahi* have many meanings beside 'one', especially *te tahi* 'other, another, same, different, certain'.

Teegaa tasi me'a. 'That's something different.'

E tahi ona noho. 'All the same.'

namaa te tasi ghapu (T235[A]:61) 'then at a certain time'

5.5. Nouns and noun phrase nucleuses. A noun nucleus may consist of a single noun, locative noun, collective noun, unusually formed noun, and compound noun. These will be discussed in that order, beginning with locative noun.

5.5.1. Locative nouns. Locative nouns are names of places, directions, and people (personalized locatives). There are three types of locatives that may be distinguished by their compatibility (or lack thereof) with determiners, principally the article *te*. The three types are discussed below.

(1) Certain common words for compass directions are usually not preceded by determiners. Directions are of both Polynesian and non-Polynesian origin. The former include *matangi* 'east', *gago* 'west', *tu'ahenua* 'south' (lit. 'land back': the Rennellese and Bellonese knew that the only land south of them was Gotoakau, an uninhabited and mostly submerged atoll), *Matahenua* 'eastern

ends of the two islands', Mugihenua 'western ends of the two islands'. No Polynesian name has been noted for north, the home of Melanesians. The non-Polynesian names for north, south, east, and west are *bagika'ago*, *baghitakugu*, *baghiaghe* (Bellona *bangiaghe*), and *bagibo*. The origin of these words is not known. The south, so unknown, is viewed in rituals as a place of disease: ... *o huukea kinai te kango o Tou Tapungao, ka ma ko masakia'a kua tau ma'ungi i hongia tou kengekenge ma tou tuhohine. Ke 'ukuna ki te bangitakungu ...* (19.2 V111-112) '... and free us of the punishment, The Sole-Of-Your-Foot, as the sickness has again gripped your soil and that of your sister. Give chase to the south ...' (The priest-chief is asking Tehainga'atua and his sister-wife to remove the sickness with which they afflicted the people.)

This association of the south with pestilence is revealed in T70:4,5, a chant attributed to Kaitu'u, in which a canoe is ordered to turn from heading south by a "sickness wave": *Ngangu sa'akina kae hakapu'umua. Hongi tou baka ngo 'ui bangitakungu.* 'Wave of pestilence and ?. Turn your canoe that will enter the south.'

Other direction words not preceded by determiners include *ga'unga* 'above, ashore, upwards', *haho* 'outside', *koo* 'there', 'uta 'inland, ashore' (cf *gogohi a 'uta* 'the uplands are cold', and the absence of **gogohi te 'uta*). Ordinary place names are members of this subclass. In contrast to the other locatives just listed, they do not follow nouns as qualifiers. A Rennellese is *te pegea mai Mugaba* ('the person from Rennell') or *te pegea o Mugaba* ('the person of Rennell'), but not **te pegea Mugaba*. 'Atuhenua, lit. land row, is the name for 'overseas, foreign, the Solomons'. It occurs without a determiner: ... *kae hoki ... ki 'atuhenua.* (T224:9) '... and returned ... to the Solomons.'

(2) Locatives with meanings that depend on the presence or absence of determiners; in the following list, the meanings without determiners precede those with determiners, which are usually more specific and may not be locatives. Most contrasts fit into the frames *hano ki _____ 'go to _____'* and *e gaoi te _____ 'the _____ is good'*. A few examples will also be given.

aba 'any area near the waterfront; waterfront, pass, harbor, anchorage'. *Moe i aba.* 'Sleep anywhere along the coast.' *Noho i te aba.* 'Living at the waterfront.'

agatu'u 'anywhere along the main trail; main trail'. *To'atu ki agatu'u*. 'Take to anywhere on the main trail.' *E gaoui te agatu'u*. 'The main trail is good.'

gago 'below, westward, western parts of Rennell and Bellona; bottom'.

goto 'inside, center; lagoon; mind, intelligence, desire'. *Te pengea i ngoto; te pengea o ngoto* (Bellona) 'the person inside [the house]; the person from the center [of Bellona]'. ... *o boo i te goto*. (T16:4) '... to go on the edge of the reef.' ... *o noho i te goto*. (T16:10) '... and stopped in the lagoon.'

hage 'private house as contrasted with temple; house'. *Te 'aitu o hage*. (T67:43, R) 'The deity [worshipped in] houses.' *Gaoui te hage*. 'The house is good.' Similarly *te kaba ki hage* (R) is *kaba* offering in houses, not in temples.

matangi 'eastward, place names on East Rennell and East Bellona; wind, weather'

moana 'overseas, open sea; sea or ocean in general, lake'. ... *o husu ai ki moana*. (T207:11) '... and shoved the canoe into the open sea.' *Mai moana* 'from overseas, foreign'. *E magino te moana*. 'The sea is calm.'

mouku 'bush, jungle, grass, fern'.

mu'a 'first, before, ahead, in front; first one, oldest'. *te pengea o mu'a* 'the person in front; person living near the main trail'. *te pegemu'a* 'the first-born son, person at the head of a procession'

mugi 'last, afterwards, later; last, youngest; tuber'.

tai 'seaward, sea or coastal area; sea, ocean, lake'.

tu'a 'rear area; back (anatomical)'

(3) Personalized locatives. Many names have the characteristic sometimes called metonymy: the whole has also the meaning 'a part of the whole'. *Te baka* may be translated 'the canoe, the receptacle, the vehicle, the automobile, the people or crew of the canoe'. The preceding verb in the latter meanings may be in the plural. *Ta'ia te baka*. 'The canoe was destroyed.' (*Taa'ia* is plural; *ta'ia* is singular.) *Noko momoe a*

pa'asi: i ou pa'asi 'beside you, next to you'

pegea: Kae hano 'ati gongo a Hu'aitekumigogo kia pegea ngatahi.
(T67:6) 'Hu'aitekumigogo went to tell all the people.' (*Pegea*
without a determiner is usually plural.)

taha: ... i na taha o Sina. (T51[A]:8) '... beside Sina.'

5.5.3. Unusual forms. At least three very common terms for people plurals by lengthening the antepenultimate *a*: *hahine* 'woman', *haahine* 'women'; *tangata* 'man, male', *taangata* 'men, males'; *tuhahine* 'sister' (σ speaking), *tuhaahine* 'sisters' (σ speaking).

Two sets of kin terms may be called *hai-* and *tau*; each unites two relatives who apparently were particularly close in the old culture. The *hai-* terms are written as single words because they seem to bear no relation to the many meanings of *hai*. The *tau* terms seem related to the *tau* in *bestau* 'to have sexual intercourse' (no such relations are implied in this term).

Here are the most common *hai-* terms:

Senior	With relation	Glosses
<i>haitupuna</i>	<i>haimakupuna</i>	grandparent, grandchild
<i>haimaatu'a</i>	<i>haihaanau</i>	senior, parent to child
<i>haitamana</i>	<i>haihosa</i> <i>haitama'ahine</i>	father to son father to daughter
<i>haitinana</i>	<i>haitama</i> <i>haitama'ahine</i>	mother to son mother to daughter
<i>haitu'aatina</i>	<i>hai'igaamutu</i>	mother's brother to sister's children
<i>haita'oteke</i>	<i>haitaina</i>	older to younger sibling of same sex
<i>haima'aa</i>	<i>haima'aa</i>	siblings-in-law to each other, same sex
<i>haitunga'ane</i>	<i>hahine</i>	female to her brother

5.5.4. NOUN PHRASES

Examples

Ko ai te haitamana ia Moa ma Puia? 'Who is the father, Moa or Puia?'

Hai ake a tona hosa haita'okete ... (T220:2) 'Said to his oldest son ...'

... ki te haitaina (T52[A]:15) '... to the younger sibling'

The terms, of course, are all classificatory. In addition, a term for all sibling relationships is *haihaanau*. The terms in the list are in common use.

The *tau* terms always imply two people: *o taki hiina'i ai te tau tupuna*. (T6[A]:5) 'and grandparent and grandchild lived together there.' *Ko Tebegi ma Moa te tau tinana hakapigi*. (D) 'Tebegi and Moa are classificatory mother-in-law and son-in-law, aunt and nephew.' *Te tau tuhahine hakahua* (D) 'true brother and sister'.

Some *tau* terms are listed below in order of decreasing respect.

<i>tau tuhahine</i>	<i>hahine</i> and <i>tunga'ane</i>	female and her brother
<i>tau ma'aa</i>	<i>ma'aa</i> and <i>ma'aa</i>	siblings-in-law, same sex
<i>tau tamana</i>	<i>tamana</i> and <i>hosa</i>	father and son
	<i>tamana</i> and <i>tama'ahine</i>	father and daughter
<i>tau tinana</i>	<i>tinana</i> and <i>tama</i>	mother and son
	<i>tinana</i> and <i>tama'ahine</i>	mother and daughter
<i>tau tu'aatina</i>	<i>tu'aatina</i> and 'igoamutu	mother's brother and a man's sister's children
<i>tau tupuna</i>	<i>tupuna</i> and <i>makupuna</i>	grandparent and grandchild

5.5.4. Compounds. Compounds are sequences of two or more bases with or without particles, with meanings usually not discernible from the meanings of the parts. Compounds are indivisible without meaning changes. *Kaiahi* 'to smoke tobacco'

is a compound. Insertion of particles changes the meaning: *kai te ahi* 'eat fire' might be said of fire eaters. *Kai 'uhi* 'to eat yams' is a sequence of noun-verb + object noun; *kai te 'uhi* has the same meaning.

Some compounds are names of fauna and flora. *Manukitai* 'cormorant', is believed to come from some such sequence as *te manu [e utu] ki [te] tai* 'the bird [that gets food] in [the] far sea or lake'. The sequence with a meaning other than 'cormorant' is difficult to discover, but *manu ki tai* might be a possible answer to the question *Ki hea te manu?* 'Where is the bird?', but this seems improbable.

Mugikaakoni is a sandpiper with a wobbling tail, lit. 'tail will shake'.

A grammatical sequence (not a compound) is *manu mogi* 'hard creature', but one would hardly say this often. As a compound, *manumogi* is a small wood-boring insect.

The second member of a compound may be a noun as well as a noun phrase, verb phrase, or verb, as just illustrated. *Manuoge*, lit. 'mountain creature' is a name given to steamships. Airplanes are *baka gege*, lit. 'flying vehicle', but the meaning is transparent. Most compounds are written as single words, but noun and following qualifier(s) are separated by spaces.

Plant names may be qualified by the name of the person who introduced the plant to the islands, and songs by the name of the composer: *te 'uhi a 'Ale*, a kind of yam introduced by 'Ale, a Melanesian missionary; *te tangi a Tebegi* 'the lament composed by Tebegi'.

Colors may be qualified, as *'ugi segha* 'brownish' and *'ugi sinusinu* 'shiny black, dark'.

Double qualifiers are rare. More common are circumlocutions or insertion of particles: *'Ailaeue te tauiku!* 'The poor old man!' *Te pegea tauiku o maasaki!* 'The poor weak old man!'

Binomial nomenclature exists for many species of plants and animals:

manukitai susugu, manukitai 'ugi 'white and black cormorants'

'uhiga'aa tautu 'balloonfish panna', perhaps named for its thorns

5.5.4. NOUN PHRASES

tagingaa 'atua, an inedible tree fungus ('*atua* 'worthless' is a qualifier of many useless plants)

'*uhi mai te haaosi* 'yam from the house', a cultivated yam said to have been introduced by "Thomas", the name of both of the two Melanesian missionary teachers who in 1910 lived a few days in a hut at Kagaba, Rennell until they were killed (T233). A variant name for this yam is '*uhi mai te gege* 'yam from the cliff', named for the cliff behind the house where one of the two was killed.

Certain common two-word sequences are not compounds because words (including particles) may be inserted or the order reversed, without substantial change of meaning, and because the meaning is apparent from the meaning of the constituents. Here are some (for verb types cf Table 4):

i(a)-t verb + N: *hai hekau* 'do work' (*noko hai e ia te hekau* 'he did the work'); *pegea na'a* 'wise person' (*na'a to'a e te pegea* 'the person knows a lot')

N + *ki(a)-t* verb: *hage sogi* 'church' (*te hage e sogi ai* 'the building to worship in'); *pegea babage* 'joker' (*babage te pegea* 'the person jokes')

N + motion verb: *hakahua sehu* 'active chief who walks a lot' (*sehu to'a te hakahua* 'the chief walks a lot')

N + stative verb: *baka gaai* 'good canoe' (*gaai te baka* 'the canoe is good'); *hahine susugu* 'white woman' (*susugu te hahine* 'the woman is white')

stative verb + N: *masaki 'aamonga* 'homesickness'

N + N: *huaa 'umanga* 'garden produce' (*na huaa o te 'umanga* 'the produce of the garden'; note lengthened final *a* in *huaa*, cf 8.12.1.8 under *-a* and *-aa*)

motion verb + N: *hano bagitakugu* (T235[A]:70) 'go north' (*hano ki te pa'asi bagitakugu* 'go to the north side')

Siataa 'desire to fight, strike, kill' is not a compound because *sia-* is a prefix. It is nearly always a verb, but in the following is a personalized noun: "*Ko Mugihenua nei, kua heehea te siataa ...?*" (T212:15) "As for Mugihenua people here, where are those who want to kill ...?" (This is a taunt of

a strong man to the Mugihenua people, who finally do gang up and kill him.)

5.5.5. Seeking etymons. How safely may the analyst seek etymons? And what if his guesses are scorned or ridiculed by the native speakers? A few cases follow of etymons vigorously denied by those within the culture.

Gaba and *giki* are common words for 'large' and 'small'. Yet '*uhigaba*, the greatly prized *Dioscorea esculenta* panna yam is not thought to mean 'large *'uhi* (*D. alata*)' in spite of its large size. *Mugaba* 'Rennell' and *Mugiki* 'Bellona' are not thought to mean 'big Mu' and 'small Mu' even though another Mu (*Murua* or *Mugua* 'second Mu'? in Rennellese) was identified by the alert geographer Sofus Christiansen as Woodlark Island. It is at about the latitude of Honiara but is closer to New Guinea. A trip to *Mugua* was documented in *Canoes T227[B]*. (Cf 12.1.1.3.)

Uguugu 'wife' may have been derived from *ugu* 'to enter' -- a ridiculous idea, says Taupongi. So far as I know, such a name has not been noted in any other Polynesian language. Tepuke of Bellona said in 1982 that many Bellonese considered *ugu* 'to rake' the root (*te ibi*) because a primary female duty was to rake the oven stones; this led to Kuschel's caustic written statement that such rationalizations may be "due to Sam Elbert's and Torben Monberg's endless questioning about the *ibi* of a word".

Monberg mentions (5.1) that the two stone gods, the female *Ngua-Tupua* and the male *Te-Pou-Tu'u-i-Ngangi* (Bellonese spelling), although possibly literally meaning 'sacred pit' and 'the pole standing in heaven', the one short and stout, the other tall and thin, have to the islanders no connection with genitalia. This he attributes to the fact that in rituals no sexual suggestions occurred; and the Rennellese and Bellonese are not used to cutting up proper names, which they think of as indivisible wholes.

5.5.6. Honorific names. The constituents of honorific names are separated by hyphens, and the initial letters of other than particles are capitalized.

5.5.6.2. NOUN PHRASES

5.5.6.1. Honorific names for important food plants.

"In addressing the gods in ritual prayers, it was necessary to avoid direct mention of the most important flora and fauna desired; such were replaced in some instances by single words ... but more often by descriptive phrases that have only a vague and not transparent relationship to the biota designated (Elbert 1981:128)."

In the following list, literal meanings follow the honorific:

bananas: *'Ugu-Henua-Sakagago*, lit. 'low-lying land crown'

coconut palms: *'Ugu-Henua*, lit. 'land crown'

geemugi, *Santiria apiculata*; its flesh is pounded into puddings, its oil is consumed; the sap of the tree trunk is used for tattooing dye. Kuschel (in D, Part 2:112) says that *geemugi* "represents on the psychological level, the quintessence of beauty and perfection" *Hakamagu-Samu*, lit. 'shade workers preparing *geemugi* paste'; *Hu'ai-te-Toa-Hua*, lit. 'great fruitful coral'; *'Ugu-Mouku*, *'Ugu-Mouku-Sakagago*, lit. 'forest crown, low-lying forest crown'. *Ghaatoga* and *Mau* are meaningless honorific names for *geemugi*.

taro: *Gau-Tetea* for *Colocasia esculenta*, lit. 'white leaves'. *Kape C. macrorrhiza* is not widely cultivated and has no honorific name. Cf *yam*.

tree fern: *Ga'akau-te-Bao* for *paipai*, lit. 'plant [of] the forest'

yam: *'Agohi-Gima* for *betaape*, lit. 'hand palm'; *'Aso-te-Ga'akau* for *panna*, lit. 'offering [of] the forest'

yam and taro tubers: *Ka'anga-te-Kege* 'roundness [of] the earth'

5.5.6.2. Honorific names for animals.

cicada: *Nga'esu-o-Sinakibi*, lit. 'saliva of Blind Sina' (a demigoddess)

fish: *'Aasinga-Tou-Tai*, *'Aasinga-Tou-Akau* for such fish as sharks, flying fish, *pogo* (surgeonfish, tangs) 'visitor [to] your sea, visitor [to] your reef'

Honorific Names 5.5.6.3.

flying fish and surgeonfish: *Tai-Katoo* 'complete sea'

frigate birds: *Sugu-i-Palia* 'enter at tip'

turtles: *Henua-Mu'a* 'turtle head'; *Henua-Mugi* 'back land, rear portion, rear land'; *Ika-Mu'a* 'front part of turtle shell, front sea creature'; *Ika-Mugi* 'back part of turtle shell, back sea creature'

No honorific names existed for despised animals, such as ibis, centipedes, fireflies, lizards, mosquitos, snakes.

5.5.6.3. Honorific names for important people. For this discussion I have relied largely on Kuschel (in D Part 2:111-34), a glossary of 1,369 personal Bellonese names written in Bellonese spelling. Names no longer honorific because of obsolescence or commonness are starred. Elbert 1967 and 1981 were also consulted.

Honorific names of people, in contrast to such names of plants and animals, have transparent meanings. They mirror the culture to a large extent, as the list to follow shows.

These names could be invented, for example, to honor an important event, such as a particular feast (*Hu'ai-te-Ngano-'Eha* 'a very large lake' given by Tango-Kona in generation 13 in genealogy 9 in Cances and *Mau-Kumi* 'ten fathoms of *geemugi* pudding); a very large house (*Hu'ai-te-Pou-Angahugu* 'large the ten [house] posts'); a ritual with many *geemugi* puddings (*Hu'ai-te-Songo-Masi* 'many puddings of grated *geemugi*'); or names honoring oneself (*Tangu-Ika* 'seining fish', in honor of his own skill in netting flying fish, or *Tauaso* 'dancing', invented by Paul Saengeika, generation 21, to honor his own dancing virtuosity).

For a detailed analysis of personal names on Bellona, we will have to wait for Kuschel's forthcoming *Bellona Personal Names*. The brief list that follows applies only to honorific names. The spelling is Bellonese. Starred names are no longer honorific.

fisherman: **Angu-Ika* 'chasing fish'; **Ghapu-Ika* 'fishing season'; **Ma'anu-Baa* 'open sea floating'; *Ma'anu-Tai* 'floating sea'; **Ngau-Moana* 'hundred seas'; **Ngibu-Tai* 'encircling sea'; *Ngima-Ika* 'fishing hand'; *Sau-Honu* 'divine gift [of] turtle'; *Sau-Ika-ake* 'divine gift of fish carried inland'

5.6. NOUN PHRASES

geemugi: *Sau-Ngeemungi* 'divine gift of *ngeemungi* fruits'

generous provider: *Haangai-Henua* 'land feeder'; *Hakaonga-Henua* 'land savior'; *Moe-'Angoha* 'compassionate sleep' (female name); **Ngima-Sautia* 'hand wet with dew'; *Maangienga* 'generosity' (female name)

gentleman: *Nika*; **Nika-Matu'a* 'honorable elder'; *Tino-Matu'a* 'mature body' (elderly)

land owner: *Ta'aki-Henua* 'land supplier'

plaiter: **Te-Ungu-Moenga* 'mat beginning' (female name)

planter: *Ngima-Sanga* 'planting hand'; *Ngima-Tangata* 'manly hand'; **Sanga-'Eha* 'great planter'; *Ua-Henua* 'land worker'

religion: **Haka'ete'ete* 'quiet' (one who observes taboos); **Sa'o-Makongu* 'ripe coconut offerings'

tattooing: '*Ango-Ngua* 'two chests' (one with *taukuka* on both chest and back); '*Ango-Pungeba* 'shiny dark-blue chest'

traveler: *Hu'ai-te-Baa-Ngoa* 'great distant sea'; *Ngibu-Henua* 'encircling lands'

worker: *Ngima-Ua* 'industrious hand' See planter.

5.6. 'Anga. The nominalizer 'anga occurs most often in these environments:

(1) Before a pause or before a clause, qualifying word, or verb. *Teenei te 'otinga o teegaa hai 'anga.* (T175:7) 'This is the end of that affair.' *Namaa teegaa 'abange 'anga, tau atu te tangata i te gima o te hahine ...* (T183:3) 'When giving [it], the man snatched the woman's hand ...' ... *o hai agaatou hai 'anga songo ...* (T183:13) '... and behaved badly ...' *Teengaa te hai 'anga he'e na'a ai he pengea tongatou hanohano.* (T140:10) 'That's the reason people don't know their genealogies.'

(2) Followed by a possessive preposition *o* or *a* (5.2.5); the *o*-objects are more permanent and long lasting than that many of the *a*-objects. *Teenei te noho o te 'ati gongo 'anga a te uguugu ...* (T175:6) 'This was the nature of the wife's speech ...' *E gaai te tosi 'anga a Tebegi ia Moa.* 'Tebegi's sketch of Moa is good.' *Na gaai 'anga a Polo i ana mako 'anga.* 'Paul's fine

5.6. NOUN PHRASES

Uses of 'anga with qualifiers, directionals, and anaphors:

Ioo i te haka-pupunga 'atua 'anga te boo mai 'anga

when at art caus-speak god nom art go/come direct nom
sg sp pl hither

maatu'a ... (T68:2)

ancestor

'During the claiming [of deities] at the coming here [of the] ancestors ...'

Te hai hekau 'anga a te hahine kua noko. 'The working of the woman stopped.'

... ma te a'u 'anga kinai a Tekapini. '... at the coming here (kinai) of Tekapini.'

6. SUBSTITUTES

6.1. **Types of substitutes.** A substitute is defined by Hockett (1958:255) as a form which under certain circumstances replaces any member of a given form class. In Rennellese and Bellonese the substitutes replace nouns or NPs, and most of them may occur as sentence words. Substitutes may be subdivided as pronouns (6.2), demonstratives (6.3), interrogatives (6.4), and possessives (6.5). They may be exhaustively listed. Many are composite (composed of more than one bound form).

6.2. **Pronouns.** In 6.1, substitutes were said to replace nouns and NPs. Examples follow of personal pronoun substitutes:

Ko $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Moa} \\ \text{ia} \end{array} \right\}$ *noko a'u.* 'Moa' } 'He' } came.'

Noko gaoui $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{te pegea.} \\ \text{a ia.} \end{array} \right\}$ 'The person' } 'He' } was good.'

The pronouns are of four types: personal, portmanteau, indefinite, and interrogative.

The personal pronouns are listed below. Hyphens indicate morpheme boundaries.

Table 8
Personal pronouns

Singular Person	Dual			Plural	
	Long (a -b -c)	Short (a -b) (b -c)		Long (a -b -c)	Short (b -c, a -c)
1 INC <i>au</i>	<i>ki-taa-ua</i>	<i>ki-taa</i>	<i>taa-ua</i>	<i>ki-ta-tou</i>	<i>ta-tou, ki-tou</i>
1 EXC	<i>ki-maa-ua</i>	<i>ki-maa</i>	<i>maa-ua</i>	<i>ki-ma-tou</i>	<i>ma-tou</i>
2 <i>koe</i>	<i>kou---gua</i>			<i>kou---tou</i>	
3 <i>ia</i>	<i>ki-gaa-ua</i>	<i>ki-gaa</i>	<i>gaa-ua</i>	<i>ki-ga-tou</i>	<i>ga-tou</i>

Inclusive And Exclusive 6.2.3.

Although the short pronouns usually precede verbs, they sometimes follow, especially in poetic texts. *Boo mai o sobi a gaa-ua ...* (T78:2) '[They] came and the two of them cut [a vine] ...' (The teller is speaking of the *Hiti*.) ... *haanau ai maa-ua nei, boo mai nei.* (T52[A]:11) '... we two were born here, came here.' (This is from a *tangi* lament sung by two children seeking their father.)

6.2.2. Object pronouns. Direct and indirect object pronouns are usually the same as the subject pronouns. They may be preceded by object markers (Table 3 in 4.1).

Ko ia e haka'eha'eha ia te ia. 'He praises himself.'

Ko au masaki ia te au. 'I myself am sick.'

Ko au and sometimes *Ko ia* are written by the Rennellese and Bellonese as single words, perhaps because they are so very common.

In the following, an object phrase such as **ia te kigatou* is replaced by the anaphor *ai*:

Ka na 'atua mu'a nei maa i hea te maa kumu

and/ art god dubit demon Ø moment at interr punc moment care
but pl sp near lp where of

ai au? (T52[A]:4)

anaph lp
dir obj sg

'But the gods, where do I care for them?'

6.2.3. A note on inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive forms carry a warmth or affection that English "we" does not have, and conversely the exclusive forms may carry a nuance of rejection. Thus *ki-taa boo ki te hakatinga* 'let's go to the celebration' is an invitation, whereas *ki-maa boo ki te hakatinga* 'we but not you are going to the celebration' is a notice that the addressee is not wanted. Similarly in T41[A]:4 Mautikitiki asks two people why they have been walking about (*kou-ngua e lango aa?*), and they reply that we-two-and-not-you have been to the beach (*ko ki-maa-ua na boo ki tai*).

6.2.4. Environments. All personal pronouns may precede verbs (usually preceded by *ko*, topic marker), but more commonly follow the verb.

Kae boo iho te hai -nga tuha -nga. Ko

and *go/come* direct art *make/-nom* *share-nom* top
pl *down* sg sp *do* agt/
rslt

ki -ga-tou na taki to'o na me'a ... (T57[B]:3)

1p,3p-3p-pl past sep *take/ art* *thing/*
punc *bring pl sp* *person*

'And [stars] came down for the sharing. Each of them took things ...'

Ko au te 'agiki. 'I'm the chief.'

Kua noho au i Honiata. 'I lived in Honiara.'

... ka ko ia noko pago kinai ... (T212:12) '... and he treated him respectfully ...'

Ko ki-maa-ua gua pegea mai Tikopia. (T226) 'We are two people from Tikopia.'

Kengi e ki-nga-tou ongatou takatonga ... (T140:13) 'They dug out their graves ...'

6.2.5. *Kau*, portmanteau personal pronoun. The only portmanteau pronoun is *kau*, probably consisting of the future tense marker *ka* and the first person *au*, as in the much-said sentence *Hai kau hano. 'I've got to go.'* But compare the following:

Ko au e hakaniikoa, o hano ki Mugaba kau mate i
 top 1p gen spare rslt go to Rennell 1p die/ caus
 sg sg sg intent faint
 te sanga e hua'eha.

art sick gen size big
 sg sp

'I have been spared, I would have died in the epidemic that was big.'

... kau kakai hakapata kia te kou-tou ... (T29:6) '... I intend to stay with you ...'

6.2.6. 'Isi, indefinite pronoun.

Na utu -nga nei, e hai ke ta'o ke baghi gua,
 art harvest-nom demon Ø gen must imp bake imp divide num
 pl sp agt/ near 1p 2
 rslt

ke hai ma'aku 'isi, ka ke hai ma'au 'isi.

imp make/ 1p ben indef and/ imp have 2p ben indef
 do a sg but a sg

'This food must be divided in two parts, one for me, and one for you.'

Ko 'isi kauri e kai gaoui. (D) 'Some fish are good eating.'

Kitaa boo ke kaia'a ma'ataaui 'isi. (T78:3) 'Let's go and steal some for us.'

'Ai ko 'isi he'e kite i na haasua? (T63:8) 'So is there anyone who hasn't seen Tridacnas?'

Note the various translations of 'isi.

6.2.7. Other ways of showing anaphoric relationship. There are no words in Rennellese and Bellonese equivalent to English relative pronouns. Chung (1978:37ff) writes of two "strategies" which she calls deletion and pronominalization. I would prefer

not to talk of deletion (note comments to follow in the 6.2.8 discussion of elliptic use of pronouns), but to say that relative pronouns must be supplied in, say, English translations. They are simply not needed in Rennellese, just as it is not necessary in English to specify the genders of first person pronouns.

Here are some examples with relatives supplied in capital letters in the translations. The Rennellese commonly use embedded clauses beginning with verb markers such as *e*, *noko*, *na*, *ka go*, or they may insert a common NP such as *te pegea* 'the person' for English 'who, whom', *te kunga* 'the place' for 'where, to which', or *te me'a* 'the thing' for 'what'.

Te tautupu'a kia G, te pegea noko kakai i X noko hai tena hai 'anga te kai pegea. (T116:1) 'The story of G, WHO (lit., 'the person who') lived at X WHO had the custom of eating people.'

... o taku kia T i Oa, teegaa te kunga noko to'o mai ai gua tahoga'a. (T100:7) '... and prayed to T at Oa, to WHERE (lit., the place from which) [the request] for two whales had been taken.'

He'e na'a e au te me'a ka go gaai ai. 'I don't know WHAT (lit., 'the thing which') will be good for it.'

... o maanatu ki te 'inati sa'a maatu'a na giu'aki kinai ... (T118:5) '... and thought of the ancestors' food share THAT had been given to him ...'

Te tautupu'a o Mautikitiki noko hina iho tu'u i te ba'e tai ... (T35[B]:1) 'The story of Mautikitiki WHO went down [and] stood on the seashore ...'

Boo aano tatae i te manaha noko iai a tegaa tamana. (T52[B]:4) '[The two] went on arriving at the settlement WHERE their father was.'

Ka ko kigaaua noko maanatu ki te ngata noko eke i te baebae. (T56[B]:1) 'And they remembered the snake THAT had come on to some *baebae* bananas.'

Ko ai te tangata na a'u ke kai? 'Who is the man WHO came to eat?'

Tehea te baka e siahai kinai e koe? 'Where is the canoe WHICH you want?'

Siahai ki te pegea e gaoui. '[I] like a person WHO is good.'

An alternative interpretation of these sentences is to say that a feature of verb markers that follow nouns is to introduce embedded sentences that modify the noun, as relative pronouns do in European languages.

6.2.8. Elliptic use of pronouns. In translations from Rennellese and Bellonese it is commonly necessary to insert personal pronouns. Subjects and objects are not obligatory in Rennellese. With her penchant for naming everything, Chung (1978:30) calls omission of pronouns zero pronominalization, or pronominalization by deletion, or more elegantly, pronoun drop. This terminology would seem to be from the viewpoint of English (or the analyst's language) instead of from the viewpoint of the Rennellese. It seems to imply that once there were pronouns, and the Rennellese just decided to delete them. Why not say that to the Rennellese pronoun subjects and objects are not needed if the context reveals who does what to whom? (But see sentence 7 in 4.9.4 about the impossibility of the outsider always supplying them unaided!)

T33:6-7 is a delousing scene that is set in the following opening sentence: *Kae hano o noho a 'Atangahenua, ngege ia tena tama'ahine; o a'u o hai te 'ugu o te tamana.* 'Atangahenua went and sat down, calling to his daughter; [she] came and deloused the head of the father.'

Subjects no longer need be expressed. Those in the culture know that the delousing daughter stands above the head of the deloused father:

Hakagongo ake ki na go'imata ... '[He] felt the tears ...'

O hakaanu ake kinai ... 'And [he] asked her ...'

Siga ake kinai ... '[He] turned upwards to her ...'

The sex of each missing subject and the *kinai* indirect objects, needed in translations to many languages, were revealed in the opening sentence of the delousing scene that seems to be a means of showing affection as well as bringing temporary relief.

This excerpt shows how directionals fill the role of pronouns, but it is confusing to one who has never seen the delousing act. (See another example in 4.6.3.)

6.3.1. SUBSTITUTES

In a short Rennellese version (N40) of the widespread sun-snaring legend, the protagonist, Sebe, is preparing *soi*, a kind of uncultivated yam, and prays to his or her father (presumably dead) to hold the sun and thereby prolong daylight so that he or she may finish the *soi* routine. The brief account has three missing subjects and a possessive *tana* meaning either 'his' or 'her'. (Have the pronouns and possessives in Rennellese suffered "gender drop"?) A person in the culture knows that preparation of *soi* is female work and it is known that the subjects and the possessives refer to females. However, my translation in *Canoes* is in error, as I did not know that fact known to every Rennellese, and the informants had not thought it necessary to tell me so.

6.3. Demonstratives (demon).

6.3.1. Inventory.

Table 9
Demonstratives

Near speaker	Near indefinite	Near addressee	Far or invisible
<i>tee-nei*</i>	<i>te-hea</i>	<i>tee-naa</i>	<i>tee-gaa</i>
	<i>he-hea</i>	<i>teiana*</i>	<i>teiaa*</i>
<i>ko-nei₁</i>		<i>ko-naa₁</i>	<i>ko-gaa₁</i>
<i>ko-nei₂</i>	<i>ko-hea</i>	<i>ko-naa₂</i>	<i>ko-gaa₂</i>
<i>pee-nei</i>		<i>pee-naa</i>	<i>pee-gaa</i>
<i>nei*</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>gaa</i>
	<i>hea</i>		

*Sometimes emotional

As indicated in the table, the four demonstratives in the first column and eleven demonstratives in the other columns consist of two parts. The first part may be defined as follows:

te(e), singular specific (compare the article *te* in 5.3)

*ko*₁, plural specific

*ko*₂, similitude 'like'

pee, 'like'

They may be referred to as *te(e)* demonstratives, *ko*₁ demonstratives, *ko*₂ demonstratives, and *pee* demonstratives. The entries on the last two lines of the table are called \emptyset demonstratives.

6.3.2. Te(e) demonstratives. The *te(e)* demonstratives may replace nouns and pronouns. They occur frequently (1) in verbless sentences or clauses. They act as (2) subjects of sentences and (3) objects of prepositions. They also are (4) determiners. Sometimes they act as (5) verbs.

Each of these five roles will be exemplified.

The various meanings include:

teensi (proximal): this, this one, this person or place, the local people, here; something just done or completed; beloved, honorable, my fine ... (as a determiner)

teenaa: that, that one, that person, the local people, you, your, here, there (near the addressee)

teegaa (distal): that, that person, that one, the other, another, one, the one to follow, there, next; he, she, a, an (far or invisible)

tehea: where? what? how? which?

In fast speech a foreign ear may have trouble distinguishing *teegaa* and *tejaa* 'their (dual, *a*-class)'.

Te(e) demonstratives in verbless sentences:

<i>Teenei</i>	} <i>te manaha.</i> }	'This	} is the village.'
<i>Teenaa</i>		'That (nearby)	
<i>Teegaa</i>		'That (far, invisible)	
<i>Tehea</i>		'Where ?	

Ko teenei te kunga gaoui. 'This is the good place.'

"'Ia! *Teenaa te toki!*" (T57[A]:11) "'Here it is! Here's the adze!"' (The speaker is handing the adze directly to a nearby person.)

Teenaa ia te beka manga mahu ana me'a!

demon demon ∅ art stingy just/ rot 3p ∅ thing/
near 2p indef sg sp only a sg reason

(T111:8, poetic) 'You there are the stingy one whose tubers are rotting!' (*Teenaa* refers explicitly to the addressee. This is a highly insulting taunt, implying that the man lets his tubers rot rather than share them.)

Teenaa te tauama e geba! (poetic) 'Here's a tiny canoe. Fly [here]!' (The speaker is addressing flying fish, telling them to fly hither to the small canoe that they may be caught.)

Teenaa koe, te 'atua tahea! (T52[B]:5, poetic) 'Here you are, drifted god!' (Two boys are searching far and wide for their father, who has drifted away. They think they have found him.)

6.3.2.1. *Teegaa* 'to follow'. A common sequence is *teegaa ... ko*, with *ko* being 'namely' (5.2.2). Such sentences are usually verbless.

Teegaa te ingoa o te hahine, ko Tebegi. 'The name of the woman is to follow, namely Tebegi.' *Teenei* would never do here. Headman Togaka of Kaagua, Rennell, ended most of his stories *Teenei te 'otinga o ...* or *Teenei te 'oti 'anga o ...* 'This has been the ending of ...' Not once did Togaka say **Teegaa te 'otinga o ...* *Teenei* here means something just completed or done, *teegaa* something to follow. *Teegaa* is ever remote, *teenei* close indeed.

Teengaa te ingoa o te paa a Mautikitiki, te paa. (T49:3)
 'That's the name of Mautikitiki's hook, the *paa*.' A more colloquial translation would be: 'The name of Mautikitiki's hook is the *paa*.'

Teegaa te manaha noko iai ko Peka ... (T72) 'The settlement where it was is Peka ...'

6.3.2.2. Te(e) demonstratives as unmarked subjects.

Teenei kua gaai, teegaa kua songo. 'This is good, that is bad.'
 (Implication: this is better than that; the *teegaa* clause may not necessarily be bad.)

Boo, boo, ... aano hai atu teengaa: "Kitaa tutu'u". Hai atu teengaa ... (T2[C]:6) 'Going on and on, ... and one [of two graybirds] said: "Let's alight!" The other said ...' Also, T76[A]:5.

6.3.2.3. Te(e) demonstratives as verbs.

Tehaa Maa? Teegaa. 'Where is Maa? There.' (Such use is rare.)

<i>Noko i hea?</i>	<i>Noko</i>	{	<i>teenei.</i>
			<i>teenaa.</i>
			<i>teegaa.</i>

'Where was [it]? [It] was	{	here.'
		there (near).'
		there (far).'

6.3.2.4. Te(e) demonstratives as objects of prepositions.

Ko teenei te manaha. (T89:6) 'This is the settlement.'

Noko masaki a teenaa. 'That person (near you) is sick.'

Te tama'ahine a teenei. 'The daughter of this person.'

Te ingoa o teenei ko Hutuna. 'The name of this [place] is Hutuna.'

Ko koe siahai ki teenaa? 'Do you want that (near you)?'

Mai teenei. 'From here.'

Noho pe teegaa. 'Looking like that person.'

Ke noho i teegaa. (T10:4) 'Let [the sky] stay there.'

Ko ia noko hano ki teegaa. 'He went there.'

6.3.2.5. *Te(e)* demonstratives as determiners. *Teegaa* occurs fairly often as a determiner. *Teenei* and *teegaa* contrast before 'aso: *teenei* 'aso 'today', *teegaa* 'aso 'the other day, another day, that day'.

Boo ma'u aano ma te tatae ki teengaa kunga. (T2[C]:7) 'Going on again and reaching another place.'

... *hano mouto'o 'anga a 'Atagangahenua, namaa teegaa poo hai to'onga a Mautikitiki* ... (T33:2) '... 'Atagangahenua went about doing mischief, and next night Mautikitiki played tricks ...' (He hid his father's loincloth.)

Teenaa as a determiner is not common.

To'atu e koe Moa teenaa tu'uganga o hano bagitakugu; kae

take subj 2p Moa demon group rslt go south and
away sg near 2p sg

to'atu e koe Tegheta o hano matangi. (T235[A]:70)

take subj 2p Tegheta rslt go east
away

'Moa, you take your group and go south; Tegheta, you take your group and go east.' (The high chief, after the sudden acceptance of Christianity, is directing Moa and Tegheta to take their followers south and east to introduce Christianity.)

6.3.2.6. *Te(e)* demonstratives with emotional implications.

Teenaa koe! 'So here you are; so much for you!'

Teenei koe! 'So much for you!'

teenei kainanga (T103:3) 'this fine worshipper'

Teiana, Teinaa, Teiaa 6.3.2.7.

Teenei as a determiner usually carries emotion, as in the above. It may be flattering, self-demeaning, or insulting. A man may refer to his wife as *teenei ghoghughoghu* (Rennell) 'this beloved intestine' or *teenei hokai* (Bellona) 'this beloved lizard' (*Hokai* is a general name for the despised monitor lizards). He may refer elegantly to his daughter, sister, or niece as *teenei ta'ahine* 'this splendid female relative'.

Here are some demeaning terms: A woman talking to one she honors may say about herself *teenei tapungao* 'this footprint' or *teenei lango ba'e* 'this toenail'. She means that she is less significant than the honoree's footprint or toenail. Kuschel, Taupongi, and I said in the front matter of D, Part 2, at Taupongi's suggestion: '*Aasaki te kohu ngutu goa 'anga a na takatakahanga nei.* 'Pardon, if you please, the endless mouthings of these miserable wretches.'

As in all languages, intonation may make a given utterance flattering or insulting. ("A hell of a fellow.") *Tehea teenei beetaunga?* 'Where is this copulator?' is not always bad, and may be said by a grandparent to his grandchild as a kind of mild ridicule that might create laughter among the listeners.

6.3.2.7. *Teiana, teinaa, teiaa.* These terms indicate affection or intimacy. The first is a vocative; the second and third are terms of reference. Their origin is not clear, except that *-na* in *teiana* is the Ø demonstrative (6.3.5.3) indicating proximity to the addressee. Two hypotheses may account for initial *te-ia* in two of these names, and is perhaps a combination of the specific article *te* + the Ø demonstrative *ia* (6.3.5.2), or it is cognate with PEPN *te(e)ia* 'this'. *Teiana* is used between spouses, or by a man to his brother, or by a woman to her sister, but always or nearly always between persons of the same generation and (except for spouses) between persons of the same sex. In calling from a distance, or for emphasis, the definitive accent is used, as *teiano* or *teianoo*. Translation is difficult. Perhaps 'friend, wifey'?

Teiaa is used by the same pairs of people as *teiana* and *teinaa*, but is so rare that it was not entered in the Dictionary. It was discovered in 1977 by Kuschel and entered in Appendix A of D, Part 2.

Aano he'e kite-a, hai atu a Pongi ki tena tau'a: "Kitatou

and/ neg see -gf say direct subj Pongi to 3p fight 1p
 then thither a sg inc pl

ngiu, na'e ko teiaa he'e a'u he'e siahai ki taku tegeu'a.

go back caus top friend neg come neg like obj 1p think
pl emotion sg a sg

(R146:11) 'Then [Taungenga] did not come, Pongi said to his fighters: "Let's go back, my brother (teiaa) hasn't come, not liking my idea."'

6.3.3. *Ko*₇ demonstratives. The *ko*₇ demonstratives are the plural of the *te(e)* demonstratives, and their meanings are similar to those of *te(e)* demonstratives but are with plural meanings or precede plural nouns or plural possessives. Like the *te(e)* demonstratives they occur in verbless sentences or clauses, as subjects of sentences and objects of prepositions, and (less often) as determiners. Sometimes they occur as verbs and verb qualifiers. The following list indicates the various environments:

In verbless sentences:

<i>Konei.</i>	} <i>na tamagiki.</i> 'The children are	{ Here.'
<i>Konaa</i>		{ there (near you).'
<i>Kogaa.</i>		{ There (far, invisible).'

Konei aku tama. (T13:6) 'These are my children.'

Kongaa na pegea noko boo ake ... ko Temoa ma Taaika ma Takiika.
 (T236:5) 'Those are the people who went up ... Temoa and Taaika and Takiika.' (This is a *namely*-clause before a plural noun.)

As unmarked subjects of sentences:

... *o too kinai kogaa, kae hakamataku kogaa 'agiki ...*
 (T235[A]:24) '... some believed it, and other chiefs were afraid ...'

Ka na hai ake kongaa ki te tau'a ... (T159[A]:30) 'And those people said to the fighters ...'

Po konei kua 'aonga e hai ke aa? (T118:7) 'What are these [taros] good for?'

As objects of prepositions:

Boo iho a konei ... (T236:2) 'The local people went down ...'

... tuku muna e Moa a konei ... (T236:2) '... Moa mediated between these people ...'

... o tuku na tapu ma na nganguenga o konei ... (T236:6) '... and broke the taboos and temples of these places ...'

Noko noho i konei. 'Stayed in these places.'

Noko boo mai ki konei. 'Came to these places.'

Te'itoo mate te ingoa o Mungiki, ka teegaa te ingoa o konei mai gaa 'aso, ko Tenukumangongo. (T66:23) 'This was the first time the name of Mungiki was said, for the name of these places long ago is The-Unknown-Abode.' (Note the *namely*-clause.)

As a determiner:

"A'ai konei ngaunga kala?" (T93:8) "'Whose chewed pandanus keys are these?'"

Also see *kogaa 'agiki* above.

Occasionally as verbs or verb qualifiers:

Noko i hea? Noko konei. 'Where were [they]? [They] were here.'

Hakagata e koe Higiaotuo, moe kooa, moe konei. (T64:3) 'Makes no difference, Higiaotuo, sleep there [where you are or] sleep here [by me].' (A woman entices a man to sleep with her rather than alone.)

6.3.4. Ko₂ demonstratives, similitude (sim). Among the meanings of the ko₂ demonstratives are: like this, this way, like that, such as, thus, as follows. They occur in verbless sentences and clauses and as verbs. They usually occur with plural nouns.

6.3.5. SUBSTITUTES

In verbless sentences and clauses:

Konaa na noho. 'Like this.' (This sentence is so common that on Bellona in fast speech it becomes *konaa nnoho*, often with a voiceless final *o*; cf 2.6.1. *Konei na noho* and *kogaa na noho* are shortened in the same way.)

... *o konaa ana gea:* (T19:5) '... and his words were as follows:'

Konei na motunga o te tangata begebenekona ma tena uguugu. (T195[B]:5) 'Such were the endings of the wicked man and his wife.'

As verbs:

Noko kogaa na to'o: (T212:7) 'The words were as follows:'

Manga kogaa na hai i ba'i 'aso ... (T170:3) 'That's just the way the affairs were every day ...'

E kongaa na hai te 'ungu. (T143:1) 'Thus was the making [of] the opening chant.'

6.3.5. \emptyset demonstratives. The bottom rows on Table 9 in 6.3.1 list the \emptyset demonstratives. Unlike the other demonstratives in the table, they do not substitute for nouns. Of the group listed below, only *ia* may replace nouns. The others are included in this section because of their obvious relationship to the demonstratives that are substitutes, and an understanding of them may facilitate understanding of the others.

The principal meanings follow:

nei: here, this, now

ia: another, different; *ia ... ia:* a ... another (indef)

-na: there, over there, you (near addressee)

gaa₁: present, punctual

gaa₂: plural of *teegaa*

gaa₃: dubitative

6.3.5.1. *Nei*. *Nei* is listed in Table 6 in 4.8 as occurring in both VPs and NPs. Since it occurs in NPs more commonly than in VPs, this will be discussed first. Note that it is in the last position in NPs, but more commonly it follows nouns, pronouns, or possessives directly:

ki Mugaba nei 'to this Rennell, to Rennell here' (This is the common way that Rennellese refer to their island when they are on it. There is probably a nuance of affection.)

te me'a nei 'this thing'

ki toku kaainga nei 'on my bed here'

"*Ta'aku nei e mata!*" (T52[A]:15) "Mine here is raw!" (A man complains that his banana is not properly cooked.)

Sahe ki Nukuhengokingoki, haanai ai maaua nei. 'Reached Nukuhengokingoki, where we two here were born.'

"*Te hai 'anga nei e 'oti kia te au Gakei.*" (T227[B]:6) "I, Gakei, have finished this sort of activity." (Gakei has travelled to San Cristobal and has decided not to travel any more.)

Nei occurs in VPs in two positions (Table 6, 4.8), once before *mu'a*, and the other at the very end of the phrase:

Manga noho toka ai nei. (T11:3) '[The sky] stays quietly there now.' (Until a demigod raised it, the sky was no higher than the flight of an earth-bound ground pigeon.)

To'ai te manaha e momoe ai nei? 'Whose is the settlement [we] are sleeping in now?'

6.3.5.2. SUBSTITUTES

Tou ta'e nei kua he'e tau pegea, aano te'ioo a'u

2p feces demon \emptyset perf neg intens person and/ have just/ come
o sg near 1p then first time sg
emotion

mai nei koe o ina kinai.

direct demon 2p rslt see anaph
hither sg dir obj

'Your feces here has no relatives, and you are the first person to come here and see him.' (A host, speaking of himself in the third person, calls himself the feces of his visitor; demeaning ego honors alter. Note that *nei* is used twice. The second *nei* is probably not emotional.)

Ko te tupuu te ka haka-tau -ga-gago nei e

top art grandfather punc fut caus-place-pl-low demon \emptyset subj
sg sp near 1p

gua masakia'a. (T17[B]:2)

num wretch
2

'The two wretches are going to humiliate your grandfather.' (A grandson god is told that his grandfather is to be humiliated: his loincloth was stripped off and he was beaten. It seemed to amuse the Rennellese that the grandfather was the greatest of all gods and that the grandson was almost as powerful.)

6.3.5.2. *Ia*. The demonstrative *ia* is not to be confused with the homophonous third person singular pronoun or the object marker after *ia-t* verbs before proper nouns and pronouns (Table 3). Although so different in shape from other demonstratives, *ia* is not a Rennellese-Bellonese invention and is traced back to PPN *ia*. It is less common than other demonstratives and occurs in verbless sentences and as a determiner. Like the other \emptyset demonstratives, it is indivisible.

Teegaa ia baka. 'That's a different canoe.'

Teegaa ia te tautupu'a kia Baabenga. (T176:7) 'Following is another story about Baabenga.'

In the sentence beginning *Teenaa ia te baka ...* in 6.3.2 'you there are the stingy one ...' *ia* seems to intensify the stinginess.

Ia ... ia in the following means 'a ... another'.

O hai ga'a Takitaki te agaa pua, kite 'oso mai kinai, bulu ia hua ... bulu ia hua ... (T228:2) 'Takitaki gave [her] a betel cluster and [she] grabbed it, broke off a nut ... broke off another nut ...'

6.3.5.3. -Na. This common demonstrative is suffixed to nouns, verbs, directionals, and proper names. In this position, it is not stressed except when receiving the definitive accent; in calling from a distance final *a* is sometimes replaced by *oo* or *ooo*; it indicates proximity to the addressee and is translated 'there, over there, you'. A call to children out of sight is *Tamàgikína!* 'Chil-drén!'. It is often said in excited speech.

"Ni aa augua e tunúna?" (T63:7) "'What are you two cooking over there?'"

"Po ko ai te kaa to'o aku pegeána? Noka aku pegea! Ke kai!" (T235[B]:30) "'Who dares take away my people there? Leave my people alone! [We'll] eat [them]!'" (A madman is talking during the tumultuous conversion to Christianity. He doesn't want the people to bury those he has slain.)

"Oo, kougua te boóna!" (T67:58) "'Yes, you are leaving!'" (This is a kind of farewell.)

"Singi'akína, mau maatu'a, ki Ngabenga!" (T2[B]:10) "'Pass by [both of] you [and your] parents to Ngabenga!'" (A prayer directing the bird impersonators of the two stone gods to pass by and go home and do no harm.)

6.3.5.4. Gaa₁ present punctual (pres punc). *Gaa* is fairly common after verbs and may be considered a punctual demonstrative ("without extent or duration": Webster III), a one-time action; cf *te*, punctual aspect of verbs. It is used idiomatically in polite farewells and is not overtly translatable. Literally it's 'you stay' or 'you go':

6.3.5.6. SUBSTITUTES

... *Hano ngaa toku paa'unga* ... (T222:13) '... Farewell, my shield ...' (When a Ngotuma chief hears that the Ngotuma strongman has died on Rennell, he bids him farewell.)

"*Noho gaa Kaitu'u niho 'unga. Ko kimaaua te boo nei.*" (T67:57) "Farewell Kaitu'u, [you with] hermit crab tooth. We are leaving now." (This was said by one of two surviving *Hiti* -- Kaitu'u had killed the others. One informant said that this insulting epithet referred to Kaitu'u's teeth, as black as hermit crabs. As the text indicates, it is said by those leaving to those staying.)

Koutou noho'aki gaa. 'Farewell to all of you.' (This is said by those leaving to those staying. When I left Niupani after staying there about 12 weeks, the chief asked me to say this to those staying behind.)

Noho gaa ki te mama'o. 'Farewell [to you so] far away.' (Salutation in a letter.)

Other examples:

"*Ina'ange gaa ki teenei kainanga* ..." (T103:3) "Just look at this worshipper ..."

O tukua gaa ko koe 'agoha. 'Providing you are kind.'

Also T52[A]:5,6.

6.3.5.5. Gaa₂. This seems to be a plural of *teegaa* and occurs (rarely) before and after nouns. An idiom common among the Rennellese and Bellonese, who think so much of their past, is *mai gaa 'aso* 'from long ago' (probably lit. from other times).

Under *maikia* the Dictionary lists *Te pegea e maikia ki gaa pegea* 'a person taking care of other people'.

Te kepoko gaa te hage o te 'aaa? Si'ai, ko ba'i me'a. 'Is that kapok the [same] species as the banyan? No, different.'

6.3.5.6. Gaa₃, dubitative (dubit). In Hawaiian *lā* is called dubitative (Elbert and Pukui 1979:102). In Tahitian *ra₂* is termed "hypothetical" (Coppenrath and Prévost 1975:188, 396). So why not take the Hawaiian name dubitative? Only a few examples have been noted:

Ka 'ua gaa te 'aso nei? 'Will it rain today?'

"*Ko ai ngaa ka ngo ebe e ia te hange e mangu ...?*" (T147:2)
 "'Who will destroy the house of refuge ...?'" (This was a name given to the settlement at Matabaingei, Bellona, where no one had been killed in fights for generations, a most unusual state of affairs.)

Te hage e taha mai nei gaa e aa? 'What about the house near here?'

Doubt is felt about the common idiom *i te me'a gaa* 'therefore, because, for that reason' (lit. 'because the thing *gaa*').

Cf 4.8.3 for a contrast of another dubitative, '*okoia, koia*, and *koioo* with *gaa*₃. The two are mutually exclusive.

6.3.6. Pee demonstratives. Meanings of the *pee* demonstratives are similar to those of the locative *te(e)* demonstratives, but the meanings are probably less precise, specific, or visible. Paul Sangeika once dramatized a flying-fox hunter's charm spoken rapidly to induce his victim to remain still so that the hunter might snare him.

Ko koe manga maatanga peenaa! 'You there, just watch!'

The Rennellese and Bellonese believed in prayers to animals as well as to gods and ancestors. (Cf a prayer to flying fish in 6.3.2.) Flying foxes were not only a gastronomic delicacy, but their teeth were strung in necklaces (*tu'u niho peka*) as presented to prospective brides, as pay for tattooing, and to sue for peace.

The following contrasts the *pee* and *te(e)* demonstrative locatives:

te hage teenei 'this house (right here)' and *te hage peenei* 'this house (here in a larger area)'

E hano teegaa pegea. 'That person is going.' *E hano peegaa pegea.* 'That person is going (perhaps invisible or spoken of but not seen).'

The similitude preposition *pe* (5.2.9) is obviously related to the three *pee* forms, but has rather different meanings.

When *hea* before a pause receives the definitive accent, it is frequently *heoo*.

Tehea 'where, what, which' is used with singular nouns, *kohea* with plural. They have similar meanings but contrast as follows: *Tehea 'okoia? Kogaa*. 'Where is [it]? There.' *Kohea 'okoia? Kogaa*. 'Where are [they]? There.' *Tehea tona ingoa? 'What is his name?'* *Kohea ongatou ingoa? 'What are their names?'*

... *noko he'e na'a e ia po tehea te takotonga o tona uguugu*. (T235[A]:63) '... he didn't know which was the grave of his wife.'

Tehea te pegea? 'Where is the person?' *Kohea na pegea ...?* (T163) 'Where are the people ...?'

After *kohea* the *a* possessive is most common. Cf *Kohea ana noho?* 'What kind is it? What's it like?' and *E tahi ona noho*. 'Just one kind; the same kind.' Also *Kohea au mootunga?* 'What is your height?' and *toku mootunga* 'my height'. But *hegeu* occurs with the *o* possessive: '*Ai ke kohea ona hegeunga?* (D) 'But what should be said?' (A polite way to accept an invitation; lit. 'but should what his saying?')

"*Po kohea te maa tatangi mai ai a oku maatu'a?*" (T2[B]:8) "Where are my parents crying at now?"

Po kohea a Tiapani? 'What about the Japanese? What are the Japanese like?' *Konei na noho*. 'Like this.'

"*Kohea na hai e tou ta'e?*" (T205) "What can your feces do [about it]?" (A cannibalistic mother has thrown her daughter into an oven. The daughter screams that she's on fire and the mother says nothing can be done about it; the mother calls herself the feces -- *ta'e* -- of the daughter, a self-demeaning way of giving honor, but she finally devours her daughter. This morbid story was told by a middle-aged Lake woman.)

6.4.2. Ai. The other interrogative to be mentioned here is *ai?* 'who?', not to be confused with the anaphoric *ai* (4.9), the conjunction '*ai* (9.3.1), or the exclamations '*ai* (11.1).

Ai is most frequently introduced by the topic marker *ko* (5.2.2). *Ko ai noko a'u?* 'Who came?' *Ko ai tona ingoa?* 'What is his name?' (This seems to be the only environment in which *ai* is translated 'what?')

6.5. SUBSTITUTES

Ai contracts with the reduplicated prepositions *ta'a*, *to'o*, and *ma'a*.

<i>Ta'ai</i>	} <i>te kiba?</i>	{ 'Whose 'For whom is the	} knife?'
<i>Ma'ai</i>			

<i>A'ai</i>	} <i>te puke?</i>	{ 'Whose books?' 'For whom is the book?'
<i>Ma'ai</i>		

<i>To'ai</i>	} <i>te hage?</i>	{ 'Whose house?' 'For whom is the house?'
<i>Mo'ai</i>		

Ke to'o ma'ai te polo nei? 'For whom shall I take this coconut?'

Noko hakatu'u mo'ai te hage nei? Mo'o te launatasi i gu oku hosa. Mo'o gu aku hosa. 'For whom was this house built? For one of my two sons. For my two sons.'

Mo'ai seems to be rare. See D, Part 2 under 'whom' for *ta'ai*, *to'ai*, *ma'ai*, *mo'ai*, and *ko ai*.

6.4.3. *Aa*. Particle, verb, and noun. See D for examples.

6.5. **Possessives.** The possessive substitutes are all composites. They are of two types; simple and reduplicated. Each of the simple possessives contains three or four morphemes. Each of the reduplicated possessives contains four or five morphemes. Possessives are identified by the presence in each of them of one member of the mutually exclusive pair *o* and *a* marking class of ownership (5.2.5). Thus there are not only simple and reduplicated possessives, but also two classes, called herein *o*- and *a*-classes. On still another level, the possessives may be divided into three sets (*t* possessives, \emptyset possessives, and *m* possessives). In Table 10, hyphens separate the constituent morphemes. Variants are separated by commas. There are also two types of possessive prepositions: \emptyset possessive prepositions and *m* possessive prepositions.

Table 10
Possessives

t possessives:				
Simple		Reduplicated		
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	
Singular				
1p	<i>t-o-ku</i>	<i>t-a-ku</i>	<i>t-o-'o-ku</i>	<i>t-a-'a-ku</i>
2p	<i>t-o-u,</i> <i>t-e-o-u,</i> <i>s-o-u</i>	<i>t-a-u,</i> <i>t-e-a-u</i>	<i>t-o-'o-u</i>	<i>t-a-'a-u</i>
3p	<i>t-o-na</i>	<i>t-a-na,</i> <i>t-e-na</i>	<i>t-o-'o-na</i>	<i>t-a-'a-na</i>
Dual				
1pINC	<i>t-o-taa</i>	<i>t-a-taa,</i> <i>t-e-taa</i>	<i>t-o-'o-taa</i>	<i>t-a-'a-taa</i>
1pEXC	<i>t-o-maa</i>	<i>t-a-maa,</i> <i>t-e-maa</i>	<i>t-o-'o-maa</i>	<i>t-a-'a-maa</i>
2p	<i>t-o-u-gua</i>	<i>t-a-u-gua</i>	<i>t-o-'o-u-gua</i>	<i>t-a-'a-u-gua</i>
3p	<i>t-o-gaa</i>	<i>t-a-gaa,</i> <i>t-e-gaa</i>	<i>t-o-'o-gaa</i>	<i>t-a-'a-gaa</i>
Plural				
1pINC	<i>t-o-ta-tou</i>	<i>t-a-ta-tou,</i> <i>t-e-ta-tou</i>	<i>t-o-'o-ta-tou</i>	<i>t-a-'a-ta-tou</i>
1pEXC	<i>t-o-ma-tou</i>	<i>t-a-ma-tou,</i> <i>t-e-ma-tou</i>	<i>t-o-'o-ma-tou</i>	<i>t-a-'a-ma-tou</i>
2p	<i>t-o-u-tou</i>	<i>t-a-u-tou</i>	<i>t-o-'o-u-tou</i>	<i>t-a-'a-u-tou</i>
3p	<i>t-o-ga-tou</i>	<i>t-a-ga-tou,</i> <i>t-e-ga-tou</i>	<i>t-o-'o-ga-tou</i>	<i>t-a-'a-ga-tou</i>

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∅ possessives: delete *t* from *t* possessives
(only from *t-a* variants, never from *t-e*)

m possessives: replace *t* in reduplicated *t* possessives by *m*

Possessive Prepositions

<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>to'o</i>	<i>ta'a</i>
<i>∅</i> reduplicated		<i>o'o</i>	<i>a'a</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>mo'o</i>	<i>ma'a</i>

(This table, slightly modified, and part of the text to follow, were adapted from Elbert 1965. A suffix *ua* is sometimes attached to first and third person dual forms. Second person singular *s-o-u* has been noted in a few rituals (T12:2).)

The constituent morphemes follow:

- t-*, *tə*, singular specific
- o-*, *o*-class possessed object
- a-*, *-e-*, *a*-class possessed object
- 'o-*, 'one or some of', *o*-class
- 'a-*, 'one or some of', *a*-class
- ku*, first person singular possessive
- u*, second person possessor
- na*, third person singular possessor
- gua*, second person dual possessor
- tou*, plural possessors
- gaa*, third person dual possessors

Singular And Plural 6.5.1.

-ga-	third person plural possessors
-taa,	dual inclusive possessors
-maa,	dual exclusive possessors
-ta,	third person plural inclusive possessors
-ma,	third person plural exclusive possessors
m-	benefactive possessors

A tally of the number of possessives in this list follows: *t* possessives 54, \emptyset possessives 46, *m* possessives 24. All of the possessives are in common use except some of the dual and plural reduplicated *t* possessives, the prepositions *a'a* and *o'o*, and *s-o-u* and *t-e-o-u*.

Examples of Bellonese usages from Monberg's notes follow:

<i>Ngiu haka-tuu'uta mai</i>	<i>ki te</i>	<i>mataa-baka nei</i>	<i>ke mei</i>
give <u>caus-near</u>	<u>direct</u> to <u>art</u>	first-canoe <u>demon</u> \emptyset <u>imp</u> <u>ritual</u>	
	hither <u>sg</u> <u>sp</u>	<u>near</u> <u>ip</u>	
<i>hakauu ai</i>	<i>toku mango</i>	<i>teau tama.</i>	(R)
<u>ritual</u> <u>anaph</u> <u>ip</u>	loincloth <u>2p</u>	son	
<u>instr</u> <u>o</u> <u>sg</u>	<u>a</u> <u>sg</u> \emptyset <u>sp</u>		

'Present now to the canoe bow [Bellona] so that a *hakauu* ritual may be made with it for my loincloth -- your son.'

... *ke maangie sou ngoto kia tou tunga'ane* ... (19.2 V16) '... let your thoughts be calm towards your brother ...' (This is part of a lengthy prayer during the harvest rituals, asking the goddess Sikingimoemoe to ask her brother to bring good crops. The "brother" is the great god Tehainga'atua, brother and perhaps husband of the goddess. Note the use of *sou* and *tou* in the same sentence.)

6.5.1. Singular and plural. The \emptyset possessives indicate plural possessed objects. *Toku hage* 'my house', *oku hage* 'my houses'. *Te hage o'oku i Matahenua* 'my house at Matahenua' (the speaker has other houses too). *Na hage o'oku i Matahenua* 'my

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houses at Matahenua' (the speaker has houses elsewhere too). *Gu ona hosa* 'his two sons', *gua hosa o'ona* 'two of his sons'.

A taro patch is in the singular (*taku tago*), probably because the patch is viewed as a single entity. A single taro that one is eating is also *taku tago*, but one's harvested taro is *aku tago*. The farmer speaks of his cuttings of a single kind as *taku pugupugu*, but if he has several kinds of cuttings, as of several taros, or taros and yams, he uses the plural (*aku pugupugu*). More data are needed about the uses of the plural. 'My body' as a single entity is *toku tino*, as in the sentence *Mamae toku tino*. 'My body aches as a whole.' This contrasts with *Mamae oku tino*. 'My body aches in many places.'

6.5.2. *To'o* and *ta'a*. These morphemes are literally 'the belonging to' + *o* and *a* possessives. A younger brother whose banana is raw, while his older brother's is cooked, complains: *Ta'aku nei e mata*. (T52[A]:15) 'Mine here is raw.'

In an exciting story of an all-night tussel between Taupongi and a giant fish, Taupongi in his dramatic fashion taped the following: *Ta'ana te huhungu oku ngima, ta'aku te pipiki, kae ta'ana te tenge, kae ta'aku te huhuti*. 'His (a fish on a line) was to drag my hands, mine to hold, and his to run, and mine to pull.' Note that fish take possessives and that the savage actions of both fish and man take *a*. *Me'a* 'thing' may be inserted after each of the *ta'a* forms.

... *te kaubaka kua lolongi o 'oti*. *Ka manga toe to'o Taupongi*. '... the entire fleet had sunk. Taupongi's was the only one left.'

6.5.3. *O'o* and *a'a*. *O'o* and *a'a* are not heard in ordinary speech, but may occur in the self-demeaning politesse of the old: *Tauligobia e koe a'a te pegea takatakahanga* ... 'You are visiting [this] wretch's [place] ...' *Hai a'a te pegea takatakahanga* ... 'One of the acts of [this] wretch ...'

6.5.4. *Mo'o* and *ma'a*. The *m* possessives indicate 'for, for the use or benefit of, in behalf of' and may be called benefactive. Some examples:

'Au mai tou tokina ke hano taa mo'oku tasi. (T57[A]:12) 'Give me your adze so as to cut for myself a [canoe].'

Miscellaneous 6.5.5.

... *ke 'ati mo'ona he hu'aihage* ... (T41[A]:3) '... so as to build a big house for him ...'

Ke to'o ma'ai te polo nei? 'You will take for whom this coconut?'

E hai ma'au 'isi, ka ke hai ma'aku 'isi. (T196:8) 'Have one for you and have one for me [food].'

O abatu ma'ana. 'And given to him.'

... *ke hakasano ai ki teenei ma'atatou he poga.* (T231:2) '... here [we] will have to rely on a small and old [flying fox] to hold up our bellies (*ai*).'

6.5.5. Miscellaneous. When Mautikitiki pours giant taro (*kape*) and other edibles down to the earth from the invisible heavens, those in heaven generously say "*Tautou mugi kae amatou gau!*" (T40:6) "You all [have] the tuber and we the leaves!" The leaves are inedible.

The inclusive forms may carry a nuance of association, affection, or friendship. The exclusive form, on the other hand, may contain a nuance of dissociation or even disdain for the left out addressees, as in the utterance: *He'e kai e kimatou na hokai!* 'We don't eat monitor lizards!' (English primary stress here translates Rennellese exclusivity.)

Disdain is by no means always the case. In the beginning of the Lord's Prayer in Rennellese (Matthew 6:9), God is addressed as *tomatou tamana*, 'our (plural possessors, exclusive) father'. The exclusive is the only possible form. God is being addressed, and in no one's creed is He His own father.

The significant features among the possessives may be summarized thus: (1) number of possessed objects (singular, plural), (2) number of similar possessed objects (*oku hage* 'my houses', *te hage o'oku* 'one of my houses'), (3) nature of possessed objects (*o*, *a*), (4) person of possessors (1, 2, 3 or more), and (5) number of possessors (singular, dual, plural). The first person dual and plural forms have inclusive/exclusive oppositions. The *m* possessives indicate benefactivity. They do not have specifically plural forms. Number may be shown by the particles *he* (singular) and *ni* (plural): "... *ke sika ma'ataa he ahi.*" (T46[B]:1) "... [I] will make a fire by

6.5.6. SUBSTITUTES

friction for the two of us." "... *ka ke hano hai ma'au ni utunga.*" (T41[A]:8) "I'll go and make you some food."

Except at the Lake, the *e* forms are more common than the *a* forms in the third person singular, dual, and plural.

Environments: the simple possessives occur as determiners (*toku hage*). The reduplicated possessives may occur as substitutes for nouns (*a'aku e mata*, *a'aku te pipiki*) or prepositional phrases (*'abange ma'ana*), as qualifying verbs (*he hage to'oku*), and as verbs (*ma'oku te me'a*).

6.5.6. Levelling. My introduction to Rennellese was in 1957 at the Lake in East Rennell. Here the possessive system as described above seemed fully functioning. Persons were just as punctilious about the use of *o* and *a* as they were about using the proper person or number, or about making the inclusive/exclusive distinction. A person switched easily from *o* to *a*, as: *tana kauri ... tona uguugu*, ... *tana hanau ... tona guani* 'his fish (*a*) ... his wife (*o*) ... his children (*a*) ... his servant (*o*)'. (Cf 5.2.5 for a detailed discussion of the *o* and *a* prepositions and the nouns that determine their selection.)

Later I went to Central Rennell, and was shocked one afternoon to hear Paul Takiika, a meticulous speaker who took pride in remembering the names of all the characters and places in the many stories he contributed to Canoes, say *toku tinana* 'my mother' (*o*) and *tena tinana* (*a*) in a single story. When questioned, Paul said that he would say *tona tamana* 'his father' (*o*) in loud or formal speech (*gea to'a*) and *tena tamana* (*a*) in soft speech (*mi'igea*). Taumoana of the Lake, expressed disapproval of such forms as *tena manaha* 'his home'. They sounded incorrect (*gapa*) to him. Paul then reconsidered, and said that he said either *tona hosa* or *tena hosa* 'his son', but usually the latter. Paul also dictated *tena baka* 'his canoe' and *te baka o'ona* ('one of his canoes') in a single story (T57[B]). District Headman Solomon Puia then said that the people in Central Rennell said *tena* 'his' and *tegatou* 'their' (both *a*-forms) for anything, and that *tona* and *togatou* also were permissible. I recorded *tena manaha* 'his village' and *tena hosa* 'his son' in T31[B]:2,3 from Paul and *tona manaha* and *tona hosa* at the Lake in T16:1 and T113:6.

Most Bellonese speakers also did not scrupulously follow the Lake distinctions. A trusted Bellonese informant dictated in T159[A]:1,12: *tona ingoa* 'his name', *tena uguugu* 'his wife',

tena ingoa 'its name', *tana ingoa* 'its name', *tona ingoa* 'his name'. Cf also T124:1,2.

After long conversations Solomon said in a spirit of wisdom worthy of his name that *e* and *o* were equally correct and merely different ways of speaking.

It is interesting that the levelling occurred only in the third person and never elsewhere, and never, as far as observed, with the possessive prepositions *o* and *a*.

The abstract tenor of our discussions and the linguistic tolerance such as displayed by Solomon were impressive. The sophistication was more enlightened than would often be encountered in lay gatherings in literate cultures. It made me wonder. There was at that time almost no schooling on Rennell and Bellona -- only mission schools in which the children learned to read and write a little in English and in Rennellese, and to count. Rumors were afoot that some day there would be proper schooling. With a little education will there be less linguistic tolerance? Would the school teachers insist that *tena uguugu* and *tena baka* were ungrammatical? Is a little learning a dangerous thing?

6.5.7. Double possessives. The most common order with possessives is + preposition + determiner + noun (*i toku hage* 'at my house'). A less common sequence may be termed double possessive, and consists of reduplicated possessive + (simple possessive + noun) + noun:

redup poss + (simple poss + noun) + noun

(1) <i>ta'a</i>	(<i>togaa</i>	<i>tinana</i>)	<i>kaainga</i>
the-belonging-to	(their	mother)	bed

'their mother's bed'

(2) <i>to'o</i>	(<i>tegaa</i>	<i>haanau</i>)	<i>potu</i>
the-belonging-to	(their	child)	room

'their children's room'

6.6. Examples of substitutes. The following somewhat artfully contrived stories illustrate the substitutes covered in this section: pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and possessives (*t*, *m*, \emptyset); *o* and *a* possessive classes and inclusive and exclusive distinctions will also be found.

Te kiba ma te toki

'The knife and the adze'

Aku kiba! 'Au mai! Oku toki! 'My knives! Give [them] to
'Au mai! me! My adzes! Give [them] to
me!'

Si'ai to'a! He'e te kiba 'Certainly not! I have no
a'aku. Manga te kiba a knife. Just Torben's knife.'
Tobene.

Manga te kiba a'ana. He'e oku 'Just his knives. I have no
toki. Manga na toki ogatou. adze. Just their adzes.'

He'e kakai na toki ogatou. 'Their knives aren't sharp.
Kae kakai o'omatou. Ours are sharp.'

Kakai ma'u o'o Tekobi. 'Tekobi's is sharp too.'

Notes

\emptyset possessives: *aku*, *oku* (determiners); *a'aku*, *a'ana*, *ogatou* (noun qualifiers); *o'omatou* (noun).

\emptyset prepositions: *a*, *o'o* (translated 's').

Te paolo

'Chickens'

To'o mai ma'aku he ibi paolo. To'o mai teenaa!	'Bring me a chicken bone. Bring me [the one] near you!'
Ee! Taku ibi paolo teenei! E iai taku ibi i toku gima.	'No! This is my chicken bone. My bone is in my hand.'
Tautou paolo?	'Your chicken?'
Ta'a tinau. Pe! Ta'a toku taina.	'My mother's. No! My younger brother's.'
Ta'a te taiu?	'Your younger brother's?'
Oo. Na paolo a'ana. E 'eha ana paolo maa i te hage omatou.	'Yes. His chickens. He has many chickens there in our house.'
E hai ma'u ma'autou ni paolo?	'Do you also have chickens?'
Kimaatou he'e tau paolo. Manga lae. E hai ama'atou te pusikati.	'We have no chickens. [We] are poor. We have a cat.'

Notes

Ibi paolo: takes *a* if the possessor is not the chicken; a person's own body parts take *o*, such as *gima*.

M possessives: *ma'aku*, *ma'autou*. The three ways of expressing 'have' are *hai* + NP (*pegea hai mane* 'person who has money' and *hai he paolo* 'to have a chicken') and *hai* + *m* possessive, as here.

T possessives: *taku*, *toku*, *tautou* (determiners).

T preposition: *ta'a*, translated 's'.

∅ possessives: *a'ana*, *omatou* (noun qualifiers), *ana* (determiner).

Note the translations of *Te paolo* (title) and *te pusikati* (at the end of the story).

Ko koe hu'ai kibi!

'How blind you are!'

(The following is an extemporaneous dialogue between Torben Monberg and Taupongi recorded on Bellona on July 28, 1961.)

Tobene. *Tehea te sungamo?*

'Where's the *sungamo* conch?'

Taupongi. *Teena! E i ou pa'asi! Teena te manga pata akena!*

'By you! Beside you! There just next to you!'

To. *Si'ai! Teengaa te manga pata ia Samu!*

'No! There just next to Sam!'

Tau. *Ko koe e kibi! Teena te manga noho akena!*

'You're blind! [It's] right there beside you!'

To. 'Oo. *Teenei! Te'itoo kite nei. Kohea ona noho?*

'Yes. Here [it is]! [I've] just now seen [it]. What's it like?'

Tau. *Konaa ona noho e pungepunge.*

'Just like that, spotted.'

To. 'Oo. *Konei ona noho. Inee, ina'atu ki ngua me'aa. Po i hea? I heo? Po nii aa?*

'Yes. Like this. Say, look at [those] two things. What [are they]? What? What [are they]?'

Tau. *I heo? Kohea? I te pa'asi hea?*

'Where? Where? Which side?'

To. *Kogaa! Ko koe hu'aikibi!*

'There! How blind you are!'

Tau. 'Oo. *E mate kimatou te 'angingi. Ngua 'angingi. 'Abatu kia te tu'aatinau.*

'Yes. We call them turban shells. Two turban shells. Give [them] to your uncle.'

Tau. 'Oo. *Manga ngaoi ia me'a. 'Ailauee! Te kai na te tama'iti'iti tona mata!*

'Yes. They are very nice. Oh! The child is eating its closure!'

Notes

Teenaa: demonstrative indicating location of a single object near the addressee; *teengaa* indicates location far from addressee and speaker.

Akena: the directional *ake* plus clitic demonstrative *-na* which like *-naa* in *teenaa* (above) indicates location near addressee. It more commonly follows nouns than directionals. *Ake* seems to indicate (cf 4.6.3) that the shell is above Tobene.

Noho: 'like, nature, situation, color'.

Po i hea?: 'Where? What?' *Heo* or *heoo*, is commonly used when calling at a distance or when excited, as these speakers are. It may be spoken at a higher pitch level.

Kohea: 'Where? What?' It is usually used of plural objects. *Kongaa* is similar to *teengaa* and is also used with plural objects.

Ngua: 'two, several'; I seem to remember there were two 'angingi shells.

Me'aa: 'thing', definitive accent.

7.1. Cultural importance. Much of a chief's life before 1938 (aside from fighting) consisted of fishing and raising fine gardens, and presenting the fruit of the land and of the sea, carefully counted, first to the gods with impressive rituals, and then to relatives and allies. A chief's prestige was gauged by the size of the offerings he was able to amass; this was an indication of the resources he commanded, his industry, and his personality. The emphasis on carefully counted quantity extended to competitive giving. In 7.5 is a text of a discussion of such a competition in 1937 or 1938, in which 10,000 coconuts and 7,600 banana bunches were collected, offered to the gods, and distributed.

Another use of counting was in measurements, especially the dimensions of houses, canoes, gardens, and mats.

Not everything was counted in Rennellese culture. No one knew or was at all interested in his own age. One was content with the vague terms for the life span: infancy (*mi'ime'a 'anga*), adolescence (*bagokaa 'anga*), middle age (*mi'itauiku 'anga*), old age (*tauiku*), and extreme old age or senility (*hu'aitauiku, neneba, tau mago ti'aki*). Years and generations were not counted at all. Time was told by looking at the sky.

Today the traditional system of counting is largely forgotten save for digits 1-11 and category 2 in Table 11 and English numbers are usually substituted, as "1910" in T235[A]:8 for the year that the missionary teachers were killed, and in "forty-four" and "two" in T108:14 for the number of people slain during the seige at the Lake in the early 1920s.

In 1982 Tepuke Sengeika climbed the Round Tower in Copenhagen, laboriously counting the steps, 423 in all, in English. Asked why he didn't count in Bellonese he said: *ka nimoo te taunga* 'but the count is forgotten'.

In 1965 the then young Taupongi was asked to translate "1965" into Bellonese. He burst out laughing. A translation was finally worked out, but with the help of the analyst. Another informant in 1966 answered rather quickly, using the system for category 6 (see Table 11): *noa ibanga ahe onongatino tuma'a ono*. Most informants, after much discussion, put dates in category 1. 1972 in that year was translated *noa ibanga gau hiku angahugu tuma'a gua*, lit. 'one thousand nine hundred seven ten and two'.

Cultural Importance 7.1.

In 1958 on Rennell the traditional distributions were to some extent still practiced on great occasions, with the Christian god replacing those of Rennell. The main event of the greatest holiday, New Year's, was the food distribution. A few elderly men supervised what seemed to the young an impressive but overly fussy way of arranging the huge displays. Why should large fish, reptiles, and humans be counted differently than small fish? Why should yams and breadfruit be counted in pairs, banana bunches in fours, and bunches of taro stalks in fives? After a few brief speeches and prayers the food was distributed to families, the size of the shares depending on the rank of the chiefs and the size of the family. I received a medium-sized share. Everyone was very happy. It was New Year's and there was much to eat, and afterwards there would be a soccer game between the married men and the bachelors, which ended in a fight when one side said that the others played like women.

In the texts in *Canoes*, *Animal Stories*, and his new volume, Kuschel has found that the odd numbers occur 84.5 percent of the time, and that "seven" occurs 60.7 percent of the time. He adds: "It is ... something more trivial than exceptional to produce one male child or hollow out one canoe. On the other hand, it is something to be admired if a man has 5, 7, or 9 sons, hollows out a corresponding number of canoes, conducts the very holy *nganguenga hano* ritual seven times, spends five days and nights out on the ocean, observes ritual fasts for seven days, etc. Any man wishing to achieve fame will try to do something five, seven, or nine times. There is neither anything 'magical' nor 'sacred' about these numbers, but they represent that which is active, valid and perfect." Kuschel goes on to conjecture that the preference for "seven" may have its origin in the moon's cycle of 4 by 7 nights (new moon to half moon to full moon, to waning moon, to new moon).

An example is that the famous trip in generation 8 (T227[A]) westward with the prevailing winds from Bellona to Mungua took five days, and the return trip eastward from Mungua to Bellona took seven days.

The large numbers in Table 11 (*noa*, *bane*, *tuia*, and *nimo*) used in food distributions have never been taken too literally but symbolize unfathomably large quantities, which are so admired in counting food.

In T1[A,B], a mysterious "mother" of the two stone gods counts from ten to one. In T57[A,C], an equally mysterious Ten

counts from ten to one, and in T58, ten canoes appear successively, captained by Ten through One. Monberg tells (22.9) that in the *kanongoto* ritual, which is "the utmost elevation in the sphere of sanctity", the second priest-chief, as representative of *Tehainga'atua*, counts forward and then backwards (one to ten and then ten to one) (19.2 V4). Informants could not explain this, and Monberg surmises that it may be a means of converting offerings of humans and district deities into "pabulum" for the sky god.

7.2. The counting system. Most of the data in this section were obtained on Bellona in 1962 in numerous sessions, nearly always with five or six informants present. The results agreed with the numbers and classifiers occurring in the texts printed in *Canoes*, many of which had been collected on Rennell in 1957 and 1958. In 1966 Bellonese informants were again queried. Often there was much debate and discussion, as occasions for the large numbers are rare now that planting competitions and offerings are banned. Many persons are uncertain of the relative order of *noa*, *bane*, *tua*, and *nimo*, terms for 1,000, 10,000, 100,000, and 1,000,000. In the text in 7.5 Haikiu corrected his first *noa* and substituted *mano*.

Many of the examples in the discussion of the categories are from *Canoes*. These are perhaps more accurate than what was obtained from the sometimes stormy sessions with informants; the tellers of the tales were concentrating on the texts rather than on the numbers; during the discussions some of the consensus may have been prescriptive rather than actual.

In Table 11 below, a reprint from pages 18-19 of D, Part 2, the basic numbers and classifiers are given for the 15 categories. The only abbreviation in the table is D, representing the digits 1-9, which are as follows:

Tasi/tahi 'one, some, other, certain, same'. In a cursory survey of *Canoes*, *tasi* was used four times on Bellona and three times on Rennell; *tahi* occurred once on Bellona and four times on Rennell.

(Another word for 'one', *launatasi/launatahi*, also means 'alone' and is not used in forming composite numbers. *Launatasi* was noted four times on Bellona and once on Rennell; *launatahi* was noted three times on Bellona and sixteen times on Rennell. One may say that the form ending in *-si* is preferred to some extent on Bellona and *-hi* on Rennell, although one Rennellese

Category ⁽¹⁾	Less than 10	10 ⁽⁴⁾	20-90 ⁽⁴⁾	100 ⁽⁴⁾	200-900	1,000	10,000	100,000
1. General	D ⁽²⁾	katoa ⁽⁵⁾ , angahugu	katoa haka-D ⁽⁵⁾ , D katoa, D angahugu	gau	D-nga ⁽³⁾ gau	noa	bane	tuia
2. Animates (humans, large fish, birds)	toka-D	tino anga- hugu	tino D, tino	tino te gau te gau ⁽⁹⁾	—— ⁽⁹⁾	noa	bane	tuia
3. Small fish	toka-D	mataa ⁽⁶⁾ angahugu	mataa D	mata te gau ⁽¹⁰⁾	D gau, mataa D gau ⁽⁵⁾	noa	bane	tuia
4. Crusta- ceans, layers	D	tu'a angahugu	tu'a D	tu'a te ⁽¹⁰⁾ gau	tu'a D-nga ⁽³⁾ gau	noa	bane	tuia
5. Coconuts, round objects	tau D	hiiniu (heeniu) ⁽⁸⁾	D-nga ⁽³⁾ hiiniu (heeniu)	tehua, gau ⁽¹¹⁾	D-nga ⁽³⁾ tehua	mano	kiu	tuia ⁽⁹⁾
6. Piles, bags, baskets of panna and untopped taro, sweet potatoes	D	tini	D-nga ⁽³⁾ tini	ahe gau ⁽¹¹⁾	ahe D D-nga ⁽³⁾ ahe ⁽⁵⁾	noa D-nga ⁽³⁾ nonoa	bane	—— ⁽⁹⁾
7. Pairs of yams, breadfruit	D	kau	D kau D-nga ⁽³⁾ kau	kauhusi	D-nga kauhusi ⁽³⁾	ahe	noa	bane
8. Banana piles, bunches, 4 in a pile	D-nga ⁽³⁾ ga'akau	'aasea	'aasea D	mano	D-nga mano	noa	bane	—— ⁽⁹⁾
9. Taro stalk bunches, 5 in a bunch	toka-D	mataa angahugu	mataa D	gau	D-nga ⁽²⁾ gau	noa	noa nonoa	—— ⁽⁹⁾
10. Trees, long objects	D	tupu angahugu	tupu D	tupu te ⁽⁹⁾ gau	tupu D-nga ⁽²⁾ gau	noa	bane	tuia
11. Flat objects	D	gau ⁽⁷⁾ angahugu	gau ⁽⁷⁾ D	gau	D-nga ⁽³⁾ gau	noa	bane	tuia
12. Thatch panels	D mataa- gau	gaho angahugu	gaho D	huata	D-nga ⁽³⁾ huata	noa	bane	tuia

Category ⁽¹⁾	Less than 10	10 ⁽⁴⁾	20-90 ⁽⁴⁾	100 ⁽⁴⁾	200-900	1,000	10,000	100,000
13. Fathoms, <i>sogo</i> and <i>masi</i> puddings, bags of taro tubers	goha D	kumi	D-nga ⁽³⁾ kumi	gau	gau D	kiu	bane	— ⁽⁹⁾
14. Canoes	kaubaka D	kaubaka angahugu	— ⁽⁹⁾	gau	gau D	noa	bane	tuia
15. Spears	'asoa D	'asoa angahugu	— ⁽⁹⁾	— ⁽⁹⁾	— ⁽⁹⁾	— ⁽⁹⁾	— ⁽⁹⁾	— ⁽⁹⁾

(1) See Part 1 for details.

(2) D = digits 1-9

(3) D-nga sometimes replaced by D.

(4) For 11-19, 21-29, ... 101-109 etc *tuma'a* D or *tuma'a e* D follow words for 10, 20, 100 respectively. Yams, bananas, and taro stalks are exceptions: see model **forty-two**.

(5) Most common forms precede less common ones.

(6) One of a sequence of three identical vowels is dropped in ordinary speech.

(7) *Gau* here means 'flat surface'.

(8) Bellonese forms follow Rennellese in parentheses.

(9) Informants uncertain.

(10) *Te* may be replaced by a possessive; in category 4, *te* may be replaced by a possessive and *tu'a* omitted.

(11) For lime containers (*kapia*).

Discussion of each of the categories follows. The similarity of some of them was confusing to young people in 1962. Note such mischievous distinctions as *gau gua* '20 flat objects' and *guanga gau* '200 flat objects' in category 11, and *ahē* meaning 100 bags in category 6 and 1,000 pairs in category 7, and the previously mentioned counting by twos, fours, and fives. The fact that older people in 1962 were still able to make these distinctions indicates the importance attached in the old culture to planting, fishing, and ostentatious display of religious zeal.

7.2.1. Details about the categories.

1. General, for objects not falling in other categories such as adzes, trails, single yams, bananas and single canoes, for counting in succession, and for abstract European concepts as time, hours, days, years, or football scores.

Examples: *gua gholoba* '2 hours'; *gu ona haitaina* 'his 2 younger brothers'; *kai e katoa, toe iba* (T1[A]:2) 'eat 10 [yams], 9 left'; *katoa tuma'a e tahi 'aso* '11 days'; *ono angahugu* '60'; *e anahungu oku toki ... e iba oku toki* (T57[A]:3,4) 'I have 10 adzes ... I have 9 adzes'; *anahugu noa kupu* '10,000 words' (10 X 1,000).

2. Animates, humans, gods, large fish (sharks, bonitos, parrot fish, skipjacks), mammals (cows, pigs, whales, flying foxes and their teeth), birds (chickens, doves, cormorants?), legs, fingers.

Examples: *tokagima uguugu o Tinopau* (T94:1) 'Tinopau had 5 wives'; *kae toe te tokaono ba'e* (A2:8) 'and 6 legs [of the pagati beetle] were left'; *kae taa ... te tino angahugu* (T108:14) 'and killed ... 10 people'; *konei na taa ... tino ngima pengea* (T222:10) 'thus killed ... 50 people'; *te gau haahine* (T95:2) 'the hundred women'; *noko seu ana gau i na gupe tuma'a tino angahugu* (T67:46) 'netted his 110 doves'; *o hai tena tokahitu nga'ea* (A65:1) 'and got his 7 parrot fish'.

3. Smaller fish, crevalle, flying fish, surgeonfish; also *tahaugi*, although a large fish.

Examples: *mataatogu tuma'a togu sasabe* '33 flying fish'; *mataagua gau* '200 (smaller) [fish]'; ... *o ngangama ai, hai ai tengatou mata te ngau* (T159[B]:2) '... and torch-fished there and got there their 100 [flying fish]'.

4. Crustaceans and layers, crabs (*ago*, *akui*, *kamakama*, *'unga*, and others under crab in D, Part 2), lobsters, crayfish, octopuses, and eels (*pusi*, *upo* and others under eel in D, Part 2); layers, strands, walls (for layers *tu'a* is used for numbers less than 10).

Examples: *e ake tu'a gua* 'wearing 2 layers (shirt and undershirt)'; *ha'u tu'a iba* '9 turbans'; *te gangi e tu'a ono* (T97:3) 'the heavens had 6 layers'; *tu'a angahugu* '10 crustaceans'; *tu'a te gau* '100 crustaceans'; *tu'a tuanga gau* '200 crustaceans'.

5. Coconuts and round objects, including coconut-shell water bottles, papayas, oranges, lemons, pandanus keys, screw pine (*kala*) keys, *baga* nut clusters, eggs, pills. The coconuts might be husked and on strings with 10 nuts per string.

Examples: *te tau gua polo* '2 coconuts'; *hiiniu tuma'a e tasi* (Rennell) '11 coconuts'; *guanga heeniu banga* (Bellona) '20 clusters of *banga* nuts'; *o utu ai te ngimanga heeniu bai* (T69:5) 'and filled there fifty water containers'; *na'ati polo noko tehua* 'there were 100 coconuts in the piles'; *guanga tehua* '200 coconuts'; *noko hai ai tena mano* (T157:1) 'and had there his 1,000 [nuts]'; *noko kiu na polo* 'there were 10,000 coconuts'.

6. Piles of panna (*'uhigaba*), baskets of topped taro tubers to be used for pudding (*sogo*), and bags (as of copra, trochus shells, sweet potatoes, *geemugi*, sand, dirt, rice, sugar). I was told that the number of panna and taro in a pile didn't matter (*e he'e ghoghogho*) and might vary from 10 to 30, although before 1933 there were usually 4. Christiansen (1975:17) says that the piles might contain 10 or sometimes 8 panna and 12 or 22 topped taro tubers. The size of the tubers would influence the number in a pile; a giant tuber might weigh 20 kilograms, and others less than 1 (Christiansen 1975:32). Christiansen also reported (personal communication) that an aggressive planter in a planting competition (7.5) might put a single tuber in a pile or basket so as to increase the number of piles or baskets and thus gain greater glory. Rennell and Bellona had a panna/taro culture and hence this is an important category.

Examples: *noko tata tena tini kete kege* (T92:9) 'filled his 10 bags of dirt'; *ahe tuma'a tasi* '101 [piles, baskets, bags]'.

7. Pairs of yams (*abubu*, *betaape*, *suinamo*, 'uhi) and breadfruit (*mei*); 10 pairs might be placed in a basket.

Examples: *te 'umu nei e kau 'uhi* (T224:7) 'this oven has 10 pairs of yams'; *gua(-nga) kau* '20 pairs of yams or breadfruit'; *tokunga kau* '30 pairs'; *kauhusi tuma'a tasi* '101 pairs'; *tana ahe 'uhi* (T139:5) 'his 1,000 pairs of yams'.

8. Banana piles, four bunches in each pile.

Examples: *te ga'akau* 'one pile of four (4)'; *guanga te ga'akau* 'two piles of four (8)'; *togunga te ga'akau* 'three piles of four (12)'; *'au mai aku 'aasea huti* 'bring my ten piles of banana bunches (40)'; *'aasea tuma'a e tasi* 'eleven piles (44)'; *'aasea gua* 'twenty piles (80)'; *mano tuma'a tahi huti* 'a hundred and one piles of banana bunches (404)'; *hitunga mano* 'seven hundred piles (2800)'; *hitunga noa* 'seven thousand piles (28,000)'.

9. Taro bunches (untopped, including stems, leaves, and tubers ('*uu tago*), five in a bunch. (Christiansen (1975:17) writes of twelve or twenty-two in a bunch.)

10. Long objects such as trees, rattan pieces (*uø*, *Calamus*), arrows, fish hooks, paddles (but see category 11), boards, cigarettes, cigarette packages.

Examples: ... *o kake launatasi i te tupu te ngau niu. O makungikungi te tina'e i te tupu gima* ... (T66:62,63) '... and climbed alone 100 coconut trees. And [his] belly was chafed by climbing 50 ...'.

11. Flat objects such as mats (*baghu*, *malikope*), rolls containing 60 or 72 dried pandanus leaves to be used for thatch (*kapita*), bags, leaves, turmeric parcels; piles of cord, rope, rubble stones or gravel; papers, books, paper money, but not *kogoa* and *siapo* 'tapa' in T1[B]:13 and 1[C]:11. Paddles are sometimes here and sometimes in category 10. *Gau* here for numbers less than 100 refers to leaf or flat surface rather than to hundred.

Examples: *gau gua* '20 flat objects'; *guanga gau* '200 flat objects'; *gau angahugu* '10 shillings (paper)'; *gau gua mane* '20 shillings, one pound'. (*Mane*, from English money, is the name for shilling.)

12. Thatch panels (*mataagau*).

Examples: *gaho angahugu tuma'a tasi* '11 thatch panels'; *gaho gua* '20 thatch panels'; *huata tuma'a tasi* '101 thatch panels'; *guanga huata* '200 thatch panels'.

13. Fathoms, *sogo* and *masi* puddings, bags of taro tubers. A fathom was interpreted as the distance between fingertips, with arms extended, of any adult male, and is therefore imprecise.

Examples: *Te hange o Tematangi noko kumi ki te potu, kae ngoha ngima na huahua o teengaa pa'asi.* (T167:1) 'Tematangi's house was 10 fathoms long to the end, and the curved rafters on one side were 5 fathoms long.'; ... *o ngangaha te kapaa tapungao o goha hitu ...* (T67:20) '... and measured the side of [his] foot, which was 7 fathoms ... (of a mythical giant measured by Kaitu'u)'; *Kae ngangaha e ia o kumi.* (T100:6) 'And he measured [the whale], 10 fathoms long.'; *Noko kiu te kaha.* (T227[A]:3) 'The sennit was 1,000 fathoms long [for lashing a canoe].'

14. Canoe or canoe fleet (*kaubaka*), coconut-shell dippers (*kaubaka*).

Examples: ... *te kaubaka hitu paangongo* (T214:13) '... 7 coconut-shell dippers'; *te kaubaka angahugu* '10 canoes or canoe fleets'.

15. Spears (*tao*, *hatu'ugi*, *lunu*; for others see D, Part 2. No examples were found in Canoes, perhaps because 'uu tao 'bundle of spears' is more common.)

Some computations follow that illustrate the need for mathematical ability:

panna (category 6): *haanga tini toe hakatasi*
 4 10s + 1

= 41 piles (at four in a pile
 = one hundred and sixty-four panna)

banana piles (category 8): *'aasea gua tuma'a ono toe hakagua*
 20 2 6 + 2

= 30 piles (at four bunches in a pile
 = one hundred and twenty banana bunches)

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taro stalks (category 9): *mataahaa toe hakatogu*
40 + 3

= 43 bunches (at five in a bunch)
= two hundred and fifteen taro stalks)

It must be noted that the number of panna in a pile, bananas in a pile, and taro stalks in a bunch varies greatly (especially pannas in a pile).

7.3. Measurements. The following measurements of distance were used; the longest is fathom, as no need existed for terms equivalent to kilometer or mile. There is considerable difference in terms used. See the drawing in Christiansen 1975:17.

<i>hugemutu</i>	'thumb length'
<i>hatunga mania gima</i>	'fingerjoint length'
<i>anga</i>	'thumbtip to tip of first finger, or between tips of forefingers with thumbtips of two hands touching. ... <i>noko anga bagu te u'a</i> ... (T218:1) 'The neck (of the turtle) was eight finger measures long.'
<i>kanumaa gima</i>	'fingertips to middle of the forearm (<i>kanumaa gima</i>), equal to two <i>anga</i> . <i>E pata ki te kanumaa gima</i> . 'Equal to the distance from fingertips to forearm.'
<i>tauhihihihi</i>	'fingertips to elbow' <i>Manga tauhihihihi tona gau</i> . 'Its width was twice the length of fingertip to elbow.'
<i>ngaha kau kiba</i>	'knife-handle fathom, distance between elbows (the fingers being folded together)'
<i>gima katoa</i>	'fingertips to armpit'; lit. 'complete arm'
<i>toe hatahata</i>	'fingertips to center of chest (<i>hatahata</i>)'
<i>haatungi, hatutungi</i>	'fingertip to outstretched elbow of the other arm'

Hia, Hakahia, Hiana, Tauhia 7.4.

goha 'fingertip to fingertip (arms outstretched)'; *ngangaha* is the verb 'to measure in fathoms', as in house building. *Goha gua toe e tauhigihigi.* (D) 'two fathoms and length from fingertips to elbow.' See Category 13 for another example of *goha*.

Christiansen also named the following: '*ue*, same as my *anga*; *anga tasi tapungao* 'a foot length'; *ngaka* (Rennell *gaka*) 'step length'; *toghi hatahata*, same as my *toe hatahata*; *toghi te uma* 'outstretched fingertips to middle of chest'.

7.4. Numeral interrogatives *hia*, *hakahia*, *hiana*, *tauhia*. These interrogatives are used with and without classifiers.

Examples with classifiers:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>E tokahia?</i> | 'How many?'
(Categories 2, 3, 9) |
| <i>E tauhia?</i> | 'How many?'
(Category 5, especially for coconuts) |
| <i>E tino hia na pegea?</i> | 'How many tens of people?'
(Category 2) |
| <i>E mataahia na sasabe?</i> | 'How many tens of flying fish?'
(Category 3) |
| <i>E hianga tu'aa heke?</i> | 'How many octopuses?'
(Category 4) |
| <i>E tu'a hia?</i> | 'How many (crustaceans or layers)?'
(Category 4) |
| <i>E hianga hiiniu?</i> | 'How many tens (of coconuts)?'
(Rennell, Category 5;
Bellona <i>E hianga heeniu?</i>) |
| <i>E hianga tehua?</i> | 'How many hundreds (of coconuts)?'
(Category 5) |
| <i>E goha hia? E hiana goha?</i> | 'How many fathoms?'
(Category 13) |

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E hianga kumi sogo? 'How many tens of *sogo* puddings?'
(Category 13)

Examples without classifiers:

E hia? 'How many?'

E hia pegea? 'How many people?'

E hia baka? 'How many canoes?'

E hakahia te hage nei? 'How many (thatch panels) in this house?'

E hakahia te mahina nei? 'What day of the month is this?'

E hakahaa. 'The fourth.'

Ko koe hakahia ki Mugaba? 'How many times have you been to Rennell?'

Ko au hakatogu. 'As for me, three.'

7.5. *Sanga hetau.* The elaboration of counting methods was one phase of the cult of public generosity. (Anonymous generosity was not common; present-day churches have been able to raise large sums, partially as a result of the cult of conspicuous giving.) Beginning in about 1925 (Christiansen 1975:63 n.), agricultural competitions (*sanga hetau*) were held between rival chiefs. The chiefs involved, with their supporters, tried to raise the greatest number of bananas, yams, coconuts, or other crops; these they presented to one another in elaborate ceremonies. The food displays, suggestive of potlatches, were carefully and publically counted. The missions have banned *sanga hetau* because of the waste involved. There follow extracts in Bellonese from a conversation recorded at Matahenua village on Bellona on November 5, 1962, concerning what was probably the last *sanga hetau* ever held; it occurred shortly before the acceptance of Christianity in 1938 and described the amassing of 7,000 banana piles of four bunches each (28,000 banana bunches, Category 8), and 10,000 coconuts (Category 5). The principal speakers are Haikiu (verses 1-7, 9, 12) and Taupongi (8, 10, 11). The antagonists in the competition were Matiu (also appropriately called by the name of an ancestor, *Sangatango* 'Taro Planter'; see Christiansen Figure 32, p. 50 for his photograph taken in the early 1960s) and Takiika, both of whom were alive and healthy in 1962 and present at the session but took no part in the recordings and discussions. Near the

end, Taupongi's father (Temoa) and mother (Kaisa'unga), who had been listening avidly, added bits. In 1986, all those named had died except Taupongi and Temoa.

Haikiu: 1. *Ko Matiu ma Takiika sanga hetau. Sanga onгаа 'ungu huti, o hakaputu onгаа 'ungu huti, aano nimaa 'eha te ngegeu kae 'eha te matu'a, taa onгаа 'ungu huti.*

2. *Taa mai a Sangatango, hai mai ai tena hitunga noa.*

3. *He'e na'a e au po kohea ana 'aabakinga, kae teegaa te pegea e na'a e au, ko Temenga, noko 'aabaki ki te --*

4. *Pee! Te hitunga mano.*

5. *O he'e na'a e au ona 'aabakinga noko hai kinai, kae manga Temenga noko -- 'aabaki ki te hitunga mano a Takiika i ana huti.*

6. *Kae noko ngongo a Matiu o taa mugi ona, taa mungi o'ona aano, hai tnaa -- ibanga, ibanga mano.*

7. *Ngongo a Pilip Tuhaika, e ia pea o Ghongau, e haka'oti mai e ia te tongunga mano o hai ai na noa huti.*

Taupongi: 8. *Na dansi 'anga a ngu pegea -- teengaa te pea noko mataangibau ko Takiika.*

Haikiu: 1. Matthew and Takiika had a planting competition. Planted their banana plantations and collected their banana plantations, and when many were ripe and many were fully formed [but were not yet ripe] cut their banana plantations.

2. Sangatango cut [and] had his 7,000 piles of four.

3. I don't know who his helpers were, but the one I know is Temenga, who helped --

4. Oh no! 700 piles of four.

5. I don't know his helpers [he] had there, and the only one I know is Temenga who -- helped Takiika with 700 piles of four of his bananas.

6. And Matthew heard and cut his afterwards, cut his afterwards, and had his 9 -- 900 piles of four.

7. Phillip Tuhaika heard, he is a person of Ghongau, he finished with 300 piles of four, thus to make 1,000 piles of four. (Phillip added his 300 to Takiika's pile.)

Taupongi: 8. The dancing of the two people -- that's the person who first chanted in triumph, Takiika.

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Haikiu: 9. *Ana mano polo.*

Haikiu: 9. His 1,000 coconuts.

Taupongi: 10. *He'e na'a e au
po noko hianga mano na polo
noko kake ai.*

Taupongi: 10. I don't know how
many thousands of his coconuts
were climbed for.

Temoa: 11. *Te kiu.*

Temoa: 11. 10,000.

Taupongi: 12. *Noko kiu na
polo.*

Taupongi: 12. There were 10,000
coconuts.

Kaisa'unga: 13. *Nokkiu.*

Kaisa'unga: 13. Were t'n
thousand.

Haikiu: 14. *Nokkiu.*

Haikiu: 14. Were t'n thousand.

Notes

In 3 and 5 are *ana 'abakinga* and *ona 'aabakinga*, evidence that the *o/a* distinction is lost in the third person possessives on Bellona (cf Levelling in 6.5.6).

The speed of the informants is evident: Haikiu's *tnaa* in verse 6, slow *tēna*; *pea* in verses 7 and 8 for *pegea*; *na polo* for *ana polo* in verse 8; *nokkiu* near the end for *noko kiu*.

8. DERIVATIVES

8.1. A few definitions. Bases are individual elements that may be used alone and usually have lexical rather than grammatical meanings. Many take affixes. Bases plus affixes are derivatives, they are discussed here, beginning with reduplications and ending with suffixes. They are highly developed in Rennellese and Bellonese (cf Section 3).

8.2. Reduplications. Repetition of all or part of a base is called reduplication. The reduplications are the derivatives most closely connected with bases. They take most of the affixes to be described later in this section.

The two most common kinds of reduplication are full (repetition of the entire base) and partial (repetition of a part of the base). It is not possible to predict which type or types, if any, occur with a given base. In general, names of objects, such as *gima* 'hand', *hage* 'house', *kau* 'fish', or *tago* 'taro', are not reduplicated, nor are numerals. The most common bases reduplicated are verbs, especially those for which plural, frequentative, diminutive, or intensive meanings exist. First the shapes of reduplications will be discussed, and then the meanings.

8.2.1. Repetition need not be reduplication. In Rennellese and in Melanesian pidgin, verbs of movement in narratives are commonly repeated rapidly many times, usually separated by slight junctures, such as are not present in reduplications, indicative of prolonged or continued movement. 'To go very very far' or for a long time is *boo, boo, boo, boo*; in Melanesian pidgin *go, go, go, go*. In story R105 by Taupongi, taped by Kuschel in 1977, these words were repeated: *haangota* (four times) 'gathered shells', *hinake* (four times) 'going up', *tenge* (five times) 'ran', and *hina iho* (six times) 'went down'. Smooth translation of such passages is difficult. Perhaps one might translate the forms above as: 'gathered shells and shells and shells', 'up and up and up', 'on and on and on', and 'down and down and down'. These are understandable embellishments, pleasing to narrators and audience alike, and adding drama, but they are not reduplications.

Shapes. A great many words take both full and partial reduplications, usually with disparate meanings to be discussed later. A model might be *bage* 'to play', which can be reduplicated as both *ba-bage* and *bage-bage*. Here is a very incomplete list:

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<i>goa</i>	'long'	<i>mae</i>	'to wilt'	<i>soka</i>	'to hit'
<i>gomi</i>	'to press'	<i>migi</i>	'to rub'	<i>suki</i>	'to plant'
<i>ha'a</i>	'cracked'	<i>moe</i>	'to sleep'	<i>tahi</i>	'to rub'
<i>hatu</i>	'to bend'	<i>motu</i>	'to sever'	<i>tami</i>	'to taste'
<i>hiu</i>	'bored'	<i>paa</i>	'to hit'	<i>tango</i>	'to cover'
<i>hoa</i>	'to crack'	<i>paga</i>	'rotten'	<i>tea</i>	'white'
<i>hoga</i>	'to spread'	<i>pata</i>	'near'	<i>tege</i>	'to run'
<i>huti</i>	'to pull'	<i>peba</i>	'to light'	<i>teka</i>	'to lie down'
<i>kago</i>	'to flee'	<i>pese</i>	'to slap'	<i>tigo</i>	'to see'
<i>kata</i>	'to laugh'	<i>sege</i>	'to cut'	<i>tohi</i>	'to break'
<i>kini</i>	'to hit'	<i>seke</i>	'to slip'	<i>tosi</i>	'to draw'
<i>lunu</i>	'to burn'	<i>sika</i>	'to rub'		

Some noteworthy characteristics of these words are: (1) Most are traceable back to PPN; none contains the non-Polynesian phoneme *gh* and one contains *l*. (2) Most contain four phonemes. (3) Most are motion-words. Only *goa*, *hiu*, *paga*, *pata*, and *tea* seem to be stative.

Some bases take only full reduplication. A sample is: *gago* 'below', which has only the reduplicated form *gagogago*. Other examples are:

<i>ebe</i>	'to tear'	<i>logha</i>	'noisy'	<i>pae</i>	'heap'
<i>hatu</i>	'stone'	<i>masa</i>	'empty'	<i>peka</i>	'flying fox'
<i>higo</i>	'to mix'	<i>misa</i>	'to dry'	<i>piko</i>	'bent'
<i>hoe</i>	'paddle'	<i>moti</i>	'to clear (as weather)'	<i>suu</i>	'wet'
<i>kibi</i>	'blind'	<i>moto</i>	'not ripe'	<i>taa</i>	'to hit'
<i>koge</i>	'to insert'	<i>natu</i>	'to squeeze'	<i>tabae</i>	'to separate'

Repetition 8.2.1.

tapu 'taboo' *tua* 'to fell' *u'u* 'to bite'
tipa 'to beat'

Again, nearly all are of PN origin; only *logha* 'noisy' is not.

Partial reduplications are less common than the full type. An example is: *binu* 'to drink', which is reduplicated as *bibinu*. Other examples are: *peti* 'fat', *səpu* 'to win', *sina* 'gray', *singa* 'to pass by', *tiko* 'to defecate', *to'a* 'strong'. Partial reduplications of *gh-* and *l-* words are extremely rare (*ghenaghena*, *gheghena*; *lunu*, *lulunu*).

Less common shapes follow:

V₁- with loss of initial glottal stop:

'*aga* 'to wake up', *a-'aga*

'*agoha* 'to pity', *a-'agoha*

'*aua* 'to float', *a-'aua*

V₁- with addition of glottal stop:

a 'of (*a*-class)', *a'-a*

aku 'mine (*a*-class)', *a'-aku*

ana 'his, her (*a*-class)', *a'-ana*

o 'of (*o*-class)', *o'-o*

oku 'mine (*o*-class)', *o'-oku*

ona 'his, her (*o*-class)', *o'-ona*

Infix *a* as sign of plural:

Three such words were listed in 5.5.3: *ha-a-hine*, plural of *hahine* 'woman'; *ta-a-ngata*, plural of *tangata* 'man, person'; *tuha-a-hine*, plural of *tuhahine* 'sister of a male'. Others include *hua-a-'eha*, plural of *hua'eha* 'big'; *ta-a-'aki*, plural of *ta'aki* 'to lift up'.

8.2.1. DERIVATIVES

Insertion of V_1 with plural meanings (also in 8.4):

gaputu 'to explode', *ga-a-putu*; *gaputu-putu*

hotu 'punctured', *ho-o-hotu*; *hotuhotu*

magagi 'smooth', *ma-a-gagi*; *magagi-gagi*

ma'ugi 'life', *ma-a-'ugi*

ngaeke 'to breathe', *nga-a-eke*; *nga-a-nga-a-eke*, pl

Insertion of V_1 and/or C_2V_2 :

kaiti'i 'to beg silently', *kai-ti-ti'i*

luube'i 'to squirm'; *lube-lube'i*, *luu-luube'i*

masaki 'sick', *ma-a-saki* 'weak', *masa-sa-ki*

manaba 'stomach', *ma-a-naba* 'to breathe', *ma-a-na-naba* 'to breathe fast'

mataku 'fear', *mata-ta-ku*

A few verbs with initial *ma(a)*, the stative prefix (8.4) repeat final CVV, VCV, or CVCV, or one could say that the stative prefix does not reduplicate: *mabae*, *mabae-bae*; *mahae*, *mahae-hae*; *tabae*, *tabae-bae*; *mabalu*, *mabalu-balu*; *maanaba*, *maanaba-naba*; *mataku*, *mataku-taku*.

Some words are obviously derivative reduplications, but the underived forms do not exist. Such bases can easily be reconstructed.

**asi-*, *asiasi* 'to visit'

**piki-*, *pikipiki* 'to nestle'

**'atu-*, *haka'atu'atu* 'to greet'

**putai-*, *puutai* 'to play',
putatai

**kabe-*, *kakabe* 'to accompany'

**se-*, *sese* 'stray'

**kabi-*, *kabikabi* 'sharp'

**tago-*, *tatago* 'to pray',
tagotago

**page-*, *papage* 'to ward off',
pagepage

Diminutive Meanings 8.2.2.1.

One may also reconstruct bases for a few words with initial *ma*, probably the stative prefix (8.4), for which Proto Austronesian reflexes have been noted. The Proto Austronesian forms follow the Rennellese forms noted below:

magino 'clear', **linaw* *mataku* 'fear', **takut*

manaba 'breath', **nāwa* *matu'a* 'elder', **tuga*

8.2.2. Meanings. It is hard to agree with V. Krupa (1982:49, tables 22-31) that the meanings of full reduplications often express iteration and duration, and that partial reduplication "usually marks agreement in the number with the subject". In some instances, partial reduplication is definitely plural: ... *gua hiti* ... *noko mamata polo tahea* ... '... two hiti watched for drifting coconuts ...' *Moe totogo* 'to steal into a house and lie with a sleeping lover' also indicates a plurality, or perhaps intensity or acceleration? In some cases the Dictionary is of little help in assigning meanings. *Niti* has ten glosses. *Niniti* and *nitiniti* are marked as equal to *niti*. What of *huhuti* 'to pull in (as a fish)'? Is this an intensive of *huti* 'to pull'? Cf 17[B]:1: ... *boo mai kinai te kaahinga o huhuti iho ki haho o hai songo* ... '... the raiders came against him and pulled [him] out and hurt [him] ...' There are two named assailants. Is *huhuti* a plural or an intensifier? The following partial reduplications have singular subjects: *Nimaa neneke ake te kaui*, **oso te pegea o huhuti e ia*. 'When the fish comes up, the person grabs [it] and he pulls.'

Examples follow of meanings that seem definitely diminutive or intensive. Diminutives are nearly always expressed by full reduplication, but intensity by both full and partial.

8.2.2.1. Diminutive meanings.

bage 'to play', *bagebage* 'childish'

boga 'to clear land', *bogaboga* 'to clear brush only a little'

geba 'to soar', *gebageba* 'to flutter'

goa 'long', *goagoa* 'somewhat long'

huti 'to pull', *hutihuti* 'to pull with short tugs, pluck'

kata 'to laugh', *katakata* 'to smile, laugh a little'

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kibi 'blind', *kibikibi* 'partially blind'

logha 'noisy', *loghalogha* 'slightly noisy'

masa 'empty', *masamasa* 'partially dry'

mimigo 'to flow (as current)', *migomigo* 'to flow gently'

misa 'to dry', *misamisa* 'partially dry'

masaki 'sick', *maasaki* 'weak'

moe 'to sleep', *moemoe* 'to wilt'

paa 'to hit', *paapaa* 'to tap'

paga 'rotten', *pagapaga*, *papaga* 'somewhat rotten'

peba 'to shed light', *pebapeba* 'to shed a little light', *peebea* 'barely light'

peka 'flying fox', *pekapeka* 'swiftlet'

piko 'bent', *pikopiko* 'slightly bent'

soka 'to hit', *sokasoka* 'to touch lightly'

suu 'wet', *suusuu* 'slightly wet'

taa 'to hit', *taataa* 'to tap'

tabae 'to split', *tabaebae* 'to break into small pieces'

tami 'to taste', *tamitami* 'to taste a little'

tapu 'sacred', *taputapu* 'a bit sacred'

tosi 'to draw', *tositosi* 'to draw faintly'

tua 'to fell', *tuatua* 'to hack'

upi 'to beat', *upiupi* 'to graze'

u'u 'to bite', *u'uu'u* 'to nibble'

8.2.2.2. Intensive, accelerative meanings.

gongo 'to listen', *gongogongo* 'to listen carefully'

hoa 'to crack', *hoahoa* 'to smash'

huti 'to pull', *huhuti* 'to pull (as a fishline)', ... '*eha na kavi noko huhuti* (T48) '... many fish were pulled in'

manaba 'to breathe', *maanababa* 'to breathe fast'

moti 'to stop raining', *motimoti* 'to sprinkle'

muna 'to speak', *munamuna* 'to speak a lot'

musu 'to breathe with difficulty', *musumususu* 'to sob, pant for breath'

natu 'to squeeze, stir', *natunatu* 'to squeeze or stir rapidly'

ngaeke 'to breathe faintly', *ngaekekeke* 'to pant'

pese 'to clap', *pesepese* 'to clap rapidly', *pepese* 'to explode'

tahi 'to rub', *tatahi* 'to sweep away, annihilate', *tahitahi* 'to sweep'

tege 'to run', *tegetege* 'to run fast'

tipa 'to beat (as the sounding board)', *tipatipa* 'to beat fast'

tuu 'to strike gently', *tuutuu* 'to stamp'

8.2.2.3. Reduplications with disparate meanings. In the following forms, the meanings of the reduplications are so different from the meanings of the bases that most informants would not admit to any connection between them.

'*aga* 'to wake or get up', '*aga'aga* 'to shout, dance, pray'

kakau 'to swim', *kaukau* 'to bathe'

gogomi 'to sink', *gomigomi* 'to massage'

magie 'generous', *maagie* 'calm'

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na'a 'to know', *na'ana'a* (T31[A]:3) 'to be careful, beware'

piki 'to keep', *pipiki* 'to keep, marry', *pikipiki* 'to fold one's arms about one's self'

popoko 'deep', *pokopoko* 'vagina'

pou 'post', *poupou* 'stout'

tau 'to put on', *tatau* 'to tattoo'

tege 'to run', *tetege* 'to follow the coastline, keep a straight course'

ugu 'to enter', *uguugu* 'wife'

8.3. Causatives. The two positions of causatives are (Position 1) directly before a base and (Position 2) sometimes directly preceding the prefixes in Position 1. *Haka-*, *baa-*, *saka-*, and *CV₁V₁* prefixes are pronounced as separate words and are in separate stress groups. The one-syllable alternants *ta-*, *la-*, *pa-*, and *sa-* are clitics and form part of the stress group of the base. Rennellese forms are cited first in this section, followed by Bellonese forms that differ in ways other than the usual *g = ng*.

Position 2 Position 1

haka- *baa-*, *haa-*, *ta(a)-*, *bee-*, *la(a)-*, *pa(a)-*, *sa-/saka-*

Of the above, *haka-* is by far the most common, so common that *haka-* forms have been entered in the Dictionary under the bases. Further, *haka-* (as well as *haa-*) are productive, as shown by their use with loan words, as follows:

bapetiso, *haabapetiso* 'to baptize'

kuki 'cook', *haakuki* 'to teach to cook'

laeni 'line', *hakalaeni* 'to form a line'

lotu 'Christian prayer' (probably a loan from Tonga, Sāmoa, or Mota via the Solomons), *haalotu* 'to wed in a Christian ceremony'

store 'store', *hakastore* 'to stock (as a store)'

uatimani (English) 'white man', *hakauatimani* 'to act like a white man (sometimes pejorative)'

The term "causative" is long established in Polynesian linguistics but has a wide semantic range, and before many bases the causative's main function seems to be transitivizing:

Magepe a Patikoge ia te tinana ... (T2[A]:2) 'Patikoge mourned because of [her] mother ...' (*Magepe* is probably stative here.)
Ko Moa kua hakamagepe e ia a Tebegi. (D) 'Moa brought sorrow to Tebegi.' (*Hakamagepe* is an *i(a)*-t verb here; *a* marks the object.) *konaea* 'poisoned', *hakakonaea*, *haakonaea*, *baakonaea* 'to poison someone' (*i(a)*-t verbs).

Other stative verbs that, with a causative prefix, become transitive: *gaoi* 'good' (*haka-*), *gegema'ugi* 'surprised' (*baa-*, *haa-*, *haka-*), *gegeu* 'ripe' (*haka-*), *koli* 'rusty' (*baa-*, *haa-*, *haka-*), *lango* 'stain' (*baa-*), *maa'ogi* 'true' (*haka-*), *masa* 'empty' (*haka-*), *masaki* 'sick' (*haa-*, *haka-*), *mata* 'unripe' (*baa-*, *haa-*), *sao* 'unhurt' (*haka-*), *sepu* 'to win' (*haka-*), *soihua* 'safe' (*haka-*), *songo* 'bad' (*baa-*), *tino gaoi* 'straight' (*haka-*).

Intransitive verbs of motion that take causatives and become transitive: *gege* 'to fly, jump' (*baa-*), *ghubi* 'to blow' (*laa-*), *loi* 'to masturbate' (*haa-*, *haka-*), *mu'a* 'to go ahead' (*haa-*), *mugi* 'to go behind' (*haa-*), *sehu* 'to walk' (*haa-*), *sopo* 'to enter' (*haka-*), *tege* 'to run' (*haka-*).

The totals for the sampling above are *haka-* fourteen times, *haa-* eight times, *baa-* four times, *laa-* once.

Selection of the prefix is morphologically determined, and no basis for selection has been found, except that with English loans (as just illustrated) only *haka-* and *haa-* occur.

Also, only *haka-* has a simulative function:

Mugaba 'Rennell', *hakamugaba* 'Rennellese language, to act like a Rennellese; to speak, dance, perform rituals improperly' (this meaning only acknowledged by Bellonese)

Paugo, probably San Cristobal, or the Rennellese pronunciation of Birao, the central third of the island; *mako hakapaugo*, name of a dance believed to have come from Paugo

tangata susugu 'white man', *hakatangatasusugu* 'to act as or ape white men'

8.3. DERIVATIVES

In some instances, bases take different meanings with different prefixes:

ghagho (*ngagho*) 'to complain', *hakaghagho* 'to slander', *baaghagho* 'to do with little interest', *baabaaghagho* frequentative of *baaghagho*; *laghagho*, *hakalaghagho* 'to belittle'

lau 'entangled', *baolau* 'to snag', *beelau* 'to mate (of animals)'

loi, *paloi* 'to masturbate', *baaloi* 'to pull back one's foreskin', *hakaloi*, *baaloi* 'to masturbate a male'

maga 'bitter', *baamaga*, *haamaga* 'sour, peppery', *hakamaga* 'to arouse or cause bitterness'

Of the twenty-one common words listed in 12.1.1.1 as probably of non-Polynesian origin, and for which no cognates have been found elsewhere, the following are listed in the Dictionary as taking causatives: *boboi* (*baa-*), *boga* (*haa-*), *-isaisa* (*baa-*, *haka-*), *koli* (*baa-*, *haa-*, *haka-*), *lago* (*baa-*), *lango* (*baa-*), *magepe* (*baa-*, *haa-*, *haka-*), *ma'ine* (*haka-*), *'oti'oti* (*baa-*, *haka-*), *sehu* (*haa-*).

To save wearisome checking in the Dictionary and for skeptical comparativists, examples of the six rare causatives (*ta(a)-*, *bee-*, *la(a)-*, *pa(a)-*, *sa(a)-*, *saka-*) follow:

With *ta(a)-*:

ghigho (*ngigho*, Bellona) 'to surround', *tanigho* (D) 'circular'

hoga, *taahoga*, *taataahoga*, *taahohoga*, *hakataahoga*, *tahoga* 'to spread'

huke 'to open, dig out', *taahuhuke* 'to pull off forcefully'

igi 'fan', *taigi* 'to blow gently'

koe 'you (sg)', *taakoe* 'be so kind' (?)

mata 'end', *taamata* 'to begin'

mate 'dead', *tamate* 'to extinguish (as a light)'

mui 'crowd', *tamui* 'to swarm'

poo 'night', *tapoo* 'early morning'

tahi 'one', *taatahi* 'to stand apart'

unu 'to take off', *taunu* 'to fall (of many fruits)'

With *bee-*:

gaba 'large', *beegaba* 'to enlarge'

giu, *beegiu* 'to worship'

guani 'servant', *hakaguani*, *beeguani*, *hakabeeguani* 'to stay with as an inferior'

ghai, *beeghai* 'climbing pole'

lau 'to entangle', *beelau* 'to mate (as animals)'

ngii, *beengii* 'to chirp'

tau 'to grab, hold', *beetau* 'to have sexual relations', *hakatau* 'to join, connect'

With *la(a)-*:

boga 'to clear land', *laaboga* 'to peel off bark'

ghaghi (*ngaghi* Bellona) 'to clear (as a trail)', *laghaghi* 'to pull up vines', *saghaghi* 'to pull'

ghagho (*ngagho*) 'to complain', *laghagho* 'to belittle'

ghubi 'to blow', *laaghubi* 'to fan someone'

With *pa(a)-*:

kasa, *pakasa* 'blocked'

kikisi 'to strike (as rock on steel)', *paakisi* an adze

loi: see above

maanihi, *paamaanihi* 'thin'

maatogu, *paamaatogu* 'thick'

8.3.1. DERIVATIVES

ngogu 'to fall with a thud', *pangogu* 'to rumble'

nguunguu 'to hum', *pangungu* 'to mumble' (This and the preceding may not be causatives: see *pa-2* in D.)

With *sa(a)-*:

gongo 'news', *saagongo* 'to search for news'

ghaghi: see above

kago 'to flee', *sakago* 'to go or come fast' (*saakago*, plural)

With *saka*:

gago, *sakagago* 'low'

puku 'knot, short', *sakapuku* 'bent'

Some bases and causative derivatives have rather disparate meanings:

boboi 'to connect', *baaboboi* 'to hinder, prevent'

sugu 'to insert (as flowers in the hair); to fall down, set',
baasugu 'to scare, stick out the tongue'

Bases have been constructed of derivative causatives that have no bases:

-bageba, *haabageba* 'to rot'

-ghogha (*-ngogha*), *beeghogha*, *hakaghogha* 'to be together'

-isaisa, *baaisaisa* 'disgusted', *hakaisaisa* 'to disgust, repel'

-loghuloghu, *baaloghuloghu* 'to protect'

8.3.1. Double causatives. Reference was made at the beginning of 8.3 to the occasional occurrence of *haka-* before the units in Position 1; examples follow:

gea, *hakagea* 'to speak', *hakabaagea* 'to speak a lot'

giu 'to return (pl)', *haagiu*, *hakahaagiu* 'to turn and face'

guani 'servant', *beeguani*, *hakabeeguani* 'to stay with as an inferior'

ghagho (*ngagho*) 'to complain'; *laghagho*, *hakalaghagho* 'to belittle'; *baaghagho*, *baabaaghagho* 'to do with little interest'

In at least three forms, *haka-* precedes the singular specific article + base: *hakateanga* 'to face up to' (*anga* 'front'), *hakategoo* 'to go in single file' (*goo* 'ant'), *hakatekapa* 'to go on the side' (*kapa* 'side').

A few examples are noted of a reduplicated *baabaa* (but never of a **hakahaka*), and only one of *taataa* (*taataahoga*).

ghagho: see above

ligo 'to inspect', *baaligo*, *baabaaligo* 'to peer'

suu 'wet', *baasuu* 'to put in rain', *baabaasuu* 'damp'

8.4. *Ma(a)-* stative prefix. It is important to distinguish the conjunction *ma* 'and, but', the momentary aspect marker *maa*, and the stative prefix *ma(a)-*. A group of the latter are fossilized; they have no base. All are very common. Here is a sample: *maagie* 'calm', *maakeke* 'cold', *maanatu* 'thought', *maanihi* 'thin', *maa'ogi* 'correct', *maatogu* 'thick', *magino* 'calm', *ma'ine* 'love', *mamaha* 'heavy', *mama'o* 'far', *manaba* 'stomach', *manaha* 'village', *mange'o* 'itching', *masaki* 'sick', *mataku* 'afraid', *matangi* 'wind', *matu'a* 'elder'. All of these go back to PPN except *ma'ine*, which is probably not Polynesian. Most of them have many meanings, but a few are usually nouns and the rest are stative verbs.

To analyze the stative prefixes, a count was made in the Dictionary and at least two examples of each initial consonant of bases taking *ma(a)-*, plus a few others randomly listed. No examples of bases with initial *n* or *ng* were noted; *gh* was present only in the word *toghi* 'to cut'. *Ma-* precedes bases by close transition; *maa*, with a long vowel, is a separate stress group.

8.4. DERIVATIVES

Bases

'aba 'small opening'
 'anu 'to hover'
 bae 'to separate'
 balu 'to peel'
 bugi 'to make round'
 eba 'to soar'
 ebe 'to tear apart'
 gama 'torch'
 gepe 'devastated'
 gingi 'to pour'
 gipi 'to fold'
 gobe 'to bend'
 ha'a 'to be cracked'
 hoga 'to spread'
 ino 'to fall over'
 isi 'to scoop, scrape'
 kaga 'to crack'

Stative derivatives

ma'aba 'to be slightly open'
 ma'anu 'to float, soar'
 maa'anu pl of ma'anu
 mabae 'to crack in two'
 maabae 'to be separated'
 mabalu 'to peel'
 mabugi 'round'
 maabugi pl of mabugi
 maebe 'to lie spread out'
 maaebe pl of maebe
 maebe 'to be scattered'
 maaebe pl of maebe

 maagama 'to be light'
 magepe 'to lament'
 maagegepe pl of magepe
 magingi 'to spill'
 magipi 'to be folded'
 magobe 'to bend'
 maha'a 'to be split'
 maaha'a 'to be gullied'
 mahoga 'flat'
 maahoga 'intelligent'
 maino 'to fall over'
 maisi 'fragment'
 makaga 'to be cracked'
 maakaga pl of makaga

<i>kiga</i> 'pulled back (of foreskin)'	----- <i>maakiga</i> 'pulled back (of foreskin)'
<i>lango</i> 'to stroll'	<i>malango</i> 'to travel freely'
<i>lipa</i> 'split coconut frond'	<i>malipa</i> 'to break off'
<i>lolobe</i> 'to break off (as a shoot)'	<i>malobe</i> 'to pull off (as a shoot)'
<i>mae</i> 'to wilt'	<i>mamae</i> 'to hurt'
<i>maga</i> 'bitter'	<i>mamaga</i> 'bitter'
' <i>oha</i> 'to destroy'	<i>ma'oha'oha</i> 'to collapse'
<i>oke</i> 'to thrust a paddle out'	<i>maokeoke</i> 'to rock (as a ship)'
<i>pe'epe'e</i> 'to crack'	<i>mape'e</i> 'to be cracked'
<i>pugo</i> 'to turn (as a crank)'	<i>mapugo</i> 'to be twisted'
<i>sano</i> 'to suspect'	----- <i>maasano</i> 'to suspect'
<i>sege</i> 'to cut'	<i>masege</i> 'to be cut slightly'
<i>se'ia</i> 'to err'	----- <i>maase'i</i> 'bad'
<i>taga</i> 'to take off'	<i>mataga</i> 'to be open (as a coconut sheath)'
<i>toghi</i> 'to cut'	<i>matoghi</i> 'to be broken'
<i>unu</i> 'to take off'	<i>maunu</i> 'to fall off' <i>maunu</i> pl of <i>maunu</i>

Note that in many instances the meanings are similar, that many bases are transitive, and the *ma(a)-* derivatives are usually statives. The meanings of *hoga* and *maahoga* are rather different. The *ma-* forms listed total twenty-nine, the *maa-* forms fourteen. The meanings of the *maa-* forms are frequently plural. Do they exemplify the *a* infix described in 8.2.1? *Mamata* 'to look' < *mata* 'eye', *mamate* 'dead' < *mate*, and possibly *mamaha* 'heavy' above, may be partial reduplications (8.2).

8.5. *Hu'ai-* and *mi'i-*. These extremely useful and common prefixes are intensifier and diminutive. They often occur with the same base and are mutually exclusive save for *hu'aimei'ime'a* below. The Rennellese and Bellonese usually write *hu'ai* and *mi'i* as separate words (they form stress groups), but this is not done here because they occur only before a base. Here are examples:

'ao 'daylight', *mi'i'ao* 'first beginning to get light'

boo 'to go (pl)', *mi'iboo* 'to go slowly, stroll (pl)', *hu'aiboo* 'to go often or fast'

gaoi 'good', *mi'igaoi* 'fairly good, not too good', *hu'aigaoi* 'very good' (extremely common on Bellona, emphatic *hu'aaingaoi*; *gaoi to'a* on Rennell)

guani 'servant, one of low rank', *hu'aiguani* 'one of the lowest rank'

gholoba 'time', *mi'igholoba* 'short interval of time, minute'

hahine 'woman', *mi'ihahine* 'girl'

hai 'to make, do, say', *mi'ihai* 'to make, do, say rarely or slowly', *hu'aihai* 'to make, do, say commonly'

me'a 'thing', *mi'ime'a* 'little thing, triviality, of little importance', *hakami'ime'a* 'to humble oneself', *hu'aimei'ime'a* 'important little thing'

na'a 'to know', *mi'ina'a* 'to know a little but not much', *hu'aina'a* 'to know very well, wise, learned'

pegea 'person', *mi'ipegea* 'child', *hu'aipegea* 'adult, important person'

sanga songo 'bad luck', *hu'aisangasongo* 'very bad luck, misfortune'

tamana 'father', *mi'itamana* 'remote male relative in the ascending generation'

tauiku 'old person (about forty)', *mi'itauiku* 'one approaching middle age', *hu'aitauiku* 'very old person (above sixty)'

These prefixes are very productive. Only very common forms are listed above. See the Dictionary for further examples.

Numerous honorific personal names begin with *Hu'ai* or more commonly *Hu'aite*, as *Hu'aitebaagoa* in honor of a traveler (lit. 'the very long distance'). In D, Part 2, Kuschel lists eighteen names beginning *Hu'aite* on Bellona, and just two beginning *Hu'ai*. Other such names are *Hu'aitegano'eha* 'the great one of the big lake' and *Hu'aitebai* 'great one of the water', both in honor of someone from the Lake. The great district god was *Tehu'aigabenga* 'the important *gabenga* fish' (this fish is small and rare). *Hu'aitemanatapu* 'the important sacred thunder' was the name of a god of the underworld, and in the early days of Christianity, of the Christian God (T29).

8.6. Lexical prefixes. Lexical prefixes differ from grammatical prefixes in that they usually have fewer meanings and precede fewer bases. Grammatical prefixes are described usually in terms of functions.

8.6.1. Hua- 'size'.

'eha 'large, many', *hua'eha* 'large, big in size'

giki, *huagiki* 'small', *huagigiki* 'small (pl)'

'iti'iti, *hua'iti'iti* 'small'

8.6.2. Mataa- 'for the first time'. This prefix, usually preceding verbs, is related to *mata* 'eye, end'.

hai 'to make, do, say', *mataahai* 'to make, do, say for the first time'

kite 'to see', *mataakite* 'to see for the first time, discover'

Before *a'u*, final *a* of *mataa* is lost: *mataa'u* 'to come for the first time (sg)'

8.6.3. Mou- *Mou* is called a lexical prefix even though its meanings are varied, some being pejorative: varied, assorted, deviant, antisocial, mischievous.

'ata 'picture', *'aatanga* 'shining, brightness', *mouaatanga* 'attractive, varied'

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ge'o 'voice, sound, pronunciation', *mouge'o* 'dialect, accent'

hage, mouhage 'kind, variety, color, species'

hai 'different', *mouhai* 'varied', *hakamouhai* 'to be rude, lustful; to dislike, refuse to accept or share'

ina 'to see', *inaina* 'to look back and forth, assortment of things seen'; *mouinaina* (T15:3) 'to wink, ogle; varying in color or behavior'

kege 'land', *moukege* 'varied (of soils)'

kigi, moukigi 'kind, color'

mate 'to speak, name', *moumate* 'to guess, speculate, pronounce'

noho, mounoho 'kind, color; to lust (T15:1,2)'

ngutu 'mouth', *moungutu* 'to gossip'

ogiogi 'to worship', *mouogiogia* 'many kinds of worship'

sogi 'to worship', *mousooginga* 'kinds of worship'

sogo 'to joke, funny', *mousoogonga* (T145) 'merriment'

Note that bases with the nominalizer *-nga* often have a lengthened first vowel. See other examples of *mou*-words in the Dictionary.

8.6.4. *Sia-* 'to want, like'. This common prefix, a base for *sisia*, plural, and *siasia* 'happy', usually precedes verbs:

siabinu 'thirsty, to want to drink'

siahai 'to want, like'

siakai 'hungry, to want to eat'

siamoe 'sleepy, to want to sleep'

Ko koe mataa-sia-kaukau? }
Ko koe sia-mataa-kaukau? } 'Do you want to wash first?'

8.7. Thematic consonants. Some ten consonants (Table 12 below) recur repeatedly in reciprocals (8.8), plurals (8.9), goal-focus forms (8.10), and nominalizers (8.11). They are called thematic consonants, a name used by Milner (1966:xxxiv) for Samoan. The term is traditionally used for Greek, defined by Webster III as "ending the stem or theme of a noun or verb, but not belonging to the root ..." In various Polynesian grammars these recurring consonants have been analyzed in three ways: (1) as the final consonant of the base, (2) as a morpheme, and (3) as the first consonant of the suffix.

(1) For Samoan, Bloomfield (1933:219) recommended the first analysis. Nonacceptance of this approach was discussed in Elbert and Pukui (1979:88-89) and will not be repeated here, except to say that some bases thus analyzed would end in the consonants and would have two or three allomorphs. In the following list, the bases precede the allomorphic derivatives:

'agu 'to chase', *'agum-i*, *'agut-aki*
gege 'to leap', *gegeh-aki*, *gegeØ-i*
gongo 'to hear', *gongoØ-i*, *gongos-ia*, *gongot-ia*
ina 'to see, stay', *inah-ia*, *ina-'i*
kaa 'to burn', *-kaØ-i*, *-kan-i*
poo 'to grab', *poot-aki*, *pook-ia*
somo 'to slip away', *somot-aki*
tae- 'near', *taeg-aki*, *taeØ-aki*
tugu 'to leak', *tuguk-i*, *tugu'-i*

These forms can be checked in 8.8 to 8.10.

(2) For Tongan, a more radical step was taken by Morton (1962:71-76) who set up the consonants as derivational allomorphs. His principal argument is the existence in Tongan of some thirty-two minimal pairs distinguished only by a thematic consonant, as *ako* 'to study, teach', *akonaki* 'to teach religiously', and *ako'aki* 'to study, teach (transitive)'. In the Rennellese list just given, only three sets might be considered allomorphic: *gongos-ia*, *gongot-ia*; *taeg-aki*, *taeØ-*

aki; *tuguk-i*, *tugu'-i*. Morton's analysis has not been followed here because of the comparative rarity of minimal pairs in Rennellese, and of hesitation about giving morphemic status to essentially meaningless segments.

(3) Most Polynesianists adopt the procedure followed here, and analyze the thematic consonants as the first phonemes of the suffixes.

Table 12 lists the Rennellese thematic consonants for each of the four semantic categories. These labels must not be taken too literally, as will be explained later.

Table 12
Thematic consonants

Reciprocals	Plurals	Goal focus	Nominalizers
Norms: <i>he-'aki</i>	<i>he-'i</i>	<i>'ia</i>	<i>'anga, -nga</i>
<i>he-gaki</i>	<i>he-gi</i>	<i>-gia</i> <i>-bia</i>	<i>-ganga</i>
<i>he-haki</i>	<i>he-hi</i> <i>he-ki</i>	<i>-hia</i> <i>-kia</i>	<i>-hanga</i>
<i>he-maki</i>	<i>he-mi</i>	<i>-mia</i>	<i>-manga</i>
<i>he-naki</i>	<i>he-ni</i>	<i>-nia</i>	<i>-nanga</i>
<i>he-ngaki</i>	<i>he-ngi</i>	<i>-ngia</i>	----
<i>he-saki</i>	<i>he-si</i>	<i>-sia</i>	<i>-sanga</i>
<i>he-taki</i>	<i>he-ti</i>	<i>-tia</i>	<i>-tanga</i>
<i>he-∅aki</i>	<i>he-∅i</i>	<i>-∅ia</i>	----

Of the norms, *'ia* and *'anga* are considered particles rather than suffixes because they are not closely bound to bases, and are productive, whereas only *'aki* of the suffixes is productive. *-Nga* does not contain a thematic consonant, but is most effectively described with the other nominalizers.

The linguists' cover terms for these four categories are *-Caki*, *-Ci*, *-Cia*, and *-Canga*, with *C* representing thematic consonant.

Many words with the nonproductive thematic consonants have been increasingly rare since the adoption of Christianity, and in the 1980s were not known to young people. These have been labeled R below for ritualistic in the pre-Christian religion, honorific, or poetic.

Suffixes *-i* and *-nga* are in close transition; the others (except for *-Ci*) are in open transition.

8.8. Reciprocal he-...-'aki. The productivity of the very common norm *he-...-'aki* is attested not only by the eight allomorphs for *-'aki* in Table 12, but also by its use with loan words: *kisi* 'to kiss', *he-kisikisi-'aki* 'to kiss one another repeatedly'; *leta* 'letter', *he-leta-'aki* 'to write letters back and forth'; *sata*, *he-sata-'aki* 'to charter'. *He-...-'aki* is called a reciprocal because reciprocity is the most common meaning. Plurality and frequentative are other meanings: *Ko Moa manga he-'uutu'a-'aki i Lughu ma Tegano.* 'Moa goes back and forth between Lughu and the Lake.' In the following, the *he-...-'aki* form is neither reciprocal nor plural, but is rather durative: *Ma te he-matamata-'aki a 'Ataganga ...* (T31[A]:6) 'And 'Ataganga looked around ...'

The following bases are noted as taking *he-...-Caki* (but not *he-...-'aki*, of which there are hundreds of examples). Note a few reduplicated bases with reciprocals, and causative *haka-* + reciprocal.

-gaki: he-tae-gaki

-haki: he-gege-haki, he-ina-haki, haka-he-sigi-haki, he-sui-(haki), he-tege-haki, (he-)togo-haki, he-ugu-ugu-haki, (he-)utu-haki, he-'uu-haki-'aki

-maki: he-'agu-maki

-saki: he-hoki-saki-aki, he-hoki-hoki-saki, he-mapu-saki-'aki, he-tagi-saki-'aki, he-'uu-saki (probably misprint in Dictionary)

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-taki: *he-'agu-taki*, *he-gahi-taki*, *he-ghaghi-taki* (*he-ngaghi-taki*), *he-ghebu-taki*, *he-ghali-taki*, *he-kaia'a-taki*, (*he*)-*poo-taki*, *he-sa'u-taki*, *he-sa'u-taki-'aki*, *he-somo-taki*, *he-somo-somo-taki*

-Øaki: *he-'au-Øaki*, *he-ghali-Øaki*, *he-tae-Øaki-'aki*

8.8.1. *-Caki* without *he-*. These forms are very numerous and *he-* sometimes seems optional. They are listed below; glosses are given.

-gaki: *tau-gaki* 'to tie, attach', *takoto-gaki* (poetic) 'to lie long sick'

-haki: '*aga-haki* 'to sleep badly', '*ago-haki* 'to paddle back and forth', *sao-haki* 'to escape', *haka-sui-haki* 'to replace', *togo-haki* 'to crawl', *ugu-haki* 'to go in and out', '*utu-haki* to fill with liquid', '*uu-haki* 'to protrude'

-naki: *ako-naki* 'to learn, teach', '*ama-naki*, *huu-naki* (poetic) 'to hide', *kau-naki* 'to send to do', '*oso-naki* (R) 'rations', *soa-naki* (R) 'to place (as part of an offering)', *tahu-naki* 'to sleep by fire for warmth', *tu'a-naki* 'to abandon'

-ngaki: *page-ngaki* 'to bring solace'

-saki: '*aka-saki* 'to push', *hoki-saki* 'to go and come back and forth', *kono-kono-saki* 'to persevere', *mapu-saki* 'to groan in pain', *tagi-saki* 'to wait', *tagi-tagi-saki* 'to wait', *tago-saki* (R) 'prayer', '*utu-saki* 'to pour'

-taki: *e'a-taki* 'to come', *gaa-taki* 'meaning', *baa-gahi-taki* 'to protect', *hoe-taki* (16.2 V121, 123) 'to paddle', *oga-taki* 'to protect', *soga-taki* 'to surpass', *tago-taki* 'prayer', *tu'u-taki* 'to join', *haka-tu'u-taki* causative

-Øaki: '*ago-aki* 'to put between', *kau-aki* 'to bring', *tau-aki* 'to spread', *togo-aki* = *togo-haki*

It is not easy to analyze meanings as diverse as these. Here is an attempt:

Actional (a term used by Churchward, 1959:147, for a suffix that hardly affects the meaning of the word): *tau-gaki*, *sau-*

haki, togo-haki, 'utu-haki, ako-naki, huu-naki, 'oso-naki, kono-kono-saki, tagi-saki, tagi-tagisaki, 'utu-saki, e'a-taki, kau-aki, togo-aki

Causative: *soa-naki, tahu-naki, tu'a-naki, page-ngaki, 'aka-saki, baa-gahi-taki, oga-taki, soga-taki, tu'u-taki, haka-tu'u-taki, 'ago-aki, tau-aki*

Reciprocal: *'ago-haki*

Pejorative: *'aga-haki, takoto-gaki, mapu-saki*

No definite base: *'ama-naki, kau-naki, gaa-taki, kau-aki*

Some sequences that the dictionary makers chose to write as separate words because each is used as a single word are written as single words with the reciprocal affix *he-...-'aki*:

na'a makau 'to keep enmity' *he-na'amakau-'aki* 'to be at enmity'

toka manaba 'courageous' *he-toka-manaba-'aki* 'to encourage one another'

na'a gongo 'to hear news' *he-na'agongo-'aki* 'to hear news or gossip of one another'

Causatives are most often closer to bases than reciprocals are:

'aga 'to awaken', *he-baa-'aga-'aki* 'to wake someone'

-'agi, *he-haka-'agi-'aki* 'to show'

-'atu'atu, *he-haka-'atu'atu-'aki* 'to greet one another'

'eha 'big', *he-haka-'eha'eha-'aki* 'to honor one another'

gaoi 'good', *he-haka-gaoi-'aki* 'to treat one another kindly'

guani 'servant', *he-bee-guani-'aki* 'to stay with as an inferior'

-ghogha (*-ngogha*), *he-bee-ghogha-'aki* 'to live or grow together'

-iho 'down', *he-haka-iho-'aki* 'to lower'

-tau, *he-haka-tau-'aki* 'to answer one another'

Reversal of this order has been noted as follows:

gongo 'to listen', *haka-he-gongo-'aki* 'to listen to one another'

sigi, *haka-he-sigi-haki* 'to pass by'

togo 'to treat sickness', (*haka-*)*he-togo* 'to curse one another'

Certain classificatory kinship terms take reciprocal as a means of showing frequent interaction (5.5.3). They are listed below in order of decreasing respect and increasing intimacy. All these reciprocals are rare. All of them take the productive *he-...-'aki* suffix.

		Type of relation
<i>tuhahine</i>	brother and sister	avoidance
<i>ma'aa</i>	brothers- and sisters-in-law	restricted
<i>tamana</i>	father and children and son-in-law	mild affection
<i>tinana</i>	mother and children	affection
<i>tu'aatina</i>	mother's brother	affection
<i>tupuna</i>	grandparent and grandchildren	affection

These same terms may be preceded by *tau* 'connective' referring to two kin particularly close. Again they are listed in order of decreasing respect and increasing intimacy. They also take *he-...-'aki*.

tau tuhahine: *tunga'ane* 'brother of a female' and *tuhahine* 'sister of a male'

tau ma'a: brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law

tau tamana: *tamana* and *hosa* 'father' and 'son', *tama'ahine* 'daughter', and *hunga tangata* 'son-in-law'

tau tinana: *tinana* 'mother', *tama'ahine* 'daughter', *hunga tangata* 'son-in-law'

tau tu'aatina: mother's brother and sister's children

tau tupuna: *tupuna* 'grandparent' and *mo'opuna* 'grandchild'

Terms in both lists followed by *hakahua* 'true' signify that the relationship is not classificatory (*hakapigi* 'added on'). The two relationships receive about the same treatment. An example of respect and avoidance: a young man on Rennell asked me to take a gift to his "sister" on Bellona, since he could not send it directly to her. He did not tell me whether she was *hakahua* or *hakapigi*.

Monberg (16.1) has suggested that *tau 'aitu* might be added to the list. The *tau 'aitu* were the human representatives of the district deities believed present at the *kaba ki hage* ritual. They sat in line on fine mats at the back of the house and thus seemed to link Man and deities as a pair.

-Caki doublets:

(Note that productive -'aki is in most examples always last.)

-haki and -'aki: *he-'uu-haki-'aki*

-haki and -saki: *he-huu-saki*

-saki and -'aki: *he-mapu-saki-'aki, he-tagi-saki-'aki*

-saki and -aki: *he-hoki-saki-aki*

-taki and -'aki: *he-sa'u-taki-'aki*

-∅aki and -'aki: *he-tae-∅aki-'aki*

Note the doublet in 16.2 V130: ... *ke ngo hakangongo ki he tangosaki, kae tangotaki a hoto tinau* ... '... and listen to a recital of the shark-fishing formula and the prayer of your honorable little mother [Baabenga] ...'

8.9. Plurals (-Ci). In assessing meanings of -Ci one must bear in mind that singular/plural distinctions in Rennellese and Bellonese are often blurred and plurality need not always be specified. Plurality seems a common meaning of -Ci, and reciprocal/plural of *he-...-Ci*. Some words taken from rituals are not in the Dictionary, and meanings are not always spelled out. The lists of course are incomplete. After the lists, some of the problems in identifying -Ci derivatives are discussed. The existence of these problems may explain why some grammarians do not mention -Ci in a number of West Polynesian languages, as in dictionaries by Carroll and Soulik 1972, Feinberg 1977-8, and Lieber and Dikepa 1974. Bases not identical in the derivatives to follow are next to the derivatives in parentheses.

8.9.1. *He-...-Ci* derivatives.

- i: *he-ege-i*, *hi-igho-i*, *hi-ina-i*, *he-ki-i* (B *kii*),
he-mi-i, *he-popo-i*, *he-pu-i* (B *puu*), *he-ta-i* (B *taa*),
hi-tiko-i
- hi: *he-togo-hi*, *he-ugu-hi* and *he-gu-hi*, *he-uku-hi*
- ki: *he-e'a-ki*, *he-oho-ki*, *he-somo-ki*, *he-to-ki* (B *too* 'to fall')
- mi: (*he-*)'*agu-mi*
- ti: *he-e'i-ti* and *he-i'i-ti* (B *'ei* metathesizes to *e'i*),
he-ke-ti, *he-gu-ti* (B *guu*), *he-no'a-ti* (R), *he-pigi-ti*
- Øi: (*he-*)'*anga-i*, *he-bebe-i*, *he-gebe-i* (B *gebegebe*),
haka-he-gongo-i, *ghigho-i* (*ngigho-i*), *he-kaake-i* (B *kake*),
he-kaau-i (B *-kau*) 'to swim', *he-soogo-i* (B *sogo*)
 'to play', *he-soogo-i* (B *sogo* 'to come alongside') 'close together',
he-tuku-i

8.9.2. -Ci without *he-*.

- i: *niho-i*, *maa-se-i* (B *see*, cf *sese* 'to stray'), *pusa-i*,
tugu-i, *tuku-i*, *be-uga-i*
- gi: *alu-gi*
- hi: '*ago-hi* 'front', *angaanga-hi* (R), *ganga-hi* (B *ganga*
 'group') 'to do together', *kano-hi* 'flesh', '*una-hi*
 (B '*una* 'turtle shell') 'fish scales'

Identification Difficulties 8.9.3.

- ki: *gaanga-ki* (B *ganga* 'to start'), *hugu-ki* 'hairy' (B *hugu* 'hair'), *tagaa-ki* (B *taga*), *tapa-ki* (R), *tata-ki*, *tugu-ki* 'defecation place'
- mi: *haa-binu-mi* (R)
- ni: *ghagho-ni* (*ghaango-ni*, B *ghaagho*) 'to make cord by rubbing', *ghagho-ni* (*ghango-ni*, B *ghagho* 'to complain') 'to think of with anger or affection', *baaka-ni* (B *kaa*) 'to burn off a garden'
- ngi: *noo-ngi* (R) 'to request of the gods'
- si: *huna-si*
- ti: *ogo-ti*, *bee-'u-ti* (B *u'u*)
- Øi: *bebe-i*, *gaba-i*, *gege-i*, *ghigho-i* (*ngigho-i*), *baa-ka-i* (B *kaa* 'to burn') 'fuel', *loko-i* 'piled', *luuluuke-i* (B *lukeluke* 'to hang') 'to hang', *bee-ngi-i* (B *ngii*), *poto-i* 'to cut in small pieces' (*potopoto* 'small pieces'), *taapu-i* (B *tapu*), *toko-i*, *tokotoko-i*

8.9.3. Identification difficulties. How many words ending in 'i, i, ni, and si are -Ci words? One looks for a base, with or without a long vowel, and when none is apparent one wonders whether a final -Ci is a plural derivative or not.

Here are some that are doubtful:

- amosi* 'stick to apply lime on pepper leaf to chew with betel' *amo* 'to rub gently'
- beli'i* 'to bubble'
- belini* 'many'
- gaboi* 'very good' Pileni *lavoi* and
Rennellese *gaoi*
'good'
- luube'i* 'to scatter, muss'
- no'i*, *nono'i* 'weary but persistent'
- nui* 'near'

8.9.4. DERIVATIVES

<i>piikoi</i> 'to keep'	<i>pipiki</i> 'to keep'
<i>saahei</i> 'to hang'	<i>sahē</i> 'to be caught'
<i>sauni</i> 'to pray'	
<i>si'i</i> 'to enjoy'	
<i>taahui</i> 'to hang (as a group of flying foxes)'	PPN <i>fuhi</i> 'cluster'

Phonemic modifications in *-Ci* bases and prefixes:

Vowel in the base increases from short to long:

<i>gaanga-i</i> (B <i>ganga</i>)	<i>luuluuke-i</i> (B <i>luke-luke</i>)
<i>ghaagho-ni</i> (B <i>ghagho</i>)	<i>he-soogo-i</i> (B <i>sogo</i>)
<i>he-kaake-i</i> (B <i>kake</i>)	<i>tagaa-ki</i> (B <i>taga</i>)
<i>he-kaau-i</i> (B <i>-kau</i>)	<i>taapu-i</i> (B <i>tapu</i>)

Vowel in the base decreases from long or double to short:

<i>baa-ka-ni</i> , <i>baa-ka-i</i> (B <i>kaa</i>)	<i>he-pu-'i</i> (B <i>puu</i>)
<i>he-gu-ti</i> (B <i>guu</i>)	<i>he-ta-'i</i> (B <i>taa</i>)
<i>he-ki'i</i> (B <i>kii</i>)	<i>he-to-ki</i> (B <i>too</i>)
<i>bee-ngi-i</i> (B <i>ngii</i>)	<i>bee-'u-ti</i> (B <i>u'u</i>)

He- > *hi-* before *i* and in one case before *ti*:

hi-igho-'i, *hi-ina-'i*, *hi-tiko-'i* (also *he-tiko-'i*)

He- > *h-* in *h-e'i-ti* and *h-eke-ti*.

8.9.4. Is 'plural' the proper gloss for *-Ci*? Verbs with plural subjects: *Ko kigatou e he-'ege-'i ki te hakahua*. 'They deny the chief.' *Hakatu'u kigaa he-kaake-i ai ki te gangi*. 'The two began to climb on it to the sky.' *Noko boo o he-pu-i kinai ...* (T123:2) '[They] went and jumped on him ...' Many verbs have singular subjects: *E tagaa-ki e ia aku goosinga*. 'He

alters my decorations.' *Ko au e si-'i i Mugaba.* 'I am contented on Rennell.'

Durative meanings: *To'o mai he kau sopi, ke tungu-'i ai toku bakapoa.* 'Bring a *sopi* vine so my boil may drip into it.' *Ko Moa noko huhuti tena mangoo o he-tagai aano no'a.* 'Moa pulled in his shark and struggled until [it] was tied.'

H-e-'i-ti 'to fuck' seems definitely plural, as are usually *hi-igho-'i* 'to curse' and *haka-he-gongo-i* 'to say farewell'.

Causative meaning: *taapu-i* 'to make taboo' (B *tapu*)

Stative meanings: *gebe-i* 'mouldy', *hugu-ki* 'hairy', *niho-'i* 'fringed', *he-popo-'i* 'thin', *maa-se-'i* 'bad'.

Some *-Ci* forms are labeled 'plural' in the Dictionary, but examples do not always follow. What of such *-Ci* forms as *h-eke-ti* 'to get on to', *he-ki-i* 'to let wind', and *he-uku-hi* 'to dive'?

How about a proper gloss?

8.10. Goal focus (*-Cia*). This is the best-represented of the four derivative morphemes beginning with thematic consonants, is easy to recognize, and the phonemic modifications of the bases are almost nil. Further, *-Cia* is not discontinuous, i.e., no forms are preceded by *he-*. The particle *'ia* (4.7) is by far the most common, and is not included in the following list of allomorphs and derivatives, which, like the *-Caki* and *-Ci* lists, cannot be considered complete.

-bia: *ago-bia* (B *ago-*) 'wet'; *ghughu-bia* (*ghungu-bia*) (B *ghughu* [*ngughu*] 'moldy'); *ghughu-bia*, *ghuu-bia* (Bellonese *ghungu-bia*) (B *ghuu-*) 'drunk'; *lago-bia* (B *lago* 'to criticize') 'criticized'; *ligo-bia* (B *ligo* 'to look for') 'to see'; *tauligo-bia* 'to visit' (honorific).

-gia: *tau-gia* (B *tau* 'to hit'), *toka-gia*, *to'o-gia* (B *to'o* 'to take'), *haka-tu'u-gia* (B *tu'u* 'pile')

-hia: *a'aga-hia* (R), *anga-hia*, *'igo-hia* (B *'igo-*), *ina-hia*, *kago-hia*, *saka-hia* (B *saka-*), *taa-hia*, *taka-hia* (B *taka-*), *tau-soko-hia* (B *tau-soko-*), *togo-hia* (R), *'uiga-hia*, *ugu-hia* 'possessed'

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- kia: *geba-kia* (B *geba-*), *ge-ge-kia* (B *ge-* ? cf *ge-ia*), *kaha-kia*, *oho-kia*, *poo-kia* 'to grab', *sopo-kia*, *tege-kia*
- mia: ' *agu-mia*, ' *asu-mia*, *binu-mia* (R), *ganu-mia*, *maano-mia*, *sagu-mia*, *sano-mia*, *ta'o-mia* (B *ta'o* 'to press upon')
- nia: *baghi-nia*
- ngia: ' *ata-ngia*, *iho-ngia* (poetic), *noo-ngia* (R), *peianga-ngia* (rare), *poge-ngia* 'to tremble', *tau-pogo-ngia*, *po-ngia* (B *poo* 'night', perhaps plural is *poo-ngia*), *poo'ugi-ngia*, *pou-ngia*, *saga-ngia* (B *saga* 'sickness') 'to have a headache', *sogo-ngia* (B *sogo* 'joke') 'ridiculed', *tobo-ngia* (B *tobo-*)
- sia: ' *aka-sia*, *amo-sia* (poetic), ' *au-sia* 'smoky', *bagu-sia* 'to grate', *ge'o-sia*, *gongo-sia* (B *gongo* 'to hear') 'famous', *ha'a-sia*, *hoga-sia* 'to spread, to tell', *hoki-sia*, *hugi-sia*, *huna-sia*, *ma'anu-sia*, *mahana-sia*, *manaba-sia*, *mata-sia* (R), *ma'ugi-sia*, *motu-sia*, *pe'e-sia*, *tago-sia* (R, Rennell only), *tonu-sia* (R), *unu-sia* (poetic), ' *utu-sia*
- tia: *eke-tia*, *gihu-tia* (B *gihu-*), *gika-tia*, *gima-tia* (R, B *gima* 'hand'), *baa-gongo-tia* (R), *ghagha-tia* (*ngagha-tia*), *ghughu-tia* (Bellonese *ngughu-tia*) 'moldy', *kaa-tia*, *kaia'a-tia*, *kaku-tia* (B *kaku-*), *kini-tia* (B *kini* 'to slash, hit') 'blown upon', *lau-tia*, *maha-tia* (B *maha-*), *mataku-tia*, *moge-tia* (B *moge-*), *no'a-tia*, *oko-tia*, *pigi-tia*, *pugu-tia* (B *pugu-*), *samu-tia*, *sau-tia*, *seke-tia*, *siki-tia*, *ta'ata'a-tia*, *taumaha-tia* (R), *u'a-tia* (B *u'a-*), *unga-tia*
- ∅ia: *aga-ia*, *gango-ia* (B *gango* 'fly (noun)'), *ge-ia* (B *ge-* ? cf *ge-ge-kia*), *haa-ia* 'to be chopped' (cf *ha-hai*, *ha-hai-ia*), *namu-ia* (B *namu* 'to smell')

Both transitive and passive meanings of 'ia were given in 4.7. In some environments 'ia and the allomorphs are both acceptable, with little or no change of meaning:

Te bai noko $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{binu 'ia.} \\ \text{binu-mia. (R)} \end{array} \right\}$ 'The water was drunk.'

In the transitive sense, however, only *'ia* is acceptable: *Hai kau binu 'ia te bai.* 'I must drink the water.' (**Hai kau binu-mia te bai.*)

As stated in 4.7, *'ia* is not closely bound to stems, whereas the allomorph derivatives are:

<i>Te pegea ana me'a e kaia'a goa 'ia.</i>	}	'The person whose things had often been robbed.'
<i>Te pegea ana me'a e kaia'a-tia goa.</i>		

Examples of passive meanings: *Ko au e uku ma te ago-bia te ghaasi.* 'I was diving and my glasses were wet [inside].' *Ko Tegheta na kago-hia i te hoki mai 'anga.* (T235[B]:44) 'Tegheta was punished on [his] return.' *Ko kimatou e sopo-kia!* (T190:8) 'We've been attacked!' *Kimatou e huna-sia i te 'ua.* 'We are wet in the rain.'

Examples of transitive meanings: *He'e tau me'a ke poo-kia.* 'Nothing to grab.' *Tetupu'a noo-ngia he kai.* (R) 'Tetupu'a, request food.' *Mata-sia mai toku tupuna te 'agaba.* (R) 'Oh my ancestor, show me a shark.'

The last two were used in pre-Christian rituals and are probably not used today.

Sentences have been noted of stative and *kia-t* verbs followed by the *a* subject marker: *Ungu-hia a Sau'eha.* 'Sau'eha was possessed.' *E hakamoge-tia a Moa.* 'Moa slipped.' *Gika-tia a Moa.* 'Moa is feared.'

8.11. Nominalizers (-Canga). *'Anga*, as we saw in 5.6, is a particle, but like the particle *'ia* and the suffixal *-Cia* forms, it is comparable in meaning to that of the suffixal *-Canga* forms in Table 12 in 8.7. Examples of *-Canga* follow.

-ganga: *tau-ganga* (B *tau* 'to land') 'landing place', *tu'u-ganga* (B *tu'u* 'pile, to anchor') 'group, resting place'

-hanga: *'ago-hanga* (B *a'ago* 'to paddle') 'paddling', *sao-hanga* (B *sao* 'to enter a pass') 'canoe pass', *sa'o-hanga* (B *sa'o* R) 'to make a food offering', *taka-hanga* (B *taka* 'to stay') 'footprint', *ugu-hanga* (B *ugu* 'to enter') 'house front'

-manga: *binu-manga* (B *binu* 'to drink') 'drinking party'

-nanga: *huu-nanga* (B *huu* 'to hide') 'hiding place'

-sanga: *hakaaba-sanga* (B *hakaaba* 'to steer') 'helper, assistant', *ge'o-sanga* (B *ge'o* 'to protect') 'guardian', *ha'u-sanga* (B *ha'u* 'to lash') 'lashing', *ma'anuu-sanga* (B *ma'anuu* 'to float') 'fishing grounds', *mapu-sanga* 'resting place, to rest', *okioki-sanga* 'resting place', *tagi-sanga* 'waiting', *tago-sanga* (R) 'prayer'

-tanga: *a'ata-tanga* (B *'ata* 'to shine') 'brightness', *'api-tanga* (B *'api* 'many people') 'crowd', *eke-tanga* (B *eke* 'to go on to, possess (as a medium)') 'place to sit, medium', *haka-gaa-tanga* (B *-gaa-*) 'actions', *no'a-tanga* (B *no'a* 'to tie') 'knot', *oga-tanga* (B *oga* 'to protect') 'helper', *soga-tanga* (B *soga* 'to flee') 'exile'

-nga: see below

The particle '*anga*' (5.6) differs from the bound nominalizers in five principal ways.

- (1) '*Anga* is separable from a base.

Ko Tegheta na kagohia i te hoki mai 'anga. (T235[B]:4) 'Tegheta was punished when coming back.' *Te sasanga henua 'anga noko hai e Taupongi ...* (T66:1) 'The search for land that Taupongi made ...'

(2) The meanings of base + '*anga*' are rather similar to the meanings of base + the *-Canga* suffixes but are less verb-like and many of them are nouns. Their meanings lie between those with '*anga*' and those with *-nga*, which are not always predictable from the meanings of the bases, and may indicate an agent or the result of an action. Few bases take both *-nga* and the *-Canga* suffixes. Here are some examples:

base	-nga form	'anga form
<i>hatu</i> 'to compose'	<i>haatu-nga</i> 'tune'	<i>hatu 'anga</i> 'composing'
<i>iho</i> 'to go down'	<i>iho-nga</i> 'fishing party'	<i>iho 'anga</i> 'going down'
<i>kaia'a</i> 'to steal'	<i>kaia'a-nga</i> 'stolen goods'	<i>kaia'a 'anga</i> 'stealing'
<i>ligo</i> 'to search'	<i>ligo-nga</i> 'searching party'	<i>ligo 'anga</i> 'searching'
<i>moe</i> 'sleep, to lie down'	<i>moe-nga</i> 'mat'	<i>moe 'anga</i> 'sleeping, lying down'
<i>noho</i> 'to stay, marry'	<i>noho-nga</i> 'married couple'	<i>noho 'anga</i> 'staying, home'
<i>takoto</i> 'to lie down'	<i>takoto-nga</i> 'grave, worshipped ancestor'	<i>takoto 'anga</i> 'lying down'

(3) *Te* + base + 'anga may be followed by a subject marker, as amply illustrated in 5.6. *Te* + base + -nga is not followed by a personal subject marker because such constructions are NPs. *Hano te iho-nga*. 'The fishing party went on.'

(4) Some bases unpredictably undergo V_1 reduplication before -nga; bases before 'anga and other bound allomorphs do not change: *gama* 'torch', *ga-a-ma-nga* 'torch fishermen'; *huke* 'to beat', *hu-u-ke-nga* (T231:3) 'strong wind'; *huti* 'to pull', *hu-u-ti-nga* 'fish caught on a line'; *kake* 'to climb', *ka-a-ke-nga* (T21:5) 'steps'; *kata* 'to laugh', *ka-a-ta-nga* (T13:7) 'laughter'; *kau-* 'to swim', *ka-a-u-nga* 'swimming (as in a race)'; *mako* 'dance', *ma-a-ko-nga* 'dance, song, dancer'; *mata* 'to see', *ma-a-ta-nga* (T71:3) 'view, visitor'; *mate* 'to die', *ma-a-te-nga* 'death'; *pau* 'to decide', *pa-a-u-nga* 'characteristic'; *tohi* 'to hew', *to-o-hi-nga* 'garden composed of several parts'; *tuha* 'to divide', *tu-u-ha-nga* 'share'.

However, long vowels in a few bases become short before -nga: *haanau* 'children', *hanau-nga* 'birthplace'; *taa* 'to kill, strike', *ta-'i-nga* 'killing'.

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Other bases do not change: *bage* 'to joke', *ba-bage-nga* 'game, joke'; *hegeu* 'to speak', *hegeu-nga* 'speech'; *seu* 'to throw', *ma-seu-nga* 'disbursers'; *utu* 'to gather food', *utu-nga* 'food'.

(5) *-Nga* is a clitic and is pronounced as part of a preceding base: *bego*, *begonga* 'fish spearing', *masi'inga* 'friend', *kaia'anga* 'stolen goods'. 'Anga, of course, and the suffixes, are separate stress groups. Cf 2.3.

Summary of the role of *gh-* and *l-* bases taking thematic consonants:

-Caki (8.8). The 'aki suffixes are productive and were not listed with the others. The following were noted in the Dictionary with *gh* and *l*. The bases are numbered and listed alphabetically, followed by derivatives.

he-	{	(1) <i>ghagho</i> (<i>ngagho</i>) <i>ghaghoghagho</i> (<i>ngaghongagho</i>)	}	-'aki
		(2) <i>ghaugha</i>		
		(3) <i>ghaughau</i> <i>baa-ghaughau</i>		
		(4) <i>ghigho</i> (<i>ngigho</i>)		
		(5) <i>ghogha</i> (<i>ngogha</i>) <i>bee-gohogha</i> (<i>ngogha</i>)		
		(6) <i>ghoghogho</i> (<i>ghoghongo</i>) <i>haka-ghoghogho</i> (<i>ghoghongo</i>)		

he-	{	(1) <i>lango</i>	}	-aki
		<i>langolango</i>		
		(2) <i>ligo: baa-ligo</i>		
		(3) <i>loghona</i>		
		(4) <i>loghoni</i>		
		(5) <i>lokuloku</i>		
		<i>loloku</i>		
(6) <i>lologi</i>				
(7) <i>baa-lualuaghaghi</i>				

ghaghi (*ngaghi*)

ghali -*taki*

ghebu

ghaghi (*ngaghi*) -*tataki*

ghaghighaghi (*ngaghighaghi*) -*taki-aki*

ghali -*aki*

-*Ci* (8.9)

ghagho (*ghango*) -*ni*

taa-ghigho- -*i*

loko

-*Cia* (8.10) -*Bia* is a foreign suffix, and all bases taking -*bia* are probably non-Polynesian, including '*ago-bia*'.

ghagha (*ngagha*) -*tia*

ghughu (*ngughu*)

he-

baghi -*nia*

No bases taking -*Canga* (8.11) contained *gh* or *l*, except that '*anga* is probably productive.

Conclusion: bases containing *gh* and *l* take fewer of these suffixes than other bases.

8.12. Other post-base suffixes.

8.12.1. Grammatical suffixes.

8.12.1.1. *-Na*, perfective. Here again it is difficult to select a label. In the Dictionary *-na* is termed a variant of '*ia*, called goal focus in this grammar. Churchward calls Tongan *-na* a "suffix forming trans[itive] verbs". Carroll (1973:221) calls it an allomorph of *-a* "more profitably considered 'transitivizing' than 'passive'". Milner calls Samoan *-na* perfective along with *ia* and its alternants, and that is what I am calling it. Rennell has *kai*, *kai-na*; Tongan *kai*, *kei-na*; Nukuoro *gai*, *gai-na*; and Samoan '*ai*, '*ai-na*. Glosses include 'to eat', 'to eat up', 'edible'. *-Na* is in close transition with its base. Some common examples:

angi, *angina* 'to blow'. *Teenei te kunga he'e angina*. (T188:7) 'This is the place that is not wind-swept.'

giaki, *giakina* 'to be washed ashore'. *Kaoe giakina Matagiki e*. (poetic, T223:1) 'Kaoe (?) sea-washed Pleiades.'

gongo, *gonona* 'to hear'. *He'e gogona ...* (T93:5) 'Did not hear ...'

kaha, *kahakina* 'to be excited'

kai, *kaina* 'to eat'. *Na kaina te kege*. (D, poetic) 'The soil is eaten.'

logho, *loghona* 'to meet'. *Ko au e a'u e loghona mai kia Moa*. (D, honor) 'I have come and met Mr. Moa.'

ngaagona 'to be annoyed, sick' B *ngago* 'weary'. *E logha tamagiki o ngaagona ai au*. (D) 'The children are noisy and so I'm bothered.'

oko'akina (19.2 V147) 'to be complete, as an offering' B *oko*. Cf *oki'akiina* in 8.12.1.6.

soana 'to accompany' B *soa* 'companion'.

sogona 'to arrive in lagoon' B *sogo*. ... *teegaa ana tahoga'a e sogona i Buge ...* (T100:7) '... his other whale had been beached at Buge ...'

taku, takuna 'to pray'. *Ngo takuna ngua 'aitu.* (poetic, T219:6)
'[I] will pray [to the] two gods.'

togona 'to beat (as sounding board)' B ?

The following additional examples of *-na* were noted in Monberg's collection of Bellonese rituals. They all seem to be transitive. Those in the Dictionary are labeled D. They are in Bellonese spelling, but the bases are in Rennellese.

hakangongona (17.2 V17) 'to listen' (D) B *gongo*

matangina (19.2 V146) 'to wait' B *tagi*

nguukuna (19.2 V220) 'to bring as food' B *guku* 'to get food'

sa'akina (16.2 V18) 'to beg mercy' (D) B *sa'aki* 'to request mercy'

sake'akina (Kano 148) 'to consecrate' B *sakeaki* 'to sacrilize'
(The glottal stop or its absence may be an error.)

saumakina (19.2 V219) 'to perform (as a *hakauu* ritual for a loincloth)'

tangina (17.2 V65) 'to provide food' (D) B *tagi* 'to bring food'

tapakina (19.2 V191) 'to invoke' (D) B *tapa* 'to name'

ti'akina (18.2 V77) 'to leave' (D) B *ti'aki* 'to leave'

'ukuna (19.2 V84) 'to drive away' B *'uku*

usu'akina (18.2 V123) 'to go' (D) B *usu'aki* 'to go or come'

8.12.1.2. *-A* and *-ina*. The order of presentation here is goal-focus *-a₁*, multiplicative *-a₂* and *-ina*, multiplicative *-a₃* but not *-ina*, multiplicative *-ina* but not *-a₃*. None of the lists are exhaustive, especially those for *-a₁*. *-A* is in close transition with its base; *-ina* in open transition.

8.12.1.3. *-A₁*, goal focus. Both *-a* and *-ina* seem close semantically to *-Cia* (8.10). Bases for these common suffixes are used with all types of verbs, as (on the lists to follow) *kite-a* (*ia-t*), *taku-a* (*ki-t*), *kaabe-a* (motion), and *goohi-a* (stative). Many bases taking *-a₁* are concerned with pre-Christian rituals

and worship and usually were not known in the 1970s to persons under forty.

'*amuti-a* 'to wish' B '*aamuti* 'to praise' '*Amutia kitaa bilaabei!*
'Would that we could meet!'

ase-a 'to put, place' ... *kae asea ake te taina* ... (T34[B]:2)
'... and the younger brother came up out [of the Tridacna shell]
...'

baabe-a 'fast' B *babe*. *Te hua 'anga na baabea i Ngabenga.*
(18.2 V11) 'The sacred name [is called] immediately at
Ngabenga.' (Ngabenga was the extremely sacred spot on Bellona
where Moa, bringing Christianity, destroyed the two stone gods
that Kaitu'u had brought from 'Ubea (T235[B]:40).)

giu-a 'to worship'

goohi-a 'cold' B *gohi*

guuku-a 'to bring food from the bush' B *guku*

hatutigi-a 'to be much thunder' (thunder was thought to bring
storms)

hongau-a 'sailed' ... *baka mei hongaua* ... (19.2 V74) '...
canoe that sailed ...'

huuke-a B *huki* 'to open, blow' *Huukea kinai te tango o Tou-Tapu-*
Ngao ... (19.2 V84) 'Deliver us from the punishment of the
Sole-Of-Your-Foot ...'

kaabe-a 'to go with' B *kakabe*

kaake-a 'to climb' B *kake*. *Te ogo e he'e kaake-a.* (D) 'The
mountain is not climbed.'

kanu-a 'to be tattooed'

kape-a 'to be chipped out' *Ou ba'e na tootonu na tapua na kape-*
a. (poetic) 'Your legs straight [as] chipped-out arrow
centers.'

kese-a 'away' B *kesekese* 'different' *Hua mai, hua ngeba, toku maki kua ngo taka kесеa.* (19.2 V161) 'Sing here, sing the ngeba, my disease will stay away.' For *kua ngo* for the future see 4.2.4.3.

keu-a 'to turn'

kite-a 'to be seen'. ... *he'e kite-a e koe?* (T20:4) '... not seen by you?'

labu-a 'to be caught'

lau-a 'to be eaten by longicorn beetles'

looku-a 'to bend' B *loku.* *Te ga'a me'a tau ai na peka kua looku-a.* (D) 'The branch on which flying foxes rest is bent over.'

moogi-a 'perfect' B *mogi.* *He'e na ngiunga kee moongi-a ai tou kainanga.* (15.2 V24) 'Imperfect offerings by your subject.' (demeaning of ego)

mosomoso-a 'cooked' *Ngaakia tou kaba e mosomoso.* (16.2 V82) 'Your cooked *kaba* offerings are delivered.'

naamu-a 'bad smelling' (usually after *he'e*) B *namu*

nuughu-a 'to die' B *nughu.* *Ko Mugaba e nuughu-a i te sa'osanga.* (D) 'Many Rennellese have died in the epidemic.'

nuumi-a 'crushed (as by disease)' B *numi.* *Au nuumi-a pu'aki ake.* (poetic D) 'You lie curled up sweet-smelling.'

ogiogi-a B *ogiogi* 'to worship'

piiki-a 'to be told' B *piki.* *Piikia ki ou 'inati ...* (16.2 V134) 'Your offerings are remembered ...'

puge-a 'to plan'

sauni-a 'to pray repeatedly' ... *saunia te moana e so'a.* (16.2 V128) '... praying to the sea so wild.'

hakasiku-a 'to form a tail (as on a turban)' (20.2 V84) B *siku* 'end'

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tahi-a 'swept' *Ku tahiā tou noho 'anga.* 'Your resting place has been swept.' (Addressed to the grave of a worshipped ancestor.)

taku-a 'to pray' *E takua, kae hakasao te mango.* (17.2 V1) '[It] has been prayed and the loincloth is not contaminated.'

tutututu-a 'dotted, spotted' *B tutu* 'scars from burning treatment'

'utu-a 'to fill with a liquid'

8.12.1.4. Multiplicative *-a₂* and *-ina*. Multiplicative bases are nearly always nouns. In the list to follow, twelve are items definitely feared or despised, five are liked, and four are tolerated.

'agito-a, *'agito-ina* 'to be many fireflies'. (See T172; they were believed to be the embodiment of a powerful goddess, and one might not kill them.)

ago-a, *ago-ina* 'to be many land crabs' (once but no longer eaten)

ahato-a, *ahato-ina* 'longicorn larva' (considered a delicacy)

ane-a, *ane-ina* 'to be many white grubs' (not eaten)

gase-a, *gase-ina* 'to be much branching coral'

ghape-a, *ghape-ina* 'to be many *ghape* vines' (edible leaves)

hatuhatu-a, *hatuhatu-ina* 'stony'

hetu'u-a, *hetu'u-ina* 'to be many stars' (they sometimes brought winds and storms)

kagisi-a, *kagisi-ina* 'to be many skins' (not eaten, believed embodiments of *'apai* supernaturals)

kaho-a, *kaho-ina* 'to have many jaws'

kape-a, *kape-ina* 'to be many giant taros' (eaten)

kati-a, *kati-ina* 'to be many *kati* ants' (they bite)

kutu-a, *kutu-ina* 'lousy'

Multiplicative -Ina But Not -A₃ 8.12.1.6.

ligho-a, *ligho-ina* 'graybird'; in T174 the goddess Baabenga took this shape and poisoned a *ga'ea* fish and some people died.

manu-a, *manu-ina* 'eaten by fauna, infected'

namu-a, *namu-ina* 'to be plagued by mosquitos'

sasabe-a, *sasabe-ina* 'to be many flying fish'

soe-a, *soe-ina* 'to have many sores' (< English?)

ta'e-a 'sad, miserable', *ta'e-ina* 'smeared with dung'

too-a, *to'o-ina* 'bring, take' *To'oa te kaba a te makapuu ...* (16.2 V47) 'Bring the *kaba* offering of your grandson ...' ...
to'oina ai te angatonu ... (15.2 V3) '... the pabulum is taken from it ...'

upo-a, *upo-a-ina* 'to be many eels'

Note that none of these bases end in *a*.

8.12.1.5. Multiplicative -a₃ but not -ina. Only two examples have been found of this suffix.

kagae-a 'the many swamp hens'; they are disliked because they allegedly steal taro.

polo-a 'to be or have many coconuts'

8.12.1.6. Multiplicative -ina but not -a₃.

'agoha-ina 'to be blessed, fortunate, pitied'

'ao-ina 'cloudy, to dawn' *Ko au e he'e ao-ina*. 'I won't see the dawn.' (I will die before dawn.)

'atua-ina 'ghost-ridden'

balebale-ina 'many *balebale* eels'

ga'aa-ina 'sunny, exposed to the sun, sick from such exposure'.
E ga'aa-ina te mouku o boeboe ko ba'i me'a. 'The forest is sun-baked and everything is drying up.'

ga'a-ina 'many-branched'

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ga'akau-ina 'densely forested'

gango-ina 'many flies, bothered by flies' Also *gango-ia*

gasi-ina 'much electricity or gas, brilliantly lighted with electricity' (< English *gas*)

gimu-ina 'much seaweed (*gimu*)'

goo-ina 'to be covered with ants' ... *ma te goo-ina te tino* ...
(T31[A]:8) '... and the body was covered with ants ...'

hage-ina 'to be or have many houses'

hoga-ina 'to be many *hoga* eels'

hokai-ina 'to be many monitor lizards'

ho'opahua-ina (20.2 V9)

huahua-ina 'to be pimpled'

huti-ina 'to be many bananas' (an important food)

ibi-ina, ibiibi-ina 'boney, skinny'

kaluba-ina 'to have yaws on soles of feet; to be inferior (as insect-eaten coconuts)

kanokano-ina 'to be beset by wasps'

kau-ina 'to be many fish'

kohe-ina 'to be many bamboos'

ligobai-ina 'graybird'; often embodied by the two stone gods, its night cries were a portent of evil.

magalu-ina 'to be many *magalu* frigate birds'

moko-ina 'to be many geckos'

niu-ina 'to be or have many coconut palms'

ngagu-ina 'to be many waves'

Multiplicative -Ina But Not -A₃ 8.12.1.6.

oko'aki-ina 'promised' *To'ao te kaba ... oko'aki-ina mai ...*
(16.2 V47) 'Bring the *kaba* offering ... promised ...' Cf
oko'akina in 8.12.1.1.

oko-ina 'to be windy'

pao-ina 'to have a skin disease, perhaps *tinea*'

peka-ina 'to be or have many flying foxes'

pekapeka-ina 'to be many swiftlets'

penu-ina 'to be rubbish-strewn'

pua-ina 'to be many betel trees or nuts'

puuninga-ina 'to be entangled or overgrown' B *puni*

sa'osanga-ina 'to have an epidemic'

titiko-ina 'to be defecated on (as by a gecko on the ceiling)'

tokitoki-ina 'to be or have dogs' (<English)

tuna-ina 'to be many *tuna* eels'

'ua-ina 'to be rain-soaked'

'ugubeeluna-ina 'to be many large banded sea snakes'

'uhi-ina 'to be many yams'

'unga-ina 'to be many hermit crabs'

8.12.1.7. Semantic categories of *-a* and *-ina*.

Table 13

Semantic categories of <i>-a</i> and <i>-ina</i>			
	<i>-a</i> and <i>-ina</i>	<i>-ina</i> only	percentages
fauna	13	16	46.8
nature	2	8	16.0
flora	2	8	16.0
disease	2	4	9.7
miscellaneous	2	5	11.3
Total	21	41	99.8
Relative popularity			
	<i>-a</i> and <i>-ina</i>	<i>-ina</i> only	percentages
items feared or despised	12	23	56.1
items appreciated	5	11	39.0
items tolerated	3	2	4.9
Total	20	36	100.0

Admitting that many of the hatreds, popularities, and tolerances may be subjective, it may be a surprise to many that names of fauna are almost as numerous as the names of the other categories combined, especially in view of the rich flora and the paucity, at least, of mammals, and the fact that the Rennellese and Bellonese are expert gardeners. The second list shows that more than 50 percent of the items taking these suffixes are either feared or despised. Dangerous animals include fireflies and graybirds because harmful gods embodied themselves in them the better to prey on human beings. All manner of snakes and lizards were considered too hideous for human consumption, and besides, the Melanesians were believed to feast on them. (Kuschel [1975:39] suggests that the taboos on eating such things were psychological rather than religious.) Plants, according to Monberg (1966:38) were connected with only two gods, and this may explain the lack of hated plants. Stars were feared as bringers of storms, and stones were inconvenient to farmers, as were the noxious insects, strong winds, and heavy heavy rains. The number of names for diseases in the lists indicate that disease was common and dreaded.

8.12.1.8. -A and -aa. These suffixes link some nouns ending in *a* with a qualifier. They are in close transition to the nouns.

hua-a mako 'kind of dance and song' B *hua* 'song'

mala-a bae 'bae vine thicket' B *mala* 'thicket, grove'

mata-a 'aa 'fence opening, gate' B *mata* 'aperture'

matu'a-a huna 'front flap and tail of loincloth' B ?

mu'a-a ba'e 'end of toes, tip of foot' B *mu'a* 'front'

poga-a peka 'old and small flying fox' B *poga* 'old'

pona-a ga'akau 'knot in wood' B *pona* 'knot'

taga-a hage 'house end' B *tagaa*

taha-a bai 'beside water' B *taha* 'side'

tanga-a ghasi 'glasses container' B *tanga* 'container'

tu'a-a gima 'back of hand' B *tu'a* 'back'

8.12.2.1. DERIVATIVES

On Bellona, nouns with anatomical meanings ending in vowels other than *a* may take *aa*, which is of course in open transition.

lango-aa ngima 'fingernail' (Rennellese *lango gima*)

mungi-aa ba'e 'heel' (Rennellese *mugi ba'e*)

Words taking *-a* or *-aa* are entered as follows in the Dictionary:

pua, *puaa* + *qual* '... bud, flower ...'

puaa mamiapu 'papaya bud or flower'

8.12.2. Lexical suffixes.

8.12.2.1. *-A'a*, *-sa'a* 'unpleasant, wretched'.

bao-a'a 'deep forest' B *bao* 'forest'

goto-a'a 'hostile' B *goto* 'thought, to want'

honu-a'a 'too full (of liquid), very high tide' B *honu* 'full of liquid'

hugi-a'a 'to turn aside (as in disgust)' B *hugi* 'to turn'

masaki-a'a 'scamp' (demeaning reference to ego in rituals and greetings) B *masaki* 'sick person'

namu-a'a 'to stink' B *namu* 'to smell'

tai-a'a 'rough sea' B *tai* 'sea'

to'eto'e-a'a 'to take a long time' B *to'eto'e* 'to take a long time'

-A'a contracts to *-a* after a base ending in *a*: *mea-a* 'to redden (as an exposed corpse)' B *mea* 'red'; *toka-a* 'to suffer' B *toka* 'well'; *ua-a* 'to storm' B *ua* 'rain'.

Some words in *-a'a* with pejorative connotations are indivisible:

gaoa'a 'rocky, rubbish-piled, boney'

gonga'a 'to dislike to hear'

hua'a 'rat, rat infested' (used demeaningly with reference to one's home in rituals and greetings)

kaia'a 'to steal'

magoa'a 'too hot'

nukunukua'a 'scalp; ugly, disgusting'

taginga'a 'to have holes'

tia'a 'to be blindingly white'

tupua'a 'to worry'

-*Sa'a* is a variant of -*a'a*; the two come from a PPN doublet -*ha'a* and -*sa'a*; cf Tongan *kaiha'a* 'to steal' and Samoan *posa'a* 'dark'.

Divisible Rennellese examples: *ngakosa'a* 'feces' B *ngako* 'grease', *posa'a*, *pongisa'a* 'dark' B *poo* 'night'.

Indivisible examples: *ngaangaasa'a* 'demon-infested', *soosa'a* 'noisy', *u'asa'a* 'to stink'.

8.12.2.2. -Ea, pejorative.

*kona-*ea** 'poisoned' B *kona* 'salty, bitter'

*liba-*ea** 'tired of eating the same food' B *liba* 'short of food'

*maga-*ea** 'irritated by bitterness' B *maga* 'bitter'

*soka-*ea** 'to penetrate (as a spear)' B *soka* 'to hit, punch'

Probably indivisible: *saba*ea** 'revolted', *taga*ea** 'pricked' (cf PPN *tala* 'sharp-pointed instrument').

8.12.2.3. -Lobo 'to try'.

*hakaaba-*lobo** '*ia* 'to try to explain' B *aba* 'to explain'

*binu-*lobo** 'to taste a drink' B *binu* 'to drink'

*hai-*lobo** 'to try' B *hai* 'to make, do, say'

kai-lobo 'to taste' B *kai* 'to eat'

kaia'a-lobo 'to try to steal' B *kaia'a* 'to steal'

8.12.2.4. -Ngaohie and -ngata'a. These two suffixes mean 'easy, fast' and 'difficult, slow' and often occur with the same base (-a'a in -ngata'a may be the pejorative suffix previously described).

'ao-ngaohie 'to dawn quickly', 'ao-ngata'a 'to dawn slowly' B 'ao 'dawn'

hai-ngaohie 'easy', *hai-ngata'a* 'difficult' B *hai* 'to make, do, say'

poo-ngaohie 'to become night quickly', *poo-ngata'a* 'to become night slowly' B *poo* 'night'

tau'i-ngaohie 'cheap', *tau'i-ngata'a* 'expensive' bases *tau* 'to count' and *tau'i* 'to buy, sell'

hakatootonu-ngaohie 'easy to explain', *hakatootonu-ngata'a* 'difficult to explain' B *hakatootonu* 'to explain'

After some bases, only one of the pair occurs: *gogomi-ngaohie* 'to insert easily' (B *gogomi* 'to insert'), *mate-ngata'a* 'difficult to kill or say' (B *mate* 'to kill, say').

9. CONJUNCTIONS

9.1. General. Thus far, some of the sentences introduced contain single clauses -- that is, sequences followed by falling intonation or rising intonation. Many sentences are more complex, containing suspension or sustained junctures characterized by slight pauses preceded by rising pitch level, as *noko hano, o noho* '[he] went and stayed'. In this sentence, the second clause begins with the common coordinating conjunction *o*. Conjunctions are particles that connect coordinate clauses, as in the example just given, or that introduce a subordinate clause:

Namaa ako gaai te tisa, ka go hu'ai -sabe tena kalasi.

when teach good art teacher fut intens/-know 3p class
sg sp big a sg

'When the teacher teaches well, the class will know a lot.'
(Note the three loan words, *tisa*, *-sabe*, *kalasi*.)

Lyons (1969:178) writes that subordinate clauses, in contrast to coordinate clauses, are grammatically dependent. Coordinating conjunctions in English include 'and, but, ...' Subordinate conjunctions in English include 'if, when, ...'

Of course there may be many clauses in a sentence. Sentences 5 (4.9.3) and 10 (4.9.6) each contain three coordinate clauses.

The coordinate conjunctions are described in 9.2, the subordinate ones in 9.3. They may be summarized as follows:

Coordinate conjunctions: *ma* 'and', *aano* 'and then', *ka* 'and, but', *kae* 'and', *o* 'and ...', *kite* 'and then'.

Subordinate conjunctions: *'ai* 'and, but, because', *namaa/nimaa* 'when', *ioo* 'when', *po* 'or, if', *mano* 'maybe', *na'e* 'lest, or', *masi'igoo* 'even though', *haaginga gaa* 'even though', *nahenua* 'after a time', *gai gaa*, intensifier, *aina'ia* = *'ai*.

9.2. Coordinate conjunctions. Most coordinate conjunctions may be translated 'and'.

9.2.1. *Ma* 'and'. This common conjunction nearly always is at the beginning of a sentence or clause and is usually followed by the punctual verb marker *te*: *Ma te a'u te pegea*. 'The person

came.' The conjunction *ma* is not to be confused with the comitative preposition *ma*. Both occur in sentence 2 in 4.9.1.

9.2.2. *Aano* 'and then'.

Aano nimaa 'oti i te 'autao e Tehainga-'atua suki

and when finish caus art hurl subj Tehainga-'atua pierce
then sg sp spear

ta'ana ia tana haanau o ngenge. (T14:2)

3p a sg obj 3p child rslt fly
redup a sg

'And when Tehainga'atua had finished hurling spears, one of his hit his [own] child, and [Tangagoa] flew off [with it].' (Note that *aano* introduces the entire sentence with its one subordinate and two coordinate clauses.)

Aano kubikubi e ia, manga toto; aano 'oso hoki atu o

and pinch subj 3p just blood and take also/ direct rslt
then sg then again thither

kubikubi, manga toto. (T2[C]:3)

pinch just blood

'Then [she] pinched [the birds and they] were bleeding; then [she] took [them] out and again pinched, just bleeding.'

Aano also indicates the passage of time.

Just as common is *aano* in the next-to-the-last slot in verb phrases (4.8).

For other complicated sentences beginning with *aano*, see T31[A]:4 and 12.

9.2.3. *Ka* 'and, but' and *kae* 'and'. Although both *ka* and *kae* gloss as 'and', the distributions are somewhat different. *Ka* rarely directly precedes verbs, whereas *kae* does: ... *kae hano ki te tai* ... '... and went to the sea ...' Here is an exception with *ka* directly before a verb: *Ko au kua ina i ba'i*

me'a, ka toe te kanohi o te moana. (T185[B]:3) 'I've seen everything, but the dangerous fish of the sea remain.'

Ka frequently precedes the topic marker *ko*, as in A6[A]:4,5 we have *ka ko koe ... ka ko au ... ka ko au*. *Kae*, on the other hand, rarely precedes *ko* or *kau*, as does *ka*: ... *ka kau noko 'utu 'ia tou bai ...* (T50[B]:11) '... and I will continually fill your water bottle ...' However, *Kae ko au* occurs twice in A53[A]:8.

Could *kae* be a combination of *ka* + *e*, the general verb marker? E, it is true, usually directly precedes verbs, but is not often followed by tense and aspect markers, as are both *ka* and *kae* below.

In the following sequences, examples with both *ka* and *kae* occur, unless one of the two has not been noted:

Ka noko mataahai te toginga a Mautikitiki ... (T34[B]:7) 'For formerly Mautikitiki had made the promise ...' *Kae noko bilaabei ...* 'And had met ...'

Ka na 'ika'ika ai a Mautikitiki ... (T48) 'And so Mautikitiki became angry ...'

Ka ka hakahua e na tongahiti ... (T235[A]:13) 'And foreigners will rule ...'

'*Agi, e 'eha utunga ka te he'e tau pegea e kai 'aabaki ai.* (T196:7) 'My, so much food, but no people to help eat it.'

Namaa 'oti te 'ao, ka kua ahiahi ... (T193:2) 'When daylight was over, and evening was [here] ...' *Kae ku hoki ake te kamisi ...* 'And the skink returned ...'

Hoki iho te hahine, ka maa taka te hiti. (T85:3) 'The woman went back down, and the *hiti* waited a bit.' ... *namaa 'oti kae maa noho tsegaa pa'asi ...* (T176:3) '... and afterwards and one part remained ...'

Kae manga hiina'i kinai te kunga ... 'And the people of the place just watched it ...'

Kae ke ghaghia mo'oku he anga ... (T185[B]:9) 'And clear for me a path ...'

9.2.5. CONJUNCTIONS

Ka teenei ta'aku na'anga te kongoa o te tuu ... (A22:7) 'And this what I know about the ground dove's loincloth ...'

... *kae teenei te pengea e ina taha'aki kinai ko Te'aaunga.* (A44:4) '... but this Te'aaunga was the last person to see it.'

... *ka koi he'e kite kigatou te bai ...* (T161:3) '... but they had not seen the pool yet ...'

... *ka he'e na'a gaai e au ...* (T162:2) '... but I don't know exactly ...'

Kae nimaa 'ua, manga tobango atu i te au ... (A5[A]:4) 'And when it rains, cut me to pieces ...'

9.2.4. *O* 'resulting, and, and then, in order to' (rslt). One of the most common particles in the language (along with the article *te* and the general verb marker *e*), *o* commonly precedes verbs directly (thirty times in thirty lines in T33:1-7). In T120, however, *o* precedes the past tense marker *noko*, occurring in the left-most position before verbs (Table 4 in 4.2.1): *Ma te tu'u ki gua baasia lagi ga'akau, o noko maa tuge moe ...* '[He] stood between two tree buttresses and for the moment dozed ...' In T110:9, *o* precedes *poi* 'almost': ... *o masaki ai, o poi ngago.* '... and sickened from it and almost died.'

A'u o kai. 'Come and eat.'

Successive verbs may be separated by *o*: *Boo mai o sobi a gaaua, o gaga, o ngau.* (T78:2) 'The two came and cut down [some vines] and smoke dried [them] and chewed [them].'

In calculations *o* precedes the result of an arithmetical calculation: ... *kae ngangaha e ia o kumi ...* (T100:6) '... he measured [the beached whale] resulting in ten fathoms ...' *Tokagua ma te tokagua, hakatahi'aki o haa.* 'Two animates and two together is four.'

For more examples, see sentences 3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 16, in 4.9.

9.2.5. *Kite* 'and then'. This rather rare conjunction is not the same as the verb *kite* 'to see' or the preposition *ki* + the article *te*; nor is it the same as the "equi rule" *ki te* described by Chung (106f) since the subject is not deleted. Examples follow; in some of them *kite* seems to imply purpose.

Noko manga unga e Tehainga'atua kia Mahuiki ... kite 'oi'oi

past just/ tell subj Tehainga'atua to Mahuiki and shake
only only then

na henua, kite he'e na'a a Tehu'aigabenga ... (T21:12)

art land and neg know subj Tehu'aigabenga
pl sp then

'Tehainga'atua told Mahuiki ... to shake the lands, so that Tehu'aigabenga would not know ...' (The subject markers seem reversed in this sentence.)

... noko kite ki na tama'auge, kite 'agu'agu. '... [he] saw the ghosts and then chased [them].'

Noko tangi i te moana ... kite manga sogi ai a pegea. (T8:5)
'[The bird] cried on the sea ... and people worshipped it.'

9.3. Subordinate conjunctions.

9.3.1. 'Ai 'and, so, but, because'. The conjunction 'ai may be related to the exclamation 'ai (Section 11), as surprise or indignation may be present, and both occur at the start of sentences or clauses. The conjunction introduces both noun phrases and verb phrases.

'Ai te mi'ipegea ka maa hai te hu'aige'o! (T211:4) 'So a little person but [he] has a big voice!' (insulting taunt before a fight with clubs)

'Ai ko koe ko 'ango ngua? (T55:3) 'But you have two fronts?' (The speaker is talking to a turtle.)

'Ai nimaa he'e hakakite e koe ma te taa e kimatou ia te koe! (T55:10) 'And if you don't show [us], we will kill you!'

Ko au e a'u i te hage nei, 'ai kua boo. 'I came from this house, but [the people] had gone.'

Hinatu o a'asi i totatou hage 'ai kitai kaia'atia he me'a. (D)
'Go and inspect our house because something might be stolen.'

Noka te singatu'u ia Moa 'ai te 'abanga. (D) 'Don't travel to get Moa as a husband because there's a wife.'

9.3.2. *Namaa/nimaa* 'when'. Present, past, and future times are expressed by this common conjunction, which precedes both noun phrases and verb phrases. *Namaa* is common on Rennell, *nimaa* on Bellona.

Nimaa ako ngaoi te tisa, ka ngo hu'aisabe tena kalasi. 'When the teacher teaches well, his class will know a lot.'

... *namaa te tasi ghapu i te 1910, hetae mai ai te hakataupapa*
... (T235[A]:8) '... when a certain season in 1910 [came], the ship arrived here ...'

Kae nimaa 'oti te hekau ... 'And when the work is finished...'

In the last sentence *nimaa* follows the conjunction *kae*, and in subsection 9.2.2, it follows the conjunction *aano*.

In the examples above, *namaa/nimaa* is followed directly by a verb (without intervening markers), by the article *te* and a noun, and after the conjunction *kae*.

9.3.3. *Ioo* 'when' (usually in near future). *Ioo*, less common than *namaa/nimaa*, is used most often in short procrastinating phrase-sentences: *Ioo mugi* 'later', *Ioo he 'aso* 'on another day, some other day', *Ioo ni 'aso* 'on other days', *Ioo mani boo* 'go later', *Ioo mani hai* 'do later'.

Ioo occurs as present and past as follows (both examples are perhaps of historical presents): ... *ioo i te haanau a Teika'ungua.* (Canoes, p.173) '... until [the time of] the children of Teika'ungua.' *Ioo noho ai o giu ai gu ana 'aitu* ... (T67:38) 'Staying there and worshipping there his two gods ...'

9.3.4. *Po* interrogative, 'or'. *Po* introduces questions in simple (one-clause) sentences or in subordinate clauses. It sometimes cannot be translated and other times may be glossed 'or'; it usually expresses doubt.

Po ko ai? 'Who in the world?'

... *toobasi'a te hahine po ko ai ke tata'o ai.* (T130:2) '... the woman hesitated whom to follow.'

Te hai hekau po te he'e hai hekau? 'To work or not to work?'

He'e na'a e au po noko hia. 'I don't know how many there were.'

An allomorph, *poo*, occurs rarely, as a verb, probably with a long vowel because verbs are always stressed: *He'e poo ko gu aku tama?* (T1[C]:4) 'Not my two sons?'

Po ... poi (conditional, 4.2.5.4) may in some contexts be translated 'whether ... or'. *He'e na'a po kuu moe, po he'e moe.* 'Not known whether [he] has gone to sleep, or is not sleeping.'

9.3.5. *Mano* 'maybe, suppose'. *Mano* usually introduces a verb phrase, and occasionally a noun phrase.

Mano e 'aonga. (T21:9) 'Maybe [he] is capable.'

Mano kitai go a'u. 'Perhaps [he] may come.'

Ke boo kinai, mano he tahoga'a. (T224:3) 'Let's go there, maybe [it's] a whale.'

Mano rarely functions as an *i(a)*-t verb 'to suppose': *E mano e au ko Moa ka go a'u.* 'I suppose Moa will come.'

Occasionally *mano* functions as a sentence-word 'Maybe'.

9.3.6. *Na'e* 'lest, or, because'. *Na'e* + verb introduces subordinate clauses; occasionally it precedes noun phrases, especially those beginning with the topic marker *ko*.

Noka te 'oso ki te kibaa, na'e kitai tua tou gima. 'Don't grab the knife, lest your hand be cut.' (*Kiba* receives the definitive accent.)

Noka te kake na'e ko koe ka go too iho. 'Don't climb or you may fall down.'

To'ake ke kai, na'e kua hu'aigegeu. 'Take [them] to eat because of being very ripe.'

Also T2[C]:4, T31[A]:12, T60:3.

9.3.7. *Masi'igoa* 'even though'. *Masi'igoa ko au e masaki, hai kau hano.* (D) 'Even though I'm sick, I'll have to go.'

9.3.8. *Haaginga gaa* 'even though'. *Haaginga gaa* usually follows a terminal juncture.

Haaginga gaa a Moa kua migi ai au ... (D) 'Even though I've been fighting Moa ...'

Haaginga gaa o anaahi na 'ua, kae teenei te 'aso ka he'e 'ua. 'Even though there was rain yesterday, this is a day without rain.'

Haaginga gaa au hai aano giu. (T188:5) 'Even though I had then to come back.'

9.3.9. *Nahenua* 'after a time'.

Nahenua hai boo, ko au ku ina ki Tegano. 'After much time had passed, I saw the Lake.'

Nahenua ... hai kau go hoki. 'Finally ... I'll go back.'

9.3.10. *Gai gaa*, intensifier. This highly idiomatic conjunction is followed by a pronoun, possessive, or negative (*te he'e, te nga'a*). It is so rare that it was not discovered until after the preparation of the Dictionary.

Gai gaa koe te he'e hu'u. 'You are not at all stupid.'

Gai gaa koe te 'igo'igo. Gai gaa koe te nga'a te 'igo'igo. 'You are very smart. You are not at all smart.'

Gai gaa o'ou te 'igo'igo. 'You are very smart.'

Gai gaa koutou te nga'a te 'agogoha. 'You have no pity.'

Gai gaa contracts with *au* 'I': *Gai gau te nga'a te hai toku pegea.* 'I have no relatives at all.'

9.3.11. 'Aina'ia = 'ai 'and, but'.

Tegeu'a ake kitatou ka 'ua, 'aina'ia ka he'e 'ua. (D) 'We thought it would rain, but there was no rain.'

10. SENTENCES

This section concentrates on the order of elements in sentences, the combining of simple sentences into longer complex sentences containing two or more clauses, and equational (verbless) sentences.

10.1. Possible orders of Subject (S), Verb (V), and Object (O).

Rennellese-Bellonese has three and perhaps four of the six possible orders noted by Greenberg (1963:61) as occurring in the forty languages (including Maori) he analyzed in his classic study of universals:

VSO: [*Noko kai*] [*e Moa*] [*te 'uhi.*] 'Moa ate the yam.' *Ma te kite e ia te kanume ...* (T136[B]:11) 'And he saw the *kanume* tree ...' (This is probably the most common order.)

SVO: [*Ko Moa*] [*noko kai*] [*te 'uhi.*] 'Moa ate the yam.' ... *ka kau noko 'utu 'ia tou bai ...* (T50[B]:11) '... and I will continually fill your water bottle ...'

OVS: [*Ko God*] [*e sogi ai*] [*a pegea.*] 'People worship God there.' *Haaginga gaa a Moa kua migi ai au ...* (D) 'Even though I'm fighting Moa there ...'

VOS: [*Noko kai*] [*'uhi*] [*e ia.*] 'He ate yams.' (This is not possible if one precedes *'uhi* with the article *tē*.) For a VSVS complex sentence, see the last sentence on page 133.

Not present is OSV, which Greenberg classes as nonexistent or excessively rare.

10.2. Order of phrases in sentences: grammatical. Usually the direct object precedes the indirect object:

E hai ga'a a Moa te polo kia te au. 'Moa gave me the coconut.'

Kae 'abange tē me'a moso ki tē haitaina. (T52[A]:15) 'And gave the cooked one to the younger brother.' *Hakaene kia Teboia he nga'akau ...* (T227[A]:2) '[They] asked Teboia for a tree.' (This order is less common.)

Order of *i(a)*- and *ki(a)*- phrases:

Referential + indirect object: *Ko ai e hakahegeu ia Tebegi kia Moa?* 'Who spoke about Tebegi to Moa?'

Source + allative: *Ko au e hinake i Honiara ki Niupani nei.* 'I came from Honiara here to Niupani.'

Causative + causative: *Ka na noka i te siasia i te 'asu 'anga te upo ...* (T220:6) 'But [his anger] stopped because of the pleasure in catching eels ...'

Locative + causative: *Ko au noko hakapata i teenei ia te koe.* 'I stayed here because of you.'

Object + source: *Sa'u ake te polo i te kete.* 'Take up the coconut from the basket.' *Kua tau'i e au te kauri ia te ia.* 'I bought the fish from him.'

Source + locative: *Noko kai a Moa i te 'uhi i te husi.* 'Moa ate some yams in the swamp.' ... *mai te ogo i Te'aoa ...* (T222:1) '... from the mountain at Te'aoa ...'

Benefactive + direct object: ... *o hakaene ma'ana ni huaa 'umanga ...* (T191:2) '... and asked for himself some garden produce ...' *Kae ke ghaghia mo'oku he anga ...* (T185[B]:9) 'And clear a path for me ...'

10.3. Order of actors in sentences.

10.3.1. Seniors before juniors. All kinship terms are classificatory.

Grandparent before grandchild: ... *sosopo kinai gua 'atua, Tehainga'atua ma Tehu'aigabenga.* (T67:1) '... two gods appeared to him, Tehainga'atua (grandfather) and Tehu'aigabenga (grandchild).' *Te hahine ma tona makupuna.* (A53[C]:1) 'The woman and her grandchild.'

Father before son: *Sa'obaa ma tena hosa.* (T107) 'Sa'obaa and his son.'

Older brother before younger: ... *'Angahungu ma ona haitaina ...* (T57[A]:12) '... 'Angahungu and his younger brothers ...'

Parents before children: see 10.3.2.

10.3.2. Males before females. *Tokanangangi ma tona uguugu a Sina ...* 'Tokanangangi and his wife Sina ...' ... *ma iai a Kagebu maa, ma tegaa tama'ahine ...* (T178:7) '... Kageba and wife were there, and their daughter ...' (An exception to this order is the commonly used name for the two stone gods, for whom the female always preceded, and who were man and wife and brother and sister: Gua-tupu'a, female, possibly lit. 'two sacred pits', and Te-Pou-Tu'u-i-Ngangi, male, lit. 'the post standing in heaven'. The gods, as has been said, broke the taboos of mortals.) Women's inferior status lasted to eternity. Their graves were often forgotten. They were not covered with roofs on poles with curved rafters indicating the noumenal (Monberg's term) status of the inhabitants, nor were rites conducted there or food offerings placed there.

10.3.3. Strong before weak. *Te tahonga'a ma te kabiki.* (A32[B]:1) 'The whale and the sandcrab.' *Te aku ma te 'unga.* (A33[A]:1) 'The needlefish and the hermit crab.' *Agogua ma Baiabe.* (T105) ('Agogua was a second priest-chief (*haihenua*) and Baiabe was a very important chief (*hu'aihakahua*) who outwitted his low-ranking antagonist who was magically killed by lightning.)

10.3.4. Cultural parallels. Rennellese and Bellonese society are male-dominated. Women were ordinarily not present at my sessions with informants unless I remonstrated. When they did come they sat near the door. They were extremely interested and intelligent, and sometimes dared to make suggestions. Most of the accounts of feuds concerned chiefs (*hakahua*) and strong fighters (*kanotau'a, tau'a*). Women and children played minor (but sometimes important) roles in the stories.

In Figures 28, 29, and 30 of Kuschel (forthcoming) are three maps of Bellona showing burial places of generations 1-14, 15-17, and 18-24. The graves are on both sides of the main trail leading lengthwise across Bellona. Informants were able to identify the buried persons; 609 of them were male, and 317 female. Before generation 7, no females were remembered. This gives an impression of the subordinate position of women in the society.

10.5. SENTENCES

10.4. Insertion of anaphors in sentences. When NPs are fronted, an anaphor may be inserted after the verb (cf 4.9):

Noko kai a Moa i te husi.
I te husi noko kai ai a Moa. } 'Moa ate in the swamp.'
(Note subject marker *a*, used since
the verb has no object, 5.2.3.)

Noko sopo a Ekeitehua i te 'uhi ...
Te 'uhi noko sopo ai a Ekeitehua ... } 'Ekeitehua came out of a
yam ...' (T5:1)

Noko ma'ine a Moa ki Sina.
Ko Sina noko ma'ine kinai a Moa. } 'Moa loved Sina.'

These translations do not indicate the focussed fronted phrases in the sentences with postverbal anaphors.

10.5. Joining of clauses. As indicated in 9.1, sentences and clauses may begin with conjunctions that separate the sentence or clause from others. *O* and *namaa/nimaa* commonly separate a clause from a previous one. *Aano* and less commonly '*ai* and *mano* separate a sentence from a previous one.

Two simple sentences are sometimes joined into a single complex sentence: *Ka puge ma'u na pegea i Niupani // ke gii ma'u e kigatou.* (T235[B]:29) 'And the people at Niupani decided also that they would also tie [him].'

The second of two verbs in complex sentences may be converted into a noun by juxtaposition of the nominalizer *-nga* or '*anga*, with the new noun preceded by *te* or *i te*:

Kae hano ki mugi i Niupani. 'And [they] went to the rear at Niupani.'

Noko mata kia na pegea. '[They] looked at the people.'

Kae hano ki mugi i Niupani te maatanga kia na pegea ...
(T235[B]:30) 'The viewers of the people went to the rear at Niupani ...'

Ka te hai 'anga nei noko mugi. 'And this happening was later.'

Noko hano a Tegheta ki mouku. 'Tegheta went inland.'

Ka te hai 'anga nei noko mugi i te hano 'anga a Tegheta ki mouku ... (T235[B]:7) 'And this happening was later than Tegheta's going inland ...' (Here the temporal preposition *i* introduces an NP.)

A great number of sentences may be combined into a single sentence.

Ma te ma'ungi a Tegheta. 'Tegheta recovered.'

Noko taa e na pegea. 'The people killed [him].'

Noko sasa na pegea. 'The people were crazy.'

Ko Tegheta pau o mate. 'Tegheta was dead.'

... ma te ma'ungi a Tegheta i te taa 'anga e na pegea noko sasa o pau o mate. (N235[A]:55) '... Tegheta recovered from being hit by the crazy people [until he] had really died.'

A NP may be followed by a VP that has no subject; see 6.2 for lack of relative pronouns. *Te tagatupu'a ki te hahine noko hai tena tama i te ngata.* (T51[A]:1) 'The story about a woman who had a snake as her child.'

10.6. Equational (verbless) sentences. Many such sentences begin with *ko*, topic marker:

Ko	{	<i>ia</i>	} <i>te pegea gaoui.</i>	{	'He	is a good person.'
		<i>Moa</i>			'Moa	
		<i>ai tou ingoa?</i>			'What is your name?'	
		<i>Moa toku ingoa.</i>			'Moa is my name.'	

In some instances an embedded sentence (included) may be inserted in an equational or simple sentence: *Ko Moa noko a'u toku hemasi'inga noko masaki.* 'Moa [who] came [is] my friend [and] was sick.'

Interjections are a part of language and are commonly included in dictionaries and grammars. They are exclamations. They come near the end of traditional grammars, and are the last of the named parts of speech. This does not mean that they are unimportant, but perhaps that they do not enter into the general scheme of the language. They are not in the usual constructions. Two exceptions in Rennellese-Bellonese: a few interjections begin with the common article *tē*, and a few take the causative prefix *haka* (*hoo-hoo* 'Oh!' *hakahoo-hoo* 'to exclaim *hoo-hoo*'). A few intensifying interjections usually occur in brief sentences. No interjections take verb markers or particles other than *tē*. Most are short and vivid. Many do not last (as English "Goodness sakes alive!", "Oh fudge!"). They are not used much by comparativists because of this impermanence and strangeness. They may even have sounds not included among the phonemes (Rennellese *Karaesi* from English Christ, see below). They often have value to students of culture as indications of what shocks, astonishes, and displeases.

11.1. Interjections of surprise, dismay, disdain, commiseration.

'Ai! 'Well, but' 'Ai occurs at the beginnings of short utterances: 'Ai *omaa ongiongi ma tuupuna* ... (T22:3) 'But [these] are the words of worship [of my] ancestor and me ...' More fanciful but appropriate translations by Kuschel in A8 and 9: ... '*ai ko au ... ke hai ma'aku tasi!* 'Goodness gracious ... I want one for myself!' 'Ai *e kohea na hai* ...? 'How come ...?'

'Ailaaee! 'Aiaue! 'Too bad! Alas! Woe! Dear me!'

'Aue! 'Oh!' Mild surprise; another meaning is 'Thank you'.

'Ee! 'Sorry! Too bad! 'Ee! *Ko koe mape'e!* (D) 'Sorry, you got hit!'

'Ii! 'Iii! 'Oh!'

Hoo-hoo! 'Oh!'

Kaa! 'Oh!'

Karaesi! 'Gracious!' This comes from English Christ!, but has no blasphemous connotations and in the 1960s was a favorite with

Calls For Attention 11.2.

children. The pronunciation is not established; variants include *Kulesi*, *Kalaua*, *Kalaenga*. Calling on the name of a deity is still common, as "*Te 'atua! Te 'Aitu!*". Or the name of a pre-Christian deity in surprise may be called out, as '*Aitu Tunihenua* or *Tehu'aighagha*, a god play-worshipped by children.

Maiouti! 'My word!' (English, commonly said in the 1960s to indicate mild surprise)

Mehe! 'Oh, shoot!'

Pee! 'Oh no, I made a mistake!' (speaker then usually corrects himself)

Pei! 'Oh!' *Pei te ngata!* 'Oh, a snake!'

Te hoi! '*Ai te hoi!* 'The rascal, the no-good, darn it!' (slang in the 1900s)

'*Usee!* 'Ouch!'

11.2. Calls for attention.

'*Aiake!* 'Say!'

Eee eeee 'Sir' (beginning of a ceremonial greeting and in rituals, barely audible)

'*Eesee!* '*Ese!* 'Here!' (cry of one presenting a gift for exchange in the *mako sasa*, crazy dance and song)

Ghohghaa! *Ghoghii!* a call of flying foxes

'*Ia!* 'Here! Here it is!'

Iaa! 'Well! Then!' (19.2 V33)

'*Iake!* '*Iake naa!* 'Say, say you!'

Inee! *Nee!* 'Say! Isn't that so?'

Koo! 'Here I am!' (an answer when one's name is called)

'*Oe* a call urging flying fish to come to a canoe

Taumaha! 'Hail!' (R)

11.3. INTERJECTIONS

Teiana! Teianoo! 'Friend! Say!' (cf 6.3.2)

Toku haikoe! 'Wife!' (a call by husband)

Toku taakoe! 'Husband!' (a call by wife)

Too! 'Halloo!' (said to someone who doesn't answer)

Names of people are in this category. See 2.6 for name changes when calling from a distance.

11.3. Commands.

'Ai! 'Please!' *'Ai kau hano?* 'Please may I go?'

'Ai noka! 'Wait a minute!'

A'u 'Come (sg)'

'Aue 'Thank you'

Boo atu 'Go away (pl)'

Ee! 'Stop it! Don't!'

'Ei te tinau! 'Fuck your mother!' (a terrible insult; see "insult" in D, Part 2, for other insults)

Mai! 'Look here! Give [it] to me!'

Noka! 'Stop! Stop [it]!'

O'oue 'Thank you' (R)

Taakoe 'Please' (cf 8.3 and the prefix *taa-*)

Taighia! 'Mercy!' (R)

Tugou! 'Permission!' (R)

11.4. Affirmations and denials.

Si'ai! 'Ai! 'No' (as in answer to questions)

'*Ai ta'ihō* 'Okay, that's right'

'*Oo* 'Yes'

'*Oi'i, 'oisi* 'No' (in contradictions)

11.5. Intensifying interjections, both good and bad.

'*Aasaki* 'pray forgive the lack of' '*Aasaki te hage gaoi*. 'Forgive not having a good house [to receive you as a distinguished visitor].'

'*Agi* 'very, much' '*Agi e gaoi* 'how very good' '*Agi e 'eha utunga* ... (T196:7) 'Oh, there's so much food ...'

'*Amutia* 'would that' '*Amutia kitaa bilaabei*. (T176:2) 'I wish that we two could meet.'

'*Aohai*. '*Aohai te beka!* 'How very stingy!'

'*Atamai*. '*Atamai teenei tangata!* 'Oh, what a bad person!' '*Atamai te baka!* 'How large the canoe is!'

Nga'a te 'to be not' *Nga'a te gaoi!* 'How bad!' *Nga'a te songo!* 'How good!' *Nga'a te 'igo'igo!* 'How stupid!'

11.6. Other interjections.

Maagongo 'I don't know (and don't care)' is very common. For expressions of doubt for these modest people, see *mano* in 9.3.5, *kitai* in 4.2.5.3, and '*okoia, koia, koioo* in 4.8.3.

Refrains are considered to be interjections. There are many in Rennellese, especially for *tangi* laments. They are meaningless, and include *sagito* in *tangi*, *iboo* (in chants), *aesee* in *kananga* chants, *haka'ia'ia* for canoe log hauling, and *taighia, tugou*, and many others in rituals. *Ee* is used at the end of verses in songs (see ex., 4.2.3.5).

12. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

In 12.1 and 12.2 non-Polynesian lexical increments to the language are discussed. Most but not all of them contain two phonemes not found in Polynesian -- *gh* and *l* (and a *d*-like allophone). Words with these phonemes do not reflect PPN **l* or **r*. They have been much discussed, first by Elbert in 1962. In 12.3 dialect and subdialect developments are described.

12.1. Non-Polynesian lexicon.

12.1.1. Before Mendaña's "discovery" of the Solomons in 1568. I hesitate to call this part of the lexicon as consisting of "loan words", because, as will be shown later, these words may be the legacy of a substratum.

12.1.1.1. Possible loans from the Southeast Solomons. A list follows of seventy-six Rennellese and Bellonese words possibly borrowed from languages spoken today in the Southeast Solomons (see frontispiece): Guadalcanal, Nggela, Malaita, San Cristobal, and Santa Isabel (SI). Meanings of putative cognates are given only if they are slightly different from the Rennellese meanings, such as *langi* 'rain' for Rennellese *langi* 'overcast'. Many words also have cognates in Melanesia, but a Polynesian origin seems more probable, such as Rennellese *tinana* 'mother', Nggela *tina* (in Fox's dictionary), and Samoan *tināa*. Words for 'fish' (*ika* and *igha*) have come from both sources.

Many of the words were collected on a two-day trip in 1966 to western Guadalcanal, arranged by geologist Brian Hackman, from speakers of nine languages, including Rennellese. Many of the participants were from the Geological Survey and from inland areas, and were knowledgeable about plant names; this was of particular interest because the Solomons flora is richer than that of Triangle Polynesia, and as the list shows, many of the loans are of plant names.

About a decade after our field trip, Hackman turned over his field notes to linguist D. T. Tryon, who checked all of it and added a bit more. They listed fifty-six Austronesian languages in the Solomons and seven Papuan languages. To distinguish language and dialect, they arbitrarily compared number of shared cognates in Swadesh's 200 "basic" words, modified slightly for Melanesia. They had a second list of 324 words, many of them in the first list. In all they claim to have studied some 500 items in sixty-three languages, or about 31,500 items.

Numbers of speakers varied from 13,500 for North Malaitan and 12,500 for Kwara'ae on Malaita, to 5 each for Laghu on Santa Isabel and Vano and Tamema on Vanikoro. Rennellese and Bellonese may have about 3,000 speakers, many of them not on the two islands.

The possible cognates on the list were found in Elbert 1962, 1965, 1968, and 1975 and in my notes, and from Father Wall of the Catholic Mission, a long-time resident versed in the languages of Guadalcanal, Fox for Nggela and Lau (Malaita), Whitmore for Malaita flora, and Keesing for Kwaio on Malaita. Cognates found in Tryon and Hackman are starred. There are not many, as these authors considered only "basic" words believed not susceptible to borrowing. Of course, not indicated in the list precisely, some cognates are found in several Guadalcanal languages and dialects and on several islands (note the frontispiece). "Solomonic" includes Solomon Islands languages north of Rennell and Bellona. Bellonese variants other than *ng* for *g* follow the Rennellese entries in parentheses.

Rennellese words of possible Solomonic origin

Rennellese	Guadalcanal	Nggela	Malaita	San Cristobal
'abingi 'carry under armpit'	ambini, ambingi	alingi	----	----
abubu 'potato yam'	----	----	----	abubu
ahato 'longicorn beetle'	vato	vato	----	----
aloghoba 'a big tree'	hai loba	----	----	----
apagogo banyan species	tamabalolo	tambalolo	abalolo	----
baghu 'screw pine'	vaghu	----	----	----

12.1.1.1. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

<i>bugho</i> 'net'	bugho	vugho	----	----
<i>gaegae</i> a large tree	----	----	laelae	----
<i>gami</i> 'eggs in crab belly'	lami	lami	lame	----
<i>gangia</i> Ficus tree	----	----	alangia, langio	----
<i>gapa</i> 'tree buttress'	----	----	rapa	----
<i>guani</i> 'servant'	----	----	----	SI ruani 'to assist'
<i>ghaaghi</i> (<i>ghaangi</i>) 'to bite'	ghania, ghaghaghathi	----	----	----
<i>ghabe</i> an ocean crab	ghabe	----	----	----
<i>ghabigangi</i> a shade tree	ghavigha 'rose apple'	----	----	----
<i>ghabo</i> 'to crack'	----	ghavo	----	----
<i>ghae</i> 'rain and shine'	----	lailai 'to clear'	----	----
<i>ghagha</i> (<i>ngagha</i>) 'to hold in mouth'	ghaghaghagha	----	----	----
<i>ghaghapuli</i> a tree	----	----	alabusi	----
<i>ghai</i> 'mango'	----	----	----	ghai*

Possible Loans 12.1.1.1.

<i>ghai-</i> 'tree'	<i>ghai,</i> <i>hai</i>	<i>ghai</i>	'ai, <i>hai</i>	<i>ghai*</i> , 'ai
<i>ghaimabulu</i> a tree	----	----	<i>aibulu</i>	----
<i>ghaimega</i> a tree	<i>ghaimela</i>	----	<i>aimela</i>	----
<i>ghali</i> 'fast'	<i>ghalia</i>	----	<i>nalinali,</i> <i>aliali</i>	<i>gharighari</i>
<i>ghape</i> an edible vine	----	----	<i>ambe</i>	----
<i>ghasigho</i> a vine	<i>hantsigho</i>	----	----	<i>hanjiho</i>
<i>ghatogha =</i> 'ghasigho'	<i>gasogha</i>	<i>ghangogha</i>	<i>andoa</i>	----
<i>ghau</i> 'fishhook'	<i>ghau</i>	----	----	----
<i>ghaulia</i> 'busy'	<i>kauli</i>	<i>kauli</i>	----	----
<i>ghebu</i> 'murky'	<i>lavu*</i>	<i>ghavu</i>	----	----
<i>ghinama</i> 'hatchet'	----	----	----	<i>hirama</i>
<i>ghobu</i> 'to puff'	----	<i>lovu</i>	----	----
<i>ghoghe</i> a Ficus tree	<i>ghoghoghe?,</i> <i>hohoghe</i>	----	----	<i>ghoghe</i>
<i>ghoghughoghu</i> (<i>ngoghungoghu</i>) 'intestines'	----	----	<i>loghuloghu</i>	----
<i>ghomiti</i> 'spider'	<i>komitsi</i>	----	----	----

12.1.1.1. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

<i>ghou</i> 'bittern'	<i>ghou</i>	----	----	----
<i>ghubi</i> 'to blow'	<i>ghurighuri</i>	<i>ghuri</i>	'ilu	----
<i>ghughii</i> 'to squeak'	<i>ghuu</i> 'to shout'	----	----	----
<i>hegeu</i> 'to speak'	<i>leu</i> 'to speak angrily'	<i>leu</i> 'to speak a foreign language'	<i>leu</i>	----
<i>igha-</i> fish species	<i>igha</i>	<i>igha</i>	<i>i'a*</i>	<i>aigha*</i> SI <i>igha</i>
<i>ighaamega</i> 'squirrel fish'	<i>ighamega</i>	----	<i>mela</i>	----
<i>ighabogha</i> 'tusk fish'	<i>igabogha</i>	----	<i>borabora</i>	----
<i>kala</i> palm species	<i>ghandi</i>	----	<i>tara</i>	----
<i>kati</i> 'ant'	<i>ghandi</i>	----	<i>kada</i>	----
<i>kau</i> 'fish'	<i>kau</i>	----	----	----
<i>Kega</i> 'Nggela'	----	<i>Nggela</i>	<i>Kela</i>	----
<i>kilakila</i> 'adze'	<i>ghila,</i> <i>kilakila</i>	<i>gila</i>	<i>kila</i>	----
<i>labu</i> 'to catch'	<i>lambu</i>	<i>lambu</i>	----	----
<i>lagi</i> 'tree buttress'	<i>lali</i>	<i>lali</i>	----	----

Possible Loans 12.1.1.1.

<i>laka</i> 'flower'	daga ni ghai	----	taga, taka	----
<i>langi</i> 'overcast'	langi 'rain'	----	----	rangi 'rain'
<i>ligho</i> 'kingfisher'	ligho	----	----	----
<i>loka</i> 'arrowroot'	loka	----	----	----
<i>lologi</i> 'weak'	ngoli*	----	----	----
<i>luba</i> 'Derris'	----	tuva	----	----
<i>lui</i> 'to escape'	luia	----	----	----
<i>lugu</i> a fish	lugu 'carpet snake'	----	----	----
<i>maamala</i> 'dry'	mamatsa	----	----	----
<i>mabuli</i> a Ficus tree	buli	----	----	----
<i>magagi</i> 'smooth'	mandali	----	----	----
<i>ota</i> 'ivory nut'	ato	ato	----	ao*
<i>paghabu</i> 'fresh-water goby'	baghoou a fresh-water fish	----	----	----
<i>paghoanikagi</i> 'shark'	----	----	----	bakoa Gilbertese
<i>paipai</i> 'tree fern'	----	----	mbaimbai	----

12.1.1.1. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

<i>palugha</i> 'dull'	paru	----	----	panguu
<i>Paugo</i> 'Paugo'	----	----	----	Bauro
<i>pua</i> 'betel'	mbua	mbua	bua	pua*
<i>pugo</i> 'to turn'	----	pura	bulo	----
<i>pugha</i> 'hazy, whitish'	----	----	----	pupura
<i>Sanibaghi</i> 'Sanibaghi'	Baghi	----	----	----
<i>sau</i> 'bonito'	----	----	sau	sau
<i>suasuanighai</i> 'sandpiper'	suasuanighai 'bush sprite'	----	----	----
<i>toghi</i> 'to cut'	toghia	----	----	----
<i>ue</i> 'rattan'	hue	ghue	----	----
<i>upo</i> 'eel'	mauvo	----	----	----
<i>usu</i> 'to push'	usua	----	usua	usua*

 Totals

76	54	23	28	San Cristobal 15
				Santa Isabel 2
				Gilbertese 1

According to the totals, considerably more cognates were found on Guadalcanal than on the others. This is not surprising in view of the geographic proximity of Guadalcanal (164 kilometers), but is surprising if one considers the lack of contact of the two islands in the past with Guadalcanal, as will be described subsequently.

The following common Rennellese words are probably not of Polynesian origin; no cognates have as yet been discovered either in Polynesia or elsewhere. Note the complete lack of *gh*-words in this list and the presence of only two *l*-words.

<i>'aabaki</i>	'to help, participate'	<i>lango</i>	'to stroll'
<i>baaisaisa</i>	'disgusted'	<i>magepe</i>	'to lament'
<i>boboi</i>	'to connect'	<i>ma'ine</i>	'to love'
<i>boga</i>	'to clear(as brush)'	<i>mi'i-</i>	'small'
<i>geemugi</i>	an all-important tree	<i>noko</i>	'buttocks'
<i>hailobo</i>	'to try'	<i>'oti'oti</i>	'to go'
<i>hu'ai-</i>	'big'	<i>pake</i>	'to deceive, trick'
<i>kiba</i>	'knife'	<i>pegea</i>	'person'
<i>koli</i>	'rust'	<i>sehu</i>	'to walk'
<i>kunga</i>	'place'	<i>sogi</i>	'to pray'
<i>lago</i>	'to scatter'		

Although these words are very common, they form few derivatives other than causatives (8.3). Those that are reduplicated (*baaisaisa*, *boboi*, and *'oti'oti*) do not have unreduplicated bases; no others reduplicate. Taking reciprocals in *-'aki* are *'aabaki*, *pake*, and *pegea*.

12.1.1.2. Polynesian and possible Solomonian doublets. Many doublets exist, including those listed below. Polynesian words in the list come first. Starred words are (impressionistically) more common today than unstarred ones with similar meanings. No stars are awarded to pairs with members about equally common. Some of the glosses are inexact for one member of a pair, but

12.1.1.2. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

close enough to be considered equivalent. The purposes of this list are (1) to show the richness of the language with its two main sources, and (2) to provide data for future comparativists.

Of PN origin Possibly Solomonic

*agoha	ma'ine	'compassion'
*ahii	igha	'food package'
'ao	*gholoba	'time'
*aoa	aloba	a Ficus
*'asi'asi	tauligobia	'to visit'
*'atu	sau	'bonito'
*au	lagu	'bone point'
babe	*ghali	'fast'
bae	*baghi gua	'to separate'
*gegema'ugi	langalanga	'to be surprised'
*ge'o	pali	'to protect'
*goo	kati	'ant'
goomia	*lologi	'to be sunk'
*ha'a	laaboga	'to split'
*haanau	matigi	'to give birth'
*haasua	ghunu	'Tridacna'
*haga	baghu	'pandanus'
*hakagata	he'e ghoghogho (ghoghongo)	'to make no difference'
hakamotu	*toghi	'to cut'

Doublets 12.1.1.2.

hakatangi	*lago	'to criticize'
hakateetee	*lango	'to stroll'
*hoe	lualua	'paddle (noun)'
*hokai	kamugu, kangigo, magiono	'lizard'
*husi	belini	'swamp'
'iti'iti	*boboko	'small'
*kakai	ghaighai	'sharp'
*kake, hakaneke	tighe	'to climb'
*kape	ghanegho	'Alocasia taro'
*kohu	ghobu	'to emit smoke'
*kupenga	bugho	'net'
maasaki	*lologi	'weak'
maase'i	*songo	'bad'
mago	*laoa	'loincloth'
*mangoo	anoi	'shark'
*masa	maamala	'dry'
*matangi	baghiaghe (banghiaghe)	'east'
matiba	*lae	'poor'
*mimi	gibai	'to urinate'
moenga	*baghu, *malikope	'mat'
*moto	baghi gua	'to sever'

12.1.1.2. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

no'a	*logha	'to tie'
nganangana	*logha	'noisy'
*ngese	mi'i-	'slow'
*ongea	libaea	'hungry'
*'oso	labu	'to grab'
pakupaku	*magheghe	'thin'
*peka	langa	'flying fox'
*pekapeka	kagamu'a	'swiftlet'
penapena	*gosigosi	'to decorate'
*poga	lipa	'wall, weir'
*pusi	ghobu	'to blow'
*sae	lagi	'to tear'
*sasabe	opa	'flying fish'
*sege	bogo, toghi	'to cut'
*seu	laaboga	'to scatter'
*siko	labu	'to catch'
*sina	lina	'white-haired' and 'white'
*sogo, ogo	ulu	'to rub'
*soo mai	popono	'to approach'
*tago	'ahugenga	'Colocasia taro'
*tahea	laghea	'to float'
*tanu	taghubi	'to bury'
tangata	*pegea	'person'

Foreign Contacts 12.1.1.3.

*titiko	koli, malabi	'to defecate'
*tina'e	pugholu	'stomach'
*toki	iha	'adze'
*toko	loghoni	'staff'
tu'ahenua	bagitakugu	'south'
*tuai	hakaunu	'ancient'
tui	*lapui	'to sew'
tuku gago	*hakami'ime'a	'to demean'
tukunga	*kunga	'place'
*tupu	ngasogo, malubu	'to grow'
'uga	togho	'red'
*ugi	ghaluga	'sprout'
*uhi	abubu	'yam'
'uhu	ga'ea	'parrot fish'

Of the words in the list, twenty-two possible Solomonian words are more common than their Polynesian doublets.

12.1.1.3. Foreign contacts of Rennellese and Bellonese. How did these possibly Solomonian cognates and doublets get into Rennellese and Bellonese? To study this question, a check was made in *Canoes* of all contacts listed with the outside world. A summary follows, beginning with generation 0, 23 generations before 1960:

Generation 0: Taupongi and others sail from "'Ubea Gago" 'lower 'Ubea' (possibly West Uvea in the Loyalty Islands about 1,250 kilometers southeastward) to "'Ubea Matangi" 'east 'Ubea' (perhaps East Uvea, or Wallis Islands, 2,650 kilometers eastward and in the Polynesian Triangle). They meet Kaitu'u here and they all leave and after many wanderings arrive at Rennell and

then Bellona, which they settle. They encounter a people called Hiti (T66 to T72).

Generation 8: a Bellonese father and son sail or drift westward to "Mungua" and return with yams, bananas, and the name "Ghongau", given to the son by the Muguia chief's daughter. The son transfers this name to his settlement on Bellona (T227[A], [B]). "Mungua" is probably Murua or Woodlark Island, 796 kilometers to the west-northwest. Mu-rua might be translated 'second *Mu*', contrasting with Mu-gaba 'big *Mu*', the common name for Rennell, and Mu-giki 'small *Mu*' for Bellona. (The Rennellese and Bellonese do not accept these translations.)

Generation 12: a drifted canoe (*baka tahea*) comes from an unknown island; the visitors chant a prayer for a safe return home; they set forth, are lost, and return to Rennell; they chant correctly this time and leave forever. (The informant corrected himself to say that the island is "Taumako" (T215, 216), probably a Polynesian Outlier of the same name in the Duff Islands, 796 kilometers to the east northeast; it is strongly influenced by Melanesia.)

Generation 14: drifted canoes from "Gotuma" with 100 fighters; the Rennellese kill 50 of them. A surviving "Gotuma" strongman kills many Rennellese and then commits suicide rather than face capture. "Gotuma" is probably Rotuma Island, 1,892 kilometers to the east. Rotumans have Polynesian physical characteristics and a non-Polynesian language.

Generation 19: more visitors from "Gotuma", who stay only briefly (T224). Two castaways from "Tikopia" are treated kindly; the government returns them (T225 and R. Firth, 1931). Tikopia is a Polynesian Outlier 963 kilometers to the east. A recruiting ship comes to Bellona in 1881 with a Rennellese called Tome aboard. He has been working ten years in Queensland and wants to return. Four men and a woman and later three other men are taken to Queensland. Of the eight, only three returned to Bellona (Kuschel and Monberg 1977:85-95). In the same generation Rennellese and Bellonese visit "Makila", "Kega", and "Paugo" (T227[B]-T230). Makila is in eastern San Cristobal, 191 kilometers to the east-northeast. "Kega" is probably Nggela in the Florida Islands, a short distance north of Guadalcanal. "Paugo" is Bauro, a district in central San Cristobal. These islands have Melanesian populations.

Hiti Substratum 12.1.1.4.

Contacts of Europeans and Japanese are recent and just as sparse. Sofus Christiansen places (1975:12-13) the European "discovery" of Bellona in 1793 by Captain M. Boyd of the East Indiaman "Bellona". Boyd did not go ashore, but named the island for his ship. The first white men to land, probably on Rennell in 1856, were Bishop Selwyn and the Reverend Patteson (later Bishop) of the Melanesian Mission. Whalers probably came before that, according to Christiansen (1975:13) and Queensland labor recruiters in the 1880s and 1890s, although an account in *Canoes T232* says that a recruiting ship from Noumea in New Caledonia arrived on Bellona in about 1908 and gave the people tobacco and matches, which they did not know how to light. They also brought an axe, two knives, and some calico, all of which were immediately appreciated.

In 1910 the South Seas Evangelical Mission ship called at Rennell, and after a short visit left three Melanesian teachers on the island. The mission ship returned several days later and learned that the teachers had been killed. In T234 is a song honoring the killers. In 1938 several Rennellese were taken to the more northern Solomons and indoctrinated in Christianity. They returned and the story of the stormy acceptance of Christianity is told in T235[A] and [B], and by Monberg 1962.

Other Euro-American visitors included anthropologist Ian Hogbin (1927) and S. M. Lambert, M. D., in 1930 and 1933. Lambert, a romanticist, recommended that all outsiders (especially missionaries) be barred "Spiritually they have a gentle religion in which there is no skepticism and no cruelty" (Lambert 1941:354). As a result, visits were generally forbidden until long after my first visit in 1957. Anthropologist Gordon MacGregor was there in 1933 and described rituals that he saw. More changes were probably brought to the islands by the Melanesian missionaries who beginning in 1947 were stationed there. They communicated in Melanesian pidgin and did not try to learn the local language.

In summary, contacts with Melanesia were few and of short duration. However, the people of Rennell and Bellona were smaller than the Triangle Polynesians and some had frizzly hair. The physical anthropology has not been studied scientifically.

12.1.1.4. A Hiti substratum? Whether these words or some of them were introduced by the Hiti is being explored by Robert Blust (see below). Archaeologist Poulsen (1.3) believed that the findings in burial mounds attributed by the Bellonese to the Hiti

were similar to those in mounds made by the Bellonese. (Could these mounds have been mistakenly identified? We had found that the Rennellese and Bellonese were extremely accurate; our genealogies collected over many years on Bellona and in various places on Rennell including the east end, coincided remarkably, and for 23 generations prior to 1960!)

The Rennellese and Bellonese have many stories about the *Hiti*. They had neat homes and gardens (T88) and taught the newcomers many important things, as how to prepare the extremely useful *geemugi* and how to tap trees for the much esteemed longicorn beetles. One *Hiti* showed Kaitu'u where to find water; he was killed, probably to revenge the *Hiti* who had killed Kaitu'u's stingy uncle, who out of 300 doves he had netted, gave the *Hiti* only 3.

In other ways the *Hiti* seem folkloristic. Like Mormon missionaries they nearly always came in pairs, sometimes man and wife (she was cranky), or one was fat and the other thin, or one from the north side of Rennell and one from the south. They created lagoons, or, more frequently disappeared. They were often seen after their liquidation (how long this took is not recorded), the last sighting being by an aged uncle of a trusted informant, Paul Sa'engeika, in Generation 20 (T86).

Blust has recently described (forthcoming) certain consonant correspondences between Proto Oceanic (POC) and the language he is convinced is a *Hiti* substratum spoken on Rennell and Bellona (R-B) at the time of Kaitu'u's arrival. The following is based on his essay, which he has kindly permitted me to use, with 16 words to support his case.

POC	p	t	s	k	q	R
R-B	h	t	s	k	'	∅
<i>Hiti</i>	b	l	l	gh	∅	r (the " <i>Hiti</i> " /r/, like Proto Nuclear PN *1 [probably pre-R-B *1] became R-B /g/)

Hiti Substratum 12.1.1.4.

- (1) POC *(ma)masa 'to dry up, evaporate' > *Hiti* maamala 'dry'
 PPN *(ma)maha 'to dry up' > R-B masa 'empty of liquid'
- (2) POC *patu 'stone, coral' > *Hiti* balu 'stone' as in
 balughagho (balungagho), balukogo, balumata
 PPN *fatu 'stone, coral' > R-B hatu 'stone, rock, coral'
- (3) POC *puso 'foam, froth, bubble' > *Hiti* bulo 'turbulent
 (as water)'
 PPN *fiho 'foam, froth' > R-B piloe 'to bubble, foam'
- (4) POC *sa(dR)i 'to husk coconuts, tear' > *Hiti* lagi 'to tear'
 PPN *sae 'to tear' > R-B sae 'to tear'
- (5) POC *saRum 'needle from flying fox wing' > *Hiti* lagu
 'flying fox wing bone'
 PPN *hau 'needle' > R-B au 'tattooing needle with point
 of ibis or chicken bone'
- (6) POC *siko 'kingfisher' > *Hiti* ligho 'kingfisher'
 PPN *tiko 'kingfisher' > R-B ligho 'kingfisher'
- (7) POC *sinaR 'to shine' > *Hiti* lina 'to fish with torches'
 PPN *sina 'gray- or white-haired' > R-B sina 'gray- or
 white-haired'
- (8) POC *tido 'to look at' > *Hiti* ligo 'to look at, inspect'
 PPN *tiro 'to look at' > R-B tigo, tigotigo 'to see'

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- (9) POC *tokon 'pole, staff' > *Hiti* lohlon-i 'supporting stick'
 PPN *toko 'pole' > R-B toko 'pole', toko-i 'poles'
- (10) POC *toRas 'heartwood' > *Hiti* loga 'hard core of wood'
 PPN *toa 'ironwood' > R-B toa 'ironwood'
- (11) POC *tunu 'to warm, cook' > *Hiti* lunu 'to burn off (as brush in a garden)'
 PPN *tunu 'to cook' > R-B tunu 'to cook'
- (12) POC *tupa 'Derris' > *Hiti* and R-B luba 'Derris'
- (13) POC *tupuq 'to grow, spring up' > *Hiti* ma-lubu 'to grow, sprout'
 PPN *tupu 'to grow, spring up' > R-B tupu 'to sprout'
- (14) POC *tupuR 'fresh water spring along beach' > *Hiti* lubu 'small deep spring (as in lime-stone caves)'
 PPN *tufu 'fresh water spring along beach' > R-B tuhu 'salt water pond connected underground with sea'

Proto Southeast Solomonic (PSS)

- (15) PSS *sa(ng)ka 'flower' > *Hiti* laka 'flower'
- (16) PSS *tila 'fire plow' > *Hiti* liga 'fire plow'

Of these, the following are doublets (from POC and PPN):
 (*maa*)*mala* and *masa*, *balu* and *hatu*, *lagu* and *au*, *lina* and *sina*,
ligo and *tigo*, *lohlon-i* and *toko*, *toko-i*, *loga* and *toa*, *lunu* and
tunu, *ma-lubu* and *tupu*.

Blust's theory of a *Hiti* substratum is strengthened by the stories in *Canoes* that, as shown, give detailed accounts of contacts with *Hiti* on the two islands, and comparatively few contacts with the outside world.

Additional evidence of a *Hiti* substratum is provided by computer simulation of drift voyages, as developed by Ward, Webb, and Levison (1973), who conclude that the probability of contact from the Ellice Islands is 0.1 percent chance of reaching Rennell and Bellona, while simulated voyages from Wallis/Futuna, Sâmoa, and Tonga have 0.0 percent chance. They conclude (p. 59): "It is virtually impossible to drift directly to Rennell or Bellona from our Polynesian starting points, and we doubt that drifting to them is possible from the other Outliers, except Tikopia from which there is a very low contact probability".

12.1.1.5. Conclusion. It is hoped that data presented in this section may be of some help for further study, probably based at Honiara, where so many speakers are available. The languages of Lengo and Talise on Guadalcanal and the languages of San Cristobal should provide many cognates, especially of rare terms. A cooperative project with Oceanic linguists, ethnobotanists, and archaeologists would be ideal.

12.2. Loans from English and pidgin English.

<i>Hakamataku te ngaho time,</i>	Fearful appointed time
' <i>Ai ka sosopo e mak shoot up</i>	The mark comes and shoot up
<i>Ko ngua potu e dresser</i>	The two ends have dresser,
<i>o headman o kalaka</i>	headman, and clerk

The quotations above are extracts from two songs dating from World War II. The first refers to Japanese and American planes that bore identifying insignia ('marks') and that frequently flew over Bellona and terrified the people. This is said to be a love song, though the words hardly suggest this. The second extract concerns a feud between the two ends of Bellona (it is 10.5 kilometers long) and the middle. The two ends boast that from them come the dresser, headman, and clerk. The words for 'mark' and 'clerk' are a Bellonese accommodation of British pronunciation (no postvocalic *r*).

Some loans predate the acceptance of Christianity in 1938. The phonemes in words taken in at such an early time are fixed; they do not fluctuate, as in some of the present-day loans, but

12.2. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

some of them seem to bear no systematic relationship to English. Many or most of them probably came from pidgin English, hence their often vague resemblances to 'Standard English'. Some of the meanings are expanded, as *kunini* below. A few may have been introduced by the few Rennellese and Bellonese who worked on the Queensland sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century and returned to talk of it. A few may have come in this century from Melanesian languages or from pidgin English. The following list of early loans is far from exhaustive.

<i>baakua</i>	a skin disease, probably of Melanesian origin
<i>gahumanu</i>	'government, governor'
<i>hoka</i>	'to hawk, peddle'
<i>kalapusi</i>	'prison, imprisoned' (pidgin English, lit. calaboose)
<i>kaone</i>	'to borrow, lend' (English, lit. account)
<i>kunini</i>	'medicine' (English, lit. quinine)
<i>longokui</i>	'long trousers'
<i>melu</i>	'copra dryer' (English, lit. mill)
<i>paalapu</i>	'to dry copra' (probably English, lit. fire up)
<i>pamolo</i>	'tractor' (English, lit. Farmall, a trade name)
<i>pamulo</i>	'pump'
<i>poati</i>	'bottle'
<i>saalemu</i>	'sell' (pidgin English, sell'em)
<i>saki</i>	'to sack, dismiss'
<i>sikola</i>	'outboard motor' (English, sea gull, a brand name)
<i>sikosi</i>	'South Seas Evangelical Mission' (English, Scotch?)
<i>sili</i>	'chili pepper'
<i>sitibeti</i>	'sheet' (English, sheet bed)

solaghi 'flag'

sumeko 'smokestack' (as on a ship)

toko palasi 'to talk boastfully' (pidgin English, talk flash)

uatimani 'white man'

uatipela 'white fellow'

Beginning with World War II, contact with the outside world was more frequent, and many of the loan words taken in then are easily recognizable, as the numbers over ten, the days of the week, months of the year, some Christian names, and terms such as Bible, British, censure, council, engine, holiday, Japan, Jesus, meeting, member, mission, punish, school (also meaning 'Christianity'), society, sorry, truck (any kind of motor vehicle). Pronunciation of these words may vary, sometimes even with a single speaker. School and Christianity are called *sikulu*, *sukulu*, *skulu*, *skul*. In Canoes, this grammar, and the Dictionaries, English spelling is used for such unstable terms; this pleases the people, who believe it helps them with English and is more prestigious.

A few loans from Melanesian pidgin seem to be used only in well known *huua mako* dance songs or *ose* love chants, as *sutipaea* 'shoot fire' and *gutupala* 'good fellow'. Note also the verses at the beginning of this subsection.

The following shifts from English consonants to Rennellese are noted, with glosses. The words were taken from a variety of British English without postvocalic *r*, such as *kalaka* 'clerk', *laba* 'rubber', *Make* 'Mark', and *paahati* 'by heart'. Excluded are extremely rare words and words usually spelled in English.

English Rennellese

p p *poisini* 'poison', *'aapolo* 'apple',
 sanisopu 'soursop'

t t *tisa* 'teacher', *gitaa* 'guitar', *soti* 'shirt'

k k *kingi* 'king', *tokita* 'doctor', *uiki* 'week'

b b *belo* 'bell', *laba* 'rubber'
p p *puka* 'book', *Tiopu* 'Job'

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d	t	<i>tokita</i> 'doctor', <i>lata</i> 'ladder', <i>heti</i> 'head'
	l	<i>buleli</i> 'blade'
g	g	<i>gita</i> 'guitar',
	k	<i>suka</i> 'sugar', <i>tokitoki</i> 'dog'
	gh	<i>ghaasi</i> 'glasses', <i>ghoghe</i> 'augur'
gw	k	<i>Kolekana</i> 'Guadalcanal'
o	t	<i>Etelini</i> 'Ethelind', <i>Luti</i> 'Ruth'
f	p	<i>paolo</i> 'fowl', <i>pileipili</i> 'play field', <i>Tiosipi</i> 'Joseph'
s	s	<i>selo</i> 'sail', <i>belesina</i> 'medicine', <i>'opisi</i> 'office'
š	s	<i>soti</i> 'shirt', <i>Laasia</i> 'Russia'
h	h	<i>heti</i> 'head', <i>boloheti</i> 'bald headed'
hw	u	<i>uopu</i> 'wharf'
v	b	<i>Belonika</i> 'Veronica', <i>koaba</i> 'guava'
z	s	<i>selo</i> 'zero', <i>poisini</i> 'poison', <i>Susi</i> 'Suzie'
l	l	<i>leta</i> 'letter', <i>Uili</i> 'Willie', <i>siisolo</i> 'chisel'
r	l	<i>likoti</i> 'recording', <i>Belonika</i> 'Veronica'
m	m	<i>mane</i> 'money', <i>hetimane</i> 'headman'
	b	<i>belesina</i> 'medicine'
n	n	<i>napa</i> 'number', <i>sini</i> 'sin', <i>Makaleni</i> 'Magdalene'
ŋ	ng	<i>singi</i> 'sing', <i>Misianga</i> 'Miss Young'
č	s	<i>siisolo</i> 'chisel', <i>sata</i> 'charter', <i>tisa</i> 'teacher'
ǰ	ti	<i>Timi</i> 'Jim', <i>Tioti</i> 'George'
	s	<i>pisini</i> 'pidgin'
w	u	<i>uiki</i> 'week'
	∅	<i>ulu</i> 'wool' (∅ only in this word)

English And Pidgin English 12.2.

The vowel correspondences in loan words are based on the English vowels and diphthongs in Elbert's dialect of American English.

English		Rennellese		
I	sit	i	<i>sini</i>	'sin'
		ii	<i>siisolo</i>	'chisel'
iy	pea	i	<i>pinati</i>	'peanut'
ey	sail	e	<i>selo</i>	'sail'
		ei	<i>pileipili</i>	'play field'
æ	baptize	a	<i>bapetiso</i>	'baptize'
		aa	<i>'aakisi</i>	'axe'
e	cherry	i	<i>seli</i>	'cherry'
ə	cup	a	<i>kapu</i>	'cup'
		aa	<i>laabisi</i>	'rubbish'
a	march	a	<i>masi</i>	'to march'
ay	license	aa	<i>laasini</i>	'license'
		aal	<i>Saaina</i>	'China'
		ai	<i>Baibolo</i>	'Bible'
		ae	<i>Kalae</i>	'Christ'
aw	fowl	ao	<i>paolo</i>	'fowl'
		ao	<i>taoone</i>	'town'
U	book	u	<i>buka</i>	'book'
uw	shoot	u	<i>suti</i>	'shoot'
ow	soap	o	<i>sopu</i>	'soap'
o	Paul	o	<i>Polo</i>	'Paul'

Since consonant clusters and combinations do not occur in careful Rennellese speech, the Rennellese either drop one of the consonants, or insert a vowel between the two consonants. In the following list under the heading "English" the dropped consonant is in parentheses:

English	Rennellese
g(l)	<i>ghaasi</i> 'glasses'
m(b)	<i>meba</i> 'member' (cf. 2.1) <i>napa</i> 'number'
m(p)	<i>pamu</i> 'pump'
(n)d	<i>uila</i> 'window'
(ŋ)k	<i>iki</i> 'ink'
(n)t	<i>peta</i> 'paint'
s(t)	<i>masa</i> 'master'

Schütz has noticed from study of the final added vowels in the two lists of correspondences, that certain patterns emerge, although they do not always occur:

-u follows bilabial p: *sanisopu, Tiopu, kapu*

-i follows dental t: *pinati, hetu, likoti;*

n: poisini, Makaleni, pisini

sometimes s: *laabisi, masi, Susi*

-o follows l: *'aapolo, belo, paolo*

A very few loans are based on English spelling and not on English pronunciation, including *Lobeti* 'Robert', *Natani* 'Nathan', *Sala* 'Sarah', *Satana* 'Satan'.

Initial *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o* in English loans are preceded by glottal stops: *'ami* 'army', *'ee* the letter *e*, *'inisini* 'engine', *'opisi* 'office'. No examples have been noted of English loans beginning with *'u*.

Many English noun loans act as both noun and verb in Rennellese:

copra as a verb: *Noka te copra na mata'agi*. 'Don't make copra of half-ripe nuts.'

ghaasi 'glasses' as noun and verb: *'Au mai taku ghaasi kau ghaasi ai.* 'Give me my glasses to wear.'

leta 'letter' as a verb: *Manga leta ake.* 'Send a letter here [to Bellona] from the north.'

mini 'meaning' as verb: *He'e mini e au.* 'I don't know the meaning'

sili 'chili' as verb: *To'o mai ni huaa sili ke sili ai te supo.* 'Bring some chili peppers to season the soup with.'

takisi 'taxes' as noun and verb: *E hia tau takisi?* 'How much are your taxes?' *E hai kau takisi.* 'I have to pay taxes.'

Another example of loan acculturation is that some loans take the affixes of native words. This provides a convenient way to determine which affixes are productive. For a few examples, see 8.3 and 8.8.

Reduplication, a common morphological process, seldom occurs with loan words. *Kisikisi* 'to kiss repeatedly' is a rare example. An explanation may be that most loans are nouns in the source language, and that reduplications in Rennellese occur most commonly as verbs.

12.3. Dialects and subdialects. Mutually intelligible dialects are spoken on the two islands. Rennellese, rather than Bellonese, was selected as the 'standard' dialect for the Dictionary, and also for the Grammar, and examples are in Rennellese, unless specially specified, because there are more speakers of Rennellese and because Rennellese has two phonemes (/ng/, /g/) corresponding to one in Bellonese (/ng/). A ratio may exist between ease of lexicographic identification of words and numbers of homonyms in a language. It is less confusing to work with Rennellese informants, who separate the glosses for *sanga* ('to plant, fare, bent') from those for *saga* ('sick, mistaken, to look for, repair'). All of these are *sanga* in Bellonese. The Rennellese trio *gango*, *gago*, *ngago* ('fly', 'low', 'lost') all become *ngango* in Bellonese. For further examples, one might study the minimal pairs in 2.1, especially those containing /g/ and /ng/.

A second major difference between the two dialects is that Rennellese /gh ... gh/ frequently but not always is in Bellonese /gh ... ng/ or /ng ... gh/; for instance, Rennellese *ghaaghe* 'to

hum' is *ghaange* in Bellonese, and Rennellese *ghaghi* 'cause' is *ngaghi* in Bellonese. To determine which change, if any, was more frequent, a count was made in the Dictionary of all words beginning with /gh/ followed by a second (or third) /gh/ in Rennellese, with the Bellonese forms remaining /gh ... gh/ (53 entries), or changing to /gh ... ng/ or to /ng ... gh/ (29 entries). Thus 59 Bellonese entries in the count changed. Derivatives (as causatives, and words ending in *-nga*) were not counted. Of these entries, nine were of plants and animals, which seems a high ratio and perhaps serves as evidence that the first settlers came from a different environment.

Some common words in the two dialects differ. Rennellese 'bad' is *songo*: this word is known on Bellona, but *maase'i* is the common name. The Bellonese favor the intensifying prefix *hu'ai-* for the Rennellese qualifier *to'a*: *hu'aingaoi* 'very good' and *gaoi to'a*. I asked if the Bellonese avoided *songo* for 'bad' because *songo* in Bellonese also means 'joke' (*sogo* in Rennellese). The informants did not seem to understand the point. They admit, however, that some words, innocent on Rennell, become homophonous with vulgar words on Bellona and hence are avoided. Thus Rennellese *kaga* 'to crack' (*kanga* in Bellonese), is avoided by some because it is homophonous with *kanga* 'round (genitals)'.

The following lexical differences between Rennellese and Bellonese have been noted, in addition to *g/ng* and *gh ... gh*. None are in common use (except probably *betaape*), and none have been traced to Melanesian.

Rennellese	Bellonese	
<i>'agipaipai</i>	<i>'angaapaipai</i>	'centipede'
<i>betaape</i>	<i>beetape</i>	a yam
<i>ghagha</i>	<i>maanihi</i>	'anchovies'
<i>ghaghalaghi</i>	<i>aghalagi</i>	an insect
<i>ghaghapoa</i>	<i>bakapoa</i>	'boil, ulcer'
<i>lakulaku</i>	<i>nakunaku</i>	'to scratch'
<i>ligiboga</i>	<i>lungibonga</i>	'to break ground'

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<i>magate</i>	<i>maangate</i>	'dry reef'
<i>maghaghitebe</i>	<i>mangitebe</i>	an <i>abubu</i> yam
<i>mugemuge</i>	<i>muemue</i>	an insect
<i>muumuubaka</i>	<i>muubeka</i>	a legendary bird
<i>ngoi</i>	<i>ngoengoe</i>	a beetle
<i>pakuniho</i>	<i>pakuniu</i>	'coconut sheath bud'
<i>paopao</i>	<i>paupau</i>	'ashamed'
<i>poipoitua</i>	<i>poipoituu</i>	'to be in danger'
<i>'ugubeeluna</i>	<i>'ungubeelini</i>	a snake
<i>uguniu</i>	<i>ungeniu,</i> <i>unguniu</i>	'coconut sheath'

The Lake in East Rennell has always been rather isolated, and a few words from this region contrast with Central and West Rennell and both contrast with Bellona:

Lake	Central and West Rennell	Bellona	
<i>mugeghi</i>	<i>mugheghi</i>	<i>mungeghi</i>	'to surround'
<i>paagogha</i>	<i>paaghogha</i>	<i>paangogha</i>	'row of stones'
<i>tagughi,</i> <i>taghughi</i>	<i>taghughi</i>	<i>tangughi</i>	'to strip bark'

With a few words the Lake and Central Rennell contrast with Central and West Rennell:

<i>'ataa polo</i>	<i>'otaa polo</i>	<i>'otaa polo</i>	'coconut flakes'
<i>gigo</i>	<i>ngigo</i> (West Rennell)	<i>ngingo</i>	'lost'
<i>mago</i>	<i>alo</i>	<i>alo</i>	'breadfruit bud'

12.3. CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

For two names of birds not found on Bellona, the Lake differs from the rest of Rennell. The Lake forms precede: *ghabangaghi*, *ghabanaghi* 'foreign duck'; *maghughape*, *maghighape* 'fantail'. Many people know these differences and delight in pointing them out.

A question may be raised as to the relative conservatism of Rennellese and Bellonese. The answer seems to be that Rennellese is more conservative. If we are to believe the traditions, the original Polynesian settler, Kaitu'u, came from 'Ubea in the east and landed first at the east end of Rennell, and then settled quite soon many parts of Rennell and later transferred to Bellona (Canoes, T66). This would indicate that the two islands, or "canoes", were settled by Polynesians at about the same time, but Rennell a bit before Bellona. The most convincing proof of the faster rate of change on Bellona is that the Bellonese changed every *g* to *ng*. It is hard to believe that Kaitu'u had only *ng* as correspondent to PPN *l* and *r*, and that the Rennellese later changed some of their *ng* to *g*, and came out with the PPN forms. Compare:

PPN	Rennellese	Bellonese	
*lalo	<i>gago</i>	<i>ngango</i>	'below'
*langi	<i>gangi</i>	<i>ngangi</i>	'sky'
*ngalo	<i>ngago</i>	<i>ngango</i>	'to die, west'
*rongo	<i>gongo</i>	<i>ngongo</i>	'to hear'
*tolu	<i>togu</i>	<i>tongu</i>	'three'

A second argument revealed earlier by the discussion of the *gh ... gh* changes is that it is hard to think of the Rennellese, who are thought to be conservative, as changing, supposedly, some of the Melanesian (or *Hiti*) words as indicated in the Dictionary and in this grammar to *gh ... ng* and *ng ... gh*, and then switching back to *gh ... gh*.

George W. Grace (1985:57) has recently expressed this conclusion very succinctly: "The reflex of PPN **l* is *g*; Bellonese has thus unified the reflexes of PPN **l*, **r*, and **g*, a unification unknown elsewhere among the PN languages. Since the unification of the reflexes of **l* and **r* with those of **g* is presumably irreversible, the Rennellese reflexes could not have

developed from a Bellonese stage ... the almost inevitable conclusion is that Rennellese reflects the original development and Bellonese reflects the further change of η g to η ".

Factors making for rapid change on Bellona are the frequent omission of sounds and the prevalence of long consonants in partial reduplications (2.5), as *babange*, *bbange*. A count of recordings at the Lake (noted for its slow speech) and on Bellona showed that the Lake speaker averaged 134 words a minute, whereas the Bellona average was 192 words a minute. Extremely rapid speech may result in less careful speech and thus faster change.

Another bit of evidence is that the traditional PN *o/a* possessive distinction (5.2.5) is consistently maintained only at the Lake. Elbert (1965:23-24) described hearing a meticulous Bellonese speaker say *tena uguugu* (T159[A]:1) 'his wife' instead of *tana uguugu*, the Lake version; the Lake people present characterized *tena* here as *gapa* 'incorrect'.

Changes other than lexical may be summarized thus:

Rennellese	Bellonese
<i>g, ng</i>	<i>ng</i> always
<i>gh ... gh</i>	<i>gh ... ng, ng ... gh</i> often
<i>t</i>	<i>tʲ, ʧ</i> often
slower speech	faster speech: omissions of sounds, double consonants in partial reduplications
	levelling of <i>o/a</i> distinction, especially in the third person singular possessive

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