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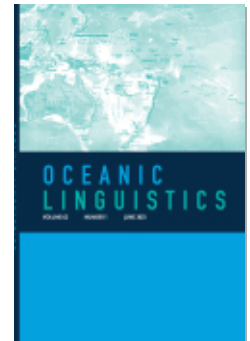
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Åshild Næss

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Voice and Pluractionality in Äiwoo

Åshild Næss

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

This paper examines the uses of the prefix *e-* (*ve-*) in Äiwoo, an Oceanic language of the Temotu subgroup. It argues that the functions of this prefix can be subsumed under the label pluractionality, and that it is a likely reflex of the Proto-Oceanic prefix *paRi-. However, the distribution of the Äiwoo pluractional prefix is unusual in that it most common by far with intransitive position verbs; it can also occur on transitive verbs, but this is infrequent in the available data. This paper argues that this distribution is linked to the fact that Äiwoo has a distinct transitive actor voice which covers many of the typical pluractional functions with transitives. This is particularly clear when one compares Äiwoo (*v*)*e-* to its likely cognate (*v*)*ö-* in the Santa Cruz languages, which only applies to transitive verbs with detransitivizing functions; many of the functions of SC (*v*)*ö-* are covered by the actor voice in Äiwoo. The fact that Äiwoo appears to retain both a reflex of *paRi- and an actor voice/undergoer voice distinction may provide new perspectives on the history of *paRi-, since most Oceanic languages have lost the voice distinction; this may have led to an expansion of the functions of *paRi-, as suggested by the comparison between Äiwoo and the Santa Cruz languages.

Keywords: Pluractionality; Voice; Oceanic; Reefs–Santa Cruz

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ The Reefs–Santa Cruz (RSC) languages have until relatively recently been poorly described. They have been classified by Ross and Næss (2007) as belonging to a previously unrecognized first-order subgroup of Oceanic; this, along with the recognition that the RSC language Äiwoo (Reefs) shows a symmetrical voice system that appears to be a retention from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP; Næss 2015, 2021), means that thorough descriptive and comparative studies of RSC are of considerable interest in understanding the history and typology of Oceanic languages.

This paper examines the prefix *e-* in Äiwoo and argues that its basic function is that of marking pluractionality, that is, plurality or multiplicity of the action

1. I thank Edmund Langu and John Rentz for invaluable help in discussing the Äiwoo data; Valentina Alfarano, Brenda Boerger, and Lidia Mazzitelli for insightful comparative discussions; and two anonymous reviewers for helpful feedback. Any remaining errors or misinterpretations are my own responsibility. The Äiwoo data were collected through fieldwork funded by the Research Council of Norway, grant no. 148717, and the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, grant no. SG0308. This study was carried out within Research Council of Norway project no. 275243.

described by a verb, either because the action is repeated, performed habitually, applied to multiple objects, performed collectively by multiple actors, and so on (see Newman 1990, and references therein). The range of functions performed by Äiwoo *e-* corresponds quite closely to standard definitions of pluractionality. However, the Äiwoo prefix has an unusual distribution, at least for a pluractional marker in an Oceanic language, in that it is overwhelmingly found with position verbs, that is, verbs of posture plus *mo* ‘live, stay’. With such verbs, it largely appears with plural subjects if the subject is inanimate; with animate subjects, however, it indicates either that the subject is located in a broad general region rather than a specific location, or that the subject is in the location for no particular purpose. These functions are closely related to that of indicating “tentative, aimless, or dispersive actions,” which is given as one of the functions of reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic (POC) pluractional prefix *paRi- in languages of New Caledonia by Brill (2005:32). I argue that *e-* is a likely reflex of *paRi-, and thus cognate with the prefix (v)ö- found in the Santa Cruz (SC) languages, Äiwoo’s closest relatives (Alfarano and Boerger 2022).

However, the functions of (v)ö- in the SC languages differ significantly from those found with *e-* in Äiwoo, centering on various kinds of detransitive contexts. I propose that this is due to the fact that Äiwoo, unlike the SC languages, retains an actor voice/undergoer voice distinction in transitive verbs; many of the functions shown by (v)ö- in SC languages are instead filled by the actor voice in Äiwoo. This paper thus provides an analysis which both links likely cognates across Äiwoo and SC in a core area of grammar, and explains the differences in their distribution through fundamental typological differences between Äiwoo, on the one hand, and the SC languages, on the other. It moreover contributes to the discussion in the literature concerning the functions of POC *paRi- (Lichtenberk 2000; Brill 2005; Janic 2016) by providing data from a language that is possibly unique in having retained a symmetrical voice distinction while at the same time showing a reflex of *paRi-.

2. ÄIWOO AND RSC.

2.1. LANGUAGE, CLASSIFICATION, AND DATA. Äiwoo is spoken by around 8,000 people in the Reef Islands in Solomon Islands’ Temotu Province, and belongs to the RSC group of languages together with the languages of nearby Santa Cruz Island, Natügu, Nalögo, and Engdewu.² Along with the languages of Utupua and Vanikoro, the RSC languages are classified as belonging to the Temotu first-order subgroup of Oceanic (Ross and Næss 2007). However, significant lexical innovation and reduction of POC roots to monosyllabic forms which often combine to make new complex items make the identification of cognates between RSC languages and reflexes of POC items highly challenging. At the same time, certain conservative features such as the

2. A fourth variety, Noipä, is recognized by Ethnologue, but no information beyond a word list is available.

retention of a symmetrical voice system in Äiwoo,³ to be discussed in more detail in section 2.2, means that a better understanding of the history and relationships of the RSC languages is likely to yield new insights into the history of Oceanic languages as a whole, and in particular into the transition from the symmetrical voice system reconstructed for PMP to the system of transitivity alternations typically reconstructed for POC.

This paper builds on data collected through fieldwork in Honiara and the Reef Islands in 2004, 2005, and 2015. The bulk of the data consists of free speech in the form of narratives, procedural descriptions, descriptions of different types of customary practices such as fishing, house-building, the making of fishing nets, or social rituals surrounding marriage, childbirth, and death, and speeches made at ceremonial occasions. This corpus comprises roughly 71,000 words. The 2015 materials can be accessed through the Endangered Languages Archive (<https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032004>), including video and audio recordings as well as transcriptions and annotations in FLEx and ELAN. Most of the narrative texts collected in 2004–2005 are published as Næss (2006). Some of the associated audio recordings are archived with PARADISEC under <http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/AN1>, but currently without further annotation. This paper also draws on a set of data elicited using the “Reciprocal constructions and situation type” video stimulus set (Evans et al. 2004), recorded from three different speakers in the Reef Islands in 2004, which is not currently accessible in online or printed form.

A few examples also come from the materials collected by Stephen Wurm and archived with The Australian National University; some of these materials have been digitized and are available online from PARADISEC (<http://www.paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/SAW2/SAW2S002.htm>). The archived materials are in the form of handwritten transcriptions and rough glosses. Some additional examples in section 3.2.3 have been elicited for the purposes of this paper.

In this paper, I indicate the source of each example as follows: References to examples from the materials available in ELAR are prefixed with ‘ELAR’, examples from texts published in the 2006 volume are prefixed with ‘Stories’, and examples from Wurm’s materials are prefixed with ‘Wurm’. All example numbers are from my FLEx annotations. So, for example, (ELAR—Growing pana 98) indicates that the text is available in the ELAR collection with the title “Growing pana” and the example is line no. 98 in the FLEx annotation; (Stories—Rat and turtle 53) means the example comes from “The story about the rat and the turtle” published in the 2006 volume, and so on. References lacking any prefix are to field materials which are not currently accessible in online or printed form. Elicited examples are marked as such; examples elicited with the Reciprocals video stimulus set are marked with ‘Reciprocals’ plus the number of the relevant video stimulus and the initials of the speaker.

3. If Reid (2016) is correct in reconstructing a minimal-augmented pronoun system to PMP, the existence of such systems in all the RSC languages may be another such conservative feature.

2.2. ÄIWOO VERBAL MORPHOLOGY. The relevant morphological properties of the Äiwoo verb are as follows:

Äiwoo shows a symmetrical voice system with two basic transitive constructions, an actor voice (AV) and an undergoer voice (UV). Transitive verbs fall into a number of inflectional classes with different patterns of alternation between actor-voice and undergoer-voice forms, as shown in table 1. The most common patterns are UV *-i* alternating with another final vowel or zero in AV (class 1), and infixed *-ou-*, *-ow-*, *-aw-* in the AV (class 2; class 2c shows complex roots where it is the second part of the root that shows the infix). These patterns most likely reflect POC **-i*, which is reconstructed as a marker of transitivity but argued by Næss (2015, 2021) to have gone through a stage of marking undergoer voice; and the PMP actor-voice infix **<um>*.

Person marking⁴ differs in the actor voice and undergoer voice. Intransitive verbs and transitive actor-voice verbs take actor prefixes, as illustrated in (1).⁵

- (1) a. Toponu mo lâpu
 turtle CONJ rat
 lâ ki-**li**-mo-le=to=wâ.
 DIST IPFV-3AUG-stay-UA=now=DIST
 ‘The turtle and the rat were staying together.’
 (Stories—Rat and turtle 1)
- b. Pe-sime-engâ **li**-epave=to sii=kâ.
 PL-person-DEM:DIST 3AUG-cook.AV=now fish=DIST
 ‘The people cooked fish.’
 (Stories—Sulu’s son 37)

Undergoer-voice verbs take actor suffixes, which mostly reflect POC possessive suffixes (Ross and Næss 2007); this continues the pattern found in Western Austronesian symmetrical-voice languages and reconstructed to PMP, where actor arguments of nonactor voices are marked by possessive forms.

- (2) Sii lâ ki-epavi-**i**=to=wâ.
 fish DIST IPFV-cook.UV-3AUG=now=DIST
 ‘They cooked the fish.’
 (Stories—Sulu’s son 35)

The actor prefixes and suffixes are given in tables 2 and 3 below. With all types of verbs, unit-augmented number (minimal number + 1) is indicated by augmented-number affixes in combination with a suffix *-le* (see Næss 2018 for a discussion of the status of the unit-augmented suffix).

4. Pronouns and bound person markers follow a minimal-augmented system, where ‘you and I’ (‘1st+2nd’ person) functions as a distinct person category. It patterns like the other persons in that it can be “pluralized,” but since its “singular” form refers to two people, the terms “minimal” and “augmented” are used instead of “singular” and “plural” for such systems. The “unit-augmented” number refers to minimal number plus one, that is, two people for the first, second, and third persons, but three for the 1st+2nd person: ‘you and I plus one’.
5. Abbreviations used in glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules where these apply. Additional abbreviations: AV, actor voice; APPR, apprehensive; AUG, augmented number; CONJ, conjunction; COS, change of state; CV, circumstantial voice; DETR, detransitivizing prefix; DIR, directional; INTS, intensifier; LNK, linker; LOC, locative suffix; MED, medial; MID, middle; MIN, minimal number; N3AUG, non-third person augmented; PDIR, person directional; PLAC, pluralational; PREP, preposition; SUBR, subordinator; SUFF, suffix with unclear function; UA, unit-augmented number; UV, undergoer voice.

TABLE 1. VOICE INFLECTION CLASSES.

Class	AV	UV	Example
1a	-c	-i	läve ~ lävi ‘fish with a net’
1b	-ei/-oi	-i	gei ~ gi ‘rub, shave’
1c	∅	-i	eta ~ etai ‘fish with a line’
2a	-ou	-u	tou ~ tu ‘carry, bring, give birth to’
2b	-âwââ	-ââ	eâwââ ~ eââ ‘pull’
2c	-lowe	-lu	tâlowe ~ tâlu ‘cut long flexible object, e.g., hair, grass’
3	-ei	-(i)li	vei ~ vili ‘weave’
4	∅	-(e)â	vâlo ~ vâloeâ ‘beckon, wave to signal someone’
5	iive-/iivä-	∅	iivängo ~ ngo ‘twist or braid fibre into a rope’

TABLE 2. ACTOR PREFIXES.

	Minimal	Augmented
1	i-	me-
1+2	ji-	de-
2	mu-/mi-	mi-
3	∅	li-/lu-

TABLE 3. ACTOR SUFFIXES.

	Minimal	Augmented
1	-no	-ngo(pu)
1+2	-ji	-de
2	-mu	-mi
3	∅/-gu	-i

Undergoer arguments are never marked on actor-voice verbs. In the undergoer voice, undergoer arguments can be marked in certain configurations of actor and undergoer person and number (Næss 2018:36; Roversi 2019), and the unit-augmented suffix can be used to indicate unit-augmented number of undergoers as well as actors (Næss 2018:36). In the vast majority of cases, however, the system of bound person marking does not indicate person and/or number of undergoer arguments. For purposes of this paper, the most relevant point is that a 3AUG (“plural”) undergoer can only be marked by person morphology on the verb when the verb is in the undergoer voice and the actor is 3MIN, as in (3), where the undergoer is indicated by the suffix *-i* ‘3AUG’:

- (3) Penyibe Neo i-vite-opu-**gu-i**=lâ.
 old.man Neo PFV-put-together-3MIN-3AUG=DIST
 ‘He called the elders from Neo together.’

(ELAR—Solomon Tukuba 2 114)

2.3. CLAUSAL PATTERNS IN SANTA CRUZ. By contrast to the voice alternation described for Äiwoo above, the SC languages are analyzed as showing an alternation between a semi-transitive and a transitive construction rather than an actor-voice and an undergoer-voice construction (Vaa 2013;

Alfarano 2021; Alfarano and Boerger 2022). The key structural differences between the Äiwoo voice alternation and the SC transitivity alternation involve, first, greater morphosyntactic restrictions on the O argument⁶ of the SC semi-transitive construction, which is obligatorily postverbal and shows very limited options for modification (Vaa 2013:433–37; Alfarano 2021:391–93), whereas the O argument of the Äiwoo actor voice may be fronted and allows a full range of modifiers (Næss 2015:275), and second, a system of bound pronouns in SC which treat S and A the same across constructions (with the exception of the 3rd person), in contrast to the Äiwoo system described above of distinct person markers in the actor and undergoer voices. Where the SC bound pronouns distinguish between an S and an A form, semi-transitive clauses show the S form, thus patterning with intransitive clauses morphologically while showing two arguments syntactically, hence the term “semi-transitive.”

While some verbs in SC languages are inherently semi-transitive, most are derived from transitives by means of a prefix (*v*)*ö-*, as illustrated in (4):⁷

- (4) a. ENGDEWU (Vaa 2013:434)
 Ö-bi-Ø butöte.
 DETR-bake-3MIN.S sweet.potato
 ‘S/he baked sweet potato.’
- b. NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:98)
 Mō-kā i-vö-nibü=Ø no.
 male-DEM1.DIST PFV.N3AUG-MID-kill=3MIN.S fish
 ‘The man killed fish.’
- c. NATÜGU (Boerger 2019:15)
 Sā tü-ö-pnē=pe-mü=Ø.
 PFV RL-MID-shoot=COS-PDIR.hither=3MIN.S.I
 ‘Then he shot (at him) [toward speaker/narrator]’

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it presents an analysis of the functions of the Äiwoo prefix *e-*. Second, it proposes a historical origin of this prefix in the reconstructed POC prefix **paRi-*. If correct, this means that Äiwoo *e-* is cognate with the SC detransitive prefix (*v*)*ö-* (Alfarano and Boerger 2022). Although the functions of *e-* and (*v*)*ö-* overlap to some extent, they also show significant differences, and I argue that this is linked to the fact that Äiwoo retains an actor voice/undergoer voice distinction, where the actor voice covers many of the functions filled by (*v*)*ö-* in SC. The fact that Äiwoo, unlike any other known Oceanic language,⁸ retains both a symmetrical voice distinction and a reflex of **paRi-*, in turn, provides a new perspective on the discussion on the history and functions of **paRi-* (Lichtenberk 2000; Brill 2005; Janic 2016).

6. I use the terms S, A, and O to refer to the single argument of an intransitive verb, the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb, and the second argument of a transitive verb, respectively.

7. Vaa (2013) uses the gloss DETR ‘detransitivizer’ for this prefix, whereas Alfarano and Boerger (2022) gloss the prefix as ‘middle’ in Natügu and Nalögo; see section 4 below.

8. The description of Nehan (Western Oceanic, Nissan Island) in Glennon (2014) is suggestive of a symmetrical voice system which has clear similarities to that found in Äiwoo, although Glennon does not describe the system in those terms. In Glennon’s grammatical sketch, a prefix *uel-*, sometimes co-occurring with a suffix *-e*, is described as forming reciprocal constructions (Glennon 2014:50).

This paper is structured as follows: Section 3 describes the functions of the prefix *e-* in Äiwoo, arguing that they can be summarized under the notion of pluractionality, and proposes that the marginally attested form *ve-* is likely to be an allomorph of the same morpheme. It also discusses briefly the prefix *mo-*, which appears to have similar functions and to be in complementary distribution with *(v)e-*, although the available data are sparse. Section 4 compares the functions of *(v)e-* to those reported for reflexes of the POC prefix *paRi-, in particular to SC *(v)ö-*, and argues that *(v)e-* is a plausible reflex of *paRi- and cognate with *(v)ö-*. Section 5 discusses how Äiwoo indicates key grammatical functions not covered by *(v)e-* but reported for *paRi- reflexes in other Oceanic languages, and in particular for *(v)ö-* in SC. It shows that many of these functions are covered by the actor voice; in addition, there is an array of strategies for indicating reciprocity, which have clear parallels in other Oceanic languages. Section 6 discusses the RSC data in light of the existing literature on POC *paRi-. It argues that the division of labor between Äiwoo *(v)e-* and the actor voice is relevant to understanding the transition from PMP *paR- to POC *paRi-, and notes that out of the various views that have been presented on the functions of *paRi-, the present-day functions of *(v)e-*/*(v)ö-* in RSC have the closest affinity with Pawley's (1973) proposal that *paRi- was a marker of pluractionality which showed reciprocal functions only with a subset of verbs.

3. THE FUNCTIONS OF *e-*.

3.1. *e-* AS AN ACTOR-VOICE MARKER. In addition to the voice inflection classes presented in table 1 above, a few minor patterns of voice marking are attested in Äiwoo. With a very few verbs, the actor-voice form consists of an *e-* prefixed to the undergoer-voice form. The clearest example is *bi* 'bake.UV' – *ebi* 'bake.AV', which closely parallels the forms found in the SC languages, namely *bi* 'bake (transitive)' – *öbi* 'bake (semi-transitive)'. A similar case is *täji* 'chop, slice'—*etäde*, where the root shows the *-i ~ -e* alternation described in section 2 above, but also adds an *e-* in the actor voice. *kali* – *ekäi* 'sing' may be considered a similar case in that the actor voice shows both an alternation in the root and the addition of *e-* compared to the undergoer voice. A few other cases which may be similar, but where it is less clear that a distinction can be made between a root alternation on the one hand and the addition of *e-* on the other are *ei* – *ii* 'peel', *eeä* – *iie* 'scratch, scrape, write', *eotou* – *iitu* 'tattoo'.

3.2. *e-* AS A PRODUCTIVE PREFIX.

3.2.1. Distribution *e-*, with the variant form *o-*,⁹ appears prefixed to verbs in a number of cases as illustrated in (5) below:

9. It is not uncommon in Äiwoo for /e/ and /o/ to alternate, and it is not at present known what the constraints on this alternation are. Examples of common lexical items attested with this alternation are *singedä/singodä* 'woman', *te/to* 'see', *okenyi/okonyi* 'wash.UV'.

- (5) a. Li-e-mo=kâ mo ilâ siwe-i=lâ. (Usaliki 273)
 3AUG-PLAC-stay=DIST with DIST sister.of.man-3AUG=DIST
 ‘They were living with their sister.’ (Usaliki 273)
- b. Lâ bu eââ me-ki-e-tokoli=kâ.
 DIST night DEM:DIST 1AUG-IPFV-PLAC-sit=DIST
 ‘That night, we were sitting there.’ (ELAR—Earthquake 79)
- c. Ee, nataa i-to, ki-e-so-to-kâ
 yes thorn.3MIN PFV-exist IPFV-PLAC-stand-go.in-DIR:3
 ngâ nulie eââ=nâ.
 PREP pana DEM:DIST=DIST
 ‘Yes, it’s got thorns, standing on that pana [lesser yam, *Dioscorea
 esculenta*].’ (ELAR—Growing pana 98)

There are two striking patterns in the distribution of *e-*. First, out of a total of 330 examples of *e-/o-* in my corpus, 299 involve just four verbs: *mo* ‘stay, live’ (119 examples), and the posture verbs *tokoli* ‘sit’ (87), *so* ‘stand’ (58), and *ko* ‘lie’ (35). This figure includes data elicited with the ‘Reciprocals’ video stimulus (Evans et al. 2004), where a high proportion of the videos the speakers were shown and asked to describe involved people sitting or standing; the data from non-elicited discourse show a total of 242 examples, of which 119 involve *mo* ‘stay, live’, 47 *tokoli* ‘sit’, 33 *ko* ‘lie’, and 22 *so* ‘stand’ (221 in total). Three additional examples involve *tâäe* ‘sit up, sit on an elevated surface’, and three, all from the data elicited with the Reciprocals film clips, involve *tââli* ‘sit down, settle’. Of the other verbs attested with *e-*, only three are attested more than once: *luwa* ‘take’ (6 examples), *togulo* ‘hit, punch’ (3 examples, 2 from Reciprocals), *toki* ‘chop’ (4 examples, all in the same text). *Nââ* ‘voice, message’ is attested twice, but this is a nominal root occurring in a complex construction the precise analysis of which is not clear to me (*nye-li-e-nââ* NMLZ-3AUG-*e-*-voice ‘words, message’), and I will not consider it further here. The following verbs are attested once each: *kâ* ‘say, want’, *kää* ‘know’, *mei* ‘sleep’, *towââ* ‘take’, *towole* ‘inspect’, *upwee* ‘emerge from the ground’, *uu* ‘sew’, as well as one example where it is not clear whether the root is *tou* ‘bring’ or an unknown form ?*touli*.

Second, the majority of examples involve a nonsingular actor. In terms of person marking on the verb, a total of 243 examples show either unit-augmented or augmented marking. An additional 2 show 1st+2nd person minimal marking, which also indicates nonsingular reference. However, of the 73 examples which appear formally to be in the 3rd person minimal (i.e., lacking overt person marking), around 1/3 (24 examples) in fact refer to plural entities, as in (6) below. In (6a), the use of the plural verb *liliwaio* ‘be small.PL’ clearly shows that several entities are referred to (the singular form is *laki* or *lakiwaio*), even though the verb *ko* ‘lie’ lacks augmented-number person marking; in (6b) the relative clause ‘people who have come’ shows 3AUG marking on the verb *po-mâ* ‘go-DIR:1’, again showing that plural reference is intended, even though the posture verb *tokoli* ‘sit’ does not show 3AUG marking.¹⁰

10. In this case, the lack of person marking stems from the fact that bound person markers are incompatible with a postverbal coreferential nominal.

- (6) a. Kele mi-liliwaio, mi-liliwaio ki-e-ko-wää.
 here one-be.small.PL one-be.small.PL IPFV-PLAC-lie-LOC:PROX
 ‘These small ones, the small ones lying here.’
 (ELAR—The structure of a house 99)
- b. Ilâ ku-tu-lâ-kâ-ngopu=waa ki-e-tokoli-mâ
 DIST IPFV-bring.UV-go.out-DIR:3-1AUG=FUT IPFV-PLAC-sit-DIR:1
 sime=kaa mi-ku-lu-po-mâ=wâ.
 person=FUT one-IPFV-3AUG-go-DIR:1=DIST
 ‘We bring them for guests [lit people who have come] to sit on.’
 (ELAR—Weaving baskets and hats 27)

3.2.2. *e-* on activity verbs. For the transitive verbs attested with *e-*, the majority of examples involve a plural undergoer, as in (7):

- (7) a. Lâto=waa ki-e-luwa-kâ-i=to=wâ mo ...
 thus=FUT IPFV-PLAC-take-DIR:3-3AUG=now=DIST CONJ
 ‘Then they take them [stones] and ...’
 (ELAR—Traditional fishing 36)
- b. Ki-e-luwa-kâ-i=laa=kâ mo li-nubo=to,
 IPFV-PLAC-take-DIR:3-3AUG=FUT=DIST CONJ 3AUG-die=now
 mi-dâu=kâ li-nubo=to.
 one-many=DIST 3AUG-die=now
 ‘When they take [the sharks] out [of the net], they are already dead,
 many of them are dead.’ (ELAR—Shark net 68)
- c. Mi-elââ
 one-be.big.PL
 le i-e-toki-i-du-wâ-ngopu=to=we.
 PROX PFV-PLAC-chop.UV-SUFF-all-DIR:2-1AUG=now=PROX
 ‘We have cut down all the big ones now.’ (ELAR—Gardening 370)

One example involves a repeated action with a single actor and undergoer:

- (8) Ki-e-togulo-ea-i ilâ eâumobä eângâ.
 IPFV-PLAC-punch.UV-be.bad-UV DIST eâumobä DEM:DIST
 ‘He was beat up badly by that *eâumobä* [a kind of mythological creature
 living in the forest.]’ (Stories—Pale 18)

This example could be taken to represent so-called event-internal plurality, in that the act of beating someone up necessarily involves a repeated act of hitting; see section 4 below.

Another four examples, with two different verbs, involve a reciprocal action with multiple actors. In general, *e-* is not used to form reciprocals (see section 4 below for an exception). In the examples where *e-* is found in clauses denoting reciprocal situations, *e-* does not by itself indicate reciprocity; rather, this is expressed by the coreferentiality of the actor suffix and the O pronoun (cf. section 5.3 below). Note also that in (9b), *e-* appears not only on the reciprocal verb ‘push (each other)’ but also on the posture verb ‘stand’, which does not have a reciprocal meaning. The *e-* prefix in these examples thus seems to be related to the fact that more than two participants are involved in the reciprocal situation; this is the case with all attested

examples of *e-* with reciprocals, with the aforementioned exception to be discussed below.

- (9) a. Sime i-li-polegi i-e-togulo-i jii wagi.
 person PFV-3AUG-six PFV-PLAC-punch-3AUG 3AUG at.once
 ‘Six people hit each other all at once.’ (Reciprocals 57: MT)
- b. Sime lu-uvä ki-li-e-so,
 person 3AUG-four IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-stand
 lâ ki-e-topoi-i jii=lâ.
 DIST IPFV-PLAC-push-3AUG 3AUG=DIST
 ‘Four people are standing, they are pushing each other.’
 (Reciprocals 42: MT)

Another example seems to refer to the gradual habituation to an action through repetition, where *kää* ‘know’ prefixed with *e-* gets the interpretation ‘get used to’:

- (10) (Is it hard working such a big garden?)
 Ki-laki-laki=kâ lâto tokolikoli ba umo=to=wâ=gu,
 IPFV-small-small=DIST thus things NEG difficult=now=DIST=NEG
 i-ki-e-kää=jo=wâ.
 1MIN-IPFV-PLAC-know.UV=PROG=DIST
 ‘Bit by bit things are not so hard, I get used to it.’
 (ELAR—Gardening 551–52)

Example (11) involves the (extended) intransitive verb *towole* ‘inspect, survey’, and plausibly has a distributive reading, where multiple actors carry out the inspection around different parts of the village:

- (11) Nelebi nã sime mi-ku-lu-pwä
 group of.3MIN person one-IPFV-3AUG-go
 mi-ki-li-e-towole ngâ nuumä
 one-IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-inspect PREP village
 ‘A group of people who came to inspect our village [after a tsunami].’
 (ELAR—Tsunami 50)

Examples (7)–(11), along with the predominance of nonsingular actors with intransitive *e*-marked verbs, suggest that the basic function of *e-* is marking pluractionality, also sometimes referred to as verbal number. Pluractionality is a complex concept which includes the repetition of an action, action simultaneously being performed by multiple actors or on multiple objects, or combinations of these. Mattioli (2019:164) defines pluractionality as “a morphological modification of the verb (or a pair of semantically related verbs) that primarily conveys a plurality of situations involving a repetition through time, space, and/or participants.” Corbett (2000:246–47) distinguishes between “event number,” that is, repeated or multiple events versus “participant number,” that is, multiple actors or undergoers. It is also common for pluractional constructions to show a reciprocal function (Mattioli 2019:31, 39–40). In Äiwoo, the functions of *e-* include indicating multiple undergoers, multiple actors in a reciprocal relation, repeated or

distributed action; all functions which fall under the general heading of pluractionality.

3.2.3. *e-* on position verbs. With activity verbs, then, the basic function of *e-* appears to be marking pluractionality. The question is then to what extent the analysis carries over to the most frequent use of *e-*, namely with position verbs, as illustrated in section 3.2.1 above.

To begin with, it is interesting to note that various studies indicate that “if any verbs show verbal number, they will be verbs of motion and position/location, and that it will not be found with transitives unless it is also found with intransitives” (Corbett 2000:258; see also Veselinova 2006:155). Corbett here seems to be referring to cases where pluractionality is indicated by lexical alternations (Booker 1982), but it is nevertheless interesting with respect to Äiwoo *e-*, which has a similar function and occurs largely on position verbs. Motion verbs do not appear to occur with *e-* in Äiwoo, though see the discussion of *mo-* in section 3.5 below. It is worth noting that several of the languages in Booker’s (1982) account of what she calls number suppletion in North American languages show such suppletion for position verbs but not for motion verbs, including Chinook, Tunica, Takelma, and Biloxi.

It is not unusual, in other words, for pluractional marking to be restricted to, or predominantly present with, position verbs crosslinguistically. However, the function of *e-* with position verbs in Äiwoo seems to go beyond pluractionality in the strict sense of marking a plurality of events, actors, or objects.

First, *e-* is more likely to appear when the position verb is used to locate an entity within a general area rather than at a specific location, as in (12):¹¹

- (12) a. Mu-ku-mo nyâ?
 2MIN-IPFV-stay where
 ‘Where do you live/where are you staying?’
- b. I-ki-e-mo Tanuli.
 1MIN-IPFV-PLAC-stay Tanuli
 ‘I’m staying in Tanuli (area in Honiara).’
- c. I-ku-mo ngä Training Centre.
 PFV-IPFV-stay PREP Training Centre
 ‘I’m staying at the Training Centre (located in Tanuli).’ (elicited)

Second, the use of *e-* often indicates that the actor(s) are in the location for no specific purpose, “just hanging around,” as opposed to performing a goal-directed activity:

11. The presence of the locative preposition *ngä* in b. versus its absence in a. is not directly related to the distinction between a general versus a specific location, but stems from the fact that place names in Äiwoo belong to a class of “locationals” which occur as locative or temporal adverbials without a preposition. Other words falling into this class are *ngäâgu* ‘bush, inland’, *bwää* ‘sea’, *bolevi* ‘shore’, and terms for parts of the day such as *pevaio* ‘morning’, *monalä* ‘late afternoon’ and so on.

- (13) a. *Sâu kälää?*
Sâu be.where
 ‘Where is Sâu?’
- b. *Ku-mo ngââgu.*
IPFV-stay bush
 ‘He’s in the bush (for a purpose, e.g. planting a garden).’
- c. *Kode ki-e-mo ngââgu.*
maybe IPFV-PLAC-stay bush
 ‘He might be in the bush (but I don’t know if he is engaged in any purposeful activity there).’ (elicited)
- (14) a. *Mo inâ i-pu-lâ-kä ngä sapulâu=kâ,*
CONJ 3MIN PFV-go-go.out-DIR:3 PREP men’s.house=DIST
lâ ki-li-e-tokoli-kä=nâ
DIST IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-sit-DIR:3=DIST
ile mo nyidoomu wä nuwe=ke.
PROX CONJ time of.3MIN surroundings=PROX
 ‘And he went to the men’s house, where people were sitting at this time of day (sitting around without a specific purpose).’ (Wurm—Saa 20)
- b. *Mi-de-wâbu=eo! Penyibe ki-li-tokoli*
2AUG-APPR-make.noise=PROH elder IPFV-3AUG-sit
ngâ nuwopa ki-li-lopâ-opu.
PREP house IPFV-3AUG-talk-together.
 ‘Be quiet! The elders are sitting in the house discussing matters together.’ (elicited)

When a position verb is modified by *waabo* ‘idly, in a leisurely way’, it tends, in general, to take *e-*:

- (15) a. *Ki-li-e-tokoli-waabo.*
IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-sit-idly
 ‘They are just sitting around.’ (elicited)
- b. *Me-o-ute-mä lâ me-ki-e-mo-waabo=to=wâ.*
1AUG-go-back-DIR:1 DIST 1AUG-IPFV-PLAC-stay-idly=now=DIST
 ‘We came back and relaxed.’ (Chopping wood 10)

Example (16) shows an exception to this, where *tokoli* ‘sit’ takes *waabo* but no *e-*. However, the sitting in this case, though it is presented as being relaxed and leisurely, does have a specific purpose, namely the presentation of bride price.

- (16) *Mi-nâ-pu-mä=to=waa nâ-tokoli-waabo*
2MIN-IRR-go-DIR:1=now=FUT IRR-sit-idly
kâlâ ngä nyidâbu eângâ,
there PREP day DEM:DIST
nugono nâ sipe-mu
price of.3MIN daughter-2MIN
lâ ku-wâiwoli-wâ=jo=wâ.
DIST IPFV-put.down-DIR:2=PROG=DIST
 ‘You should come and sit down on a particular day, and he will present the bride price for your daughter.’ (ELAR—Marriage customs 51)

The use of *e-* to indicate that an activity is aimless or haphazard rather than goal-directed echoes the description in Brill (2005) of the functions of reflexes of

the POC pluractional prefix *paRi- in Oceanic languages of New Caledonia; in addition to, among others, referring to collective, associative actions and to reciprocal actions, such forms are also used for “actions without an endpoint, such as tentative, aimless, or dispersive actions” (Bril 2005:32). POC *paRi- will be discussed further in section 4; for now, the key point is that forms with pluractional functions are attested in other Oceanic languages as showing a “tentative, aimless, or dispersive” reading. Compare (12)–(15) with example (17) from the New Caledonian language Nêlêmwa, where *pe-* is the relevant prefix:

(17) NÊLÊMWA (Bril 2005:52)

Bu na xe na gaa pe-haga du hmwiny.
 EXPL 1SG TOP 1SG PROG *pe*-fish down here

‘As for me, I’m going to go fishing around here (with no specific intention of catching any specific type of fish in any precise place).’

It is also worth noting that in the Reciprocals data, *e-* tends not to appear when the positions of two (sets of) entities are contrasted, that is, when the focus is on posture rather than location:

- (18) a. Sime li-vili ki-li-e-tokoli-to-kä ngä tebol.
 person 3AUG-five IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-sit-go.in-DIR:3 PREP table
 ‘Five people are sitting at a table.’ (Reciprocals 28: JL)
- b. Sime li-eve ki-tokoli lilu ä
 person 3AUG-three IPFV-sit two CONJ
 ki-so ngä numoleaa-i-le nyigi.
 IPFV-stand PREP middle-3AUG-UA one
 ‘Three people, two are sitting and one is standing between them.’
 (Reciprocals 31: JL)

That is, *e-* is used on position verbs only when they function primarily to denote the location of an entity. With an animate actor, it serves to indicate that the actor’s presence in the location is haphazard or lacks a specific purpose, as opposed to being in the location for the purpose of some meaningful or goal-directed activity.

With inanimate entities, the parameter of purposeful activity presumably does not apply. When the location of inanimate referents is indicated by position verbs, *e-* is used mainly with plural subjects:

- (19) a. Teväivä le ki-e-tokoli-wä nuwosi nã lilu.
 stone PROX IPFV-PLAC-sit-LOC:PROX kind of.3MIN two
 ‘The stones sitting here, there are two kinds.’
 (ELAR—Baking potatoes 58)
- b. Lube eã nuluwo eângã
 pana.post CONJ pana.stick DEM:DIST
 lâto ku-wã-pu-ee-ngopu,
 thus IPFV-CAUS-go-go.up-1AUG
 lâ ki-e-so=kã go nã-wee=nã.
 DIST IPFV-PLAC-stand=DIST CONJ IRR-go.up=CV
 ‘The posts and sticks, we make it climb up, they stand there for (the vine) to climb up on.’ (ELAR—Growing pana 57–58)

- c. Le ki-e-ko-wä=dä=ne
PROX IPFV-PLAC-lie-LOC:PROX=some=PROX
 ilâ ki-e-ko-kä.
DIST IPFV-PLAC-lie-DIR:3
 ‘There are some lying here and lying over there.’
 (ELAR—Gardening 37)

Position verbs with singular inanimate subjects mostly occur without *e-*:

- (20) a. Nyopwä ile ki-tokoli-wää.
earth.oven PROX IPFV-sit-LOC:PROX
 ‘The oven is here.’ (ELAR—Cooking cabbage 1)
- b. Nyopaa kele dä ki-so-mää.
fishing.arrow here some IPFV-stand-LOC:PROX
 ‘There is an arrow here.’ (Usaliki 370)
- c. Naâpwa ile ko-oli-mä uu=kâ.
ridge.beam PROX lie-go.down-DIR:1 above=DIST
 ‘That’s the ridge beam lying up there.’
 (ELAR—The structure of a house 54–55)

Compare also (12a,b), from the same text describing the materials and construction of a traditional leaf house; in both cases, the speaker is referring to rafters that go into the construction of the roof. A very few verbs show suppletion for number in Äiwoo; these include *laki* ~ *lili* ‘be small SG ~ PL’ and the variant forms *lakiwaio* ~ *liliwaio* ‘be small SG ~ PL’. Though all forms are attested in my data, *laki* seems to be the most frequently used form in the singular and *liliwaio* in the plural, as the examples show. As the examples in (21a,b) are otherwise completely parallel, it seems safe to assume that the presence versus absence of *e-* on the position verb is due to the plural versus singular subject.

- (21) a. kele mi-laki=ke ile ko-wää
here one-small=PROX PROX lie-LOC:PROX
 ‘this small one lying here’ (ELAR—The structure of a house 81)
- b. kele mi-liliwaio, mi-liliwaio ki-e-ko-wää
here one-small.PL one-small.PL IPFV-PLAC-lie-LOC:PROX
 ‘these small ones, the small ones lying here’
 (ELAR—The structure of a house 99)

For inanimates, then, the use of *e-* on position verbs with a locative function seems largely to correlate with singular versus plural number; though note that a few exceptions do occur in my data. It may also be noted that *mo* ‘stay, live’ is not acceptable with inanimate subjects; the alternative to a posture verb in describing the location of an inanimate entity is the existential verb *to* ‘be, exist’, which does not take the *e-* prefix:

- (22) a. Nâu ile ki-to-wää
sugarcane PROX PFV-exist-LOC:PROX
 ‘There is sugarcane here.’ (ELAR—Gardening 192)

- b. Teväivä ki-to-lā-epu-mā=dä
 stone IPFV-exist-go.out-also-DIR:1=some
 ngā nyibā-ee.
 PREP basket-DEM:PROX
 ‘There are still some stones in this basket.’
 (ELAR—Traditional fishing 319)

3.3. SUMMARY: THE FUNCTIONS OF *e-*. A core meaning of pluractionality seems to account adequately for most of the uses of *e-* described above. For activity verbs, the pluractional meaning seems clear; the prefix indicates a plurality of objects (example 7), of actions (8, 10), of actors (9), and probably distributivity in example (11).

With the position verbs that account for the vast majority of occurrences of *e-*, the picture is somewhat more complex. First, *e-* is mainly used when a position verb is used to indicate location rather than focusing on the posture as such. With this restriction, the use of position verbs for inanimate located entities fits a pluractional analysis; *e-* is used when the located entity is plural, but generally not when it is singular.

With animate actors, *e-*+position verb has the meaning of being in a location for no particular purpose, of hanging around aimlessly, as opposed to performing a goal-directed activity. Such a meaning of “tentative, aimless, or dispersive actions” is described for pluractional markers in other Oceanic languages by Brill (2005). The ‘tentative, dispersive’ meaning is likely also relevant to the use of *e-* to locate a referent within a broad general area rather than a more specific location.

3.4. AN ALLOMORPH *ve-*? There is some evidence for a prefix *ve-* which appears to be an allomorph of *e-*. This prefix indicates plurality of the undergoer argument in cases like (23):

- (23) a. Bot nugu-mu vägie.
 Boat POSS:TOOL-2MIN push.up
 ‘Push up your boat.’
 b. Bot nugu-mi ve-vägie.
 boat POSS:TOOL-2AUG PLAC-push.up
 ‘Push up your boats.’ (elicited)

I lack data on the productivity of this prefix and the range of verbs it may occur with, especially as regards the relative distribution of *e-* versus *ve-*, where more information is clearly needed to confirm or disconfirm these forms as allomorphs of a single pluractional morpheme. A few verb stems in my database have a form and semantics which suggests they may be formed with a pluractional *ve-*: *vevagulo* ‘beat, hit repeatedly’, *vevägevile* ‘wriggle around’ (cf. *väge* ‘crawl, wriggle’, *vile* ‘go around’), *vevei* ‘beat, drum’. The latter example further suggests that a couple of actor voice-undergoer voice pairs which I have analyzed as formed by reduplication may instead be instances of pluractional *ve-*, cf. the actor-voice forms in *e-* discussed in section 3.1 above, namely

ve ~ *veve* ‘buy, pay’ and *vee* ~ *vevee* ‘scoop, dig’. In general, reduplication is not very productive in Äiwoo (see section 5.5 below), and these verbs are the only ones I have attested in which the actor-voice form appears to be formed by reduplication of the undergoer-voice form; analyzing them instead as being formed by a pluractional prefix *ve-* would unify these forms with those in *e-* discussed in section 3.1 above and reduce the number of morphological mechanisms required to account for the actor voice/undergoer voice alternation. The fact that all attested examples involve *v*-initial verbs might suggest retention of an original /v/ in these environments which has been lost elsewhere; I will return to this point in section 4 below.

3.5. THE PREFIX *mo-*. There is yet another prefix in Äiwoo which appears to have a somewhat similar function to *e-*, namely *mo-*. This form is much less frequent in my data than *e-*, with a total of only 41 examples. Of these, 22 involve the verb *bakisi*¹² ‘run’, and the meaning is ‘run all about, run around aimlessly’:

- (24) a. Ku-lu-mo-bakisi=to=wâ mo lâ
 IPFV-3AUG-MO-run=now=DIST CONJ thus
 ki-olo-i=ke nââ-i=lâ.
 IPFV-be.big-UV=PROX voice-3AUG=DIST
 ‘They were running around and shouting.’ (Wurm—Oponego 183)
- b. Me-ku-mo-bakisi-u-le-vâbelia=to=wâ
 1AUG-IPFV-MO-run-across-scatter=now=DIST
 pelivanou-ngopu jii ki-amoli-taa-ngopu jii.
 children-1AUG 3AUG IPFV-look.at-INTS-1AUG 3AUG
 ‘We were running all about looking for our children.’
 (ELAR—Tsunami 14)

Another set of examples involve a plurality of patients affected by the action, either as transitive undergoer or intransitive S arguments:

- (25) a. Ku-mo-bwaapo=jo=wâ upoji elââ ee.
 IPFV-MO-dig.up=PROG=DIST yam be.big.PL DEM:PROX
 ‘She was digging up these big yams.’ (Wurm—Oponego 113)
- b. nyenaa mi-elââ lâ mo-boki-woli=kâ
 tree one-be.big.PL DIST MO-break-go.down=DIST
 ‘big trees that fell down (lit. broke down)’ (ELAR—Gardening 41)

Example (26a) and two others from the same text involving the verb *mâtâlâ* ‘get ready, prepare’ might relate to the variety of preparations that take place before a funeral; compare (26b), where only one type of thing is being prepared:

- (26) a. Me-ku-mo-mâtâlâ-kâ=naa=kâ ilâ ngâ nubo.
 1AUG-IPFV-MO-prepare-DIR:3=FUT=DIST DIST PREP die
 ‘We prepare for his funeral.’ (ELAR—Burial customs 51)

12. I have attested both *bakisi* and *basiki*, with no obvious factors appearing to govern the alternation; it does not appear to be a question of dialect, as individual speakers are attested using both.

- b. Gelivitä dowâlili ku-lu-mâtâlâ
 mother.PL child IPFV-3AUG-prepare
 ki-li-lo-kä käi.
 IPFV-3AUG-make-DIR:3 pudding
 ‘The women (lit. mothers of children) prepare to make pudding.’
 (ELAR—Taboos 44–45)

A final set of examples involving the verbs *tävilee* ‘swing up’ or *tävilooli* ‘swing down’ all come from the same text, a “just so” story about a parrot and a flying fox hanging from a tree branch. I do not have these verbs attested without *mo-*, and it is not clear to me what the prefix contributes here; in (27a), the ‘try’ meaning evokes Brill’s (2005:32) notion of a tentative action referred to above, but (27b) does not appear to have such a meaning:

- (27) a. Tepekâ i-wâmokee kä=nä nä-mo-tävilee-ute.
 flying.fox PFV-start say=CV IRR-MO-swing.up-again
 ‘The flying fox started trying to swing back up.’
 (Stories—Flying fox 32)
- b. Lâto vili i-mo-tävilee-ute lâ ki-tokoli=kâ.
 thus parrot PFV-MO-swing.up-again DIST IPFV-sit=DIST
 ‘And the parrot swung back up and sat.’ (Stories—Flying fox 23)

I base my analysis of these examples as involving a prefix *mo-* on the existence of the root *täve* ‘hang’, but it is possible that *mo-* in these cases have a different source, or has simply been lexicalized as part of the stem.

Although these examples are unaccounted for, the instances where *mo-* seems clearly productive in my data involve a general pluractional meaning, as in (25) and (26). In particular, the ‘scattered, aimless’ meaning found with *bakisi* ‘run’, which accounts for the majority of my data, is parallel to the use of *e-* with position verbs as meaning that the actor is in the location for no particular purpose. My data are too limited to draw any definite conclusions, but it is worth noting that no verb root is attested with both *e-* and *mo-*, and that the combinations **e-bakisi* and **mo-tokoli* are rejected by speakers as ungrammatical. It is tempting to assume that the two prefixes are in complementary distribution and are, in fact, allomorphs of the same morpheme. This possibility will be discussed further in section 4 below.

4. COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES. Many Oceanic languages show a prefixal marker with meanings indicating a plurality of actions, actors, or objects, thought to reflect the POC prefix **paRi-* (Pawley 1973; Lichtenberk 2000; Brill 2005; Janic 2016). Pawley (1973:152) describes this reconstructed prefix as having denoted “combined or repeated action by a plurality of actors, or affecting a plurality of entities.”

For Äiwoo’s closest relatives, the languages of Santa Cruz, Alfarano and Boerger (2022) argue that the prefix *(v)ö-*, illustrated with a detransitivizing function in (4) above, is a reflex of **paRi-*. Focusing on data from Natügu and Nalögo, Alfarano and Boerger follow Brill (2005) in describing the functions of the prefix *((v)ö-* in Nalögo, *ö-* in Natügu) as middle, which they define

as involving a “low distinguishability of participants.” Specifically, they characterize the main function of the construction as “shifting the focus from the endpoint to the initiator and the action expressed by the verb” (Alfarano and Boerger 2022:49). Morphosyntactically, the prefix is valency-decreasing, having either a depatientive function where an implied patient participant is omitted from expression altogether, or forming semi-transitive constructions as described in section 2.2 above.

Semantically, these constructions cover a range of functions. The implied or semi-transitive patient may be generic, nonspecific, or plural, that is, typically referring not to a specific individual but a class or group. The (v)ö-construction is further used to indicate habitual situations, which Alfarano and Boerger do not define, but which along the lines of Bertinetto and Lenci (2012), I take to mean the regular iteration of an event which is regarded as a characterizing property of a given referent; personal characteristics or occupations, obviously closely linked to habituality in the abovementioned sense; gnomic aspect, referring to situations that are generally true;¹³ and event-internal plurality, that is, events that inherently involve some kind of repetition (“repetitive actions”; Cusic 1981:78). Examples are given in (28) and (29).

(28) NALÖGO (Alfarano and Boerger 2022)

- a. Ö-velâ obu kaptengime kâ atwö.
 MID-read day sixth LNK every
 ‘She reads every Saturday.’ (habitual)
- b. Blaite=nu olë kâ vö-kla.
 grandmother=1MIN.POSS woman LNK MID-know
 ‘My grandmother is a knowledgeable woman.’ (personal characteristic)
- c. Mokilëla vö-mwa-kâ.
 mosquito MID-bite-soft.obj
 ‘Mosquitoes bite.’ (gnomic aspect)
- d. Bwale kâ vö-kâ.
 old.woman DEM₁.DIST MID-scrape
 ‘The old woman scraped out [coconut].’ (event-internal plurality)

(29) NATÜGU (Alfarano and Boerger 2022, p.c.)

- a. Më në-wë-kö dâkta tü-ö-läplë=Ø
 PREP NMLZ1-make-NMLZ.POSS doctor RL-MID-make.hole=3MINI.S
 leplë tü-ö-pnuti=Ø kâsüki ä
 people RL-MID-treat=3MINI.S sore and
 tü-ö-ka-bë=Ø medesin badö
 RL-MID-give-PDIR.thither=3MINI.S medicine COM
 kâ-në-yagoä=ngü.
 SUBR-3AUG.I-sick=3AUGI.S
 ‘In the doctor’s work, he gave shots to people, treated sores, and gave medicines to the sick.’ (habitual)

13. In languages where this function is expressed by the imperfective aspect, it is often referred to as gnomic imperfectivity (Bertinetto and Lenci 2012). Since imperfective marking is not involved in the relevant constructions in Natügu and Nalögo, Alfarano and Boerger use the term “gnomic aspect” instead.

- b. *Ēyagoä ö-nibü=∅ leplë.*
 sickness MID-kill=3MINI.S people
 ‘Sickness kills people.’ (gnomic aspect)
- c. *Ö-mika-tä=kö noli nu-ti-tä=kö*
 MID-gather-INTS=1AUG.I plum wrap-TR-INTS=1AUG.I
tapläsö=gö në-nu ö=de
 be.distributed.evenly=1AUG.II NMLZ1-food.parcel GEN1A=3MIN.II
 ‘We gathered the plums, parceled them up, its parcels evenly split
 between us.’ (event-internal plurality)

Despite Alfarano and Boerger’s choice of the term ‘middle’, the prefix does not have canonical middle functions in the sense of marking actions carried out by the actor on itself, such as grooming or other types of self-directed actions (Kemmer 1993:16–20; Lichtenberk 2000:47); these can instead be marked with a morpheme =*lēbu* (Nalögo; Alfarano 2021:478, to appear)/-*lēbü* (Natügu; Boerger 2022). Interestingly, one single example is attested in Nalögo of the prefix showing a reciprocal function, namely *të* ‘hit’ > *ö-të* ‘fight (with each other)’ (Alfarano 2021:260, 482, 485).

Alfarano and Boerger argue that SC (*v*)*ö-* is a reflex of POC **paRi-*, mentioned briefly in section 3.2.3 above: It shows many of the functions found in reflexes of **paRi-* in other Oceanic languages, and although the phonological changes between POC and RSC are poorly understood, a hypothesized proto-SC form **vö-* is a plausible reflex of **paRi-*. The change from POC **p* to RSC /*v*/ or zero is well documented, cf. the causative (*v*)*a-* in Nalögo and Engdewu, *a-* in Natügu, from POC **pa-*. The loss of a final syllable from a POC form is well documented both in RSC (Ross and Næss 2007) and specifically for **paRi-* in other Oceanic languages, for example, many New Caledonian languages (Bril 2005). Alfarano and Boerger moreover assume that the original **R* has colored the quality of the initial vowel, leading to the present-day forms in <*ö*> [e, ø], although it must be noted that the changes in vowels between POC and the various RSC languages are highly complex and poorly understood.

There is a clear overlap between the functions of SC (*v*)*ö-* and Äiwoo (*v*)*e-*. Many of the functions described for SC (*v*)*ö-*, such as habituality, gnomic aspect, and plurality of events, can be subsumed under the concept of pluractionality (Mattiola 2019), which I have argued is the core function of Äiwoo (*v*)*e-*. There are, however, also significant differences, which will be addressed in section 5 below. Based on the functional as well as the formal parallels, I consider it likely that Äiwoo (*v*)*e-* is cognate with SC (*v*)*ö-*.

Næss (2018) argues that Äiwoo shows a reflex of **paRi-* in a very restricted context, namely in the plurals of certain kinship terms, where the first part of a complex root is replaced by the form *peliva(li)-* to form the plural, for example, *giängä* ‘his/her maternal uncle’, *pelivaliängä* ‘his/her maternal uncles’, *gite* ‘his brother’, *site* ‘her sister’, *pelivalite* ‘his/her same-sex siblings’, etc. (for more examples, see Næss 2018:40). A number of Oceanic languages such as Fijian, Toqabaqita, Tigak, Vitu, and East Futunan reflect **paRi-* in plurals

of kinship terms; the paper proposes that the *va(li)-* part of the Äiwoo kinship plurals is similarly a reflex of *paRi-.

It is not inconceivable that Äiwoo might show a second reflex of *paRi- in a different context, or even that this might take a distinct form.¹⁴ The fact that the proposed *paRi- reflex in the kinship plurals is incorporated into a larger complex form, in which it never appears initially, might have protected it from phonological erosion, whereas the productive form might have been further reduced to *e-*. A similar reduction has taken place in at least some other Oceanic languages; Manam has a *paRi- reflex of the form *e-* (Lichtenberk 1983:211), whereas in Nengone the form is *e-* or *i-* (Bril 2005:35). Note also that Äiwoo *e-* has a probable allomorph *ve-*, as discussed in section 3.4; POC *p is mostly reflected in Äiwoo as /v/ before unrounded vowels. The fact that the *ve-* form is only attested in *v*-initial verbs, as noted in section 3.4 above, might suggest that /v/ has been retained in this environment due to reinforcement from the root-initial *v*, while it has been lost everywhere else. As for the quality of the vowel, there are ample examples of Äiwoo /e/ corresponding to SC <ö> /ø, œ/, for example, Äiwoo *neve* ~ Nalögo *növö* ‘bone’, Äiwoo *nenu* ~ Nalögo *nölu* ‘coconut’, Äiwoo *engi* ~ SC *yöni* ‘cry’. I propose, therefore, that Äiwoo pluralactional (*v*)*e-* is a reflex of POC *paRi-, and cognate with the SC (*v*)*ö-* prefix.

In section 5 below, I will discuss how Äiwoo fills a number of pluralactionality-related functions which are attested for *paRi- reflexes in other Oceanic languages, but not found with Äiwoo (*v*)*e-*. Here, I will note that, although (*v*)*e-* does not function as a productive reciprocal marker, one of the functions reconstructed for *paRi-, the intransitive form *etogo* ‘fight (using hands)’ clearly denotes a reciprocal action and is presumably derived from the actor-voice transitive *togo* ‘punch’. This parallels the only attested example of a reciprocal derived with (*v*)*ö-* in Nalögo, noted above. Another *e*-initial verb in Äiwoo denoting an inherently reciprocal action is *etei* ‘trade’, though it is not clear what the root here would be; the only candidate in my data is *tei* ‘to fish’.

A rather more speculative hypothesis concerns the prefix *mo-* discussed in section 3.5 above. As noted there, *mo-* has a pluralactional function similar to that found with *e-*, and the two forms appear to be in complementary distribution, although more targeted data are required to confirm this. Assuming that this is in fact the case, we may ask how *mo-* fits into the historical scenario proposed above.

POC *paRi- continues PMP *paR-, which is reconstructed with an alternant form *maR- resulting from the fusion of *paR- with the actor-voice morpheme *<um> (Ross 2002:50, table 9; Bril 2005:29–30, 59). As noted in section 2 above, Äiwoo retains a symmetrical voice system and shows unproductive remnants of PMP actor-voice morphology (Næss 2015, 2021). One might

14. Note also that Ross (1988:284) suggests that POC had two coexisting forms with similar functions, *paRi- and *pa(k)j-.

hypothesize, then, that *mo-* might be a reflex of **maR-* which has been retained with just a few verbs. This would provide a coherent explanation for the distribution and function of (*v*)*e-* and *mo-*, though better data are required to substantiate such an hypothesis. It is worth noting, however, that the dispersive, “all around, all over the place” function illustrated for *mo-* in example (24) is attested with reflexes of **paRi-* in other Oceanic languages, for example, Fijian (Lichtenberk 2000:39).¹⁵

5. THE DOMAIN OF PLURACTIONALITY: *e-* VERSUS OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS.

5.1. *e-* VERSUS PLURACTIONALS IN OTHER OCEANIC LANGUAGES. I have shown that the various functions of Äiwoo *e-* can all be linked to a shared core sense of pluractionality, and suggested that *e-* may be a reflex of POC **paRi-*, which is reconstructed with a number of pluractionality-related functions. The range of functions shown by *e-* is nevertheless considerably narrower than those exhibited by reflexes of **paRi-* in many other Oceanic languages, and, in particular, it differs considerably from those shown by the prefix (*v*)*ö-* in the SC languages, with which *e-* is hypothesized to be cognate. In this section, I discuss how Äiwoo expresses the typical pluractionality-related functions which are not covered by *e-*. In particular, I suggest that the differences between Äiwoo and the SC languages are due to the voice system which is retained in Äiwoo, but not in the SC languages, meaning that many of the functions of (*v*)*ö-* in the latter are covered instead by the actor voice in Äiwoo. Then I look at how reciprocal and habitual meanings are expressed in Äiwoo, and compare these constructions to Brill’s (2005) description of these functions in New Caledonian languages.

POC **paRi-* is reconstructed as having been able to combine with one of two suffixes, **-i* and **-aki*, with, respectively, reciprocal, iterative, and collective meanings for **paRi-* ... *-i* and distributive, dispersive functions for **paRi-* ... *aki* (Pawley 1973:152; Lichtenberk 2000:55–56; Brill 2005:27). In addition, many Oceanic languages combine reflexes of **paRi-* with root reduplication to express iterative, intensive, and distributive actions, states, and properties (Brill 2005:27). While Äiwoo does show reflexes of POC **-i*, as mentioned briefly in section 2 (Næss 2021), these do not combine with *e-* except insofar as *e-* is added to a form which takes the relevant morphemes for independent reasons, and reduplication is a marginal process in Äiwoo and is not attested in combination with *e-* (cf. section 5.5 below). This is similar to the situation in New Caledonian languages which show “no trace of the suffix **-aki*, a marginal trace of **-i*, and virtually no use of reduplication”

15. *mo-* is homophonous with the verb *mo-* ‘stay, live’. Grammaticalization of verbs with similar semantics into markers of pluractionality is attested in a number of languages (Mattiola 2019:154–55). This is thus a possible alternative source for Äiwoo *mo-*, though it leaves unexplained the highly restricted distribution of this form and the apparent complementarity between *mo-* and *e-*.

(Bril 2005:27). Bril argues that the extensive polysemy of the *paRi- reflexes in northern New Caledonian languages stems from the conflation of the meanings of this original range of constructions onto the *paRi- reflexes when the additional constructions were lost. In Äiwoo, however, although the range of constructions is similarly restricted, the outcome with respect to the functions of *e-* is very different.

5.2. *e-* VERSUS ACTOR VOICE. As already noted in section 3, a striking feature of the distribution of *e-* is that it is overwhelmingly found with intransitive position verbs, and is strikingly rare with transitive verbs. This distribution is very different from that found with (*v*)*ö-* in the SC languages, which functions to detransitivize a transitive root, often with reference to actions with generic, plural or nonspecific objects (Vaa 2013:285–86, 299–300; Alfarano 2021:495; Alfarano and Boerger 2022).

The likely explanation for this difference is that Äiwoo retains a distinct actor-voice construction with transitive verbs (although, as noted in section 3.1 above, in a very few cases *e-* functions as the actor-voice marker), which fills some of the functions typically associated with pluractional forms, specifically those involving generic objects or habitual actions. The actor voice is used when the action carried out by the actor, or the nature or identity of the actor, is more prominent in the discourse context than the undergoer argument (Næss 2015); this is closely related to the function described for SC (*v*)*ö-* of conveying “a focus on the action” (Alfarano and Boerger 2022). This function covers cases where the undergoer argument is generic, and many instances of repeated or habitual action where the action itself is more central than the identity of the objects it is applied to. Similarly, the actor voice is used for what Lichtenberk (1991, 2000) and Bril (2005) call depatientive constructions, where a formally and semantically transitive verb is used without an O argument. This is illustrated in (30) for the verb *tou* (AV) ~ *tu* (UV) ‘carry, bring, give birth’ and in (31) for *ponge* (AV) ~ *pongi* (UV) ‘chase’.

- (30) a. I-mo=to=wâ dä ipe engâ
 PFV-stay=now=DIST some old.woman DEM:DIST
 i-mo=to=wâ i-tu=nâ singedâ.
 PFV-stay=now=DIST PFV-carry.UV=DIST woman
 ‘There was a woman who lived and gave birth to a girl.’
 (Stories—Dolphins 2)
- b. Gelivitâ dowâlili lâ ngaa ki-li-tou=ke ...
 mother.PL child DIST CONJ IPFV-3AUG-carry.AV=PROX
 ‘When women give birth ...’
 (ELAR—Pregnancy and childbirth 6-7)
- (31) a. Pesikimâpolâ eângâ i-luwee,
 giant DEM:DIST PFV-jump.up
 lâ ku-pongi-gu-i-le=to=wâ.
 DIST IPFV-chase.UV-3MIN-3AUG-UA=now=DIST
 ‘The giant jumped up and chased them.’ (Stories—Girls and giant 49)

- b. Mo nyibengä tãáluwä lâ ku-ponge=to=kã=nã.
 CONJ huge trevally DIST IPFV-chase.AV=now=CV=DIST
 ‘And there was a huge trevally chasing [prey].’ (Usaliki 161)

This also covers what Alfarano and Boerger (2022) call gnomic aspect, that is, states of affairs presented as being generally true; this is seen in (32) where the actor-voice form *m(w)ange* ‘bite’ (UV *m(w)angi*) is used to describe a characteristic property of hawksbill turtles (compare the Nalögo example in (28)):

- (32) Mo nã-maindi-mu, go ku-mwange.
 CONJ IRR-mind-2MIN because IPFV-bite.AV
 ‘But you must mind it, because it bites.’
 (ELAR—Catching turtles 145–46)

Middle-type functions, as with verbs of grooming, also tend to be expressed with the actor voice, as in (33), where the first instance of the verb ‘wash’ shows the actor-voice form *wokene* and no overt O argument, whereas the second instance has ‘hands’ as its O argument and shows the undergoer-voice form *wokonyi*:

- (33) Me-wã me-wokene, nyime-ngopu wokonyi-ngopu.
 1AUG-go 1AUG-wash.AV hand-1AUG wash.UV-1AUG
 ‘We go and wash, we wash our hands.’
 (ELAR—Fishing for food 167–69)

Example (34) shows a similar contrast with the verb *gei* ~ *gi* ‘shave, rub’:

- (34) a. I-ki-gei.
 1MIN-IPFV-shave.AV
 ‘I’m shaving.’
 b. Nuwotaa John ki-gi-kã
 head.3MIN John IPFV-shave.UV-DIR:3
 isã-pelivano.
 mother-children.3MIN
 ‘John’s wife shaved his head.’ (elicited)

Note that this function is not either expressed by the (v)ö- prefix in SC, although it is found with *paRi- reflexes in some New Caledonian languages (Bril 2005).

Given that the actor voice is the default choice for various types of generic, habitual, and patient-backgrounding functions, we would expect the pluractional construction to apply with transitive verbs mainly in cases where the actor voice is not appropriate, namely where the undergoer has a high degree of prominence in the discourse context. This is precisely what we see in the attested data. Note, first, that I have no clear examples of *e-* attaching to a transitive actor-voice stem, with the exception of the lexicalized form *etogo* ‘fight’ which derives an intransitive reciprocal verb from an actor voice form (cf. section 4 above); all my remaining examples with transitive roots show the undergoer-voice form. The verb *luwa* ‘take’, which is the transitive verb most frequently attested with *e-*, appears not to have an actor-voice form, meaning that using the actor voice is not an option in this case.

The remaining examples of transitives show that *e-* occurs in contexts where the undergoer is highly prominent in the discourse context, as in (7c) and (8), repeated in (35) below:

- (35) a. Mi-elâ le i-e-toki-du-wâ-ngopu=to=we.
 one-be.big.PL PROX PFV-PLAC-chop.UV-all-DIR:2-1AUG=now=PROX
 ‘We have cut down all the big ones now.’
- b. Ki-e-togulo-ea-i ilâ eâumobä eângâ.
 IPFV-PLAC-punch.UV-be.bad-UV DIST eâumobä DEM:DIST
 ‘He was beaten up badly by that *eâumobä* (a kind of mythological creature living in the forest.)’

In (35a), the topic under discussion is the trees in the garden and what is planted in which locations. In (35b), the person being beaten is the main protagonist of the narrative. The high degree of discourse prominence of the undergoer makes the actor voice unsuitable in these cases, leaving the pluractional prefix as the only option to express the plural nature of the action. Note also that nearly all the examples of *e-* with transitives have an actor which is not 3rd person minimal, meaning that marking the plurality of the undergoer argument via person/number morphology is not an available option, cf. section 2.2 above.

There are a few cases where *e-* appears to contribute a generic reading, but, crucially, these involve intransitive verbs, where a voice alternation is not available:

- (36) Temaale ilâ=kâ dee sii,
 needlefish DIST=DIST FOC fish
 ki-e-mo=kâ ngä nelo.
 IPFV-PLAC-live=DIST PREP sea
 ‘The needlefish is a fish, it lives in the sea.’
 (Stories—Needlefish and hermit crab 1)

This is a statement about needlefish in general; a few parallel examples in my data similarly show *e-*. This might be linked to the use of *e-* with position verbs to indicate a general rather than a specific location, as described in section 3.2.3; since reference is not made to a specific fish, it cannot be located in a specific place.

5.3. RECIPROCALLS. It is common for pluractional markers to have a reciprocal function (Mattiola 2019), where an action is performed by two or more actors each of which is at the same time the undergoer of another participant’s action; this function is also attested with reflexes of *paRi- in many Oceanic languages.

As noted in section 4, there is one or possibly two attested reciprocal verbs derived with *e-* in Äiwoo, *etogo* ‘fight’ (from *togo* ‘hit.AV’) and possibly *etei* ‘trade’. However, *e-* is not used productively to form reciprocals in Äiwoo. In my data elicited with the Reciprocals video stimulus, in the cases where *e-* appears on the verb showing reciprocal semantics rather than on some other verb in the clause, it always co-occurs with some other indication of

reciprocity—either the coreferential pronoun strategy discussed further below (37a), or, in the case of position verbs, with *näbe* ‘in a row’ to express the equivalent of English *sit/stand next to each other* (37b):

- (37) a. Sime lu-uvä ki-li-e-so,
 person 3AUG-four IPFV-3AUG-PA-stand
 lâ ki-e-topoi-i jji=lâ.
 DIST IPFV-PLAC-push.UV-3AUG 3AUG=DIST
 ‘Four people are standing and pushing each other.’
 (Reciprocals 44: MT)
- b. Sime lu-uvä ki-li-e-tokoli-näbe.
 person 3AUG-four IPFV-3AUG-PLAC-sit-in.row
 ‘Four people are sitting in a row/sitting next to each other.’
 (Reciprocals 8: ST)

As noted in section 3.2.2, *e-* here appears to indicate that more than two participants are involved in the reciprocal situation, rather than marking reciprocity as such.

A number of constructions can express reciprocal semantics. One is the use of an O pronoun which is coreferential with the actor suffix, as in (37a) and (38):

- (38) I-gapo-ngopu ingopu.
 PFV-embrace-1AUG 1AUG
 ‘We embraced each other.’
 (ELAR—Earthquake 44)

Another is with *usi* ‘back, return’ as a modifier in the verb complex. This is a transitive construction where the O argument is either represented by a pronoun (39a), or, in (39b), by the noun *ibete* ‘its friend, its paired equivalent’:

- (39) a. Sime li-vili ku-wo-pongi-vili-usi-i jji
 person 3AUG-five IPFV-go-chase-around-return-3AUG 3AUG
 ngâ nupwä nuwopa.
 PREP inside house
 ‘Five people are chasing each other around inside a house.’
 (Reciprocals 43: JL)
- b. Buku ki-to-oli-mä ngä tebol wâie-i
 book IPFV-be-go.down-DIR:1 PREP table put.up.PL-3AUG
 i-apodaie-usi-i=lâ ibete.
 PFV-prop.up-return-3AUG=CV friend.3MIN
 ‘Some books are on the table, they were put up so that they support each other.’
 (Reciprocals 35: ST)

Both the coreferential construction and the *usi* construction also have reflexive uses. A similar use of transitive constructions with coreferential arguments within what Brill calls “the semantic range of the middle” is also attested in a number of New Caledonian languages (Brill 2005:39–40); the use of a form meaning ‘turn, return’ to indicate reflexive and reciprocal functions is common in Oceanic languages (Moyses-Faurie 2017:120–22).

The most frequent reciprocal construction in my data uses the bound modifier *-lie*, which in other contexts means ‘go around’. While I have no

attestations of *-lie* used as an independent predicate, it is likely that it originates in a lexical verb, as it is followed by the undergoer-voice suffix *-i* when modifying an undergoer-voice verb, a characteristic otherwise found with verbs and manner adverbs. A possible historical source might be POC **liu* ‘turn aside, change direction’; compare the Oceanic language Toqabaqita, which shows a reciprocal marker *kwai-liu*, where *liu* otherwise means ‘walk, take a walk, walk about’, and the whole complex form *kwailiu* can also mean ‘back and forth’, ‘all over the place’, and ‘respectively’ (Lichtenberk 1991:172).

Example (40a) illustrates the motion reading ‘go around’; the reciprocal function is illustrated in (40b).

- (40) a. Ilâ nâmââ ilâ i-vââmo ngâ dâ nubuletuki=kâ
 DIST shelf DIST PFV-begin PREP some corner=DIST
 wâ lâ i-pu-lie-waa.
 go DIST PFV-go-around-LOC:MED
 ‘The shelf starts in one corner and goes right around [the house].’
 (Usaliki 989)

- b. Ba me-ki-âmole-lie-le=gu=naa
 NEG 1AUG-IPFV-see.AV-RECP-UA=NEG=FUT
 i-wâ i-nubo.
 PFV-go 1MIN.PFV-die
 ‘We will not see each other until I die.’
 (ELAR—Respect and avoidance 177)

The *-lie* construction is also used to describe competition, a function covered by reflexes of **paRi-* in some New Caledonian languages as well as in Fijian (Dixon 1988:179; Brill 2005:47), for example, *basiki* ‘run’—*basiki-lie* ‘race’, *popwee* ‘kick.AV’—*popwee-lie* ‘play football’.

5.4. HABITUALITY. As noted in section 5.2, habituality can be expressed for a transitive verb by using the actor voice, as with *iivâgo nubââ* ‘snare sharks’ in (41):

- (41) Eâ mājā epu ngā etei nogo,
 CONJ other also PREP trade POSS:TOOL.3MIN
 ku-wo-lâ bwää ngā nelo ki-iivâgo nubââ.
 IPFV-go-go.out sea PREP sea IPFV-snare.AV shark
 ‘And another of his trades was to go out to sea and snare sharks.’
 (Stories—First people 6–7)

However, another common way of expressing habituality is with the enclitic =*Caa*,¹⁶ which is also used with future reference; this is analogous to the English auxiliary *will*, which has both future and habitual uses. The habitual use of =*Caa* is illustrated in example (42), from a text about burial customs;

16. The consonant is conditioned by the person/number properties of the morpheme to which the clitic attaches; see Næss (2021:184, 191) for details.

this example describes what happens whenever a person is dead, rather than referring to a specific instance of the relevant proceedings:

- (42) Lâ nubulaa eângâ=kâ lâto=waa nuwo ki-tabu=kâ
DIST daytime DEM:DIST=DIST thus=FUT world IPFV-night=DIST
 lâ ki-tokoli-wâi-ngopu=to=**waa**=kâ
DIST IPFV-sit-just-1AUG=now=FUT=DIST
 lâto me-ku-wäsele-kä=**naa**=kâ vängä
thus 1AUG-IPFV-prepare.AV-DIR:3=FUT=DIST meal
 me-ki-vängä=to=**waa**.
1AUG-IPFV-eat.AV=now=FUT
 ‘That day until nightfall, we just sit, then we prepare a meal, we eat.’
 (ELAR—Burial customs 54–56)

Note, however, example (43), where the prefix *mo-* (cf. 3.5) appears on a verb in conjunction with another verb marked by =*Caa*, which might suggest that *mo-* has a possible habitual function:

- (43) Sapolo=ee ku-nubo=kaa
pawpaw=DEM:PROX IPFV-die=FUT
 manioki=ee ku-mo-botou-ee . . .
manioc=DEM:PROX IPFV-MO-come.out-go.up
 ‘The pawpaw dies and the manioc is harvested . . . (but the yams will stay in the ground until they are needed).’ (ELAR—Gardening 598)

5.5. REDUPLICATION. As noted in section 3.4, reduplication is marginal in Äiwoo. Where it is attested, however, it occurs on verbs, and has pluractional-type functions. In addition to the *ve*-initial verbs discussed in section 3.4, the attested examples include *meli* ‘release, let go’ ~ *memeli* ‘release gradually’, *mele* ‘fly’ ~ *memele* ‘fly (several entities)’, *lobâku* ‘fold’ ~ *lolobâku* ‘fold several objects’, *lopâ* ‘speak’ ~ *lolopâ* ‘talk, chat’, *loosi* ‘turn’ ~ *loloosi* ‘turn repeatedly’, *loveli* ~ *loloveli* ‘clear debris’ (any semantic difference is not clear from the available data), *(i)ngo* ~ *(i)ngongo* ‘hear, listen’ (again the precise difference is not clear). In addition, a number of verbs have a form suggestive of reduplication, but where no unreduplicated form is attested; this concerns *lelei* ‘shake’, *lolope* ‘untangle’, *loloëäli* ‘measure with the arms’, *lolokoli* ‘spread out’, *lolou* ‘rummage’,¹⁷ *momo* ‘roll from side to side’, *momo* ‘mend’, *nonoveia* ‘fiddle’; many of these could be understood as involving event-internal plurality, that is, an action which by definition involves multiple repeated subevents. Given the very restricted number of available examples, however, it is clear that reduplication is not a productive process synchronically.

6. DISCUSSION. Above, I have argued that the function of the Äiwoo prefix (*v*)*e-* can be described as indicating pluractionality, and that this prefix is a plausible reflex of the reconstructed POC prefix **paRi-*. Moreover, I have

17. There appears to be a bound verbal root *lo* meaning something like “manipulate with the hands,” and so it is possible that some of these cases are not in fact reduplication but the result of adding this bound root to another *lo*-initial root.

argued that the restricted use of this prefix compared with *paRi- reflexes in other Oceanic languages, and specifically the prefix (v)ö- found in the languages of Santa Cruz, is at least partly due to Äiwoo retaining a productive actor voice/undergoer voice distinction, where the actor voice is used for many of the functions found with SC (v)ö-. In table 4, I attempt to summarize the functions of the Äiwoo actor voice, Äiwoo (v)e- and Natügu/Nalögo (v)ö-. Note, however, that the available data do not always allow a direct comparison across all functions. While Äiwoo (v)e- indicates a plural S at least with position verbs, none of the data available to me suggests that a similar function occurs with SC (v)ö-, but I cannot definitively exclude this, hence the ‘?’ in the appropriate cell. As for plural undergoers, I distinguish between specific plural sets as in Äiwoo examples such as (7) (take out the stones, take the sharks out of the net, cut down all the big trees) and generic or indefinite plural undergoers (kill pigs, cut down trees), where the former seems to be characteristic of Äiwoo (v)e- and the latter of the Äiwoo AV and SC (v)ö-, though I cannot exclude the possibility that there may be some overlap across constructions here. We see that while the event-internal plurality and the marginal reciprocal function are shared across Äiwoo (v)e- and SC (v)ö-, most of the other functions of SC (v)ö- are rather covered by the Äiwoo AV. Note that the table does not include the few cases where the Äiwoo AV is in fact marked by (v)e-, in which case there is again overlap between (v)e- and (v)ö-, as in Äiwoo *e-bi* ‘bake.AV’ versus SC *ö-bi* ‘bake.STR’.

As noted in section 3.5, POC *paRi- reflects PMP *paR-, which is one of a pair of prefixes *paR- and *paN- assumed to have been innovated in PMP. Regarding their function and distribution, Zobel (2002:408) writes:

Although it is difficult to establish the original function of the stem extensions, it can be roughly extrapolated from the modern daughter languages that in PMP *paR- had a durative and reflexive/reciprocal function, while *paN- had a distributive function, describing an action involving plural agents or objects. Both functions are transitivity-reducing, so it is not

TABLE 4. PLURACTIONAL-TYPE FUNCTIONS OF ÄIWOO ACTOR VOICE, ÄIWOO (v)e- AND SC (v)ö-.

	Äiwoo AV	Äiwoo (v)e-	SC (v)ö-
Plural S/A	x	✓	?
Plural undergoer	generic/indef	✓	generic/indef
Event-internal plurality	x	✓	✓
Reciprocal	x	marginal	marginal
Habitual	✓	x	✓
Depatientive	✓	x	✓
Gnomic aspect	✓	x	✓
Nonspecific location	x	✓	x
Aimlessness	x	✓	x

surprising that they are found mainly in A[ctor]F[ocus] (= actor voice, author's note).

*paN- is assumed to be reflected in fossilized form in a few POC verbs (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2016:29), while, as noted in section 3.5 above, *paR- is generally accepted as the source of POC *paRi-.

The core functions of *paRi- have been much discussed in the literature. Pawley (1973:152) describes it as having had a basic meaning of “combined or repeated action by a plurality of actors, or affecting a plurality of entities” and believes that the strictly reciprocal meaning was restricted to a subclass of verbs “whose properties remain to be defined.” Lichtenberk (2000:55–56) similarly considers “plurality of relations” to have been the most likely primary function of *paRi-, while Brill (2005:31) argues that the reciprocal and middle functions were primary and are the source of the functions related to plurality of relations.

Äiwoo offers a somewhat different entry point to the history of *paRi-. The relevant parts of the system of voice marking in PMP are reconstructed as in table 5 (Ross 2002, 2004; Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2016).¹⁸

From PMP to POC, this system was drastically simplified. In brief, the independent forms were largely lost, and the dependent/imperative forms reanalyzed as independent. In the original dependent paradigm, the circumstantial voice marker *-ani was largely replaced by an innovated form *akin[i], although reflexes of *-ani remain in some Oceanic languages (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2016:28; Naitoro 2018). The patient and locative voice forms were merged into a single form *-i, which was subsequently reanalysed as a marker of transitivity. In the traditional account, these changes are all presented as having taken place by the time of POC (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:61). However, Næss (2013) points out that the process has two key steps: First, the system of voice alternations is simplified into one that contrasts an unmarked

TABLE 5. PMP VOICE/ASPECT MORPHOLOGY.

	Independent neutral	Indicative perfective	Dependent/imperative
Actor voice	*<um>	*<um>-in	∅
	*maR-	*naR-	*paR-
	*maN-	*naN-	*paN-
Patient voice	*-en	*<in>	*-a
Locative voice	*-an	*<in> -an	*-i
Circumstantial voice	*i-	*i- <in>	*-ani

18. This is a subset of the reconstructed paradigm aiming to show the basic properties of the system. Ross (2004) additionally includes a non-indicative projective category, and Ross (2002) also shows an indicative imperfective set of forms formed by reduplication added to the independent neutral forms. These two papers moreover give the dependent circumstantial voice marker as *-an, but Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2016:28) argue that it should rather be reconstructed as *-ani.

actor voice with an *-i-marked undergoer voice, and subsequently the undergoer voice is reanalyzed as the default transitive construction, and *-i as a marker of transitivity. Äiwoo appears to reflect a stage where the first step had taken place, but the second had not. As laid out in section 2.2, the most frequent pattern of voice alternation in Äiwoo contrasts an unmarked AV with an -i-suffixed UV, though other, minor patterns occur, including one which appears to retain reflexes of *<um> in the AV, and at least one verb reflects *paN-, which was retained in a few lexical items in POC (Äiwoo *vängä* ‘eat.AV’ < POC *paŋan; for additional POC verbs reflecting *paN-, see Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2016:29). Table 6 lays out the core patterns retained in POC and reflected in Äiwoo.¹⁹

Another aspect of this change, however, is that it disconnects *paR-, which became POC *paRi-, from the actor-voice function. Since the voice distinction itself has been assumed to be lost in the same process, little attention has been paid to this point. It is, however, relevant for Äiwoo, which retains both an actor voice/undergoer voice distinction and a reflex of *paRi-.

Äiwoo shows some traces of the *paR(i)-/actor voice link in that a few actor-voice forms are formed with *e-*, as discussed in section 3.1. On the whole, however, *e-* and the actor voice have clearly distinct functions in Äiwoo: The actor voice covers functions related to generic or habitual actions, low-individuation objects, gnomic aspect, and canonical middle functions, whereas *e-* marks pluractionality in the sense of repeated action by the same actor in the same situation (‘hit’ > ‘beat up’), actions carried out on multiple objects or multiple entities being located, and actions that are dispersed or lack an aim or a purpose. It is particularly interesting to note the overwhelming use of *e-* with position verbs, a situation I do not think has been described for *paRi- reflexes in other Oceanic languages. This is further evidence of a strong link between verbal pluractional marking and position verbs, which was noted from a typological perspective in section 3.2.3, and it is an interesting question whether this distribution stems from the retention or further development of an original pattern, or whether it is an independent development somehow linked to this typological tendency. Note also that this use clearly shows that there is

TABLE 6. KEY VOICE AND VALENCY MORPHOLOGY IN POC and ÄIWO.

	POC	Äiwoo
Actor voice (later intransitive)	∅	∅
Undergoer voice (later transitive suffix)	*-i	-i
Circumstantial voice	*-ani, *-akin[i]	=Cä

19. The circumstantial voice marker =Cä is of no relevance for this paper; see Næss (2021) for arguments that it reflects POC *akin[i], as well as for a more complete account of Äiwoo voice and valency morphology.

no association between *e-* and reduced formal or semantic transitivity, as the position verbs are all intransitive; this is clearly distinct from the situation in the SC languages, where (*v*)*ö-* can only appear on roots that are lexically transitive.

It is also interesting to observe the difference between *e-*marked position verbs with animate and inanimate subjects; with inanimates the function is a fairly canonical pluractional one in that multiple entities are being located, whereas with animates the prefix indicates that the person is in the location for no particular purpose. This is an extension of the “tentative, dispersive” meaning also found with reflexes of **paRi-* in other Oceanic languages, although not to my knowledge restricted to position verbs.

In Äiwoo, then, the present-day functions of (*v*)*e-* have come about at least partly as a result of a particular division of labor between the prefix and the actor voice. Most Oceanic languages, however, lost the actor voice/undergoer voice distinction altogether, and with it the availability of a two-argument construction associated with reduced semantic transitivity. **paR(i)-*, which still carried an association with reduced transitivity (cf. the quote from Zobel [2002] above), might then have expanded to fill this function. We see this in the SC languages, where (*v*)*ö-* fills many of the functions covered by the Äiwoo actor voice, in a slightly rearranged system which marks transitivity rather than voice. Note that underived semi-transitive verbs in SC, although they do exist, appear to be few in number. Vaa (2013:285–86) finds no underived forms with an exclusively semi-transitive use in Engdewu, and only a single form which can be used either transitively or semi-transitively without further derivation; Alfarano (2021:373) lists four underived semi-transitive verbs in Nalögo, though it is not clear if this list is exhaustive. This is in clear contrast to the situation in Äiwoo, where the AV is unmarked relative to the UV in classes 1 and 4, and might be suggestive of an expansion of the distribution of (*v*)*ö-* into a productive marker of detransitivization. Note also that Mattioli (2019:41) states that pluractional markers are attested in a few languages as showing an antipassive function, which he defines as a formally intransitive verb displaying a transitive verb whose object or patient-like argument is demoted to a noncore argument or a nonargument. The association of pluractional constructions with patient demotion and reduced transitivity is thus not unknown typologically.

It is also worth noting that in RSC, the **paRi-* reflexes show no canonical middle functions, in the sense of marking grooming or other self-directed actions. In Äiwoo, such functions are covered by the actor voice; in Nalögo and Natügu they are either purely lexical or marked by =*lëbu/-lëbü*, hypothesized to derive from the POC verb **buliŋ* ‘roll’ (Alfarano 2021:475, *to appear*). Lichtenberk (2000:56) considers such middle meanings to be rare for **paRi-* reflexes in Oceanic languages, and suggests that where they do occur, they are language-specific developments stemming from a more basic reciprocal function. Brill (2005) qualifies this by showing that such meanings do occur

in a number of New Caledonian languages, and considers the reciprocal and middle functions to have been originally primary. The RSC languages offer no support for a middle function, and very little for a reciprocal one; the reciprocal function is marginal in RSC. Both Äiwoo and Nalögo show this function with a single verb, namely ‘hit’ > ‘fight’, with the possibility that Äiwoo ‘trade’ could be another example. This could perhaps be taken as support of Pawley’s (1973) hypothesis that *paRi- had a reciprocal function only with a subset of verbs, and that a more general pluractional function was the more basic one.

It is of course the case that reflexes of *paRi- have undergone different processes of semantic extension and reduction in different languages and sub-groups, and I do not intend to suggest that the RSC situation directly represents POC in some way. It is difficult to know to what extent the Äiwoo actor voice may have expanded its range of functions into territory previously covered by *paRi-. I note, however, that the generic, habitual, and depatientive functions of the Äiwoo actor voice are likely to continue the pattern found in symmetrical voice languages of the western Austronesian territory, where the undergoer argument of the actor voice is in most if not all cases indefinite (see Hemmings 2016:62–64, and references therein). There is thus at least some evidence to suggest that the detransitivizing functions found in SC could be interpreted as an expansion resulting from the loss of the actor voice/undergoer voice distinction, with some of the relevant functions originally being filled by the actor voice. At the very least, it seems reasonable to assume that the loss of the voice distinction played a role in the development of *paRi- and its reflexes in Oceanic beyond RSC, and the RSC data suggest a possible perspective on this development.

In debating what the functions of a POC form may have been, it is of course also important to consider what one means by “POC.” If POC is taken to be a historical stage where the transition from symmetrical voice to a system marking transitivity alternations had been completed, then the Äiwoo data presumably do not pertain to this, but rather to some pre-POC stage. On the other hand, most of the morphology involved in the Äiwoo voice system appears to reflect that reconstructed for POC (Næss 2021), and the sound correspondences established by Ross and Næss (2007) and elaborated on by Lackey and Boerger (2021) clearly point to POC as the ancestor of today’s Temotu languages. The present-day grammatical patterns found in Äiwoo, and the relationships between these and those found in the SC languages, must therefore be taken to be of relevance to better understanding the history of Oceanic languages in general.

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