

## Intensifiers in Oceanic languages: The value added by typology

### 1. Origins of the Oceanic intensifiers

#### 1.1. Intensifier = restrictive or emphatic particles (unknown lexical origin)

East Futunan *fa'i*; East Uvean, Niuafo'ou and Tongan *pē*; Tuvaluan *loa*; Nengone *ko*; Drehu *kō*; Samoan and Tokelauan *lava*.

EAST FUTUNAN (Nuclear Polynesian)

- adnominal use:

1. Na lā 'aga o tae le velosaga a lāua mei Fikavi **fa'i**.  
 PAST 3DU to.face COMP pick.up ART army POSS 3DU from Fikavi INT  
 'They were picking up their warriors in Fikavi itself.'

- exclusive adverbial use:

2. Ko au **fa'i** na seu ia le mala'e.  
 PRED 1SG INT PAST sweep ANAPH ART courtyard  
 'I swept the courtyard myself.'

- attributive use:

3. Ko lo'oku **fa'i** leia a sauga.  
 PRED mine INT DEIC APP odour  
 'This is my own odour.'

- reflexive use:

- 4a. Na ako'i le tagata e ia **fa'i**.  
 PAST teach ART man ERG 3SG INT  
 'The man taught himself.'
- 4b. E 'ita a Petelo kiate ia **fa'i**.  
 IMPF be.angry ABS Petelo OBL 3SG INT  
 'Petelo is angry at himself.'

TOKELAUAN (Nuclear Polynesian)

- adnominal use:

5. Ko te tautai **lava** e ia tofiagia.  
 PRED ART fisher INT IMPF 3SG choose.TR  
 'It is the master fisherman himself who chooses [the crew].' (R. Hooper, p.c.)

- exclusive adverbial use:

6. Na fau tautahi **lava** tona fale.  
 PAST build alone INT his house  
 'He built his house by himself' (R. Hooper, p.c.)

- attributive use:

7. Ko nā tino iēnā, ko tona **lava** hoāvaka.  
 PRED ART.PL person DEIC PRED his INT crew  
 'These men, they are his very own crew members.' (R. Hooper, p.c.)

- reflexive use:

8. Na lavea au iate au **lava**.  
 PAST hurt 1SG OBL 1SG INT  
 'I hurt myself.' (Tokelau dictionary 1986: 181)
9. Kua vavae kehe koe e koe **lava** mai nā mea a tō kāiga.  
 PERF separate away 2SG ERG 2SG INT from ART.PL thing POSS 2SG.POSS family  
 'You have cut yourself off from the affairs of your family.' (Tokelau dict. 1986: 427)

NENGGONE (Loyalty islands)

- adnominal use:

10. Doku **ko** ko co hue bot co ethanata ne eje orore.  
 chief INT that FUT come DIR FUT speak with 1PL.INCL tomorrow  
 'The chief himself will come and speak to us tomorrow.'

- exclusive adverbial use:

11. Inu ha co rue **ko**.  
 1SG PERF FUT do INT  
 'I'll do (it) myself.'

- attributive use:

12. Pier ci ikuja ne tei bone **ko** haicahman.  
 Pier IMPF be.jealous with child his INT male  
 'Pier is jealous of his own son.'

- reflexive use:

13. Maria ci opodone ti bone **ko**.  
 Maria IMPF proud about 3SG INT  
 'Maria is proud of herself.'

## 1.2. Intensifier < 'alone'

Polynesia: Māori (*anake*) and Fagauvea (*hage*); Micronesia: Kusaiean (*na*), Marshallese (*make*), Ponape and Mokilese (*pein*); Fijian (*gā*); Western Oceanic: Saliba (*bom*); Chamorro (*maisa*); Bahasa Indonesia (*sendiri*); Bislama, (*nomo*, *wan*); Tzotzil; Yiddish...

MAORI (Eastern Polynesian)

- exclusive adverbial use:

14. Ko au **anake** rāi i 'aere mai ei.  
 PRED 1S ALONE just PERF come DIR ANAPH  
 'I came all by myself.' (Bauer 1997)

- attributive use:

15. Kei te horoi a Mere i ōna kākahu **anake**.  
 TAM wash PERS Mere OBJ her clothes ALONE  
 'Mere is washing her (own) clothes.' (Bauer 1997:638)

- benefactive reflexive use:

16. Ka hoko a Hone i te motokā mōna **anake**.  
 TAM buy PERS Hone OBJ ART car for.him ALONE  
 'Hone will buy a car for himself.' (Bauer 1997:639)

## 1.3. Intensifier < precision of reference 'true, exact'

East Uvean, Tongan, Māori (*tonu*); and also: Mod. Breton (*end-eeun*); Fulani (*tigi*); Malagasy (*mihitsy*).

EAST UVEAN (Nuclear Polynesian)

- adnominal use:

17. Ko Malia **tonu** 'aē ne'e ha'u.  
 PRED Malia TRUE DEIC PAST come  
 'Malia herself came.'

- exclusive adverbial use:

18. Ke ina fai e ia **totonu**.  
 that 3SG faire ERG 3SG TRUE  
 'He has to do it himself.'

- attributive use:

19. Ko tanāua tamai tonu.  
 PRED our son TRUE  
 'Our own son.'

- reflexive use:

20. 'E lelei'ia 'aupitō e Soane ia ia totonu.  
 IMPF admire very ERG Soane ABS 3SG TRUE  
 'Soane admires himself a lot.'

XĀRĀGURĒ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- attributive use only:

21. Dō béé-rè tēêbe saa wâ rè.  
 TRUE friend-POSS.3SG speak bad at 3SG  
 'His own friend speaks to him badly.'

#### 1.4. Intensifier < bound/relational noun

Vanuatu: Anejoñ *isp<sup>w</sup>a-*, Sye *ehpe-*, Lolovoli *sibo-*, South Efate *tme-/tmo-*. Central Eastern Oceanic: Kwaio *labe-*; Kokota *tagi-*; Nadrogā (West Fijian) *vaini-*; Bahasa Indonesia *diri-*

LOLOVOLI (North Central Vanuatu)

- exclusive adverbial use:

22. Go=tai=e lawe=eu. Hate go=tai=e sibo-mu.  
 2SGS=chop=3SGO BEN=1SGO no 2SGS=chop=3SGO SELF-2SGP  
 'Cut it for me. No, cut it yourself.' (Hyslop, 2001:266)

- reflexive use:

23. Ra-ni wehe-ra sibo-ra.  
 3NSGS-IRREAL kill-3NSGO SELF-3NSGPOSS  
 'They will kill themselves.' (Hyslop, 2001:266)

IAAI (Loyalty islands)

- adnominal use:

24. A ka hame-n oo thaan ganyi ûxacaköu.  
 3SG ASS RESPONSIBILITY-POSS.3SG arrive chief for meeting  
 'The chief himself came to the meeting.'

- exclusive adverbial use:

25. A ka hame-n anyâ wisaa hmetoo anyin walenu.  
 3SG ASS RESPONSIBILITY-POSS.3SG make correct RETURN.TR his bicycle  
 'He repaired his bicycle himself.'

- reflexive use:

26. Ame ka hame-n sumec hmetoo.  
 3SG+PRES ASS RESPONSIBILITY-POSS.3SG pinch.TR RETURN.TR  
 'He is pinching himself.'

#### 1.5. Spatial notions

##### a) (ad)verb 'return, again'

PAAMESE (North Central Vanuatu) : *-ris(i)* < 'return, go back'

- attributive use:

27. Kai mun rāneris.  
 3SG 3SG.REAL.drink blood.3SG.AGAIN  
 'He drinks his own blood.' (Crowley 1982: 234)

- reflexive use:

28. Nalesinauris en kilās.  
 1SG.REAL.see.1SG.AGAIN OBL mirror  
 'I looked at myself with the mirror.' (Crowley 1982: 180)

MĀORI

- adnominal use:

29. Nā rāua **anō** taua whakaaro kia rapua ai ngā tohunga pai hei mahi.  
 belong 3DU AGAIN that thought TAM seek.PASS ANAPH ART.PL expert good for work  
 'They themselves had the idea that experts should be sought to make it.' (Bauer, 1997:321)

- reflexive use:

30. I tapahi a Marama i a ia **anō**.  
 PERF cut PERS Marama OBJ PERS 3SG AGAIN  
 'Marama cut herself.' (Bauer, 1997:636)

### b) 'Downwards'

Marquesan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, Nukuoro (*iho*), West Uvean (*ifo*); (also: Niger-Congo: Zande, Ndogo, Nzakara...)

TAHITIAN

- adnominal use:

31. 'O te 'orometua **iho** tē haere mai.  
 PRED ART pastor DOWNWARDS ART+IMPF go DIR  
 'The parson himself will come.' (Lazard & Peltzer 2000:173)

- exclusive adverbial use:

32. Na'u **iho** i tāta'i i ta'u pere'o.  
 to:1SG DOWNWARDS PERF repara OBJ my car  
 'I repaired my car myself.' (P. Vernaudeau p.c.)

- attributive use:

33. 'E'ere rātou tō'u **iho** mau tamari'i.  
 it.is.not 3PL my DOWNWARDS PL child  
 'They are not my own children.' (id.)

- attributive + reflexive uses:

34. 'O tēi aroha i tāna **iho** vahine 'ua aroha ia iā-na **iho**  
 PRED ART+PERF love OBJ his DOWNW. woman PERF love 3SG OBL-3SG DOWNW.  
 'He who loves his own wife loves himself.' (Coppénrath & Prevost, 1975:168)

## 3. More on the typological approach

### 3.1. Sources of grammaticalisation for intensifiers and reflexive markers

- body parts: Kwaio (Keesing 1985), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001). POc \*sibwa- (J. Lynch, p.c.).
- expressions denoting singularity: 'alone' + 'other' (Drehu).
- expressions denoting veracity, exactitude (East Uvean, Tongan)

Some Oceanic intensifiers are more specific: directional 'downwards'; verbal modifier 'do something spontaneously' (Fagauvea, Ura, and Sye), 'be like' or 'reflection' (Kwaio; Fijian *vakātaki*; and also: Finnish *itse*; Dyirbal...).

### 3.2. Number of functions

(i) English *self* has 4 uses out of 5 (exception: attributive *own*); French *même* and German *selbst* have 3 uses out of 5 (exception: attributive *propre/eigen*).

In Oceanic languages: maximum 4 uses

(ii) No inclusive adverbial intensifier (the rarest, König & Gast 2006)

### 3.3. Partial identity

TUVALUAN

- adnominal use:

35. Ttele atu nā mātou i te mata **ēlō** o te ava.  
run DIR then 1TRI.EXCL at ART face INT POSS ART passage  
'We ran to the very mouth of the boat passage.' (Besnier 2000:239)

- exclusive adverbial use:

36. E kkai **eiloa** a lātou kiā lātou.  
NPAST eat INT ABS 3PL OBL 3PL  
'They eat by themselves.' (idem:204)

- attributive use:

37. Lusi ne oko mai i te vaka o ia **loa**.  
Lusi PAST reach DIR in ART canoe POSS 3SG INT  
'Lusi arrived in his [own] canoe'. (idem:203)

- reflexive use:

38. Ne tā a Lusi nē ia **loa**. (or : Ne tā nē Lusi **loa** a ia **loa**.)  
PAST strike ABS Lusi ERG 3SG INT  
'Lusi killed himself'. (idem:203)

### 3.4. Number of intensifiers for the same function

Examples of interchangeable or cumulative uses in Drehu (Loyalty islands)

39. thaa hnei Maria kō hna **sipu** amē la mani (adnominal)  
NEG SM Maria INT PAST TRUE put ART money  
'Maria herself didn't put away the money.'

40. Pier a zalu kowe la **sipu** nekō i angeic (attributive)  
Pier IMPF jealous towards ART TRUE child POSS 3SG  
'Pier is jealous of his own child.'

41. hnei kaka-ti **kō** hna mekun troa **ketre** hnēkēn la xen (excl. adv.)  
SM dad-EMOT INT PAST think COMP OTHER prepare ART meal  
'My father decided to prepare the meal by himself.'

42. **ketre** tro jē **kō** eō  
OTHER aller DIR INT 2S  
'You (rather than someone else) go!' (Sam, 1995: 105)

### 3.5. Polarity constraints

FAGAUVEA (Polynesian Outlier, Uvea, Loyalty islands)

43a. Hano sauā **lava** de mako de aliki. (adnominal use, positive)  
FUT raise.TR INT ART dance ART chief  
'The chief himself will conduct the dance.'

43b. Hano hē sauā **ifo** de mako de aliki. (adnominal use, negative)  
FUT NEG raise.TR INT ART dance ART chief  
'The chief himself will not conduct the dance.'

- 44a. Go    ogu    faanaunga   **lava**    gilehea.                   (attributive use, positive)  
       PRED   my       children       INT    3PL  
       ‘They are my own children.’
- 44b. Hē    go    ogu    faanaunga   **ifo**    gilehea                   (attributive use, negative)  
       NEG   PRED   my       children       INT    3PL  
       ‘They are not my own children.’

## References

- BAUER, Winifred, 1997. *The Reed reference grammar of Māori*, Australia:Reed.
- BESNIER, Niko, 2000. *Tuvaluan. A Polynesian Language of the Central Pacific*, London/New York:Routledge.
- CHURCHWARD, C. Maxwell, 1953. *Tongan Grammar*, London:Oxford University Press.
- COPPENRATH, H. et P. Prevost, 1975. *Grammaire approfondie de la langue tahitienne*, Papeete:Librairie Pureora
- CROWLEY, Terry, 1982. *The Paamese language of Vanuatu*. Canberra: The Australian National University, Pacific Linguistics Series B-87.
- HOOPER, Robin, 2000. Revisiting the subject: Properties of Ergative and Absolutive Arguments in Tokelauan, in S.R. Fischer and W.B. Sperllich (eds), *Leo Pasifika*, Auckland:The Institute of Polynesian Languages and Literatures, pp. 156-172.
- HYSLOP, Catriona, 2000. *The Lolovoli Dialect of the North-East Ambae Language, Vanuatu*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics 515.
- KEESING, R. M., 1985. *Kwaio Grammar*. Canberra: ANU, Pacific Linguistics Series B-88.
- LAZARD, Gilbert et Louise PELTZER, 2000. *Structure de la langue tahitienne*, Paris:Peeters, LCP 15.
- MARGETTS, Anna, 1999. *Valence and Transitivity in Saliba*. MPI Series in Psycholinguistics.
- MOYSE-FAURIE, Claire, 1983. *Le drehu, langue de Lifou (Iles Loyauté)*. *Phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe*, Paris, Peeters-Selaf, LCP 3.
- , 1997. *Grammaire du futunien*, CTRDP Nouméa, coll. Université.
- TOKELAU DICTIONARY*, 1986. Office of Tokelau Affairs, Apia, Western Samoa.

## Abbreviations

ABS	absolute marker	ERG	ergative marker	PERF	perfective aspect
ANAPH	anaphoric	EXCL	exclusive	PERS	personal article
ART	article	IMM	immediate aspect	PL	plural
ASS	assertive aspect marker	IMPF	imperfective aspect	POSS	possessive marker
CAUS	causative prefix	INCL	inclusive	PRED	predicative marker
COMP	complementizer	INT	intensifier	PREF	prefix
DEIC	deictic	NEG	negative marker	SG	singular
DIR	directional	NS	non specific tense/aspect marker	SM	subject marker
DU	duel	OBL	oblique marker	TR	transitive suffix