Coordination strategies and inclusory constructions in New Caledonian and other Oceanic languages

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1. Introduction

1.1. Oceanic languages

Oceanic languages, among which New Caledonian languages, are of some typological interest in that they tend to use various 'and' coordination markers for different categories of conjuncts (noun phrases, verb phrases or clauses), as well as for different subcategories of nouns (animate vs. inanimate), of verbs (stative vs. active) and of clauses (same-subject vs. different-subject clause coordination). For an overview, see Moyse-Faurie & Lynch (this volume). Besides, each of these 'and' conjunctions have a predominant semantic feature (inclusory, comitative, additive) as well as specific syntactic properties.

The first part of this article is a detailed case-study of some of the coordinators in Nêlêmwa[1], to be followed by some comparative data from other New Caledonian languages (Ajië, Bwatoo, Cèmuhî, Nyelâyu, Tîrî) and other Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea (Manam, Tolai), the Solomon Islands (Toqabaqita), Vanuatu (Mwotlap) and Fiji (Boumaa Fijian). The relationship between these languages is shown in Figure 1, and references are given in the section "Language sources" at the end of the article.

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[1] All the Nêlêmwa data originate from my fieldwork.

1.2. Introduction to Nêlêmwa

Nêlêmwa is one of the twenty-eight New Caledonian (or Kanak) languages, it is spoken in the Far North of the Mainland, by approximately a thousand speakers. The New Caledonian languages belong to the Remote Oceanic subgroup of the Eastern Oceanic subbranch of the Austronesian family (*see* the family map in Figure 1**)**.

Here are some brief guidelines about the structure of the verb phrase in Nêlêmwa: Nêlêmwa has split constituent order and a split accusative-ergative case-marking system varying with argument category. Dependent personal pronouns, which only refer to human entities (inanimates are zero-marked) have an accusative system, while nominal arguments and free pronouns are case-marked as ergative or absolutive; the ergative case-markers are *(e)a* (for animate agents) and *ru* (for inanimate agents), the absolutive case is zero. The neutral order is sVo with subject and object dependent pronouns referring to human entities (otherwise ØVØ), whereas nominal arguments come after the predicate, either as VS (where [S] is the absolutive nominal argument of an intransitive verb) or VOA (where O stands for the second argument/patient and A the agent of a transitive verb). The dependent subject pronoun cross-references the postverbal nominal prime argument (if human), irrespective of its absolutive or ergative case-marking and agrees in number with it, thus (s)VS, or (s)VOA; whereas the dependent object pronoun is always anaphoric to the nominal second argument.

The coordination markers listed in Table 1 are heads or operators which vary in their semantics and in their syntactic properties, displaying different functions and restrictions of usage. The contrastive marker *na* 'and, but' and the explicative marker *bu* 'as, for, but' only conjoin clauses; whereas the general dependency marker *me* 'and', the additive marker *ka ~ xa*[2] 'also, too' and the disjunctive marker *ai* 'or' occur at all levels, phrasal (NPs or VPs) or clausal. Some of these morphemes are also restricted to more specific subcategories: the inclusory-comitative coordination marker *ma* 'and, with' is normally restricted to human NP conjuncts and *xa*, but not *me*, may conjoin stative verbs. They also vary according to whether they conjoin entities symmetrically or asymmetrically and according to the type of number concord they trigger. Apart from their conjoining function, some of them also have adverbial function, especially *xa* 'also, too' and *ai* 'or', which is then equivalent to an English question tag with reverse polarity or to a suspensive marker 'or not'.

This study will concentrate on the general dependency marker *me* and the inclusory-comitative coordinator *ma*, leaving out the disjunctive marker *ai* 'or' and the explicative-contrast coordinator *bu*.

NP coordination will be analyzed separately from VP, clausal and sentence coordination, as these exhibit different properties.

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[2] In modern Nêlêmwa, *xa* is the predominant form, but in the texts recorded by Haudricourt (1963), *ka* is as frequent as its allomorph *xa*.

Table 1: Distribution of coordinators in Nêlêmwa

Function	Type of coordination					
	inclusory comitative	general dependency marker	additive	disjunctive	contrast, adversative	explicative, contrast
Form	*ma* 'and, with'	*me* 'and, and so on, etc.'	*xa* 'also, too'	*ai* 'or'	*na* 'but, whereas'	*bu* 'for, but'
Medial NP coordinator	+	+	+	+		
Medial VP or predicate coordinator		+	+	+		
Medial clausal coordinator	(+) (idiosyn-cratic)	+	+	+	+	+
Sentential coordinator (initial or final position)		sentence initial (infrequent): topic and referential continuity			sentence initial or medial: topic and referential discontinuity	sentence initial interrogative 'so then?'
			sentence final 'also'	sentence final (rising intonation): confirmation tag		

2. Noun phrase coordination in Nêlêmwa

The various morphemes marking NP coordination, *me* (general dependency marker), *ma* (inclusory), and *xa* (additive), display specific semantic and syntactic properties, particularly in relation to number concord.

2.1. The general dependency marker *me* 'and'

The following is an example of *me* in its conjoining function.

(1)   *I   pajale   ushi   hlaaleny   pwaxi-n   **me**   pabuu-n.*
      3SG tell   BENEF these.DEICT child-POSS.3SG DEPEND grandchild-POSS.3SG
      'He tells (the story) to his children and grandchildren.'

The medial coordinator *me* 'and' is a highly polyfunctional dependency marker; apart from coordination, it also marks some types of complement clauses, as well as adverbial purposive clauses (see §3.1.). That is why it is labeled "general dependency marker" and glossed as DEPEND. As a coordinator, *me* has few subcategorization constraints; it may conjoin NPs, VPs, clauses or it may be used as a sentence or clause chaining device to signal discourse and topic continuity, in contrast with *na* 'and, then, but' which marks topic discontinuity (see §3.3). *Me* is compatible with definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate NPs (as in *mido me kuvic* 'taros and yams'), but it normally excludes proper nouns which are conjoined

by *ma*.[3]

Negative clauses as well as the arguments of negative or negated predicates may be conjoined by *me*:

(2) *Na   u   **kian**   shi-n   **me**   kua-n   **me**   bwaa-n.*
CONTR PFC not be there arm-POSS.3SG DEPEND leg-POSS.3SG DEPEND head-POSS.3SG
'And then, he has no arms left, nor legs, nor head.'

(3) *Na thu da   o **kia**   oda-xua-ny   **me**   oda-yi-ny?*
1SG do what? IRR there is no finger-foot-POSS.1SG DEPEND finger-hand-POSS.1SG
'What shall I do if I have no toes nor any fingers (left)?'

Me does not require obligatory number concord with the conjoined arguments. Loose, afterthought-like conjuncts do not trigger number concord (which is marked on the subject index), as in (4):

(4) *Mwelî xe **i**   taabwa Teâ Nyanyaloon **me**   hlaaleny   thaxamo i   ye*
there TOP 3SG stay   T. N.   DEPEND these.DEICT wife   REL 3SG
'There lived Teâ Nyanyaloon and his wives …

      ***me**   hlaaleny   pwaxi-n.*
DEPEND these.DEICT child-POSS.3SG
and his children.'

Johannessen (1998) calls such constructions "unbalanced coordination", unbalancedness being defined as "due to some grammatical property lacking or being different in one conjunct compared to the other, *i.e.*, one conjunct may have different case-marking from the other or lack number-marking" (1998:8). This is interpreted as a sign that the unbalanced conjunct is a complement headed by the conjunction (1998:113-16). Synchronically, concord or lack of concord in Nêlêmwa varies with semantic and discourse factors; a diachronic argument is also suggested for this state of affairs (see §4.3.4).

Me may very marginally be used in place of the normally expected non-co-agentive 'with' morpheme *ve* (+inanimate)*, vi* (+animate) 'with', which refers to a patient that is brought or carried (see §2.2.4.):

(5) *Hli   u oda-me hli   **me**   hlaaleny   shâlaga i   hli.*
3DU   PFC go up-DIR 3DU.FR DEPEND these.DEICT crab   CONN 3DU
'They come back with their crabs.'

When used as a postpositive coordinator, *me* is an **open list marker** meaning 'and so on, etc.'. A pause after each *me* signals that it is prosodically part of the NP to its left, over which it has scope, and the list ends with a final occurrence of *me.* Listing with *me* is restricted to inanimate entities and has no counterpart for animate entities, which are coordinated medially with *ma* (see §2.2.1.).

(6) *I   xau mwemwelî roven hleena   yada-va   **me**,*
3SG ASS know.TR   all   these.DEICT object-POSS.1PL.EXCL DEPEND
'He knows all our customs and

      *yada fwamwa-va   **me**,   kedoxa-va   **me**…*
object country-POSS.1PL.EXCL DEPEND medicine-POSS.1PL.EXCL DEPEND
the customs of our country, and our medicine, and so on.'

(7) *Hla khuxi mugic **me**,   mido **me**,   kuvic **me**…*
3PL eat.TR banana DEPEND taro DEPEND yam   DEPEND
'They eat bananas and taros and yams, and so on.'

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[3] Only one exception was found in the whole corpus:
*Hâ   xam   no   axaleny   Wilion **me**   Bula.*
1PL.INCL ASS   look this.DEICT Wilion DEPEND Bula
'We look up to Wilion and Bula.' (to know what to do).

The list may be reduced to one occurrence, with a suspensive *me*:

(8)   … *fexa   hlaaleny   delek   **me**…*
        matter   these.DEICT   land   DEPEND
      '…about this land matter and so on.'

Listing with the postpositive *me* corresponds to asyndetic coordination in other languages ('they eat bananas, taros, yams, and so on'), but asyndetic NP coordination is not a possible option in Nêlêmwa.

2.2. The animate, inclusory NP coordinator *ma* 'and, with'

In contrast with *me*, *ma* only conjoins animate NPs (represented by proper or common nouns) and triggers obligatory number concord with the conjuncts. It may conjoin NPs symmetrically or asymmetrically, as shown below.

2.2.1. Symmetric NP coordination

In symmetric constructions, *ma* conjoins contiguous NPs which must belong to the same category, have the same semantic role and the same syntactic function, such as agents in (9, 10) and locative adjuncts in (11).

(9)   ***Hli** pe-kâlaxi   kââma-n   **ma**   axomoo-n.*
       3DU REC-be.ashamed father-POSS.3SG COORD mother-POSS.3SG
      'His father and mother are ashamed of each other.'

In (10), the NPs conjoined by *ma* are cross-referenced by the dual subject pronoun *hli,* whereas the NP conjoined by *me* is a loose conjunct which is not cross-referenced by the subject pronoun.

(10)   ***Hli** u   muuvi   mwa Kaavo Dela   **ma**   Teâ Pwayili Uvea   **me***
       3DU PFC stay   ASS Kaavo Dela   COORD Teâ Pwayili Ouvéa   DEPEND

       aax-iik   pwaxi-hli.
       CLF-one   child-POSS.3SG
      'Kaavo Dela and Teâ Pwayili of Ouvea then stayed there, as well as their child.'
      (or: '…with their child.')

In (11), the NPs *kââma-n* and *axomoo-n* are two locative adjuncts, headed by the nominal preposition *shi* and cross-referenced by the dual deictic pronoun *hlileny*:

(11)   *I   uya   shi   **hlileny**   kââma-n   **ma**   axomoo-n …*
       3SG arrive side these2.DEICT father-POSS.3SG COORD mother-POSS.3SG
      'He arrives at his father's and mother's.' (lit. He arrives at these$_{dual}$ father and mother)

In symmetric constructions, *ma* has commutative properties, the order of the conjuncts, (*ak ma thaamwa* 'men and women' or *thaamwa ma ak*) varies with discourse and pragmatic factors.

Ma may have listing function, but in contrast with *me* which is a postpositive marker with the listing function, *ma* remains a medial marker that symmetrically conjoins a series of NPs.

(12)   *Hla oda-me   hlaaleny   aavak   thaxamo   i   ye:*
       3PL go.up-here these.DEICT four   wife   CONN 3SG
      'His four wives come up here:

       *horaamwaleny   Naan ebai **ma** Naabuc **ma** Deedan **ma**   Naalôôp.*
       this.woman.DEICT fly ANAPH COORD mosquito COORD horsefly COORD small.fly
      Fly, and Mosquito, and Horsefly, and Small Fly.'

Asyndetic coordination is not normally used; the only case when proper nouns may be asyndetically conjoined is when they are part of appositive NPs in complement function (13), but not as independent NPs:

(13) *Me   i   thoogilî   hlaaleny   thaxamo i   ye, horaamwaleny   Naabuc*
DEPEND 3SG call.TR   these.DEICT wife   REL 3SG this woman.DEICT mosquito
'And he calls his wives, Mosquito,

thaamwa Nêlêmwa, **ma**   *Naan thaamwa Nixumwak, Ø Naalôôp*
woman   Nêlêmwa COORD fly   woman   Kumak   small fly
the Nêlêmwa woman, and Fly, the Kumak woman, Small Fly,

thaamwa   Puuma, Ø Naadoolan thaamwa Mweleebeng.
woman   Puuma   green.Fly   woman   Mweleebeng
the Puuma woman, Green Fly, the Mweleebeng woman.'

Ma is also used as a post-nominal marker meaning 'and company, and fellows' probably resulting from an ellipted noun: *Teâ-ma* 'the chief' (lit. the chief and fellows), *Nenema-ma* 'the Nenema' (as a clan), *aayo-ma* 'the great chief', *hulak-ma* 'the respected ancestors'. It has become a formula expressing respect due to rank and age. This is common in New Caledonian and other Oceanic languages. In Manam (Western Oceanic), the form *guma* 'and fellows' has exactly the same meaning: *Onʔau guma* 'Onkau and his fellows' (Lichtenberk 1983:436).

2.2.2. Asymmetric inclusory coordination

Ma may have both asymmetric (cf. 14) and symmetric (cf. 15) inclusory functions. The term "asymmetric inclusory" (or "split inclusory" in Lichtenberk's terminology) refers to cases when the conjunct NP headed by *ma* is not phrasal but included as a subset of the arguments referenced by the subject pronoun, whereas the symmetric case conjoins two NPs, as in (15). Occurrence in asymmetric inclusory constructions as in (14) are a distinctive property of *ma*, which is not evidenced by *me*. Thus, the free pronoun *yaman* 'we two' includes the unmentioned speaker and the referent expressed by the deictic pronoun *axaleny*.

(14) *Co xam kua axi-na,* **yaman**   **ma**   *axaleny o   ma   oda*
2SG ASS often see-1SG 1DU.EXCL.FR COORD this man IRR 1DU.EXCL go up
'Have you often seen me, me and this man (lit. we$_{dual}$ including this man), go up

yaage fexa yameewu i   yo?
look for affair clan   CONN 2SG
and meddle into the affairs of your clan?'

Thus, in asymmetric inclusory constructions, the non-singular pronoun (x) includes the reference to the *ma*-headed NP (y) [y ε x], but does not add up with it [*x + y].

Example (15) shows both constructions: the symmetric (phrasal) construction in the first part of the sentence, and the asymmetric construction in the second part.

(15) *Na   **hli** u ulep dagiiny **ma** axaleny Teâ Paak, **hla** **ma** Kaavo.*
CONTR 3DU PFC go out messenger COORD this.DEICT Teâ Paak   3PL.FR COORD Kaavo
'But the messenger and Teâ Paak leave, they (two) and Kaavo.' (lit. 'they$_{plural}$ including Kaavo')

In the second part of (15), *Kaavo* is included in the plural free pronoun: *hla ma Kaavo* 'they$_{(plural)}$ including Kaavo'; the additive construction is ungrammatical (**hli ma Kaavo* 'they$_{(dual)}$ and Kaavo'), which suggests the syntactic constraint that only nouns can be symmetrically conjoined, but not a pronoun and a noun.

Similarly, in (16), *ma* does not conjoin *fwamwa* and *khola-ny*, but it asymmetrically includes *khola-ny* in the set of the possessors of *fwamwa*, marked by the first person dual possessive pronoun –*man*, which includes an implicit speaker.

(16) *Fwamwa-**man**   **ma**   hobai   khola-ny.*
      country-POSS.1DU.EXCL COORD that.ANAPH uncle-POSS.1SG
      '(It's) my village and my uncle's.' (lit. our village and/with my uncle)

In (17), the first *ma* is a case of asymmetric inclusory construction, whereas the second occurrence symmetrically conjoins the two NPs *kââma-m* and *axomoo-m*, although this might also be analysed as an iterated inclusory construction with *ma*. All the conjuncts are cross-referenced by the second person plural possessive pronoun *-wa* which includes an implicit addressee.

(17) *Mwa-**wa**   **ma**   kââma-m   **ma**   axomoo-m.*
      house-POSS.2PL   COORD father-POSS.2SG   COORD mother-POSS.2SG
      '(It's) your house and your father's and your mother's.'
      (lit. your house and/with your father and/with your mother)

In (18)-(20) the *ma*-headed NP is included in the set of the dual possessive determiners of the nominal predicate *fââlâ* 'way' or *kau* 'year'.

(18) *Pe-fââlâ-**hli**   me **ma**   ti?*
      REC-way-POSS.3DU DIR COORD who?
      'Who did he come here with?' (lit. (it is) their_{dual} reciprocal way including whom?)

(19) *Pe-fââlâ-**man**   **ma**   ye.*
      REC-way-POSS.1DU COORD 3SG.FR
      'I travelled with him.' (lit. (It's) our reciprocal way including him)
      (Or:) 'He and I travelled together.'

(20) *Pe-kau-**hli**   **ma**   Yul.*
      REC-year-POSS.3DU COORD Jules
      'He is as old as Jules.' (lit. (it) their_{dual} reciprocal age including Jules)

Given that dependent pronouns are preverbal but nominal arguments are postverbal in Nêlêmwa [sVS], there are cases when the coordinator *ma* appears outside contiguous NPs, as in (21)-(23). In (21), the dual NP *hlileny thaxamo* 'these two wives' is included in the set of the agents of the process marked by the plural subject pronoun *hla*. The translation of *ma* as 'and' or 'with' is misleading and *ma* would more accurately be translated by 'including'.

(21) ***Hla** u oda mwa **ma** **hlileny**   thaxamo.*
      3PL   PFC go up ACT COORD these2.DEICT wife
      'He went south with his two wives.' (lit. they went including his two wives)
      (Or:) 'He and his two wives went south.'

(22) *Io ma   tu   haga **ma**   Polie.*
      FUT 1DU.EXCL go down   fish COORD Polie
      'I'll go fishing with Polie.' (lit. we_{dual} will go fishing including Polie)
      (Or:) 'Polie and I will go fishing.'

Similarly, in (23), the interrogative pronoun *ti* is a subset of the dual subject index *hli*:

(23) ***Hli** u muuvi **ma**   ti / ri?*
      3DU PFC stay   COORD who?
      'Who did (s)he live with?' (lit. they_{dual} live together including whom?)

Similar constructions exist in other northern New Caledonian languages, in Nyelâyu (Far North) and Bwatoo (North):

(24) Nyelâyu (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998: 118)

      *Hor   **ma**   ri?*
      2DU   COORD who?
      'Who are you with?' (Or:) 'You and whom?'(lit. you_{dual} including whom?)

Bwatoo (Ehrhart and Rivierre, forthcoming)

(25) *Bu   vadi **ma**   daahma.*
     1DU.EXCL work COORD chief
     'I (lit. we_{dual}) am working with the chief.'

(26) *Be   thau   hane **ma**   hio   ne-ong.*
     1PL.EXCL together leave COORD   elder brother REL-POSS.1SG
     'We leave together with my elder brother.'

(27) *Lu ve-vulo   **ma**   tramo-thiita.*
     3DU REC-speak COORD   sister
     'He (lit. they_{dual}) talks with his sister.'

Compare Nêlêmwa (28) and Bwatoo (29):

(28) *Hli pe-rui   **ma**   ti?*
     3DU   REC-meet COORD   who?
     'Who did she meet (with)?' (lit. they_{dual} met including whom?)

Bwatoo (Ehrhart and Rivierre, forthcoming)

(29) *Bu   ve-cipe   **ma**   a.*
     1DU.EXCL REC-meet COORD   3SG
     'I met him.' (lit. we_{dual} met including him)

2.2.3. Syntactic and hierarchy constraints in asymmetric inclusory constructions

The first syntactic constraint imposed by *ma* in Nêlêmwa is sameness of category, of syntactic function and semantic role. This accounts for the fact that only nouns can be symmetrically conjoined by *ma* (N *ma* N) in Nêlêmwa. All other types of conjuncts trigger asymmetric constructions, in contrast with English, which has no constraint of sameness of category as evidenced by *he and his two wives went south* vs. *he and I will leave soon*.

The second constraint in asymmetric constructions is the person hierarchy (1>2>3). The choice of the inclusory pronoun which cross-references all the implicit or explicit conjuncts is controlled by a person hierarchy and referentiality. Consider (30) and (31), where the pronouns *mo* and *hâ* cross-reference the *ma*-headed NP and the implicit addressee (30) or speaker (31). First and second person being the highest on the referential hierarchy, they will include the participants lower in the hierarchy, *i.e.* a third person pronoun or a noun, as in (30).

(30) ***Mo** perui ma   ti?*
     2DU   meet   COORD who?
     'Who have you (sg.) met?' (lit. you_{dual} met including whom?)

In (31a), a police officer orders two young men to meet him the next day (first person includes second person) and they answer (31b):

(31)a. *Io **hâ**   xam perui ma   **yamon** caae.*
       FUT 1PL.INCL ASS meet   COORD 2DU.FR   tomorrow
       'You'll meet me (here) tomorrow.' (lit. we will meet including you_{dual})

   b. *Elo, io **hâ**   perui ma   **co**.*
       yes FUT 1PL.INCL meet   COORD 2SG.FR
       'All right, we'll meet you (here).' (lit. we will meet including you)

Any divergence from this constraint is due to discourse and pragmatic reasons. Thus, in (32), the 1st dual inclusive pronoun *hî* includes the speaker and the addressee, the expected conjunct would be *ma co* 'with you', rather than *ma na* 'with me'. The inversion in person hierarchy is contextual: being blind, the speaker is dependent on the addressee who is also the initiator.

(32)   *Bu   o   **hî**   tu   haga ma   **na**   xe   yo haga co, ...*
        EXPL IRR 1DU.INCL go down fish   COORD 1SG.FR TOP   2SG fish   2SG.FR
        'But, when we go fishing (you) and me, you [can] fish, you…

        bu   fo   idaama-m.
        EXPL   there is eye-POSS.2SG
        since you have your eyes.' (but not the speaker who lost hers)

In (33), note the mismatch between the inclusory dual pronoun *hli* and the singular possessive pronoun (*–n*) which refers to the implicit referent.

(33)   **Hli**   *ma   aaxiik   kaari-**n**.*
        3DU   COORD   CLF-one   sister-POSS.3SG
        'She and her elder sister.' (lit. they_{dual} including her elder sister)

Thus, in the present state of the system, *ma* functions both as a medial, symmetric coordinator in phrasal NP constructions (NP *ma* NP) and as an inclusory coordinator in asymmetric constructions, a property that distinguishes it from the coordinator *me*.

The latter constructions include an implicit referent, which is retrievable thanks to the person hierarchy, context or speech situation. Without this inclusory property, the implicit referent would have to be accounted for in terms of an elipted NP, but syntactic reasons as well as typological and comparative data will be cited in §2.2.6. against the notion of ellipsis.

The other question is whether *ma* in the symmetric and asymmetric constructions should be considered as two homophonous morphemes, one being a coordinator and the other a comitative marker. This question will be addressed now.

2.2.4. Ma: a comparison with comitative markers

Though *ma* may sometimes translate as 'with', it is not a comitative preposition as will become clear below. There are two sorts of comitative markers in Nêlêmwa and many other New Caledonian languages, the co-agentive 'with' and the non-co-agentive 'with' (glossed ASSOC "associative"). In Nêlêmwa, the co-agentive comitative role may also be marked by a different construction, with a nominal preposition *mudi-* or *buli-*[4] 'with, in company of', which heads a possessive adjunct that ranks lower and thus does not trigger number concord:

(34)   **Co** *tuume   mudi-ny.*
         2SG go.down   company-POSS.1SG
         'Go down with me.'

As for the non-co-agentive 'with', it is marked by the preposition *ve* (+inanimate), *vi* (+animate), which grammaticalized through serialisation from the verb *fhe* 'carry, take' into an applicative or preposition-like affix heading an oblique argument which is excluded from number agreement.

(35)   **I**   *gaa yuup **ve**   hî para nu   na mwada.*
        3SG PROG crawl ASSOC this crumb coconut LOC up.there
        'It (an ant) crawls across with this crumb of coconut inside (the house).'

(36)   **I**   *fuk **vi**   Kaavo a   hooli   maalîc.*
        3SG fly ASSOC Kaavo AGT   that.ANAPH bird
        'The bird flies with Kaavo (on its back).'

Various northern New Caledonian langages evidence similar distinctions between an inclusory coordinator and a non-co-agentive preposition. Cèmuhî (Rivierre 1980:194-95) distinguishes the inclusory coordinator *me* that triggers

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[4] *bole-* in the neighbouring language Nyelâyu.

number agreement and the non-co-agentive preposition *imi* 'with, carrying', derived from the verb *imwi* 'seize, hold' (Ozanne-Rivierre, to appear), which excludes number agreement. Bwatoo also distinguishes the inclusory coordinator *ma* and the non-co-agentive preposition *fe* derived from the verb *fe* 'take, carry'.

(37) Bwatoo (Ehrhart and Riviere, forthcoming)

> *A   tobwaa-fe   a   mwa-thito.*
> 3SG run-ASSOC   ART bag
> '(S)he runs carrying the bag.'

In Nêlêmwa, both the inclusory feature of *ma* and the requirement that the NPs have the same syntactic function and semantic role, help understand why it (and never the non-co-agentive preposition *ve, vi*) appears in reciprocal and comparative constructions.

(38) Nêlêmwa:

> *Hli   pe-vhaa   ma   axomoo-n.*
> 3DU REC-speak   COORD   mother-POSS.3SG
> 'He and his mother speak to each other.' (lit. they$_{dual}$ speak including his mother)

2.2.5. Ma : a homophonous comitative preposition in Nêlêmwa?

First, the fact that *ma* can translate as a co-agentive, comitative 'with' in asymmetric constructions, as in *I went fishing with him*, results from the fact that, in such a case, it conjoins agents. But this is only one among the several possible semantic roles or syntactic functions that *ma* may conjoin. Besides, some syntactic tests developed below prove that it is not an adjunct-heading comitative preposition.

In English*,* extraction (e.g. topicalization or wh-movement) is a useful test to distinguish a preposition from a coordinator in (*who did you go with?* but * *who did you go and?*; *with whom did you go?* but * *and who did you go?*), but such tests are not discriminating in Nêlêmwa, since prepositions can never be topicalized with the NP, but must remain *in situ* with a resumptive anaphoric pronoun referring back to the topicalized NP. Compare the following constructions with the associative preposition *vi* on the one hand, and with *ma* on the other; topicalization and cleft constructions do not evidence any syntactic difference, since a resumptive independent pronoun appears in both cases:

(39)a. *Io   i   mu   vi   hoona   âlô   eli.*
    FUT 3SG stay   ASSOC   this.DEICT child   this.ANAPH
    'She's going to adopt that child.'

  b. *Ye hoona   âlô   eli   io   i   mu   vi   ye.*
    3FR this.DEICT child   this.ANAPH   FUT   3SG stay   ASSOC 3SG
    'Here's the child she's going to adopt.' (presentative construction)

(40)a. *Ma   pwe   wuung   ma   thaamwa bai.*
    1DU.EXCL fish   together COORD   woman   that.ANAPH
    'I went fishing with that woman.'

  b. *Thaamwa   bai   xe   ma   pwe wuung ma   ye.*
    woman   that.ANAPH TOP   1DU.EXCL fish   together COORD   3SG
    'That woman, I went fishing with her.'

  c. *Thaamwa   bai   hooli   ma   pwe wuung ma   ye.*
    woman   that.ANAPH that.ANAPH 1DU.EXCL fish   together COORD   3SG
    'It is that woman that I went fishing with.'

The main difference lies in the conjoining properties of *ma* vs. *vi ~ ve*. Only *ma* may conjoin NPs and, in asymmetric constructions, the inclusory pronoun and the

ma-headed NP may be topicalized as a complex NP (40d), which supports the notion of coordination against that of a preposition.

d. *Yaman* **ma** *thaamwa bai* **xe** *ma* *pwe wuung.*
1DU.EXCL.FR COORD woman   that.ANAPH TOP 1DU.EXCL fish   together
'Me and that woman, we went fishing together.'

In contrast, *ve ~ vi* has no conjoining properties. The two arguments in *i fuk vi Kaavo* 'he flew with Kaavo' (*see* 36) cannot be topicalized as a complex NP (**ye vi Kaavo xe i fuk*), since they belong to different constituents and do not have the same syntactic functions. Similarly, in the asymmetric construction with *ma* (41a, b, c), either the inclusory pronoun (41b) or the whole complex NP may be topicalized (41c):

(41)a. *Mo   tu   yhalap* **ma   ri/ti?**
2DU   go.down gather COORD who?
'Who did you go food-gathering with?' (lit. you$_{dual}$ went food gathering including whom?)

b. ***Yamon*** *xe mo tu   yhalap* **ma   ri/ti?**
2DU.FR TOP 2DU   go.down gather COORD who?
'You, you went food-gathering with whom?'

c. ***Yamon ma   ri/ti*** *me   mo   tu   yhalap?*
2DU.FR COORD who? DEPEND 2DU   go.down   gather
'With whom did you go food-gathering?' (lit. you$_{dual}$ including whom and you$_{dual}$ went food gathering)

2.2.6. Asymmetric constructions with ma: a case of ellipsis?

In some languages, asymmetric constructions may result from ellipsis, but this is language-specific and cannot be generalized. In Boumaa Fijian, the asymmetric construction in (42a) is the usual form, with an ellipted pronoun which, if present as in (42b), is emphatic:

(42) Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:157-61)

a. ***'Eirau*** *aa   sota vata* **'ei   Jone** *mai   Viidawa.*
1DU.EXCL   PAST meet together with John at   Viidawa
'John and I met at Viidawa.' (1988:157)

b. ***'Eirau*** *aa   sota vata* **o   yau** **'ei   Jone** *mai   Viidawa.*
1DU.EXCL PAST meet together ART 1SG   with John at   Viidawa
'John and I met at Viidawa.' (1988:157)

But the case for ellipsis is not supported in Nêlêmwa, as there are syntactic restrictions on asymmetric and symmetric constructions. Only nominals can appear in symmetric phrasal constructions (43a); in constrast, in asymmetric inclusory construction, pronouns are always implicitly cross-referenced in the inclusory pronouns (43b), and the person hierarchy helps retrieve the implicit referent:

(43)a. ***Hli*** *pe-boima axomoo-n* **ma** *pwaxi-n   thaamwa.*
3DU REC-kiss   mother-POSS.3SG INCL child-POSS.3SG woman
'The mother and her girl kiss each other.'

b. ***Hli*** *pe-boima Ø* **ma** *pwaxi-n thaamwa.*
'She and her girl kiss each other.' (lit. they$_{dual}$ kiss including her girl)

Such a syntactic restriction supports the notion that no NP ellipsis needs to be posited to account for asymmetric inclusory constructions in Nêlêmwa. Apart from this syntactic, language-specific reason, some typological features in Oceanic languages downplay the explanatory value of ellipsis, in particular the existence of appositive, conjunction-free inclusory constructions. This will be developed in §4.

2.3. The additive coordinator *ka ~ xa* 'and also, too'

The additive conjunction *xa* (the form *ka* is less commonly used in modern speech) may conjoin NPs, VPs or predicates and clauses. This section will just be concerned with NP coordination, in which case *xa* is a medial NP coordinator which triggers number concord with the conjuncts (cf. 44) and is also used in sums and numeration (cf. 46).

(44)   ***Hla***   *u*   *oda*   *mwa*   ***hlileny***   *thaamwa*   ***xa***   *ye.*
  3PL PFC go.up ACT these2.DEICT woman also 3SG.FR
  'These (two) women and he then go up.'

(45)   *Kia* *kua-n* *bu* *u* *fagau-t hada* ***xa*** *shi-t.*
  there.is.no leg-POSS.3SG EXPL PFC body only also arm
  'She has no legs, but only a body and arms.'

(46)   *tujic* ***xa*** *bwaa-t pwa-giik*
  ten also top CLF-one
  'Eleven.'

In adverbial function, *xa* is no longer a medial marker, but has scope over the preceding item (whether NP, VP or predicate) and is followed by a slight pause.

(47)   *Awa-hla* *me* *hla* *vhaa* ***xa***.
  will-POSS.3PL DEPEND 3PL talk too
  'They wanted to talk too.'

(48)   *Hli* ***xa*** *fhe* *hî* *wany*.
  3DU also take this boat
  'They too take this boat.'

The properties of the three NP coordinators are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of the coordinators and their properties

	+/-sameness of semantic role and syntactic function between NPs	number concord
me	+/– sameness	+/–
ma	+ sameness (inclusory)	+
xa	+ sameness (additive)	+

3. Predicate and clausal coordination in Nêlêmwa

All the coordinators listed in Table 1 mark clausal coordination: two of them, the contrast marker *na* 'and, but, whereas', which signals topic and referential discontinuity, and the explicative *bu* 'for, but' are restricted to clausal coordination. As for VP coordination, coordinators are fewer and restricted to *me ~ ma* 'and', *xa* 'and also, too' and *ai* 'or'.

The analysis here will concentrate on three of them, *me~ ma, na* and *xa*. They differ with respect to three parameters of variation: (i) same vs. different subjects constraints, (ii) sequential vs. simultaneous semantics, (iii) topic continuity vs. discontinuity.

As a VP and clause coordinator, *me* refers to sequential actions and is compatible with same or different subjects; *xa* refers to simultaneous or almost simultaneous actions and requires same subjects. As clausal coordinators, both *me* and *xa* evidence topic continuity, in contrast with *na,* which signals topic discontinuity.

3.1. *Me*: a polyfunctional morpheme

Apart from indicating NP, predicate/VP and clausal coordination, the general dependency marker *me* is also a complementizer, as well as a subordinator in purposive clauses (see §3.1.3). In contrast with the distinctive distribution of inclusory *ma* and non-inclusory *me* and the tight constraints on their use in NP coordination, the distribution of *ma* and *me* in clausal coordination, complementation or subordination is not distinctive and allows some free variation.

3.1.1. **Me** *in VP coordination*

Only *me* appears in VP coordination (*ma* is excluded):

(49) *I   xam   wâlem, wâlem me   wâlem me   gi   me   ôôxi.*
       3SG ASS walk   walk   DEPEND walk   DEPEND cry DEPEND go.away
       'She walks, walks and walks and cries and goes away.'

But in Nixumwak (Nêlêmwa's neighbor), *me* and *ma* seem to alternate freely for VP and clausal conjuncts. And further to the south-west, in Bwatoo[5], *ma* coordinates NPs[6], VPs and clauses.

3.1.2. **Me ~ ma** *in clausal coordination*

In constrast with VP coordination where *ma* is excluded, there is some free variation between *me* and *ma* in clausal coordination in Nêlêmwa, mostly due to the idiosyncratic usage of some speakers who also happen to originate from or to have been in contact with a neighbouring language where *ma* and *me* seem to alternate freely, as in Nixumwak (to the south) or where *ma* is the predominant form, as in Nyelâyu (to the east). In Nyelâyu, *ma* 'and, with, so that'[7] conflates all the functions and meanings expressed by the two markers in Nêlêmwa. Compare Nêlêmwa *me da?* 'what for?' and Nyelâyu *ma da?* 'what for?' (lit. and/so that what?). And since there is no structural necessity to maintain any distinction between them in clausal coordination, *ma* can be tolerated in the Nêlêmwa system. Such confusion also illustrates the tendency to reduce the number of coordinators, especially when non-distinctive, and to conflate their meanings. Thus, though *me* is the "expected" form, *ma* appears quite often in such environment; in (50), both forms appear in the same sentence:

(50) *Tuu-me   axaleny Pwayili me   i   tuu-me   kêlâ fââlô ...*
       go.down-DIR this.DEICT Pwayili   DEPEND 3SG go.down-DIR join path

       ...nai   ye   a   Kaavo ma   hli   u   tu.
        LOC   3SG AGT Kaavo DEPEND 3DU PFC go.down
       'Pwayili goes down and Kaavo goes down and joins him and they both go down.'

3.1.3. **Me** *as a complementizer and subordinator*

The following examples illustrate two other functions of *me*, that of complementizer[8] (51a) and subordinator in purposive clauses (51b).

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[5] Other conjunctions of Bwatoo: *ka* (sequential, consequence, constrast marker, also associated with stative verbs), *bwa* (addition), *thaan* 'but' (contrastive), *hai* 'or' (disjunctive).

[6] *vwen ma kahuen* 'turtle and sea-cow' (name of a type of sugar-cane).

[7] Other conjunctions: *cha* 'too, also' (cf. Nêlêmwa *xa*), *ta* 'and, then', *kam* 'but' (contrastive).

[8] Associated with some types of verbs: jussive verbs (*khabwe me* 'tell to'), conative verbs (*shaxami me* 'try to', *yaage me* 'attempt to'); *telaxi me* 'ask to'; *nanami me* 'plan to'; *pe-whan me* 'promise to'; Aktionsart verbs (*thaaxa(puxet) me* 'begin to', *diya me* 'get ready to'), *taau me* 'wait to'.

(51a) *I khabwe shi Pwayili me   i   â*
      3SG say   side Pwayili DEPEND 3SG leave
      'He tells Pwayili to leave.'

(51b) *Io   ma   pajale uxara pwaxi-man   **me**   pabuu-man*
      FUT 1DU.EXCL tell   BENEF child-POSS.1DU.EXCL DEPEND grand-child-POSS.1DU.EXCL

           *caae   **me**   hla   mwemwelî.*
           tomorrow DEPEND 3PL   know
      'We'll tell our children **and** grand-children tomorrow **so that** they know.'

The function and meaning of Nêlêmwa *me* is context-dependent and sometimes ambiguous (as in 52, 53); but so is pseudo-coordination in English *try and/to do it*.

(52) *Na â   shi Pwâ-Kebö **me**   ma   haga wuung ma   ye.*
     1SG leave side Pwâ-Kebö DEPEND 1DU.EXCL fish   together COORD 3SG
     'I'm going to Pwâ-Kebö's **and** we'll go fishing together.' (Or:) '[…] **to** go fishing together.'

(53) *Pwâ ôôxi   **me**   yo shaavic mwa.*
     a.little go.forward DEPEND 2SG warm.up   ACT
      'Come a little closer **and** get warm.'(Or:) 'Come a little closer **to** get warm.'

The ambiguity is lifted with negation, as in (54), where the scope of the negation *kio* over both clauses furthers the interpretation of *me* as the complementizer of the nominal predicate *kâyaa*, not as a coordinator, and similarly in (55) with the negative predicate *kia*:

(54) *[**Kio** kâyaa nai yava   [**me**   va   kûxû o   wi]].*
     NEG   habit   LOC 1PL.EXCL.FR DEPEND 1PL.EXCL drink CONN water
     'We are not used to drinking water.' (* we are not used to it and we drink water)

(55) *[**Kia**   yeewa-n   [**me**   i   horêân]].*
     there.is.not   time-POSS.3SG DEPEND 3SG breathe
     'He has no time to rest.' (* he has no time and he rests)

Me (or *ma*) also appear in correlative constructions in association with the quantifier/intensifier *hma* 'much, a lot' to express consequence:

(56) ***Hma** tabö kot   **me** ~**ma** kâlek   o na â Pum.*
     a.lot fall rain DEPEND   impossible IRR 1SG go Poum
     'It rained so much that I cannot go to Poum.'

Polyfunctionality may result from a general tendency for fusion and conflation of several markers. In New Caledonia, Cèmuhî (Rivierre 1980:196) suggests such an evolution, the coordinator and subordinator are distinguished by their tone: *me* without a tone of its own is the NP coordinator triggering number concord with the conjuncts, as well as the inclusory coordination marker, while *me* with middle tone has complementizing and subordinating functions, expressing adverbial purposive clauses '(so) that'. Were it not for their tonal difference, they would merge as they have merged in Iaai, Nêlêmwa and Nyêlayu. In Nyelâyu, *me* is both a coordinator and a complementizer (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998:123); further south, in Yuanga[9] (Haudricourt, n.d.), *ma* coordinates NPs referring to humans, and is also an explicative conjunction meaning 'for, because'; *me* in Iaai marks the comitative, coordination (NP or clausal coordination) and complementation (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976:138-41). More marginally, *mwâ* in Tîrî is also a clausal coordinator and a complementizer (Osumi 1995:260). Such polysemous and polyfunctional dependency markers are not uncommon in Oceanic languages[10]. Lichtenberk

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[9] In Yuanga: *ma* (+NP), *meni* (+non-human), *ai* 'or', *munaale* 'then', *xo* 'too', *axe* 'but'.
[10] For examples of polyfunctional morphemes in other languages, in particular the subordinating and coordinating functions of *ke* in Greek, see Johannessen (1998:241).

discusses the even broader range of functions of the conjunction *be* in Manam (1983:515-26), which, besides NP and clause coordination, also marks a variety of other functions such as temporal adverbial clauses (simultaneous or sequential) and clauses of purpose, cause, result, condition and contrast.

3.2. *Me* and *xa* as medial VP or clausal coordinators

Apart from their semantics, *me* (~ *ma*) 'and' on the one hand, and the additive conjunction *xa (~ ka)* 'and also' on the other, have different syntactic constraints. *Xa* conjoins NPs, VPs or clauses (cf. 58), and it may conjoin all types of predicates (active predicates (cf. 57), stative predicates (cf. 59), and noun predicates (cf. 60)), whereas *me* excludes stative verbs. With active verbs, *xa* signals simultaneous actions and refers to various aspects or subparts of the same event, whereas *me* tends to refer to sequential events. With stative predicates, *xa* refers to the cumulative properties of an entity.

(57) *Kep-da   mwa ye   **xa**   keva roven hî wany.*
      build-up   ACT 3SG.FR also   build finish   this boat
      'She works away and the boat is finished.'

(58) *Co xam cêê hulak   **xa**   co beega-ny.*
      2SG ASS very old   also   2SG cousin-POSS-1SG
      'You are very old and you are my cousin too.'

(59) *Je   le   wa-giik   jahoot xe dâlâk   **xa**   hâk   ava-t.*
      be.(loc) there CLF-one   river   TOP deep   also   big   side
      'There is a river deep and wide.' (*me* would be ungrammatical here)

(60) *Pwaxi-m   hoona   **xa** fwamwa-m   hoona   **xa** gau-m…*
      child-POSS.2SG this.DEICT also country-POSS.2SG   this.DEICT also bamboo-POSS.2SG

          ... pwêêlô hoona.
             flute   this.DEICT
      'This is your son and this is also your country and this is also your flute.'

Table 3: Semantics of *me* and *xa*

Simultaneous actions	Sequential	Consecutive
xa	*	*
me (no subj. index)	*me* (+subj. index)	*hma .. me*

In contrast with *me*, predicates or clauses conjoined by *xa* must have coreferential subjects; consequently, the personal index need not be expressed, and is generally not expressed. Coreference may be with a subset of the initial subject in the first clause, as in (61), where the parents (3DU *hli*) are a subset of the initial whole (parents and children):

(61) ***me hla** u muuvi da mwa **xa hli** u maak mwa hlileny   hulak.*
      COORD3PL PFC stay   up ACT also 3DU PFC die   ACT these2.DEICT old
      'And they (*i.e.* parents and children) live there to the south and the old ones die.'

When *xa* conjoins active verbs, the actions are immediately sequential, cumulative and constitute one single event; whereas *me* refers to a sequence of different events.

(62) *fhe mwa hooli   waja-n   **xa** pae-da   ni penono paan*
      take ACT this.ANAPH boat-POSS.3SG also throw-up in   branch pandanus
      '(He) takes this boat and puts it up on the branch of a pandanus …

...na	*le*	***me***	*i*	*u*	*oxuuri-ve*	*on.*
LOC	PR.ANAPH	DEPEND	3SG	ACC	follow-DIR	sand

there and he walks along the beach.'

In (63), the second occurrence of *hobwaxe* could be ellipted, resulting in NP conjunction:

(63)
Na	*co*	*muuvi*	***me***	*yo*	*taa*	*hobwaxe*	*awôlô*	***xa***	*(hobwaxe)*
CONTR	2SG	stay	DEPEND	2SG	STAT	watch	home	also	watch

... hoona	*pwaxi-hî.*
this.DEICT	child-POSS.1DU.INCL

'But stay **to** watch our home and (watch) our child.' (Or:) 'But stay **and** watch our home and (watch) our child.'

Xa is indifferent to polarity and may conjoin negative clauses (64) or modify a negative verb (cf. 65):

(64)
Na	***kia***	*ho*	*fwâ*	*axi-e*	***xa***	***kia***	*ho*	*fwâ*	*mu*
CONTR	there.is.no	that	yet	see-3SG	also	there.is.no	that	yet	stay

...bwa	*dau*	*eli.*
on	island	that.ANAPH

'But nobody has yet seen her and nobody has yet been on that island.'

(65)
Bu	*xu*	*kian*	***xa***	*hleena*	*habwali-ny.*
EXPL	PFC	not.be.there	also	these.DEICT	clothes-POSS.1SG

'Well, they have disappeared too.'

3.3. *Me, na* and *xa* in clause chaining

These morphemes signal topic continuity or discontinuity as well as a same-subject vs. different-subject constraint.

3.3.1 Me *topic continuity vs.* na *topic discontinuity*

In sentence- or clause-initial position, *me* is a clause chaining device, marking topic and referential continuity (whether of argument or action), in contrast with *na* 'but, and then' which signals topic discontinuity, contrast or opposition. They also have different syntactic properties: *na* only conjoins clauses or sentences and is the default marker in sentence initial position, whereas *me* is less common in sentence initial position, unless topic continuity is stressed. Finally, and in contrast with *me*, *na* does not license subject pronoun ellipsis under coreference, which correlates with its topic discontinuity marking function.

Topic discontinuity concerns the actions and agents in (66, 67), and only the actions in (68):

(66)
Na	*na*	*pek*	***me***	*na*	*tu*	*tharaxila-na*	*mwaidu,*	***na***	*hla*
CONTR	1SG	avoid	DEPEND	1SG	go.down	jump-1SG	down.there	CONTR	3PL

...thu	*tho-nuat*	***me***	*hla*	*khabwe: [...]*
make	call-mouth	DEPEND	3PL	say

'And/but then, I avoid them and jump away and then they call and say: […].'

(67)
Hla	*oda*	*hân*	*hleena*	*ak,*	***na***	*hla*	*tu*	*ni*	*daak*
3PL	go.up	hunt	these.DEICT	man	CONTR	3PL	go.down	in	garden

… hleena	*thaamwa.*
these.DEICT	woman

'The men go hunting and/whereas the women go to the gardens.'

(68)
Hla	*tu*	***me***	*hla*	*tu*	*kuut*	*bwa*	*on*	***na***	*hla*	*axi*	*bon ...*
3PL	go.down	DEPEND	3PL	go.down	stand	on	sand	CONTR	3PL	see	sea-gull

'They go down, they go down to the beach and then they see the sea-gull …

dua   i   pabe   mwadu   bwa   on.
when 3SG strand   down.there   on   sand
… as it is stranded down there on the sand.'

In (69), *na* signals discontinuous agents and actions, while *me* refers to sequential actions done by the same agents or by a subset of the same agents, and *xa* indicates simultaneous actions with coreferential subjects.

(69)   *Tu   mwa oda   shi horaamwaleny* **me**   *hli   u   wo;*
go.down   ACT   go.up   side this.woman   DEPEND 3DU ACC weave
'(She) then goes down, enters this woman's (house) and (then) they weave;

hli   u   wo,   **na**   *i   xau oome hiiji aaxiik*   **xa** *fhe*
3DU PFC weave   CONTR   3SG ASS come ant   CLF-one   also carry
they weave, but then an ant suddenly comes in carrying …

paara-khoo-n   nu   na mwelî **me**   *i   xau thegela.*
crumb-food-POSS.3SG coconut LOC there   DEPEND 3SG   ASS run
a crumb of coconut pith from there and she suddenly runs.'

Na (or the topic marker *xe*) also signals the topicalization of a temporal or conditional clause, thus marking contrast and another form of departure from the neutral order. Compare (70a) where the temporal clause is not topicalized, with (70b), where it is topicalized.

(70)a.   *I   u   yhaale   idaama Pwâ-Hivic dua   u   gi-hli   mwada ara-xebö.*
3SG PFC take.away eye   Pwâ-Hivic when PFC be(LOC)-3DU up.there limit-
mangrove
'Pwâ-Hivic took out her eyes (from their sockets) when she was up there close to the mangrove.'

   b. *Dua   u   gi-hli   mwada ara-xebö,*   **na / xe**   *i   u   yhaale*
when PFC be(LOC)-3DU up.there limit-mangrove CONTR/TOP   3SG PFC take.away
'When she was up there close to the mangrove, then, Pwâ-Hivic took out

idaama Pwâ-Hivic na le.
eye   Pwâ-Hivic   LOC ANAPH.PR
her eyes there.'

3.3.2. **Xa** *and* **me***: same-subject or different-subject constraint in clausal coordination*

Xa 'and also' imposes a same-subject constraint (cf. 71), whereas *me* is compatible with same or different subjects in the conjoined clause or VP. With *me*, a subject index is obligatory when the subjects are not coreferential (cf. 72); when the subjects are coreferential, the presence of a subject index signals sequential actions involving some temporal gap, as in (73) 'sleep and wake up', whereas the lack of subject index to the conjoined VP signals immediately sequential or simultaneous actions (74). It is then almost equivalent to *xa*.

(71)   *I$_i$ oda   Teâ Pwayili$_i$ shi Teâ Ovaac* **xa**   *(i)$_i$ khabwe   ushi-n …*
3SG go.up   Teâ Pwayili   side Teâ Ovaac   also   (3SG) say   BENEF-POSS.3SG
'Teâ Pwayili goes up to Teâ Ovaac and tells him …'

(72)   *I$_i$ oda   Teâ Pwayili$_i$ shi Teâ Ovaac$_j$ **me**   **i$_j$**   khabwe …*
3SG go.up   T. Pwayili   side T. Ovaac   DEPEND 3SG say

… ushi-n   a   Teâ Ovaac$_j$…
BENEF-POSS.3SG   AGT T. Ovaac
'Teâ Pwayili goes up to Teâ Ovaac and Teâ Ovaac tells him …'

(73) **I**ᵢ *mago âlô eli*   **me** **i**ᵢ *xau   not   dame*
      3SG sleep child this.ANAPH DEPEND 3SG ASS wake.up up.here

          … **xa**   *(i)*ᵢ *gi.*
             also   (3SG) cry
      'The child was sleeping and (then) he suddenly woke up and started crying.'

(74) *Na   i   xam wâlem* **me** *Ø gi.*
      CONTR 3SG ASS walk   DEPEND cry
      'And she walks and cries.'

These facts are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Summary of predicate and clausal conjunction

Conjunction	same subjects	different subjects
me	without coreferential subject index: immediate succession with coreferential subject index: succession, aim	with obligatory subject index
xa	with or without coreferential subject index: simultaneousness or immediate succession	ungrammatical

4. Typological comparisons with other Oceanic languages

Two main issues will be discussed in this section. First, an analysis of appositive inclusory constructions in various Oceanic languages will support my claim that ellipsis is unnecessary to account for the inclusory properties of the coordinator in the northern New Caledonian languages. Secondly, some diachronic developments will be presented to account for the parametric changes evidenced by various Oceanic languages.

4.1. Appositive inclusory constructions in some Oceanic languages

Oceanic languages display a variety of inclusory constructions. Some of them, Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000) and Mwotlap (François 2000), dispense with any inclusory or conjunctive marker. The head is the inclusory pronoun and the appositive NP specifies an included subset:

(75) Mwotlap (François 2000:479; 391)

    a. *Inti-mamyo   Wilson.*
        son-1DU.EXCL   Wilson
        'It's the son of Wilson and me.' (= 'It's Wilson's and my son.')

    b. *Komyo ye   ma-van   me?*   *Kamyo   Wilson.*
        2DU   who? PFC-go   here   1DU.EXCL   Wilson
        'Who did you come with?'   'With Wilson.'

In Toqabaqita, there are two types of inclusory constructions, neither of them with any conjunctive marker. In the split type (cf. 76), the inclusory function is borne by a subject-index/tense marker (*mere*), whereas in the phrasal type [NP NP] (cf. 77), it is borne by a free pronoun (*kamareqa*) and a subject-index/tense marker (*meki*). In both cases, the speaker 'I' is included in the inclusory pronoun 'we$_{dual}$'. In such constructions, constituent ellipsis has no explanatory value.

Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000:3; 10)

(76) *Doqora-mu mere   ngata.*
      brother-2SG   1DU.EXCL.NONFUT   speak
      'Your brother and I spoke (to each other).' (lit. your brother we$_{dual}$ spoke)

(77)   [*Kamareqa doqora-ku*] *meki   lae ma-i.*
        1DU.EXCL   brother-1SG 1DU.EXCL.FUT   go DIR-at
        'I and my bother will come tomorrow.' (lit. we$_{dual}$ my brother we$_{dual}$ spoke)

In contrast, New Caledonian languages usually display a conjunctive marker, which suggests some structural evolution, but Ajië and Tîrî have traces of appositive inclusory constructions (see §4.2. and §4.3.2.).

4.2. Inclusory, coordinating and comitative strategies: a comparative overview in some Oceanic languages

Inclusory constructions do not exclude other types of conjoining constructions, they often coexist with other coordination and comitative strategies. But inclusory constructions are mostly (if not exclusively) restricted to human referents, as in Mwotlap and Nêlêmwa. In Toqabaqita, the inclusory construction is different from but coexists with NP coordination with *ma* (cf. 78).

(78) Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000:8-9)

> *Nau* ***ma*** *wela nau ki* ***mili***   *too   siafaqa.*
> 1SG   and child 1SG   PL   1PL.EXCL(NONFUT) stay   be not well off
> 'I and my children, we are not well off.'

The comitative preposition *bia* 'with' (or its allomorph *bii*) does not trigger number concord, but it may combine with the inclusory construction to add a participant, as in (79).

(79)   ***Kamaroqa tha   Bita*** *moki lae* ***bii***   *kamiliqa?*
        2DU   PERS.MKR Bita 2DU go with 1PL.EXCL
        'Will you and Bita come with us?'

In Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), the inclusory construction with number agreement (80) coexists with a comitative construction (81) marked by the postposition *záiza* without number agreement. Both the inclusory and the comitative constructions may be combined triggering plural number agreement again (82).

        Manam (Lichtenberk 1983:430; 376; 432)

(80)   *Nau   toʔa-gu   ʔé-ru   ʔi-réba-ru.*
        3SG.FR older brother-1SG   **1DU**.EXCL.FR   **1DU**.EXCL-sail-DU
        'I and my older brother sailed.' (Or:) 'I sailed with my older brother.' (1983:430)

(81)   *Anúa   ne-Ø   i-láʔo nátu-Ø   **záiza**.*
        village POSS-3SG   **3SG**-go child-3SG COMIT
        'She went to her village with her child.' (1983:376)

(82)   *Onʔau tári-Ø   **záiza   di**-sábar-i.*
        Onkau younger brother-3SG   COMIT   **3PL**-hew-3SG
        'Onkau hewed it with his younger brothers.' (1983:432)

In Ajië, a southern New Caledonian language, there are several available strategies: coordination with *mã* (which conjoins NPs and VPs), an appositive inclusory construction (cf. 83-84), sometimes combined with the adverb *vɛa* 'together' (cf. 85) and a comitative preposition (cf. 88a below) or serial construction (cf. 88b):

Ajië (Leenhardt 1932:196; 190; 199)

(83) *Cere bɔri rhau toma rrua mã   vi **cere Orɔkau**[11].*
      3PL   SEQ all   stand up and go 3PL chief
      'Then they all stood up and went with the chief.' (lit. … and go they chief)

(84) *Curu bɔri we   vi-təvə **curu kaɲa**   χi-ə.*
      3DU   SEQ COMP REC-speak 3DU maternal.uncle POSS-3SG
      'Then he talked with his maternal uncle.' (lit. they_dual talked they_dual maternal uncle)

(85) *Curu kuru vɛ mã   **curu vɛa   bwɛ-re**.*
      3DU   sleep for long 3DU together woman-that
      'He slept with that woman for a long time.' (lit. they_dual together that woman)

Constructions such as those illustrated in (83)-(85) are still in use nowadays, as confirmed by a native speaker (A. Boehe, pers. com.) who stated that the use of *vɛa* 'together' as in (85) is optional and emphatic. However in modern speech, an additional non-inclusory subject pronoun may appear (such as *na* in (86) and *gö* in (87a)), indicating some reanalysis which might in turn trigger the grammaticalization of the dual pronoun into a comitative marker. (For such a development, see the case of Tîrî in §4.3.2 below).

Ajië (A. Boehe, pers. com.)

(86) *Na   wakè   curu yèvù.*
      3SG   work   3DU chief
      'He works with the chief.'

(87)a. *Gö tëvë gövu   pãdi-nyã.*
        1SG speak 1DU.EXCL brother-my
        'I speak with my brother.'

When the subject index shows the same number as the inclusory pronoun, there must be a pause between the two segments, as in (87b):

  b. *Gövu   təvə, gövu   pãdi-nyã.*
      1DU.EXCL speak   1DU.EXCL brother-my
      'We_dual speak, me and my brother.' (lit. we speak, we_dual my brother)

There are two other comitative marking strategies without number concord, one with the preposition *vèri* (cf. 88a) which is grammaticalized from the verb *vèri* 'go, follow', the other with the comitative verb *χara* 'be together' (through serialization) (cf. 88b). *Vèri* is also used as a non-co-agentive 'with' marker: *gö vi vèri rha karé* 'I'm going with the basket'.

(88) Ajië

  a. *Na vi vèri-e.*
      3SG go with-3SG
      'I speak with the chief.' (Aramiou et al. 2001:366)

  b. *Na bɔri we   kuru **χara**-e   rrɔ mwã χi-ə   na wi*
      3SG SEQ COMP sleep be.together-3SG in house POSS-3SG SM man
      'Then the man slept with her in his house.' (Leenhardt 1932:167)

As for the coordinator *mã* (or *mê* in Tîrî), it never has the inclusory function that appears in the northern languages of New Caledonia; it is just an additive coordinator as in (89a-b); compare (89a) with the inclusory construction in (89c):

(89) Ajië (A. Boehe, pers. com.)

  a. *Gènyâ mã   Paul.*   b. *Gövu   mã   Paul.*   c. *Gövu   Paul*
     1SG.FR COORD Paul   1DU.EXCL.FR COORD Paul   1DU.EXCL.FR Paul
     'Paul and I.'   'Paul and the two of us.'   'Paul and I.'

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[11] The order is VOS when arguments are nominal, sVo with personal indexes, as in Nêlêmwa.

4.3. Inclusory constructions: paths of grammaticalization and replacement

Coexistent and combined constructions (as in §4.2) show how former appositive inclusory constructions may lose some of their distinctive appositive features and start using additional coordinators which take on new inclusory functions, as evidenced by some northern New Caledonian languages. But there are other paths of reanalysis and grammaticalization, in particular the grammaticalization of an inclusory pronoun into a coordination marker (Mwotlap) or into a comitative preposition (Tîrî).

4.3.1. Mwotlap (Vanuatu): reanalysis and grammaticalization of an inclusory pronoun into a coordination marker

In Mwotlap (François 2000:389-90), the third person dual inclusory pronoun *kōyō* (and only *kōyō*) is grammaticalized as a coordinator conjoining human NPs. Compare the inclusory construction (90) and the grammaticalized *kōyō* (91):

Mwotlap (François 2000:388; 262)

(90)   *Mayanag **kōyō** mo-gom.*
          chef   3DU   PFC-ill
          'The chief (and her) are ill.' (lit. the chief they$_{dual}$ are ill) (2000:388)

(91)   *imam   **kōyō** tita   mino*
          father   3DU   mother   my
          'my father and mother' (2000:262)

The inclusory construction coexists with a comitative phrase *tiwag mi* 'together with', which may be used both as a preposition expressing accompaniment or instrument without number concord (92, 93) or as a NP coordinator with number concord (94).

Mwotlap (François 2000:263; 262)

(92)   *ino,   **tiwag   mi**   nēk*
          1SG.FR   together with   2SG
          'me and/with you' (2000:263)

(93)   *Nēk   tog   vanvan **tiwag   mi**   ige hōw   en !*
          2SG   PROH   go   together with   PL   down   DEICT
          'Do not go with the people down there (to the north) !' (2000:262)

(94)   *na-mañgo **tiwag   mi**   nō-wōh,   kōyō vēlēs neneh   vēlēs.*
          ART-mango   together with   ART-coconut **3DU**   only   sweet   only
          'The mango and the coconut are as sweet.' (2000:262)

4.3.2. Tîrî (New Caledonia): grammaticalization of an inclusory pronoun into a comitative preposition

In Tîrî (Osumi 1995), there are traces of a former appositive inclusory construction (with a first person dual or plural pronoun) without any conjunctive marker, but the inclusory pronoun has been grammaticalized into a comitative preposition, as evidenced by number agreement with the subject only, excluding the co-agent (cf. 95-96). The prepositional phrase can occur in different positions in the clause:

Tîrî (Osumi 1995: 40-41; 211)

(95)a. *U fi   **komu**   nrî   pwere Numea.*
          1SG go   1DU.EXCL   3SG.FR   to   Noumea
          'I go with him to Noumea.' (1995:40-41)

b. ***Komu*** *nrî*   *u*   *fî pwere Numea.*
1DU.EXCL 3SG.FR 1SG go to   Noumea
'With him, I go to Noumea.' (1995:40-41)

c. *U fî pwere Numea* ***komu*** *nrî.*
'I go to Noumea with him.'

(96) ***Nrorrù*** *busi Sonya nrâ   merro.*
3DU   cat Sonia 3SG   sleep
'With the cat, Sonia sleeps.' (1995:211)

Such grammaticalization is probably correlated with a word order change in Tîrî, for though it still displays V(O)S order, SVO is becoming predominant. Thus, what was formerly a construction with two appositive pronouns (the inclusory free pronoun and a subject pronoun) such as *fî komu nrî pwere Numea* (lit. go we$_{dual}$ he to Noumea) was reanalyzed as follows: the inclusory pronoun grammaticalized as a preposition heading the following pronoun, while an additional subject pronoun appeared in pre-verbal position, as in (95)-(96). Reanalysis was facilitated by the fact that free pronouns and object pronouns are almost identical in Tîrî.

There is no trace of any asymmetric inclusory construction in Tîrî and NPs are conjoined by the coordinator *mê* (cf. 97). Various prepositions (Osumi 1995:82-87) mark co-agentive and non-co-agentive 'with' comitative roles, none of them triggering number concord.

(97) Tîrî (Osumi 1995:258)

Toni ***mê*** *Nanu* ***rru***   *hôsi   pwêvò.*
Tony and   Nanu 3DU   buy   egg
'Tony and Nanu bought eggs.'

4.3.3. Conflation and replacement

Merging is another factor of diachronic change and, in this respect, New Caledonian languages vary as to where they draw the line. The first tendency inversely correlates the existence of an appositive inclusory construction and the inclusory function of the coordinator 'and'. Thus, southern languages such as Ajië and Tîrî have an appositive inclusory construction (even though it is grammaticalized in Tîrî) and no inclusory function of the coordinator 'and'; while northern languages such as Nêlêmwa, Bwatoo and Cèmûhî evidence the inclusory function of the coordinator 'and', but no appositive inclusory construction. The second main tendency, represented by languages such as Drehu, Iaai (Loyalty Islands), Nemi (North)[12] and Xârâcùù (South), is for the coordinator to conflate the inclusory, comitative and coordinating functions.

These tendencies also appear in other Oceanic languages: Toqabaqita, Manam and Mwotlap have distinct constructions, while Samoan[13] and Tolai conflate all the functions under one and the same marker. In Tolai, *ma* is both a conjunctive and an adjunctive morpheme which differs only in respect to number agreement: it conjoins NPs with number agreement (cf. 99), as well as VPs or clauses (Mosel 1984:94) and it marks instrumental and comitative adjuncts without number agreement (cf. 100). Compare Nêlêmwa: *yamon ma ri?* 'you and who else ?' (lit. you$_{dual}$ including whom?) and Tolai:

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[12] *me* in Iaai and *ma* in Nemi mark the comitative function as well as NP, VP or clausal coordination.
[13] Polynesian, Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:148).

Tolai (Mosel 1984:41; 176; 176)

(98) *Amur **ma** ia?*
　　　2DU　　COORD　who?
　　　'Who is with you?' (lit. you~dual~ including whom?)

(99) *Telengai dir rovoi **ma** ra pap.*
　　　Telengai　**3DU**　hunt　with　ART dog
　　　'Telengai and the dog hunted.'

(100) *Nam ra tutana i ga rovoi **ma** ra pap.*
　　　DEM　ART　man　**3SG** TA　hunt　with　ART dog
　　　'That man hunted with the dog.'

In the various New Caledonian languages that have conflated such functions onto one morpheme, a syntactic device (number concord) or a lexical device (an adverb such as 'together') may disambiguate the comitative role from the coordinator. The comitative role does not trigger concord. In Xârâcùù[14], *mää* is both a tight NP coordination marker and a comitative preposition (without number concord); it coexists with co-agentive or non-co-agentive comitative prepositions, *wérè* (+animate), *kèrè* (+/-animate) which do not trigger number concord. In Nyelâyu (spoken east of the Nêlêmwa area), the prevalent morpheme *ma* (sometimes in variation with *me*) conflates all the functions performed by *ma* and *me* in Nêlêmwa. In contrast with Nêlêmwa *ma*, which only conjoins NPs with human reference, *ma* in Nyelâyu may also conjoin inanimate NPs:

(101) Nyêlâyu (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998:119)

　　　*Ja na vuugeen **ma** dilic.*
　　　1PL.INCL put together　with　earth
　　　'We mix it with earth.'

As for the inclusory construction *have ma yo* 'we two' (lit. we~dual~ including you), still used by older people, it is now being replaced among the younger Nyelâyu speakers by a non-inclusory construction with *ma* or *me* (which is still considered less correct): *yo ma ri*? 'you and/with whom?' or *yo me no* 'you and me'.

4.3.4. Some diachronic perspectives for **me** *and* **ma** *in Nêlêmwa*

New Caledonian languages evidence various evolutionary paths. In Nêlêmwa, *ma* and *me* might reflect three different Proto Oceanic coordinators: two conjunctions *ma and *me 'and, with' and a comitative prepositional verb *ma-i (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch, this vol.). *Ma* (the reflex of Proto Oceanic *ma) has inclusory and comitative features; while *me* might result from the conflation of two proto-forms, the Proto Oceanic coordinator *me and the comitative prepositional verb *ma-i. This would explain optional number agreement in NP coordination with *me*: the Proto Oceanic coordinator *me would be cognate with the tight coordinator *me* with number concord, while *ma-i would be reflected by the loose coordinator or comitative *me* without number concord, as in ex. (4). This might also explain its marginal use as a non-co-agentive (associative) 'with' marker in place of the expected *ve*, *vi* in ex. (5). Though synchronically, concord or lack of concord with *me* seems to vary with discourse and pragmatic considerations, it might well result from the fusion of two different morphemes with different number concord properties.

Togetherness and *inclusion* are the main distinctive semantic features for Nêlêmwa *ma* and *me;* in contrast with *ma*, the non-inclusory coordinator *me*

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[14] Moyse-Faurie (1995:140); Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (this volume, ex. 76).

optionally expresses togetherness. Similarly, in English, 'with' expresses togetherness, while 'and' only has it as an optional interpretation: compare *the girl leaves with the boy* (together, +/-co-agentive) and *the girl and the boy leave*. But such analogy stops at the semantic level, as *ma* is not a preposition heading a comitative adjunct, but is a hybrid inclusory-comitative conjoining marker.

5. Conclusion

Areal typology, comparative data and diachronic reconstructions lead us to hypothesize that the comitative coordinator *ma* developed an inclusory function in the northern languages of New Caledonia, possibly due to some overlapping between inclusory and coordinating constructions and, later, due to the loss of appositive inclusory constructions. The two southern New Caledonian languages considered here (Ajië and Tîrî) seem to support this: they have appositive inclusory constructions (either synchronically or as grammaticalized traces) and the coordinator *mã* or *mê* does not have any inclusory function. Such areal data suggest this evolution rather than the reverse (*i.e.* an inclusory-comitative morpheme reanalyzed as a medial NP coordinator of the type NP *ma* NP).

At the present stage, *ma* in Nêlêmwa is a hybrid inclusory-comitative coordinator requiring obligatory number concord with the included arguments; but some divergent evolution and specialization might be predicted: either as a symmetric medial NP coordinator, as in (i) below, or as a comitative preposition together with the loss of number concord on the subject pronoun as in (iii), with an intermediate stage represented by the asymmetric inclusory construction in (ii):

(i) $S_{incl.}$ V NP$_{arg}$ *ma* NP$_{arg}$ > coordinating function
(ii) S_{incl} V Ø   *ma* NP$_{arg}$ > hybrid inclusory-comitative-coordinating function
(iii)   s   V Ø   *ma* NP$_{arg}$ > comitative preposition

Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:157-61) displays a similar evolution: among younger speakers, *'ei* 'and, with' is being grammaticalized as a comitative preposition, together with the loss of number agreement (as in (iii)), while the older speakers only make use of the coordinating (i) or inclusory asymmetric constructions (ii), represented by examples (42a-b).

In Nêlêmwa, only one occurrence of *ma* without number agreement (102) was found in the whole corpus, its status is thus uncertain and needs to be confirmed:

(102)   *Na **i** xam wâlem axaleny aayo **ma**   hlaabai   yabwec   avat.*
         CONTR 3SG ASS   walk   this.man   chief COORD those.ANAPH follower   few
         'But the chief kept walking with some of his followers.' (*me* would be the expected form)

As for the general dependency marker *me*, which might result from the convergence and fusion of two Proto Oceanic forms (**me* and **ma-i*), one of its uses, without number concord, might reflect the Proto Oceanic comitative prepositional verb **ma-i*. But since it is increasingly confused with the coordinator *me*, the coordinator *ma* might then be pushed towards specializing as a comitative preposition, as in (102), to maintain distinctive morphemes. If such an evolution was to be confirmed, it would be an interesting case of fusion and inversion, from AND to WITH function in the case of *ma* and from WITH to AND in the case of *me* (the reflex of **ma-i*). The present stage might well be transitional.

The other interesting typological feature of New Caledonian languages is the distinction between the co-agentive and non-co-agentive 'with', which is expressed

by number concord and/or by morphemes which may originate either from a coordinator or a noun in the case of the co-agentive 'with' and from grammaticalized deverbal prepositions in the case of the non-co-agentive 'with'.

Linguistic variation and divergence thus results from changes in a language's parametric settings and syntactic constraints, in two possible directions, the maintenance of distinctive features or the conflation of morphosyntactic devices and functions.

Abbreviations

ACT	actualising marker		FR	free (pronoun)
AGT	agent marker		FUT	future
ANAPH	anaphoric		INCL	inclusive
ART	article		IRR	irrealis marker
ASP	aspect		lit.	literal translation
ASS	assertive		LOC	localiser
ASSOC	associative		LOC.PRED	locative predicate
BENEF	beneficiary		NEG	negation
BF	buffer		NEG.PRED	negative predicate
CAUS	causative		PL	plural
CLF	classifier		POSS	possessive marker
COLL.OBJ	collective object		PERS.MKR	personal marker
COMIT	comitative		PFC	perfect
CONN	connector (preposition)		PROG	progressive
CONTR	contrastive marker		PROH	prohibitive
DEICT	deictic		PR	pronoun
DEM	demonstrative		REC	reciprocal
DEPEND	dependency marker		SG	singular
DIR	directional		SM	subject marker
DU	dual		TA	tense-aspect marker
DUR	durative		TOP	topic marker
EXCL	exclusive		TR	transitive marker
EXPL	explicative marker			

Oceanic languages and language sources

- Western Oceanic:
    - ***North New Guinea***
        Manam (Manam and Boesa Islands, Papua New Guinea; Lichtenberk 1983).
    - ***Meso Melanesian***
        - South New Ireland subgroups:Tolai (East New Britain, Papua New Guinea; Mosel 1984).
- Eastern Oceanic:
    - ***Southeast Solomonic***
        Toqabaqita (Malaita Island, Solomon Islands; Lichtenberk 2000).
    - ***Remote Oceanic***
        - *North Vanuatu*: Mwotlap (François 2000),
        - *New Caledonian*: <u>Far North of Mainland</u>: Nêlêmwa (Bril 2000, 2002), Nyelâyu (Ozanne-Rivierre 1998), Yuanga (Haudricourt, unpubl. manusc.); <u>North of Mainland</u>: Bwatoo (Ehrhart and Rivierre, forthcoming), Cèmuhî (Rivierre 1980), Nemi (Ozanne-Rivierre 1979); <u>South of Mainland</u>: Ajië (Aramiou et al. 2001, Leenhardt 1932, La Fontinelle 1976), Tîrî (Osumi 1995), Xârâcùù (Moyse-Faurie 1995); <u>Loyalty Islands</u>: Drehu (Moyse-Faurie 1983), Iaai (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976).
    - ***Central Pacific***
        - *Eastern Fijian*: Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988).
            - ***Nuclear Polynesian***
                - *Proto Samoic subgroup*: Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992).

Figure 1: Diagram of Oceanic languages (adapted from Ross et al. 1998)
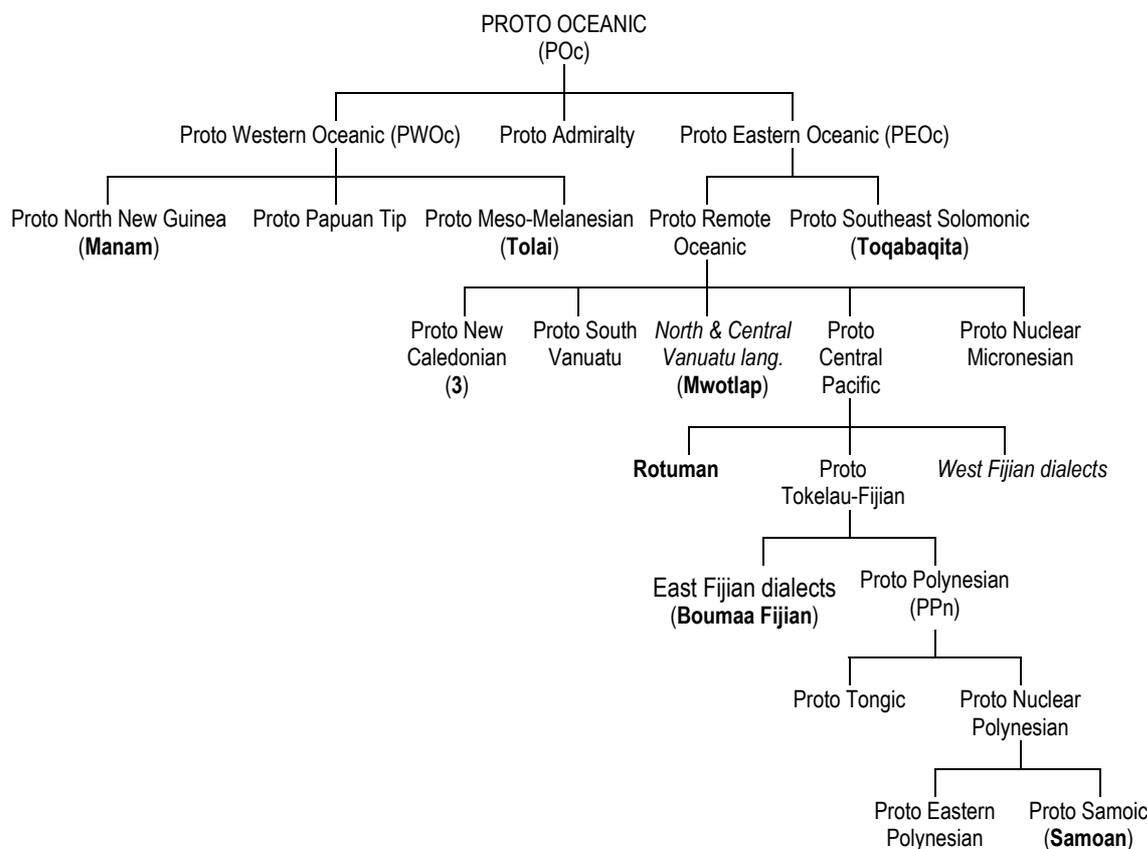
Notes:
1. The languages signalled in bold and between brackets are those mentioned in the article.
2. *Italics* are used to indicate a group of languages or a language which have no exclusively shared common ancestor.
3. Languages of New Caledonia : Far North of Mainland : **Nêlêmwa**, **Nyelâyu**, **Yuanga** ; North of Mainland : **Bwatoo**, **Cèmuhî**, **Nemi** ; South of Mainland : **Ajië**, **Tîrî**, **Xârâcùù** ; Loyalty Islands : **Drehu**, **Iaai**.

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