

## Supplementary material for:

**Verkerk, Annemarie and Frostad, Benedicte Haraldstad. 2013. The Encoding of Manner Predications and Resultatives in Oceanic: A Typological and Historical Overview. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52(1):1-35.**

In this supplementary material we present examples from each construction that has been attested for each language included in the sample. The sections are ordered according to the genetic affiliation of the languages. The genetic affiliation is based on Lynch et al. (2002) and Ross and Næss (2008).<sup>1</sup>

### 1 WESTERN OCEANIC

#### 1.1 MESO-MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

##### 1.1.1 New Ireland / Northwest Solomonian linkage

HOAVA (NI NW S, New Georgia)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (1) [Tanini va-**hevá**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 hold caus-strong.TR:3SG  
 ‘Hold it strongly.’

(Davis 2003: 77)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (2) Ego, naní sa, [nani va-**paho-e**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 well eat.TR:3PL PRO:3SG eat CAUS-empty-TR:3PL  
 ‘Well, he ate them, ate and emptied them.’

(Davis 2003: 161)

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in this document and in Verkerk and Frostad 2013: AC, adverbial conjugation; ANA, anaphoric marker; ANP, anaphoric pronoun; AO, aorist; ATTR, attributive; BAS, basic; BR, basic root; C, connective particle; CARD, cardinal numeral; CATEG, categorizer; COLL, collective; CONJ, conjunction; CONN, connector; CONT, continuous aspect; CIT, citation root; CNTX, contextualizer; DEIC, deictic; DIR, directional; DIS, distant mood; ECH, echo; EMPID, emphatic identifier; ES, echo subject; FACT, factitive; GENR, general; GIV, the Bariai referential particle *toa*; HAB, habitual aspect; IMM, immediate; INTJ, interjection; IP, illocutionary particle; IT, iterative; MIN,

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (3) Kolokolo sap u vura huani, la ria  
 time PRO:3SG REL go.out REM:SG go ART:SG

nikana Merika [gona **mate**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 man America shoot die

‘When that one went out, the Americans shot and killed (him).’

(Davis 2003: 86)

ROVIANA (NI NW S, New Georgia)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (4) [Tupa va-**kalea**-ni-u]<sub>SVC</sub> sa.  
 punch CAUS-bad-TR-OBJ:1SG PRO:3SG  
 ‘He punched me badly.’

(Corston-Oliver 2002: 482)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (5) Lopu [seske **mate**-i-∅]<sub>SVC</sub> rau pa lima-qu.  
 NEG hit die-TR-3PL 1SG LOC hand-1SG  
 ‘I didn’t kill them with my hands.’

(Corston-Oliver 2002: 485)

UGHELE (NI NW S, New Georgia)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (6) Ei, vae-na mado dodoru ikana puna ghoi  
 INTJ like-ATTR:3SG happy every person because PRO:2SG

[ghilania lemono va-**lean**-i-a]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 know hear CAUS-good-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie pa dia r<in>eka,  
 PRO:3PL LOC POSS:3PL <NOM>speak

‘Oh, every person was happy because you could understand it well in their language, (.).’

(Frostad 2008)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (7) (..) meke [zulu **mate**]<sub>SVC</sub> pai-ni-a ia na mamaneke ia.  
 and burn die throw-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG ART woman PRO:3SG  
 ‘(..) and he burnt the woman to death.’

(Frostad 2008)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (8) Beto meke lao ia [zulu va-**mate-a**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 finish and go PRO:3SG burn CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG  
 mamaneke mago ia beto meke kaloa ia, (..)   
 woman spirit PRO:3SG finish and leave PRO:3SG  
 ‘And he burned the female woman to death and went off, (..)’

(Frostad 2008)

KUBOKOTA (NI NW S, New Georgia)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (9) [Pate va-**lean-i=a**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 close CAUS-be.good-TR=OBJ:3SG  
 ‘Close it properly.’

(Chambers 2009: 272)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (10) qari [maja va-**lukan-i=a**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 REAL:3PL hit CAUS-cry-TR=OBJ:3SG  
 ‘they hit (the dog and) made him cry’

(Chambers 2009: 299)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (11) Za [nunu **piar-i=a**]<sub>SVC</sub> na mua alarm clock?  
 3SG:REAL earthquake break-TR=3SG.OBJ DET POSS:2SG alarm clock.  
 ‘Did the earthquake break your alarm clock?’

(Chambers 2009: 305)

KOKOTA (NI NW S, Santa Isabel)  
Manner predication: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

- (12) ago n-o [gorha fa **heta**]<sub>SVC</sub> ġlehe  
2SG REAL-2SG paddle CAUS be.strong very  
'You are paddling very strongly.'

(Palmer 2009: 270)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (13) n-a babao no-ġu gu=na=na [friñhe  
REAL-SBJ:1EXCL be.tired GENP-P:1SG CNTX=P:3SG=that:N work  
**heta**]<sub>SVC</sub> fakamo  
be.strong always  
'I am tired because I always work hard.'

(Palmer 2009: 209-210)

Resultative: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

- (14) manei n-e-ke [kumai fa **knaso=i**]<sub>SVC</sub> botolo swepi  
he REAL-3-PRF drink CAUS be.empty=OBJ:3SG bottle soft.drink  
ine  
this:REAL  
'He drank empty this bottle of soft drink.'

(Palmer 2009: 209)

HALIA (NI NW S, Nehan/North Bougainville)

Manner predication: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

- (15) E [kui ha-**niga**]<sub>SVC</sub> koru-na.  
v work CAUS-good very-he  
'(He) works very well.'

(Allen 1987: 63)

Resultative: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

- (16) Nori e [singata ha-**ku-e-r**]<sub>SVC</sub> a muki.  
they v hit CAUS-yelp-TR-they C do  
'They hit the dog making it yelp.'

(Allen 1987: 121)

TEOP (NI NW S, Nehan/North Bougainville)  
Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (17) Ean toro [vaa-mate va-**mataa**]<sub>SVC</sub> e toa.  
2SG must CAUS-be.dead ADV-be.good ART chicken  
'You must kill the chicken properly.'

(Reinig 2004: 101)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (18) [Tasu va-**mate**]<sub>SVC</sub> e kahi, ha!  
stone ADV-be.dead ART dog INTJ  
'Stone the dog to death!'

(Reinig 2004: 101)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (19) Gono koa bona ta naono, me [navahu **booboha**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
got just ART piece wood and hit break  
  
bono sinivi.  
ART canoe  
'(He) just got the stick and hit the canoe to pieces.'

(Mosel & Thiesen 2007: 114)

TAIOF (NI NW S, Nehan/North Bougainville)

Manner predication: no data  
Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (20) aye to [koc fa-ta-**keres=e**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
he real bite CAUS-STAT-tear=it  
'He tore it with his teeth.'

(Ross 2002d: 432)

BANONI (NI NW S, Piva/Banoni)  
 Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(21) Ghata ka [tam va-**daame**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 1SG:2SG C eat CAUS-good  
 ‘We ate well.’

(Lincoln 1976: 145)

Resultative: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(22) Ke [tsunu va-**mate-a**]<sub>SVC</sub> nna.  
 C hit CAUS-die-3SG 3SG  
 ‘He killed him.’

(Lincoln 1976: 189)

resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(23) Ku [tsunu-**mate-a**]<sub>SVC</sub> nna  
 3SG:REAL hit-die-3SG he  
 ‘He hit it dead’, or ‘He killed it by hitting it’

(Lynch and Ross 2002: 450)

SISIQA (NI NW S, Choiseul)  
 Manner predication: no data  
 Resultative: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(24) Öe sa [kobe va-**le**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 PRO:3SG REAL:3SG step CAUS-die  
 ‘He stepped on it and killed it.’

(Ross 2002c: 463)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(25) Öe sa [lube **kabele-ni**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 PRO:3SG REAL:3SG bite break-TR  
 ‘He bit it broken.’

(Ross 2002c: 463)

TOLAI (NI NW S, St. George)  
Manner predication: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

(26) I ga [na va=**dekdek**]<sub>SVC</sub> ia.  
he REM look CAUS=firm it  
'He looked at it firmly.'

(Mosel 1984: 125)

manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(27) Pa iau [valongore-**mal**]<sub>SVC</sub> ia.  
not I hear-do.well it.  
'I did not hear it properly.'

(Mosel 1984: 125)

manner predication: other: compound with noun

(28) Dor a [ki-na-**gugu**]  
1:INCL:DU TAM stay-C-joy  
'We will stay (here) joyfully, ...'

(Mosel 1984: 200)

Resultative: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

(29) Dia ga [tun-va=**imur**]<sub>SVC</sub> ia.  
PRO:3PL REM roast-CAUS=be.consumed.by.fire it  
'They roasted it, until it was reduced to ashes.'

(Mosel 1984: 126)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(30) (...) ma i [kita-**doko**]<sub>SVC</sub> na ra vavina  
and he hit-kill DEM ART woman  
'(...) and he hit the woman dead.'

(Mosel 1984: 128)

PALA (NI NW S, St. George)  
Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy<sup>2</sup>

(31) [pálim ha-**taħüt**-ne]<sub>SVC</sub>  
make CAUS-good-TR  
'to make (something) well'

(Peekel 1909: 116)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy<sup>3</sup>

(32) [kăp **haiā**-ne]<sub>SVC</sub>  
take fast-TR  
'to take (something) fast'

(Peekel 1909: 116)

Resultative: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(33) [tűn ha-**masōs**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
cook CAUS-done  
'to cook (something) done/tender'

(Peekel 1909: 116)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(34) I [bu **bing**]<sub>SVC</sub> ie  
3SG hit:PRS kill:PRS 3SG  
'He hits him dead.'

(Peekel 1909: 107)

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<sup>2</sup> In Pala, the causative prefix is *ha-*. Many adverbs and adjectives start with *ha*, just as *haiá* 'quickly'. The reason for this is unclear, it might be the case that *ha-* marked *V*<sub>2</sub>s have undergone a grammaticalization process resulting in a set of adverbs. Therefore, we are a bit unsure about the verbal status of *haiā* (32), although it is not listed in a list of adverbs of manner (Peekel 1909: 152ff), which gives us some confidence it is still a verb.

<sup>3</sup> In Pala we also find a SVC in which the *V*<sub>2</sub> indicates manner; the *V*<sub>2</sub> is transitivized by the suffix *e* ~ *ne* ~ *ane*, which increases the valence of an adjective, adverb, or verb, transforming it into a transitive predicate (Peekel 1909: 104).



SIAR (NI NW S, St. George)  
 Manner predication: no data  
 Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (35) I ding a din kaien na di [suk a-**kut**]<sub>SVC</sub> tar a mosol o-n.  
 3SG that ART:2 piece cloth REL IPFV sew CAUS-close COMPL1 ART:2 hole OBL-3SG  
 ‘That piece of cloth on which they sewed the hole closed.’

(Rowe 2005: 51)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (36) I [ngot **kubat**]<sub>SVC</sub> i.  
 3SG bite break 3SG  
 ‘He broke it by biting.’

(Rowe 2005: 69)

LAVONGAI (NI NW S, Tungak/Nalik)  
 Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (37) ku la [daŋ a-**kit**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 IMP OPT speak CAUS-strong  
 ‘speak strongly’

(Beaumont 1988: 29)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (38) ku ago ta [rauŋ a-**matan**]<sub>SVC</sub> ania  
 IMP not 1PL:INCL kill CAUS-die for:3SG  
 ‘do not kill him’

(Beaumont 1988: 30)

NALIK (NI NWS, Tungak/Nalik)  
 Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (39) Ga na [do-dor fa-**mumut**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 1SG FUT RED-speak CAUS-small  
 ‘I’ll speak a little bit.’

(Volker 1998: 76)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (40) A   nalik ka [dor **doxo**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 ART boy 3 speak good  
 ‘The boy speaks well.’

(Volker 1998: 76)

Resultative: no data

TIGAK (NI NWS, Tungak/Nalik)  
 Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (41) ga       [vis a-**takteak-i**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 3SG:PST hit CAUS-hard-3SG  
 ‘(S)he hit him/her hard.’

(Beaumont 1979: 76)

Resultative: no data

### 1.1.2 Bali-Vitu<sup>4</sup>

VITU (Meso-Melanesian)<sup>5</sup>  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (42) Ia ti     ma [vana **village-lage**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 3SG PRF:3 PROG walk slow-RED  
 ‘He kept on walking slowly.’

(van den Berg & Bachet 2006: 169)

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<sup>4</sup> Bali and Vitu are two closely related but separate languages that form a distinct subgroup in the Meso-Melanesian cluster (van den Berg & Bachet 2006: 2). van den Berg & Bachet (2006: 2) point out that the variety described in their book is Vitu, while the variety described by Ross (2002a) is mostly Bali. What is described by van den Berg & Bachet (2006: 90ff) as verbal compounds for Vitu is described by Ross (2002a) as classificatory prefixes for Bali (see below). However, it seems clear that for Vitu, the first element of such a verbal compound, especially for resultatives, is already grammaticalized to such an extent that they form a construction distinct from Vitu SVCs. Therefore, these grammaticalized V<sub>1</sub>S could potentially be classified as a set of classificatory prefixes.

<sup>5</sup> Vitu has have a reflex of *\*pa-/\*paka-, va-*, but does not use it for marking manner predications or resultatives.

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (43) Pale, a Galemo ia [hubi-**mate**-a]<sub>SVC</sub> tazi-na kote.  
 then ART G. 3SG hit-die-3SG same.sex.sibling-3SG little  
 ‘So Galemo hit his little brother to death.’

(van den Berg & Bachet 2006: 94)

BALI (Meso-Melanesian)

Manner predication: no data

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (44) hara-**putu**-hi  
 ‘break by biting’

(Ross 2002a: 374)

- (45) hara-**mate**-hi  
 ‘kill by biting’

(Ross 2002a: 374)

- (46) vaka-**putu**-hi  
 ‘break by stepping on’

(Ross 2002a: 374)

- (47) vaka-**mate**-hi  
 ‘kill by stepping on’

(Ross 2002a: 374)

## 1.2 PAPUAN TIP LANGUAGES

### 1.2.1 Nuclear Papuan Tip

SALIBA (Suauic)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (48) [ye-he-kata-**namwa-namwa**-i-gai]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 3SG-CAUS-learn-RED-good-APPL-OBJ:1PL.EXCL  
 ‘she teaches us properly’

(Margetts 1999: 135)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (49) [Ye-koi-he-**mwaloi**-∅]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 3SG-hit-CAUS-dead-Obj:3SG  
 ‘He hit it dead.’ (lit. ‘He hit-caused-dead-it.’)

(Margetts 1999: 102)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (50) Galasi [se-koi-**kesi**-∅]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 glass 3PL-hit-break-3SG  
 ‘They break the glass.’ (lit. ‘They hit-break the glass’)

(Margetts 1999: 118)

IDUNA (Papuan Tip, North Mainland / D’Entrecasteaux, Bwaidoga linkage)

Manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

- (51) a-da-‘a     **yamumuna**  
 we-POT-eat good  
 ‘we would eat well’

(Huckett 1974: 90)

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (52) ai     gi-**ki**-dobo-na  
 stick 3SG-manually-break-3s  
 ‘(S)he broke the stick with his/her hands.’

(Huckett 1974: 125)

TAWALA (North Mainland/D’ Entrecasteaux linkage, Taupota)

Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy<sup>6</sup>

- (53) [I-woe-woe     **yagiyagina**]  
 3SG:DUR-paddle quickly  
 ‘She paddled rapidly.’

(Ezard 1997: 133)

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<sup>6</sup> In Tawala, these elements such as *yagiyagina* ‘quickly’ called ‘particle modifiers’ by Ezard (1997: 134) are very difficult to distinguish from adverbs. But since Ezard (1997: 134) explicitly contrasts them with modifying V<sub>2</sub>s in SVCs, we decided to include an example here as well.

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (54) [U-na-baha **dumalu**]<sub>SVC</sub>, tam palouma?  
 2SG-pot-speak straight PRO:2SG witch  
 ‘Tell us frankly, are you a witch?’

(Ezard 1997: 125)

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (55) hana-**hedali**  
 ‘break s.th. with teeth’

(Ezard 1997: 269)

- (56) tape-**hedali**  
 ‘break.s.th..with.hands’

(Ezard 1997: 269)

- (57) tupa-**hedali**  
 ‘break s.th. by knocking’

(Ezard 1997: 269)

### 1.2.2 Peripheral Papuan Tip

SUDEST (Nimoa/Sudest)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (58) [Ya=thuwe-**wagiyawe**=nggi]<sub>SVC</sub> gamagai  
 1SG=see-be.good=3PL children  
 ‘I saw the children well.’

(Anderson and Ross 2002: 335)

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (59) Nggama=ko [me=**rī**-ten] thiyo.  
 child=DEIC IMM.PST:3SG=with.teeth-cut string  
 ‘The child cut the string with his teeth.’

(Anderson and Ross 2002: 332)

SINAUGORO (Central Papuan family, Sinagoro/Kerapa network)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (60) Numa ġe [raga-**gini**-kau-a-to]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
house 3PL build-good-on-3SG-PRF  
'They built the house properly.'

(Tauberschmidt 1999: 36)

Manner predication: other: 'with X'

- (61) Ġade Gonegone [ma **baru-na**] ġesi ġe-na  
G. G. with anger-3SG with NTR-3SG

dura baergo-na e ġabi-a-to.  
string,bag big-3SG 3SG take-3SG-PRF  
'Gade Gonegone angrily took her string bag.'

(Tauberschmidt 1999: 65)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (62) ġena nado ta dura na e  
his sharp.stone one string,bag from 3SG

iaguvaġi-a-to ġoi, mo  
took.out-3SG-PRF HAB/CONT that

tau ba vavine tu noġa koko  
man or woman top like axe

na e [basi-**mase**-a-to]<sub>SVC</sub> ġoi.  
instrument 3SG cut-die-3SG-PRF hab/cont  
'(...) he took his sharp stone out of his string bag and threw it so that it cut the person like an axe cuts.'

(Tauberschmidt 1999: 81)

MEKEO (Central Papuan family, Nuclear West Central Papuan)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (63) [Lo-pua-**faeva**-n-i-a]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
2SG-bear-crooked-TH-PRF-3SG  
'You are walking (have walked) crookedly.'

(Jones 1998: 325)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (64) Tsiabu [i-aka-**tsitsi**-n-a]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 cloth 3SG-pull-tear-TH-3SG  
 ‘S/he pulled the cloth (until) it tore.’

(Jones 1998: 246)

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (65) au-bo-η-a  
 ‘hit (and) break TR’

(Jones 1998: 413)

- (66) aŋa-bo-η-a  
 ‘cut (and) break TR’

(Jones 1998: 413)

- (67) pai-bo-η-a  
 ‘snap (and) break TR’

(Jones 1998: 413)

GUMAWAMA (Kilivila/Misima)  
 Manner predication: no data  
 Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (68) Alova [ku-**ka**-sesel-i].  
 wood 2SG-with.teeth-split-TR  
 ‘You split the wood (with your teeth).’

(Olson 1992: 288)

### 1.3 NORTH NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES

BUKAWA (Huon Golf, North Huon Golf)  
 Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy<sup>7</sup>

- (69) Inj sinj      dau      kwi      **ŋapep**  
 he 3SG:hide REF:PRO:3 turningly well  
 ‘He hid himself well.’

<sup>7</sup> In some cases, such as the one in (69), manner-like concepts seem to be expressed by lexicalized V<sub>2</sub>s. However, it is very hard to make the case that these have the same origin as the resultative particles and are not simply adverbs.

(Eckermann 2007: 69)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (70) Iη pō bolom **kôc**.  
 3SG 3SG.press cereal asunder  
 'He broke the bread in two.'

(Eckermann 2007: 67)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (71) ηac oc [sêndic oη **taη**]<sub>SVC</sub> asê.  
 P:3 NREAL IRR:3PL:3.hit kundu 3SG:cry out  
 'They will beat their kundu drum(s) to sound.'

(Eckermann 2007: 161)

JABEM (Huon Golf, North Huon Golf)

Manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

- (72) [àngôm ojom]  
 you'll.sit **lazy**  
 'you (pl) sit there lazily'

(Dempwolff et al. 2006: 88)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (73) Aêac [a-pê moc luàgêc **êndu**].  
 us we-shoot bird two dead  
 'We shot two birds dead.'

(Dempwolff et al. 2006: 65)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (74) [Ô-ê gam tonan è-**ngic**]<sub>SVC</sub> atom.  
 you'll-pull thread that it'll-apart not  
 'Don't pull those threads apart!'

(Dempwolff et al. 2006: 63)



MUSOM (Huon Golf, Lower Markham network)<sup>8</sup>  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy<sup>9</sup>

(75) **posangposang**

slow  
 'slow/ slowly'

(Holzknecht 1997: 93-94)

(76) **tsakang**

good  
 'good/ well'

(Holzknecht 1997: 93-94)

(77) **pepep**

quick  
 'quick/ quickly'

(Holzknecht 1997: 93-94)

(78) **tsats**

bad  
 'bad/badly'

(Holzknecht 1997: 93-94)

manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

(79) da gidinga tim ana amik [g-i-ruk atop].  
 and be.at time DEM rain P-SPP3-fall big  
 '... at this time rain began to fall heavily.'

(Holzknecht 1997: 104/107)

resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

(80) Wir [bo-ng-a-its in hunu]!

I FUT-IRR-SBJ:PRO:1-hit him dead  
 'I will kill him!'

(Holzknecht 1997: 93)

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<sup>8</sup> A set of resultative particles is reportedly also found in Aribwatsa (Markham) Holzknrecht (1997: 160-161).

<sup>9</sup> With regard to these verbs, Holzknrecht (1997: 93) writes: "Adjectives or stative verbs can be used following a verb to indicate manner, or describe the action of the verb".

AWAD BING (Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz, East Bel)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (81) Yin bad [du-inguong **di-gireer**]<sub>SVC</sub> tiyaham.  
3PL F.NEG 3PL-understand 3PL-well NEG  
'They are not understanding well.'

(Bennett & Bennett 1998: 236)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (82) Tamuol yin eew kuar lung de rahan kises i di muol yiel rahan-an,  
man 3SG liquor squeeze drink CONJ river cross.RED sim ASP fall go river-LOC  
  
rahan [lung **mahat**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
water drink die  
'A man made and drank an intoxicating drink and as he tried to cross the  
river he fell into the water and drowned.'

(Bennett & Bennett 1998: 229)

MANGAP-MBULA (Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz)  
Manner predication: other: 'with X' strategy

- (83) Nu so sua [raama **ngar**] som.  
NOM:2SG 2SG:say talk with thinking NEG  
'You did not speak intelligently.'

(Bugenhagen 1995: 153)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (84) Nio [aŋ-tar-**paala**]<sub>SVC</sub> ke.  
NOM:1SG 1SG-cut-break tree/stick  
'I split the wood.'

(Bugenhagen 1995: 280)

MALEU (Western Oceanic, North New Guinea, Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz)  
Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (85) [na-gal-**kere-k-e**]<sub>SVC</sub> na-uo  
S:1SG-spear-pluck-TR-0:3SG mango  
'I knocked a mango down.'

(Goulden 1996: 122)

LOTE (Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Mengen)  
Manner predication: other: adverbial conjunction

- (86) Moto [song ke **ueiuei**].  
motor.boat run ADV quick  
'The motor boat goes fast.'

(Pearson & van den Berg 2008: 93)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (87) [Te-pal **poreke**]<sub>SVC</sub> tot-é non nem.  
3PL-hit bad very-TR man that:2  
'They hit that man very badly.'

(Pearson & van den Berg 2008: 99)

Resultative: other: adverbial conjunction

- (88) [E-ngau ke sa-k **una**].  
1SG-eat AC stomach-1SG full  
'I ate until my stomach was full.'

(Pearson & van den Berg 2008: 131)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (89) [Toto **chach**]<sub>SVC</sub> toté ruo makan-na.  
cut break very:TR fish innards-3SG  
'He completely punctured through the fish's innards.'

(Pearson & van den Berg 2008: 98)

KAULONG (Ngero-Vitiaz, Vitiaz, Pasismanua)

Manner predication: no data

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (90) Po [kimos **tip**]<sub>SVC</sub> hiang.  
SBJ:3PL spit make.wet 3SG.M  
'They spat upon him.'

(Ross 2002b: 402)

BARIAI (Ngero-Vitiaz, Ngero, Bariai)  
Manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

- (91) I-ket kapei, sing [i-uot **kapei**]<sub>SVC</sub> tau.  
 SBJ:3SG-cut big blood SBJ:3SG-emerge big very  
 ‘It cut greatly, blood came out very greatly.’

(Gallagher & Baehr 2005: 131)

Manner predication: other: conjunction

- (92) Be kakau ede toa keru [i-taka  
 SIM young.person one GIV Rattan.palm SBJ:3SG-TEAR  
 i-tin ga **paeamao**] i-naman ieiei-nga ta  
 P:3SG-skin CONJ bad SBJ:3SG-feel hurt-NREAL SEQ

i-tang-tang.

SBJ:3SG-RED-cry

‘But one young person whose skin was torn badly by Rattan palms felt pain and so he was crying.’

(Gallagher & Baehr 2005: 93)

Resultative: other: conjunction<sup>10</sup>

- (93) Pangapanga toa oa, ado [i-nono ga i-**mamasa**].  
 mud GIV there sun SBJ:3SG-cook CONJ SBJ:3SG-be.dry  
 ‘That mud there, the sun cooked it so that it’s dry.’

(Gallagher & Baehr 2005: 119)

MANAM (North New Guinea, Schouten, Manam)  
Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy<sup>11</sup>

- (94) tágo [u-ezu=ezu-**úya**]  
 NEG REAL:3SG-whistle-RED-well  
 ‘I cannot (do not) whistle well’

(Lichtenberk 1983: 205)

<sup>10</sup> “When the direct object of a clause becomes the subject of the subsequent clause, the conjunction *ga* indicates result and may be translated as ‘so that’.” Gallagher & Baehr (2005: 149).

<sup>11</sup> Manam may have some kind of lexicalised manner adverbs that have emerged from grammaticalized V<sub>2</sub>s: “As we have seen, Manam cannot be said to have serial verb constructions, but, on the other hand, it does have a number of verbal affixes that have independent verbal counterparts from which they presumably originated.” (Lichtenberk 1983: 567).

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (95) moata=móata [i-**dua**-pósa?-i]  
 worm REAL:3SG-with.foot-crush-OBJ:3SG  
 'He crushed the worm (under his feet).'

(Lichtenberk 1983: 215)

## 2 CENTRAL-EASTERN OCEANIC

### 2.1 SOUTHEAST SOLOMINIC

TOQABAQITA (Longgu/Malaita/Makira, Central-North Malaita)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy<sup>12</sup>

- (96) [Sua **faqekwa**]<sub>SVC</sub> qana falake-qe kuukua!  
 hold be.of.low.intensity GENR:PRE egg-CATEG chicken  
 'Hold the chicken egg gently/carefully!'

(Lichtenberk 2006: 270)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (97) Nau ku [qala **muu-si-a**]<sub>SVC</sub> si qoko.  
 1SG 1SG:NFUT bite sever-TR-3:OBJ PART vine  
 'I broke/severed the vine by biting it.'

(Lichtenberk 2006: 267)

### 2.2 SOUTHERN OCEANIC

NAMAKIR (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Epi-Efate, Shepherds/North Efate)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (98) [...mindiri adah bikio pa **wiliwiliw**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 write come to-me INT quick  
 '..., write to me quickly'

(Sperlich 1991: 167)

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<sup>12</sup> There is a single example in which Toqabaqita uses the *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy for a manner predication:

- [raqu **faqa-ngadoa**]<sub>SVC</sub> qoko naqi!  
 hold CAUS-make.sturdy/firm rope this  
 'Hold the rope tight!'

(Lichtenberk 2008: 70)

AVAVA (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Malakula Central)  
Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (99) [I-puh            **lalak-i**]    momok lele ti.  
          3SG:REAL-pick.up carefully-TR woman small DE  
          ‘(S)he carefully picked up the girl.’

(Crowley 2006: 91)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (100) [I-ter            **wel**] aga.  
          3SG:REAL-chop split wood  
          ‘(S)he split the wood with a chop.’

(Crowley 2006: 92)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (101) [I-ter            **bwir**]<sub>SVC</sub> aga.  
          3SG:REAL-chop break wood  
          ‘(S)he broke the wood with a chop.’

(Crowley 2006: 91)

BIG NAMBAS (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Malakula Central)  
Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (102) [i-ua-**p’la**]                    tris-an.  
          she:REAL-wear-wrongly dress-her  
          ‘She has her dress on inside out.’

(Fox 1979: 73)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (103) [ipa-ma    ipa-**lahməl**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
          he:IRR-come he:IRR-be.quick  
          ‘He will come quickly.’

(Fox 1979: 111)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (104) a vən pa-k [i-pəhs-**p'əŋ**] puskat.  
 r.p. daughter small-my she:REAL-squeeze-killing cat  
 'My daughter squeezed the cat to death.'

(Fox 1979: 77)

NAMAN (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Malakula Central)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (105) [Së-mour-si ba-**des**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 NEG-3SG:REAL.grow-NEG 3SG:IRR-good  
 'It hasn't grown well.'

(Crowley 2006: 100)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (106) Ai [tëbe **ngarangar**]<sub>SVC</sub> nakhe.  
 3SG 3SG:REAL-cut split wood  
 '(S)he cut the wood lengthwise.'

(Crowley 2006: 136)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (107) Abwit-wahan na'au tuan [abwit-lakh **bin**] en no.  
 2PL:IRR-look.for vine one 2PL:IRR-hang kill INST 1SG  
 'You will all look for a vine and you will all throttle me to death with it.'

(Crowley 2006: 212)

TAPE (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Malakula Central)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (108) Misti Presis [ul mētiu esar i-**set**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 Mr Bridges 3SG:REAL:pay.for copra POSS:3PL 3SG:REAL-bad  
 'Mr Bridges did not pay good money for their copra.'

(Crowley 2006: 189)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

(109) (..) jere [dë-n-khëj **bëni**] netë-n-ar dë-n-sëngen  
 then ES-PL-kill dead child-3SG-DEM ES-PL -put.into

elel lib en i-n-udi.  
 into bamboo and 3:REAL-PL-eat  
 ‘and then they killed that child of his and put him into bamboo and ate him.’

(Crowley 2006: 148)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(110) [I-n-khëj Misti Presis duon mesis esen i-r-**mes**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 3REAL-PL-kill Mr Bridges ACC wife POSS:3SG 3REAL-DL-die  
 ‘They killed Mr Bridges and his wife dead.’

(Crowley 2006: 75)

PAAMESE (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Epi)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(111) inau [na-muasi-ko ø-**gaiho**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 1SG 1SG:REAL-hit-2SG 3SG:REAL-hard  
 ‘I hit you hard.’

(Crowley 2002: 61)

Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy<sup>13</sup>

(112) [ki-ani ahisi **lahi**]  
 2SG.DIS-eat banana quickly  
 ‘Eat the banana quickly.’

(Crowley 1982: 168)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(113) inau [ni-uasi vuasi hee-**mate**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 1SG 1SG:DIST.FUT-hit pig 3SG:DIST.FUT-die  
 ‘I will hit the pig to death.’

(Crowley 2002: 55)

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<sup>13</sup> *lahi* is described as one of the second verbs in a nuclear serial verb construction which no longer have any independent status as main verbs by Crowley (2002: 97). However, he did not provide an example of such a construction, therefore we took one from Crowley (1982), where the existence of the lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy is not yet discussed.



Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (114) [ni-sali        **vinii-nV**] vuasi  
 1SG:DIST-spear kill-OBJ    pig  
 ‘I will spear the pig to death.’

(Crowley 2002: 96)

NORTH AMBRYM (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Central Vanuatu, Pentecost)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (115) om        [gɛh mə        **faiah**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 2SG:PRS work 3SG:PRS hard  
 ‘You are working hard.’

(Paton 1971: 76)

Resultative: no data

NÊLÊMWA (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, North New Caledonia)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (116) Kio i    tâlâ [mwemwelî **yoo-lî**]<sub>SVC</sub> vhaa Nêlêmwa.  
 NEG 3SG hear know:TR        be.good-TR talk Nêlêmwa.  
 ‘He doesn’t understand the Nêlêmwa language very well.’

(Bril 2004: 172)

Resultative: \*pa-/\*paka- strategy

- (117) Hla [ta-pa-**maaxa-e**]<sub>SVC</sub> o    do.  
 3PL pierce-FACT-die.TR-3Sg CONN assegai  
 ‘They killed her with assegais.’ (lit they spear cause-die-her)

(Bril 2004: 194)

TINRIN (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, South New Caledonia)  
 Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (118) [pò-**pwirri**]  
 move-in.a.hurry  
 ‘to do in haste’

(Osumi 1995: 73)

Manner predication: other: manner adverb derivation with *ve-*

- (119) u [merrejo nrîwù nrîpwù **ve-harru**]  
 1SG sleep last.night at.night MAN-well  
 'I slept very well last night.'

(Osumi 1995: 93)

Resultative: classificatory prefixes

- (120) [pa-**ghorro**]  
 with.stick-crushed.in.piece  
 'to crush by pounding (coffee)'

(Osumi 1995: 122)

Resultative: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (121) [e-**be**]  
 with.teeth-dead  
 'to kill by biting'

(Osumi 1995: 121)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (122) wei [dùù **marri**]<sub>svc</sub> table  
 1SG.FUT wipe be.dry table  
 'I will wipe and dry the table.'

(Osumi 1995: 217)

IAAI (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Loyalty Islands)

Manner predication: lexicalized V<sub>2</sub> strategy

- (123) a-me [he **xa**]  
 3SG-PROG go with.empty.hand  
 'He walks empty-handed.'

(Ozanne-Rivierre 1976: 225)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (124) [huiwa **wisa**]<sub>svc</sub>  
 work straight  
 'to work well'

(Ozanne-Rivierre 1976: 226)

Manner predication: other: nominalized verb strategy

- (125) e **logot** ü-huliwa-ij  
 3SG fast NOM-work-POSS  
 ‘it is fast, his work’

(Ozanne-Rivierre 1976: 227)

Resultative: no data

ERROMANGAN (Nuclear Southern Oceanic, Erromango family)

Manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

- (126) [Cam-nam **itr-ogko**]  
 3SG:PRES-MODI:speak ADJ-BAS:correct  
 ‘(S)he is speaking correctly.’

(Crowley 1998: 205)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy<sup>14</sup>

- (127) Y-oclar m-oryok-I m-ve  
 3SG:DIST:PST-BAS:get.stuck SG:SBJ:ECH-BAS:pick.up-3SG SG:SBJ:ECH-BAS:go

[m-tantvi nitni **m-mah-pe**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 SG:SBJ:ECH-BAS:drop.heavily child:3SG SG:SBJ:ECH-BAS:die-prec  
 ‘She got stuck and picked it up and went and dropped her child heavily  
 and it died.’

(Crowley 1998: 288)

Resultative: adjective adjunct strategy

- (128) N-ocu m-uwe-nalam **orog**.  
 CIT-BR:say SG:ES-it:FUT-MR:grow big  
 ‘(She) said: “And it will grow big again”.’

(Crowley 1998: 288)

MWOTLAP (Northern Vanuatu, Banks)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (129) Na-day nono-n [me-plag **lililwo**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 ART-blood of-3SG PFV-run big:RED  
 ‘His blood flowed abundantly.’

(François 2004: 118)

<sup>14</sup> This SVC-like construction is called ‘echo verb construction’ by Crowley (1998).

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (130) Tō [ni-bōl **madamdaw**]<sub>SVC</sub> nō-gōygōyi qētēnge nan.  
 then AO-hammer soft ART-roots plant ANA  
 ‘then he softened the roots of the plant by hammering them.’

(François 2004: 114)

MAVEA (Northern Vanuatu, Southwest Santo)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (131) [Da-r-sa i-**rro**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 1PL.INCL-DL-go.up 3SG.IR-fast  
 ‘We go up quickly.’

(Guérin 2011: 267)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (132) [Ko-tiu=a i-**an**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 3SG-sharpen=3SG 3SG.IR-eat  
 ‘Sharpen it sharp.’ (lit. ‘Sharpen it [so] it will eat.’)

(Guérin 2011: 269)

TAMAMBO (Northern Vanuatu, Southwest Santo)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (133) Niho o-le [rongo mo **duhu**]<sub>SVC</sub>?  
 IP:2SG 2SG-TAM feel 3SG good  
 ‘Are you feeling well?’ (lit. you are feeling it is good?)

(Jauncey 2011: 327)

resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (134) ...mo lain a no-na sari, mo sari-a, mo [sari **matei-a**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 3SG take ART CLFR-P:3SG spear 3SG spear-0:3SG 3SG spear kill-0:3SG  
 ‘...he took his spear, he speared him, he killed him by spearing him.’

(Jauncey 2011: 248)

## 2.3 CENTRAL PACIFIC

TUVALUAN (East Fijian-Polynesian, Polynesian, Ellicean)  
Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

- (135) [Sagasaga **faka-llei**]<sub>SVC</sub> kae faka-tonu ki ei!  
sit CAUS-good and CAUS-straight to ANP  
'Sit properly and facing it straight ahead!'

(Besnier 2000: 595)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (136) Saa [tele **makini**]<sub>SVC</sub> iaa koe maa too!  
NEG run fast because you PRC fall  
'Don't run [so] fast, [otherwise] you're going to fall!'

(Besnier 2000: 497)

Resultative: no data

SAMOAN (East Fijian-Polynesian, Polynesian, Ellicean)  
Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

- (137) (..) e nao moega o Sala ma l=a=na  
GENR only bed:SPEC:PL POSS S. and ART=POSS=3SG

Fanau na [taai faa=**lelei**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
offspring PST roll.up CAUS=good  
'...only the sleeping mats of Sala and her children were rolled up properly.'

(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 401)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (138) Na [usitai **lelei**]<sub>SVC</sub> le au=fai=feau...  
PST obey good ART COLL=do=errand  
'The servants obeyed well...'

(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 398)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

(139) (...) ina ua vaai atu ua [tatipi  
 CONJ PRF see DIR PRF cut:PL

faa=**laiti**]<sub>SVC</sub> uma o=u  
 CAUS=small:PL all POSS=1SG

ofu aoga mo l=o=u uso (...)  
 dress:SPEC:PL school for ART=POSS=1SG sister

‘...when I saw that my school dresses were cut small for my sister...’

(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 87)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(140) ‘Ā ‘e lē ta‘u mai=ina, ia, ‘ole‘ā  
 FUT 2SG not tell DIR=SBJ:ERG well FUT

[fasi=**oto**=a]<sub>SVC</sub> nei ‘oe.  
 hit=die=SBJ:ERG now 2SG

‘If you don’t tell me, you’ll be killed now.’

(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 380)

NIUEAN (East Fijian-Polynesian, Polynesian, Tongic)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

(141) [Vagahau faka-**mitaki**]<sub>SVC</sub> a koe.  
 speak CAUS-good ABS you  
 ‘You speak well.’

(Seiter 1980: 17)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(142) [Fanogonogo **mitaki**]<sub>SVC</sub> mai, ma kapitiga!  
 listen well DIR1 VOC friend  
 ‘Listen carefully, friend!’

(Seiter 1980: 20)

Resultative: no data

FIJIAN (East Fijian-Polynesian, East Fijian)  
Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(143) rāū dāū [kana vaka-**mālua**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3DU HAB eat CAUS-slow  
'they always eat slowly'

(Schütz 1985: 197)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(144) rāū dāū [vaka-rorogo **vinaka**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3DU HAB CAUS-listen good  
'they always mind well'

(Schütz 1985: 197)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(145) e a: [kati-∅-a **vorok-a**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3SG PST bite-TR-3SG snapped-TR-3SG  
'(S)he bit it off.'

(Schütz 1985: 248)

ROTUMAN (Central Pacific linkage)  
Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(146) ia [fāeag a'-**raksa'**-ak]<sub>SVC</sub> iris,  
3SG speak CAUS-bad-TR 3PL  
'he spoke evil of them.'

(Churchward 1940: 102)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(147) ŋou [tʃøŋ **væve**-atou]<sub>SVC</sub>  
1SG run fast-1SG  
'I fled quickly.'

(Vamarasi 2002: 28)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (148) iris [jaj a'-**luluken**]<sub>SVC</sub> ma'us ta  
 3PL cut CAUS-short:PL grass DEF  
 'they are cutting the grass short.'

(Churchward 1940: 152)

TONGAN (Polynesian, Tongic)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (149) Ka ne [fai **faka-potopoto**]<sub>SVC</sub> 'a Sihoiakimi,  
 PST PST do CAUS-be.fairly.clever SBJ Jehoiakim  
 'If Jehoiakim had acted sensibly, ...'

(Churchward 1953: 41)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (150) te u [tokanga **lelei**]<sub>SVC</sub> ki ai  
 FUT 1SG pay.attention good to in.it  
 'I will attend to it well'

(Churchward 1953: 20)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (151) Kuo [vali **kulokula**]<sub>SVC</sub> e pasikalá.  
 PRF paint red DEF:ART bicycle  
 'The bicycle has been painted red.'

(Shumway 1971: 219)

TOKELAUAN (Polynesian, Ellicean, Samoan/Tokelauan)

Manner predication: other: nominalized verb strategy

- (152) E **leilei** te kaukau a Lemi.  
 TNS be.good DEF.ART.SG swim POSS Lemi  
 'Lemi's swimming is good, Lemi swims well.'

(Hovdhaugen et al. 1989: 68)



Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (153) [pehe **malie**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 sing sweet  
 ‘sing sweetly’

(Hovdhaugen et al. 1989: 60)

WEST FUTUNA (East Central Pacific, Polynesian, Nuclear Polynesian)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (154) [tavesia **faka-tohtonu-a**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 kick CAUS-straight.ahead-TR  
 ‘Kick it straight ahead.’

(Dougherty 1983: 110)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (155) pe ro to ta [ua ka **sore**]<sub>SVC</sub> ...  
 CONJ COND fall ART rain FUT hard  
 ‘If it would rain hard...’

(Dougherty 1983: 139)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (156) [ne-isoro-a tan tafa tan tasiana **ko-hlafa**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 PST-file.3SG-TR POSS:3SG side POSS:3SG only.one PRS-flat  
 ‘He filed just one (of) (the flounder’s) sides until it became flat.’

(Dougherty 1983: 147)

HAWAIIAN (Polynesian, Nuclear Polynesian, Marquesic)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (157) Ua [hānai **maika’i**]<sub>SVC</sub> ‘ia.  
 PRF feed good PASS  
 ‘[He] was well fed.’

(Elbert & Pukui 1979: 83)

## 2.4 MICRONESIAN

MOKILESE (Trukic-Ponapeic, Pohnpeian)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (158) Ih [lallal **koalik**]<sub>SVC</sub> kahrehda arai kak rong.  
3SG talk big with.the.result.that 3PL SEMEL hear  
'He was speaking loudly with the result that they were able to hear.'

(Harrison 1976: 263)

Manner predication: other: nominalized verb strategy

- (159) Lallalin oawoa oaujoangoan **koalik**.  
talk.N mouth.POSS:3SG very big  
'He talks big.', lit. 'The speaking of his mouth is big'

(Harrison 1976: 282)

Resultative: no data

PONAPEAN (Trukic-Ponapeic, Pohnpeian)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (160) E [lokaia **suwed**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
he talk bad  
'He is foul-mouthed.'

(Rehg 1981: 266)

WOLEAIAN (Trukic-Ponapeic, Chuukic)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (161) I gal [niuniuwan **mmwai**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
SBJ:1SG usually think slow  
'I tend to think slowly.'

(Sohn 1975: 56)

Manner predication: other: nominalized verb strategy

- (162) Ye **ttir** yaa-i faarag.  
SBJ:3SG fast POSS-1SG walk  
'I walk fast. (Lit. My walking is fast.)'

(Sohn 1975: 152)

Resultative: no data

### 3 ST. MATTHIAS

MUSSAU (St. Matthias)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

(163) Nau a=ghe lutu-la karika a=ghe /lutu  
 day 1SG=PST be.born=PRF NEG 1SG=PST be.born

e-**masina**=la]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 CAUS-be.good=PRF

‘When I was born I had a difficult birth (lit. I was not born well).’

(Brownie & Brownie 2007: 136)

Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

(164) Me a=ghe [katuu saa-**sakiaa**=la]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 and 1SG=PST fall RED-ruin=PRF

‘And I fell down badly.’

(Brownie & Brownie 2007: 137)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

(165) Ghe [uvi e-**mate**=a=la]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 PST hit CAUS-die=OBJ:3SG=PRF

‘He killed it (by hitting it).’

(Brownie & Brownie 2007: 133)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(166) [Piri **polka**-i]<sub>SVC</sub> righi vatum.  
 bend break-TR small tapioca  
 ‘Break off (by bending) a piece of tapioca.’

(Brownie & Brownie 2007: 135)

### 4 ADMIRALITIES

SEIMAT (Western Admiralties)

Manner predication: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

(167) I [kiliwau ha-**kokol**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 3SG run CAUS-small

‘He ran slowly.’

(Wozna & Wilson 2005: 57)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (168) Ti ipong nga [tahuni ha-**paxe**]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 GENR:PRE night 1SG smoke CAUS-dry.  
 'At night I dried (the pandanus) by smoking it.'

(Wozna & Wilson 2005: 57)

LONIU (Eastern Admiralties)  
 Manner predication: adjective adjunct strategy

- (169) iy a tɔ takɛmɛyam **pitɔn**  
 3SG still DUR moan strongly  
 'She is still moaning loudly.'

(Hamel 1985: 125)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (170) yó ulé'é pwókat e yó unoh (...) ya  
 1SG REAL:1SG-see gun and 1SG REAL:1SG.afraid FUT

[ikite'i amat **ka-mat**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 REAL:3SG-hit man IRR-NOMZ-die  
 'I see a gun and I am afraid ... it will kill men dead'

(Hamel 1993: 117)

## 5 TEMOTU

ÄIWOO (Temotu, Reefs-Santa Cruz)  
 Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (171) [Ø-ki-lolopâ-päko-**mana**=to]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 SBJ:3MIN-IMPF-RED-speak-good-very=PH  
 '(The child) could speak very well.'

(Næss 2012: 400)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

(172) Mo dee nye-ku-pu-to-kä=nä=nâ  
 CONJ this NOMZ:LOC-IMPF-come-go.in-DIR:3=OBL:PRO=DEIC:DIST

lâ [i-so-**bengi-Ø**=nâ]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 DEIC:DIST PRF-stand-block-A:3MIN=DEIC  
 ‘Because he was blocking the way she had come.’

(Næss 2012: 401)

Resultative: other: lexicalized V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> strategy

(173) Tin [i-to-**bi**-no]  
 tin PRF-strike-crumple-A:1MIN  
 ‘I bent the tin out of shape by striking it.’

(Næss 2012: 404)

## 6 NON-OCEANIC AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

MUNA (Malayo-Polynesian, Southeastern Celebic)  
 Manner predication: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(174) [a-tende feka-**rimba**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 REAL:1SG-run ADV-fast  
 ‘I run fast’

(van den Berg 1989: 185)

Resultative: \**pa-*/\**paka-* strategy

(175) [No-mama-e no-feka-**malu-malu-e**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
 REAL:3SG-chew-OBJ:3SG REAL:3SG-CAUS-RED-soft-OBJ:3SG  
 ‘He chewed it until it was tender’

(van den Berg p.c.)

KAMBERA (Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (176) Nda [ku-riki **hàdirung-a**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
NEG N:1SG-laugh be.loud-MOD  
'I didn't laugh loudly'

(Klamer 1998: 280)<sup>15</sup>

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (177) ka [ku-kokur pa-**mananda** pa-**hàmu-ng**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
CONJ N:1SG-coconut CAUS-be.beautiful CAUS-be.good-ng.  
'...that I'll oil (myself to become) beautiful and nice'

(Klamer 1998: 196)

TABA (Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, South Halmahera-West New Guinea)  
Manner predication: unmarked SVC strategy

- (178) [n=wosal **máddodang**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3SG=stand be.straight  
'He's standing up straight.'

(Bowden 2001: 143)

Resultative: unmarked SVC strategy

- (179) [n=totas nik kos **bulang**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3SG=wash POSS:1SG t.shirt be.white  
'She washed my t-shirt white'

(Bowden 2001: 311)

Resultative: *\*pa-/\*paka-* strategy

- (180) [n=totas nik kos n=ha-**bulang**]<sub>SVC</sub>  
3SG=wash 1SG.POSS t.shirt 3SG=CAUS-be.white  
'She washed my t-shirt white'

(Bowden 2001: 311)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Klamer (p.c., 03-04-2011) confirms that manner predications are not prefixed with *pa-*, possibly due to the very productive role of *pa-* as a causative prefix.

<sup>16</sup> In Taba, both manner predications (178) and resultatives (179) can be encoded with serial verb constructions which have unmarked V<sub>2</sub>s. However, a V<sub>2</sub> that is marked with the causative prefix *ha- ~ a-* is used in (180). Bowden (2001: 311) points out the difference between (179) and (180) but cannot give any clear meaning difference between the construction with (180) and without (179) the causative prefix.