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SOUTH-WEST TANNA GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND VOCABULARY

John Lynch

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Location

The South-west Tanna language is spoken by about 1600 people (Tryon 1978:882) in the south-central and south-western region of Tanna, the second most southerly of the islands of Vanuatu. Virtually no published information is available on the language, apart from the numerals 'one' to 'five' in the Numerat, Nerokwang, and Ra'na 'dialects' of Tanna (Ray 1926:141), which bear some resemblance to South-west Tanna, and brief sets of mainly lexical data presented in works dealing with the genetic classification of the languages of the region (Tryon 1976, Lynch 1978a; see also Lynch 1974, which section 6 below supersedes).

The language referred to here as 'the South-west Tanna language' is not perceived as such by the people of Tanna, who recognise three named major dialects. However, from a linguist's point of view these three named speech-traditions are clearly dialects of a single language, and hence the use of the geographically based name for the language as a whole. Although no dialect survey has been attempted, available evidence indicates that the three major dialects are as follows (see Map):

1. Nāvhaal, spoken in the north-west of the language-area, and bordering on Lenakel to the north;
2. Nāvai, spoken in the south-west of the language-area, and bordering on Kwamera to the south and east; and
3. Nelpwaai, spoken in the north-east of the language-area where it borders on Whitesands to the north and Kwamera to the south-east, and also in a small pocket immediately to the north of the Nāvhaal area.

The degree of internal lexical relationship obtaining among the dialects may be gauged from the following (rounded) figures from Tryon (1976). Lapwangtoai represent the eastern Nelpwaai 'pocket' described above; Imreang represents Nelpwaai 'proper'; Ikiyau is in the Nivhaal area; and Enfitana and Ikiti both represent the Nivai dialect.
1.2. External relations

South-west Tanna is a member of the Southern Vanuatu (formerly South-Hebridean) subgroup of Oceanic, as established by Lynch (1978a). It shows many lexical, phonological, and grammatical similarities with the other Tanna communalects and, to a lesser extent, with the other members of the subgroup, as a perusal of Lynch (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b) will show. Tryon (1976) gives lexicostatistical percentages for the languages of Vanuatu, and some of these may be of interest here. The highest percentage between a South-west Tanna communalect and another Tanna communalect is 68% (Ikiti with Kwamera); the lowest, 48% (Ikiti with North Tanna). Outside Tanna but within the subgroup, the figures cluster around 30%. There are no significantly high lexicostatistical relationships with any other Vanuatu language.

The language has no established orthography, and no written material in South-west Tanna is in existence. However, many South-west Tanna speakers would be familiar with one of the three mission languages Lenakel, Whitesands, or Kwamera. These languages, due to the prestige acquired by being written and being used by the missions, have exerted a certain amount of lexical influence on the South-west Tanna dialects: Kwamera influence is strong in Nāvai, Lenakel influence in Nāvhaal, and Whitesands influence in Nelpwaai.

1.3. Data and organisation

The information on which this outline is based was collected sporadically during five periods of research (1970-78) on the neighbouring and closely related Lenakel language. Principal informants were, for Nāvhaal dialect, Tom Hiua (originally of Iounhanın village) and Misak (Imlau village), and for Nāvai dialect, Natou (Ienuhup village). These are men in their fifties or sixties; however, no significant differences were observed between the speech of these men and other members of the speech-community, apart from the greater tendency among younger speakers to use lexical items from Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin English).

The Nāvhaal dialect forms the basis for this study, partly because, of the three dialects, it seems to have both the greatest number of speakers and the greatest prestige, and partly because I have far more information on that dialect than the others. The general grammatical system of the other dialects approximates that of Nāvhaal; where differences are known to exist, these will be pointed out in the text.
My basic aim is to present in outline form the main features of South-west Tanna grammar. I begin with a discussion of the phonological system of the language and the orthography I have established. The next two sections examine morphology and syntax respectively. Two illustrative texts are given in section 5, while section 6 contains a vocabulary of almost eight hundred items, with an English finder list.

1.4. Abbreviations

The following abbreviations will be used in the presentation of South-west Tanna grammar:

- **ADJ**: adjective
- **AG**: agentive prefix
- **AND**: same-subject prefix
- **ASSOC**: associative suffix
- **BENEF**: benefactive marker
- **BP**: benefactive phrase
- **CAUS**: causative marker
- **CONC**: concurrent prefix
- **CONT**: causative marker
- **CP**: causative phrase
- **DAT**: dative marker
- **DEM**: demonstrative
- **DIR**: directional suffix
- **DIR:E**: directional: 'east'
- **DIR:N**: directional: 'north'
- **DIR:S**: directional: 'south'
- **DIR:W**: directional: 'west'
- **DOWN**: directional: 'down'
- **DP**: dative phrase
- **DU**: dual
- **EX**: exclusive
- **FUT**: future prefix
- **GEN**: general modifier
- **IDC**: indicated
- **IN**: inclusive
- **INCH**: inchoative prefix
- **IND**: indefinite
- **INST**: instrumental marker
- **INT**: intentional prefix
- **IP**: instrumental phrase
- **LOC**: location marker
- **LP**: location phrase
- **MOD**: modifier
- **N**: nominal
- **NM**: nominal modifier
- **NOM**: nominaliser
- **NP**: noun phrase
- **NSG**: non-singular
- **NUM**: grammatical number marker
- **OBJ**: object
- **PF**: perfective prefix
- **PL**: plural
- **POS**: possessive marker
- **POS:DRINK**: possessive (to be drunk)
- **POS:EAT**: possessive (to be eaten)
- **POS:LOC**: possessive (location)
- **POS:PLANT**: possessive (to be planted)
- **PP**: possessive phrase
- **PR**: previous reference
- **PRO**: pronoun
- **PST**: past prefix
- **QTY**: quantifier
- **REC**: reciprocal suffix
- **REFL**: reflexive suffix
- **SG**: singular
- **SQ**: sequential prefix
- **TEM**: temporal marker
- **TP**: time phrase
TR trial 3 third person
TRANS transitive postclitic - morpheme boundary
UP directional: 'up' : separates parts of the same gloss
VM verbal modifier * ungrammatical; reconstruction
VP verb phrase *? probably ungrammatical
WH interrogative () optionality
1 first person l imperative sentence
2 second person / phrase-boundary

2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The following symbols are used to represent the twenty-one South-west Tanna phonemes: a e f g h i k kw l m mw n o p pw r s t u v. The acute accent (') is also used (see sections 2.2. and 2.4. below).

2.1. Consonants

The fifteen South-west Tanna consonant phonemes are given in Table II: 5

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<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>Flap</td>
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Stops. The five stops are all lenis. They are only fully voiceless word-finally, when they are also lightly aspirated. In other positions they are at least partly voiced, becoming fully voiced intervocally; e.g.:

(1) /pwoupwauk/ [bʷawbʷawkwʰ] 'butterfly'
/nimwapw/ [nfm⁰pwh] 'a sore'
/pia-katit/ [biuguq⁰tʰ] 'girl'
/tipu-k/ [g⁰bukʰ] 'my belly'
/kīlkip/ [g⁰l̂q̃lipʰ] 'five'
/kwotavha/ [gʷoðaɪa] 'heart'
/tukwas/ [dόgʷaʊa] 'mountain'
/suatukw/ [ɔwɑdʊkʰw] 'road'

Fricatives. The phoneme /f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative with optional velarisation: [qʷ]. The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless dental grooved fricative: [ʃ].

Nasals. The nasals are all voiced:

(2) /nemwan/ [nɛmʷɔn] 'dew'
    /mana/ [mɑnɑ] 'bird'
    /kwanagei/ [qʷanɑɡei] 'story'

However, when followed by /h/, the nasal undergoes crasis with the /h/, and the combination results in a voiceless nasal. This can be clearly seen in forms where a nasal-final morpheme precedes a morpheme with initial /h/:

(3) /i-ak-am-hel/ [yɡɑmɛl] 'I am blowing'
    /ni-n-hau/ [nɪnɔw] 'his penis'
    /l-ɪm-lel-hie/ [lɪmɔlɛlɛ] 'where did he return?'

Accordingly, other cases of phonetic voiceless nasals occurring within a morpheme are treated as nasal + /h/:

(4) /amwha/ [ɔmʷɔ] 'to suck'
    /kimhau/ [ɬɪmɔw] 'star'
    /nhag-n/ [nɑqɔn] 'his name'
    /l-mlagh/ [lɪmlaɡ] 'it is alive'

Liquids. The flap /r/ is found in Nâvhaal and Nelpwaaai only in words borrowed from other languages: /touaip/ 'lightning' (Lenakel touaip); /purum/ 'broom' (Bislama burum). The lateral /l/ is normally voiced, but it becomes voiceless when it undergoes crasis with a following /h/:

(5) /l-ɪlai/ [lɪlay] 'he cut it'
    /aalh/ [aıl] 'to laugh'

In the Nâvai dialect, /l/ is only found in loans; /r/ is the 'native' liquid, corresponding to /l/ in Nâvhaal; Nâvai /r/ is a dental flap initially, an alveolar flap medially, and appears to be a lateral fricative finally.

Glides. The glide /v/ is a high central unrounded semivowel [ɨ], which becomes voiceless under the same conditions as the nasals and the liquids (i.e., crasis with following /h/):

(6) /tʊkaɪvkas/ [tʊɡɑʃɡغاş] 'to itch'
    /kavhevhaus/ [ɡɑʃɬaw] 'hat'
The glide /h/ is phonetically [h], and is lost in the devoicing environments discussed above.

2.2. Vowels

The six vowel phonemes of South-west Tanna are given in Table III:

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<td>Mid</td>
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<td>Low</td>
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The vowel /a/ is generally low, central, unrounded [a]. However, it is backed and slightly rounded [o] when adjacent to either of the velarised labials /pw/ or /mw/, and fronted [a] when preceded by /v/ or /vh/:

(7) /kwanakau/ [kwa'nanagaw] 'rib'
/kapa-m-kapwa/ [gôbamgôb'ab] 'your (sg) head'
/nimwa/ [nim'ab] 'house'
/kwotavha/ [gôdatâ] 'heart'

The vowel /i/ is generally mid, central, unrounded [i], but becomes higher [ı] when immediately preceded by a dental or alveolar consonant (i.e. by /t/, /s/, /n/, /l/, /r/ or /v/, or by any of the last four immediately followed by /h/):

(8) /ivit/ [i'ıth] 'to wash something'
/ivgin/ [i'ıgın] 'to eat (intransitive),
/nıstin-k/ [ni'stınkh] 'my mother'

The vowel /e/ is generally mid, front, unrounded, lax [ɛ]; however, when preceding /kw/ it is pronounced with a marked [w]-off-glide:

(9) /ıvtetela-kıın/ [ı'ıgt cedarğın] 'to squeeze'
/nekw/ [nê'ıkw] 'yam'

The vowel /o/ is mid, back and rounded. It is tense [o] in open syllables (i.e. before a word-boundary, another vowel, or a single consonant followed by a vowel), and lax [ɔ] in closed syllables (i.e. before two consonants or a word-final consonant or glide):

(10) /amako/ [amágo] 'to dance (of women)'
/eno-eno/ [ênoéno] 'crazy'
/okwag/ [ôg'ı̄q] 'to be open'
/okwlen/ [ôg'ı̄len] 'to call out'
/ol/ [ı̄l] 'to make, do'
The vowels /i/ and /u/ are high, front, unrounded, and high, back, rounded, respectively. They are lax [i] and [u] in closed syllables:

(11) 
\[ /\text{tiki-}mi-a/ \quad [\text{t}\text{iki-}mi-a] \quad \text{[d̚gɪm}yə] \quad \text{'your (pl) skin'} \\
/\text{miw}g/ \quad \text{[m}ɪw̚ɡ] \quad \text{'earthquake'} \\
/\text{numi-}n/ \quad \text{[n̚umɪn] \quad \text{'its fur'} \\
/\text{matukw}/ \quad \text{[m}ád̚ʊk\text{w}̚] \quad \text{'right (hand)'}

In open syllables, they are tense [i] and [u]:

(12) 
\[ /\text{ni}/ \quad [nɨ] \quad \text{'to say'} \\
/\text{pwia-}k/ \quad [b̚w̚ɪa-k] \quad \text{'my older brother'} \\
/\text{nivin}/ \quad [n̚ɪvɪn] \quad \text{'a sail'} \\
/\text{ahu}/ \quad \text{[ɑ̚hu] \quad \text{'to plant'} \\
/\text{lua}/ \quad \text{[l̚uə] \quad \text{'to vomit'} \\
/\text{alu-}k/ \quad \text{[aɭu-ɡən] \quad \text{'to forget'}

Except in words of the form #C(h)iV(C)# or #C(h)uV(C)#—like /pwia-k/ and /lua/ in (12) above—these vowels normally become glides [y] and [w] when adjacent to another vowel:

(13) 
\[ /\text{ipwia}/ \quad [ɪb̚w̚ɪə] \quad \text{'smooth'} \\
/\text{ilai}/ \quad [ɪl̚əi] \quad \text{'to cut'} \\
/\text{lapua}/ \quad [n̚əbwa] \quad \text{'cloud'} \\
/\text{nauga}/ \quad [n̚əwga] \quad \text{'meat, fish'}

These resultant glides undergo crasis with a preceding or following /h/ and become voiceless in this environment:

(14) 
\[ /\text{ehiag}/ \quad [ɛyw̚ə] \quad \text{'breathe'} \\
/\text{hueihuaa}/ \quad [w̚ɛyw̚ə] \quad \text{'quick'}

When two high vowels occur together, the one adjacent to any other (i.e. non-high) vowel becomes a glide. If there is no other vowel in the environment, then the first of the two becomes a glide:

(15) 
\[ /\text{aiu}/ \quad [ɑ̚y̚u] \quad \text{'to flow'} \\
/\text{iliu}/ \quad [ɪl̚y̚u] \quad \text{'they (dual)'} \\
/\text{apiu}n/ \quad [y̚ab̚ɪwən] \quad \text{'river'}

Geminate high vowel clusters do not undergo this rule (see 2.4. below). Exceptions to the rule are marked with an acute accent:

(16) 
\[ /\text{nišfu}/ \quad [ni̚ʃ̚fu] \quad \text{'lake'} \\
/\text{kapa-m-}k̚uə/ \quad [ɡ̚ɑ̚b̚amg̚uə] \quad \text{'your (sg) anus'}

2.3. Phonotactics

Phonetically, South-west Tanna words may not begin or end with a consonant cluster, although they may begin with consonant + [y] or [w] and may end with [y] or [w] + consonant. Medially, clusters of up to two non-vowels are permitted:

(17) 
\[ /\text{matukw}/ \quad [mád̚ʊk\text{w}̚] \quad \text{'right (hand)'} \\
/\text{oklheki}n/ \quad [o̚g̚il̚eɡən] \quad \text{'to turn'} \\
/\text{suatu}kw/ \quad [sw̚ád̚ʊk\text{w}̚] \quad \text{'road'} \\
/\text{maul}/ \quad [m̚oɭ̚l] \quad \text{'left (hand)'}
In words where, due to compounding of morphemes, two consonants would otherwise come together initially or finally, [ə] is inserted between them. This becomes [+] if the preceding consonant is alveolar.

\[(\text{18}) \quad /l-vi/ \quad [l\ddagger i] \quad \text{'he pulls it'} \]
\[(/l\ddagger m\ddagger k/) \quad [l\ddagger m\ddagger k\ddagger ] \quad \text{'my father'} \]

Similarly, if three consonants come together medially as a result of compounding of morphemes, [ə] (or [+] is inserted between the second and the third:

\[(\text{19}) \quad /l-asokw-plaahl/ \quad [l\ddagger asokw\ddagger b\ddagger el\ddagger ahl] \quad \text{'to go south'} \]
\[(/l\ddagger im\ddagger gin/) \quad [l\ddagger im\ddagger gin\ddagger n] \quad \text{'he was afraid'} \]

Apart from these strictures, there appear to be no restrictions on the combinations of consonants.

It should perhaps be noted here that many South-west Tanna nouns begin with /n/ plus a following vowel. This is historically derivable from a Proto-Oceanic article *na, which has fused with the noun root so that it can not normally be separated. Many such nouns are listed in the vocabulary in section 6 with initial ini and in some of these cases it is clear that this /i/ is not part of the root but merely an epenthetic vowel: compare, for example, nvihil\ddagger k 'grass' with mwanvihil\ddagger k 'grass'. Clearly, in a case like this the underlying form of the noun is nvihil\ddagger k, and /i/ is inserted by regular rule between /n/ and /v/ when, and only when, this cluster occurs word-initially. In many other lexical items, however, it is difficult or impossible to determine whether the /i/ in this context is part of the underlying form or is epenthetic; as far as lexical listing is concerned, my policy has been to include the /i/ in the word as if it was part of the underlying form unless there is good reason not to.

The combinations of phonemic vowels in South-west Tanna are limited. Geminate vowel clusters occur, and more will be said about them in the next section. Certain clusters of non-identical vowels also occur, and the observed clusters are given below in Table IV; an asterisk indicates non-occurrence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE IV: Vowel clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>second vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from Table IV that /i/ is quite restricted in its distribution, never occurring as the first member of a non-geminate cluster, and only occurring as the second member after /i/ and /u/. No non-geminate clusters of mid + mid or low + mid may occur; otherwise (with the exception of /i/), any vowel may occur in a cluster with a high vowel, and clusters of mid + low are also acceptable.
2.4. **Stress**

Stress rules operate after the rules which insert epenthetic [ə] or [ɪ] and which form glides from high vowels. Primary stress normally falls on the vowel of a monosyllable and on the penultimate vowel of a polysyllable:

\[(20) \quad /vǐn/ \quad [\tilde{ĩ}n] \quad "to go"\]
\[/ilu/ \quad [\tilde{ɨ}lu] \quad "to be deaf"\]
\[/nǐpwana-k/ \quad [nǐbʊĂnɒk]\quad "my forehead"\]
\[/tupnhe-l-k/ \quad [dubnélɪk]\quad "my lip"\]
\[/euai/ \quad [ɛwáy]\quad "to descend"\]

Words containing geminate vowel clusters, however, receive stress on that cluster:

\[(21) \quad /huei\huaa/ \quad [\tilde{w}e\w]\quad "quick"\]
\[/nǐklee-n/ \quad [nǐglén]\quad "his chest"\]
\[/iṣpii/ \quad [\tilde{ə}s\bil] \quad "to clean"\]

Exceptions to these rules have the stressed vowel marked with an acute accent:

\[(22) \quad /nǐamha/ \quad [nǐm\ma]\quad "anger"\]
\[/avki\k\in/ \quad [\tilde{a}g\g\gin] \quad "to drag"\]

In nouns, every alternate syllable to the left of the primary-stressed vowel, including cases of [ə] or [ɪ] inserted between clustering consonants, receives secondary stress:

\[(23) \quad /nǐpwag-nhig-n/ \quad [nǐbʊŴɒn\Ɋg\n]\quad "his nose"\]
\[/nǐmwa-tivhata/ \quad [nǐm\wɒdɪ\wda]\quad "table, shelf"\]
\[/nukwanee-k/ \quad [nùgwɒn\k]\quad "my hair"\]
\[/nǐk+lk+lii-k/ \quad [n\g\lɪ\k]\quad "my bone(s)"\]

In verbs and adjectives, the initial syllable receives secondary stress, as does each alternate syllable to the right of the initial syllable, except that the syllable preceding the primary-stressed syllable is always unstressed:

\[(24) \quad /n-akn-oklhek\in/ \quad [n\g\n\Ɋg\in]\quad "you (sg) have turned"\]
\[/l-igm-asokw-pi\iu/ \quad [l\m\x\w\bi\y]\quad "he went north"\]
\[/l-igm-eliuok-pi\iu/[l\m\x\w\gb\y]\quad "he walked north"\]
\[/n-akn-\lh-eliuok-pi\iu/ \quad [n\g\n\l\w\gb\y]\quad "you (tr) have walked north"\]

The remarks above apply to the Nēvhaal dialect, the basis for this study. As far as information is available, they seem to hold true for Nelpwaai as well. However, in the Nēvai dialect, primary stress occurs on the final syllable much more frequently than in any other Tanna speech-tradition. The data are not sufficient to allow any general statement to be made at this stage; however, suffixes tend to attract final stress, as do final syllables containing vowel + glide. In addition, many more words not fitting these descriptions receive final stress, where the corresponding word in Nēvhaal is stressed on the penult; but there are sufficient cases of penultimate stress in Nēvai to make it difficult to formulate any generalisations without further data. It may well be that a rule of stress-movement from penult to final syllable is in operation in Nēvai.
3. MORPHOLOGY

Four major word classes are recognised in South-west Tanna: verbs, nominals, modifiers, and adjectives. Verbal morphology in particular is extensive, and close attention will be paid in this section to the morphology of each of these word classes.

3.1. Verbs

With the exception of the singular imperative, verbs in South-west Tanna are morphologically complex. Verb morphology is far more complicated than the morphology of other word classes, with a verb being able to take up to seven ranks of prefixes and three ranks of suffixes, all forming a single phonological word. Person-of-subject, number-of-subject, and various tenses, aspects, and modes are indicated by prefixes; transitivity, direction, reciprocality, and some other features are indicated by suffixes. Verbs also appear to be historically 'basic' in South-west Tanna; by this I mean that, although there are regular derivational processes by which nouns, for example, are derived from verbs, there seems to be no way in which verbs are derived from other word classes.

Most verbs in South-west Tanna, as in other languages in the region, begin with a vowel, and especially a non-high vowel. Table V shows the proportion of verbs with particular initial phonemes based on the contents of the vocabulary in section 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial phoneme</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>All lexical items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of cases</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any consonant</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This initial vowel appears to be an historical accretion, and may well have been a verb-formative of some sort in an earlier stage of the language. A comparison of some South-west Tanna verbs with the corresponding Proto-Oceanic forms show this clearly.10

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Oceanic</th>
<th>South-west Tanna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*dogo</td>
<td>*lig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*toka</td>
<td>*ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tuququ</td>
<td>*alel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Proto-Oceanic       South-west Tanna
  *mapo             amiv     'heal'
  *masakit          imha     'be sick'
  *paqan            ivgin    'eat'

Such initial vowels are part of the verb root in the modern language, and the process (whatever it was) is no longer productive. However, it will be seen below that the nature of the initial phoneme of the root is relevant to the conditioning of allomorphs of certain verbal prefixes.

3.1.1. Verbal affixes (declarative mode)

The various affixes which may be attached to the verb root in a declarative clause are given in Table VI. In that table, parenthesised categories are optional, while other categories are obligatory. Co-occurrence restrictions or requirements are noted in the text. The order of affix-classes as given in the table is fixed (although there is some possibility of permutation among suffixes: cf. 3.1.1.10 below). The allomorphs of each morpheme are bracketed together, with the first allomorph being the base form.

3.1.1.1. Intentional prefix. The intentional prefix na- (INT) is optional, and in any case is extremely rare in South-west Tanna, as are its cognates in other Tanna communalecs. I have only observed one occurrence in free text (given below as (2)), other occurrences being as a result of formal elicitation using a verb with the cognate Lenakel form na- (which is also rare in text). The intentional prefix must be followed by the future prefix, and it indicates that the subject is prepared, ready, or in some cases about to carry out the action:

(2) Nivaru na-tukw-l-ni-pin tukw Nula...
    Nivaru INT-FUT-3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT Nula
    'Nivaru made ready to say to Nula...'

(3) na-t-i-ak-eluo
    INT-FUT-1EX-CONC-walk
    'I am ready/about to walk'

3.1.1.2. Future prefix. The future prefix t- (FUT) is optional, and indicates that at least part of the action or state to which the verb refers will take place in the future.

This prefix must co-occur with one of the two tense/aspect prefixes ak-CONC or epi- SQ (see 3.1.1.5.). When used with ak-, the futurity of the action is immediate; the actor is about to start the action at or soon after the moment of speaking:

(4) t-i-ak-ivgin
    FUT-1EX-CONC-eat
    'I'm going to eat'

(5) t-i-ak-s-eluok m-s-aa
    FUT-1EX-CONC-PL-walk AND-PL-go
    'We'll be going', 'We'll set off now'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Intentional)</th>
<th>(Future)</th>
<th>Person of Subject</th>
<th>Tense/aspect</th>
<th>(Continuative)</th>
<th>Number of Subject</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>(Directional)</th>
<th>(Referential)</th>
<th>(Transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>k- 1IN</td>
<td>ak-</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>-pwa</td>
<td>DIR:1</td>
<td>-kwis</td>
<td>-kin TRANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukw-</td>
<td>0- 1EX</td>
<td>uk-</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>-pna</td>
<td>DIR:2</td>
<td>-atukw</td>
<td>-k+ REFLECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-</td>
<td></td>
<td>i- 2</td>
<td>epi-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>-p±n</td>
<td>DIR:3</td>
<td>-plahah</td>
<td>-hiaak E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n- 3SG</td>
<td>emn-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0- 3NSG</td>
<td>im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-plah</td>
<td>DIR:S</td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>-hakta UP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m- AND</td>
<td>akunan-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>akua-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>uan-</td>
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<td>-vila</td>
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<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
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<td>ua-</td>
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<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
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<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
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<td>akn-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
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<td>akn-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-vila</td>
<td>DIR:W</td>
<td>-hakta</td>
<td>-ieh DOWN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When used with epi- a more remote future is indicated:

(6)  t-Ø-epi-o1  
FUT-2-SQ-do  
'You will do it (later on)'

(7)  t-i-epi-s-eliuok m-s-aa  
FUT-1EX-SQ-PL-walk AND-PL-go  
'We'll have to go off (sooner or later)'

When immediately followed by the third person singular prefix l-, the future prefix has the allomorph tuk-:

(8)  tukw-l-epi-falai kwannilh  
FUT-3SG-SQ-cut citrus  
'He will cut the lemon/orange (later)'

Before the first person inclusive prefix k- and the homophonous third person non-singular prefix, the allomorph tu- is used (ak- CONC having a zero allomorph in this environment, as discussed in 3.1.1.5. below):

(9)  tu-k-Ø-1h-aam lim-n  
FUT-3NSG-CONC-TR-see father-3SG  
'The three of them will see his father'

3.1.1.3. Person-of-subject prefixes. There are five prefixes marking the person of the subject, and every verb in the declarative mode must take one of these prefixes (or the prefix m- which is discussed in 3.1.1.4.). The five person-of-subject prefixes are: 11

k-  first person inclusive (1IN)  
i-  first person exclusive (1EX)  
n-  second person (2)  
l-  third person singular (3SG)  
k-  third person non-singular (3NSG)

Each of these marks the person of the subject of the sentence:

(10) (kitaua) k-im-s-aan nekw mufaam  
(we:IN:PL) 1IN-PST-PL-eat yam all  
'We ate all the yams'

(11) (io) i-ak-am-ni̱m  
(I) 1EX-CONC-CONT-drink  
'I am drinking'

(12) (iik) n-ak-am-gi̱n  
(you:SG) 2-CONC-CONT-fear  
'You are afraid'

(13) pilavin Ḵ̱i̱lili̱k l-Ø-am-asim  
woman DEM:IND 3SG-CONC-CONT-garden  
'A woman is gardening'

(14) (ilisil) k-im-lh-lh kamaam tiksim  
(they:TR) 3NSG-PST-TR-carry fish some  
'The three of them carried some fish'

In certain environments, some of these prefixes are lost (i.e. they have zero allomorphs). First, the prefix n- 2 is lost when preceded by the future prefix t-; thus:
For example:

(15) t-ø-epi-ol
    FUT-2-SQ-do
    'You will do it'

Second, the homophonous prefixes k- 1EX and k- 3NSG have zero allomorphs when they occur between the future allomorph tu- and the sequential tense/aspect marker epi-; further, the first vowel of epi- is lost in this context; thus:

    tu-k-epi > tu-pi-

For example:

(16) pilavin mina tu-ø-pi-s-ivgin
    woman PL FUT-3NSG-SQ-PL-eat
    'The women will eat later'

Third, the prefix l- 3SG may optionally be deleted before the inchoative aspect marker and before one allomorph of the perfective marker. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.1.1.5. below.

3.1.1.4. Switch-reference. A feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup is the occurrence of a prefix which functions in the same way as a person marker in conjoined clauses. Generally speaking, when the subject of the verb in the conjoined clause(s) is the same as the subject of the verb in the first clause, the verb in the conjoined clause does not take one of the person-of-subject prefixes discussed in the previous section, but instead takes the prefix m- (glossed here as AND):12

(17) l-hakta m-ikel ie kwalkwau
    3SG-go:up AND-hang LOC ridgepole
    'He went up and hung on the ridgepole'

(18) k-u-auu m-la-si-vhiaak
    3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E
    'The two of them ran from the east'

This prefix may also be used in certain circumstances when the subjects of the two conjoined verbs are not identical. In all such cases, however, the subjects must be of different numbers, so that the correct subject can be identified from among the available choices. For example, the following sentence occurs in a text where one man and two women are the central participants (see 5.2. below):

(19) l-eivi napwil kini m-lh-aulu-pin
    3SG-pull wall and AND-TR-enter-DIR:3
    'He pulled out the wall and the three of them went inside'

The two verbs in this sentence contain different number markers; this sufficiently disambiguates the subjects involved, since the subject of eivi is singular (and therefore, through context, the man) while the subject of aulu is marked as trial (and must thus refer to the man and the two women).

When the number of the subjects of both verbs is identical, however, m- AND has the same referent as the previous subject, and may refer to no other NP: thus in (20),
natou l-†mn-aam magau m-epi-aiu
Natou 3SG-PST-see Magau AND-SQ-run
'Natou saw Magau and (then) ran'

since the two verbs are the same number, it must be the subject of the previous
verb, Natou, which is the subject of aiu 'run'. If it was Magau who ran, (20)
is unacceptable; instead, (21) would be used:

natou l-†mn-aam magou l-epi-aiu
Natou 3SG-PST-see Magau 3SG-SQ-run
'Natou saw Magau and Magau (then) ran'

Note further that (21) is also unambiguous: it can only be Magau who did the
running. Thus m- AND is not merely a stylistic variation, a narrative shortcut,
but must be used in the circumstances described above. (This rule, however, is
strictly true only of third person subjects. With non-third person subjects,
there seems to be more flexibility, as will be seen in example (29) in the next
section.)

3.1.1.5. Tense/aspect prefixes. Prefixes marking the tense and aspect of the
verb follow the person prefixes and are normally obligatory, though, as has already
been pointed out, they may be deleted under certain conditions in narrative
discourse. The base forms of the South-west Tanna tense/aspect prefixes are
given below:

ak- concurrent aspect (CONC)
epi- sequential aspect (SQ)
†mn- past tense (PST)
aku-an- perfective aspect (PF)
akn- inchoative (INCH)

The prefix marking CONCURRENT ASPECT marks an action as either taking place
or being planned at the time of speaking, or as habitual. In the former sense it
may be used with the future prefix t-, in which case it marks the action as taking
place in the immediate future (see 3.1.1.2.). When used without the future prefix,
it marks a present tense, and in this case it appears very frequently with the
continuative prefix am-:

k†maua i-ak-s-aan nekw
we:EXC:PL 1EX-CONC:PL-eat yam
'We eat yam'

(23) t- i-ak-ua ie hospital nîpig t-i-ak-imha
FUT-1EX-CONC-come LOC hospital time FUT-1EX-CONC-sick
'I (will) come to the hospital when I am sick'

(24) n-ak-am-aan nekw na-k
2-CONC-CONT-eat yam POS:EAT:1SG
'You are eating my yam/yams'

This prefix is lost after l- 3SG, k- 1IN, and k- 3NSG:

(25) nehen l-Ø-am-uh alîstîl
rain 3SG-CONC-CONT-strike they:TR:OBJ
'The rain comes down on the three of them'

(26) tukw l-Ø-ua
FUT-3SG-CONC-come
'He will come'
(27) nime len+tim k-ø-s-aan nitel
people Aneityum 3NSG-CONC-PL-eat taro
'The Aneityumese eat taro'

When followed by the dual allomorph u-, in the first person exclusive future only, ak- has the allomorph uk-; i.e.

\[ t-ı-ak-u > t-ı-uk-u- \]

For example:

(28) kimlu t-ı-uk-u-üvgin
we:EXC:DU FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-eat
'We two will eat'

The major use of the prefix marking SEQUENTIAL ASPECT has already been discussed: its function, together with the future prefix, of marking a remote future (section 3.1.1.2.). However, epi- may also occur without the future prefix t-. In these cases it indicates that the action of the verb to which it is prefixed follows in sequence from the action of the previous verb:

(29) i-emn-avín ie lukwanu kafa-m, kwasig i-epi-vín ie lukwanu
1EX-PST-go LOC village POS-2SG, afterwards 1EX-SQ-go LOC village
kape lım-k
POS father-1SG
'(First) I went to your place, and then I went to my father's place'

It is thus often used in conditional sentences (see 4.4.2.8. below):

(30) kipimah nehen l-p niív, i-epi-vhe-kín nakwokwa
if rain 3SG-rain yesterday, 1EX-SQ-read-TRANs book
'If it had rained yesterday, (then) I would have read a book'

We have already seen above (3.1.1.3.) that epi- has an allomorph pi- in the future when preceded by k- 1IN or k- 3NSG; i.e.

\[ tu-k-epi- > tu-pi- \]

The prefix imn- marks PAST TENSE. It has the allomorph im- in the non-singular, and also in the singular before a verb with initial n. When immediately following the 1EX prefix i-, imn- and im- become emn- and em-.

This prefix marks a simple past:

(31) i-emn-aam nek w na-i kwan a i
3SG-PST-eat yam POS:EAT-POS fellow DEM:PR
'He ate that fellow's yam/yams'

(32) i-emn-aam kilíhiavin kilíik niív
1EX-PST-see shark DEM:IND yesterday
'I saw a shark yesterday'

(33) k-im-ha-líth nitıp
3NSG-PST-TR-carry basket
'They carried the baskets'

The prefix akuan- marks PERFECTIVE ASPECT: thus it marks stative in the case of adjectives, and it marks an action as having been completed. It occurs frequently with the verbal modifier (see section 3.3) to 'already finished'.
This prefix is also allomorphically complex: the /ak/ portion is lost in the same environments where ak- CONC has zero allomorphs, but further changes also occur, and these are best summarised in chart form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before consonants, /i/, /u/</th>
<th>Before vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(all numbers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IN  ua-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EX  akua-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 akua-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ua-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before consonants, /i/, /u/:

- 1IN  ua-
- 1EX  akua-
- 2 akua-
- 3 ua-

Two points should be noted here. First, 1- 3SG is sometimes deleted before the allomorph n-. Second, the singular prevocalic forms are phonologically identical with the allomorphs of the inchoative prefix (see below); when these are used, the presence of the modifier ta 'already' is obligatory in the verb phrase to indicate perfective aspect.

(35) ili u k-uan-u-tvg in ta
they:DU 3NSG-PF-DU-eat already
'The two of them have (already) eaten'

(36) mana l-ua-iva ta
bird 3SG-PF-fly already
'The bird has flown (away)'

(37) i-akua-gin ta
1EX-PF-fear already
'I was afraid'

(38) k-ua-s-hai pukah
3NSG-PF-PL-stab pig
'They stabbed the pig'

(39) Ø-n-ehua or l-n-ehua
3SG-PF-big 3SG-PF-big
'It is big'

(40) n-akn-eliuok ta
2-PF-walk already
'You have already walked'

(41) Ø-n-eliuok ta or l-n-eliuok ta
3SG-PF-walk already 3SG-PF-walk already
'He has walked'

The INCHOATIVE ASPECT prefix akn- marks an action as having just begun. It has the allomorph n- when preceded by k- 1IN, k- 3NSG, and l- 3SG, the last of which may be deleted in this environment.

(42) i-akn-am-tvg in
1EX-INCH-CONT-eat
'I have just begun eating'

The inchoative, perhaps along with the sequential without future t-, is the least frequently used of these tense/aspect markers.
Attention has already been drawn to the fact that tense/aspect markers may be deleted in discourse. This is particularly true in narrative texts, where, although the whole action is set in the past, very few verbs take the past tense prefix. Generally, the rule seems to be that if the context (whether in a continuous text or in conversation) makes the tense/aspect of the action or state clear, then the prefix can be dispensed with. We will touch upon this subject in later sections.

3.1.1.6. Continuative prefix. The continuative prefix am- (CONT) marks continuous aspect. Its use is optional, but it occurs quite commonly with the concurrent, past and inchoative tense/aspect markers, although it is rarely observed following the sequential or perfective prefixes.

(43) iou i-ak-am-ivgin pukah
   I 1EX-CONC-CONT-feed pig
   'I am feeding the pig/pigs'

(44) kovamïmta l-Ø-am-âpîl
    child 3SG-CONC-CONT-sleep
    'The child is sleeping'

(45) n-îmn-am-eliuok
    2-PST-CONT-walk
    'You (sg) were walking'

(46) l-n-am-lîh
    3SG-INCH-CONT-carry
    'He has begun to carry it'

There is an allomorph a- which is found before the number-marking allomorphs la-DU, lh- TR, and s- PL, though not before u-DU and ha- PL; compare (47) with (48):

(47) i-akn-am-ha-vîn
    1EX-INCH-CONT-PL-go
    'We have begun to go'

(48) i-akn-â-lh-vîn
    1EX-INCH-CONT-TR-go
    'We three have begun to go'

or (49) with (50):

(49) k-Ø-am-u-eliuok
    3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-walk
    'They two are walking'

(50) k-Ø-a-la-gîn
    3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-fear
    'They two are afraid'

The allomorph a- also occurs immediately preceding an m-initial verb (though not before a verb with any other initial consonant):

(51) l-Ø-a-mîl
    3SG-CONC-CONT-fall
    'It is falling'
3.1.1.7. Number-of-subject prefixes. Apart from the distinction between 1- 3SG and k- 3NSG, the person prefixes mark only the person of the subject and not its number. There is a separate set of prefixes marking number of the subject, and these are obligatory in South-west Tanna verbs (except in the impersonal construction to be discussed in 3.1.1.8. below). Singular number is unmarked; the other number prefixes, together with their allomorphs, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-initial phoneme</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/, non-high vowels</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high vowels, consonants</td>
<td>1a-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The trial prefix has a single allomorph, /h-/ in all environments. The conditioning environment for DU and PL is the initial phoneme of the verb. High vowels group with consonants since they are subject to glide-formation rules (see 2.3 above) and are thus phonetic consonants in many cases in this environment. The reason for /h/ grouping with the non-high vowels is not clear. Verbs with initial /h/ show an additional peculiarity, in that the dual prefix u- metathesises with the initial /h/ of the verb: thus underlying i-ak-am-u-hai 'we two are stabbing it' is phonetically [yagumway] (from underlying /iakamhuai/) and not *[yagumuhay].

Dual refers to two and only two actors, and trial to three and only three. Plural refers to four or more actors, and the plural marker cannot be used if the number of actors is known to be less than four; however, the plural is the appropriate prefix to use if the exact number is not known.

(52) ili u k-im-u-alel
    they:DU 3NSG-PST-DU-stand
    'The two of them stood up'

(53) piamil k-õ-a-la-kwas+g-kin
    woman:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-follow-TRANS
    'The two women are following him'

(54) t-i-ak-lh-ivyin
    FUT-1EX-CONC-TR-eat
    'The three of us will eat'

(55) kïlau tu-õ-pi-am-ha-vïn
    we:IN:PL FUT-1IN-SQ-CONT-PL-go
    'We will be going (later)'

(56) i-emn-s-helapu
    1EX-PST-PL-blow:fire
    'We blew the fire'

(57) t-õ-ak-s-aam nakwokwa
    FUT-2-CONC-PL-see book
    'You will (all) see the book'

3.1.1.8. The impersonal construction. There is one context in which number prefixes must be dispensed with, and that is in the impersonal construction. This construction uses the person prefix k- 3NSG without further specification of number, to indicate the equivalent of passive-without-agent; fronting of the object NP is common in these cases:

(58) nai k-imn-tiap ienpig
    tree 3NSG-PST-cut night
    'The tree was cut down during the night'

(59) k-uan-ol ta
    3NSG-PF-do already
    'It has already been done'
3.1.1.9. Directional suffixes. Directional suffixes (DIR) are optional in the South-west Tanna verb, in that not all verbs take them, and many verbs may or may not take them. Three verbs, however, require a directional suffix: one is vha- 'to give', which will be discussed below; the other two are two verbs of motion – asok- 'to go in the direction specified by the suffix', and si- 'to come from the direction specified by the suffix'. Many other verbs which involve motion of some kind may take a directional suffix; verbs like vin 'to go', and ua 'to come', however, may not take a directional suffix – that is, such suffixes are redundant because the direction of motion is already explicit in the semantics of such verbs.

The South-west Tanna directional suffixes may be conveniently divided into three groups. The first group involves direction in relation to the participants in the speech-act:

- pwa towards speaker (DIR:1)
- pna towards addressee (DIR:2)
- pin away from both speaker, and addressee (DIR:3)

These may be illustrated as follows:

(60) t-ïm-nï-pwa...
3SG-PST-say-DIR:1
'He said to me ...

(61) tukw-1-ö-1ih nekw m-vïn m-am-itu-pin
FUT-3SG-CONC-carry yam AND-go AND-CONT-put-DIR:3
'He will take the yams and put them there'

The verb vha- 'to give' must take one of these directionals:

(62) t-i-ak-vha-pna mana kïlik
FUT-1SG-CONC-give-DIR:2 fowl DEM:IND
'I will give you a chicken'

(63) t-ö-ak-vha-pwa
FUT-2-CONC-give-DIR:1
'You will give it to me'

The second set of directional suffixes refers to specific, compass-type directions:

- pïhiu northwards (DIR:N)
- plaah southwards (DIR:S)
- vhaïak eastwards (DIR:E)
- vila westwards (DIR:W)

(The suffix -pïhiu has an allomorph -fiu when preceded by a vowel.) These suffixes are used most commonly after the directional verbs asokw- 'to go to' and si- 'to come from':

(64) pilavin l-ïm-asokw-vila ie tahiï
woman 3SG-PST-go:to-DIR:W LOC sea
'The woman went (westwards) to/into the sea'

(65) k-u-aiu m-la-si-vhaïak m-la-ua
3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E AND-DU-come
'The two of them came running from the east'

The third set of directional suffixes indicate direction upwards (also southwards) and downwards (also northwards):
-hakta upwards (DIR:UP)
-iehou downwards (DIR:DOWN)

For example:

(66) l-n-asokw-iehou ta
3SG-PF-go:to-DIR:DOWN already
'He has already gone down (or, gone north)'

3.1.1.10. Referential suffixes. In this set are two suffixes which refer back in some way to the subject. The two suffixes are:

-kwis together, in association (ASSOC)
-atukw reciprocal (REC)

I have no examples of combinations of directional and referential suffixes; if the evidence from Lenakel (Lynch 1978b:42) is anything to go by, the ordering of these two sets of suffixes in relation to each other is probably not particularly strict.

The associative suffix -kwis indicates that the referents of the subject carry out the action of the verb together, in concert or association:

(67) ktm1u tion t-i-uk-u-ivgin-kwis
we:EX:DU John FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-eat-ASSOC
'John and I will eat together'

The suffix -atukw has two, closely related, functions. It indicates that the action of the verb is reflexive:

(68) l-tnn-uh-atukw
3SG-PST-hit-REFL
'He hit himself'

and it also indicates reciprocality:

(69) ili1 k-Ø-am-u-olkeikei-atukw`
they:DU 3NSG-CONC-CONT-DU-like-REC
'The two of them like each other'

Neither -kwis nor -atukw occurs with any frequency in South-west Tanna.

3.1.1.11. Transitive postclitic. The transitive marker -kín (TRANS) is in fact a postclitic and not a suffix; it occurs verb phrase-finally. However, in the large majority of verb phrases, this also means that it is verb-final; hence, I include it here among the suffixes. As will be seen in section 4.3. below, some verbs require the transitive postclitic -kín (which is -kín ~ -k before a consonant) when followed by an object NP, while others do not. Below are examples of verbs which require -kín TRANS:

(70) piaml k-a-la-kwasi-g-kín kwan ai
woman:DU 3NSG-CONC-DU-follow-TRANS fellow DEM:PR
'The two women were following the man'

(71) i-ak-am-gin-kín kuli
1EX-CONC-CONT-fear-TRANS dog
'I am frightened of dogs'
A number of verbs seem to have fused the transitive suffix, and always appear with it, even in citation. Examples are:

(72) alukíŋ 'to throw'
    avhekín 'to count, read'
    ṭlkwílkíŋ 'to (cause to) drown'
    oklhékín 'to turn around'
    avhlekíŋ 'to turn over'

These verbs never appear without the final /kín/, and it is a moot point as to whether this /kín/ should be analysed as a transitive suffix or as a historical suffix which has fused with the root. For the purposes of presentation, I have taken the decision to gloss /kín/ in verbs such as those above as the transitive suffix in example sentences in the grammar; in the vocabulary list, however, /kín/ is written as part of the verb: thus alu-kíŋ (throw-TRANS) in the grammar, but alukíŋ in the vocabulary.

3.1.2. Verbal affixes (interrogative mode)

The structure of questions in South-west Tanna is discussed in section 4.4.1.2. below. As will be seen there, most questions use an interrogative form in one of the NPs of the sentence, or use the conjunction wa 'or' without a following clause; in these two cases, verbs use the same range of affixes as in the declarative mode. However, other questions use verbal affixes which are restricted to the interrogative mode. There are two such affixes.

One of these is the directional suffix -híe DIR:WH. This occurs in the same position as the directional suffixes discussed in 3.1.1.9., and may be suffixed to the same range of verbs as those suffixes:

(73) n-ak-am-asōkw-híe?
    2-CONC-CONT-go:to-DIR:WH
    'Where are you going?'

The other interrogative affix is the prefix hau- WH, which occurs between the continuative and number-of-subject prefixes. It is generally used when the speaker is asking the reason for an action:

(74) l-₀-am-hau-aan kamaam?
    3SG-CONC-CONT-WH-eat fish
    'Why is he eating fish?'

(75) n-ak-am-hau-eliuk?
    2-CONC-CONT-WH-walk
    'Why are you walking?'

With verbs of specific motion, however, it may be used to ask for the direction as well as the reason of motion.15

(76) t-₀-ak-hau-vín
    FUT-2-CONC-WH-go
    'Where are you going?', 'Why are you going?'

3.1.3. Verbal affixes (imperative mode)

There are no sets of affixes which are used only in the imperative mode. Indeed, the imperative mode uses rather fewer affixes than other modes.
Intentional, future, person-of-subject, and tense/aspect prefixes may not be used in the imperative mode; the continuative prefix is only rarely used. Thus a verb in the imperative takes only number-of-subject and, occasionally, continuative prefixes, though the full range of suffixes is available:

(77) s-01!
   PL-do
   'Do it (all of you)!' 

(78) la-kwasig-pin-kin kuli kafa-k!
   DU-follow-DIR:3-TRANS dog POS-1SG
   '(You two), follow my dog!'

(79) am-u-ale!
   CONT-DU-stand
   'Just keep on standing (you two)!' 

### 3.1.4. Summary

Verbs in all three modes take a number of sets of prefixes and suffixes. Table VI listed the prefixes and suffixes used in the declarative mode; to those need to be added the interrogative prefix hau- and the interrogative directional suffix -hie. Table VII below summarises the range of affixes which can be used in each mode: + and - indicate obligatory presence and obligatory absence respectively, while (+) indicates optional presence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VII: Affix-classes in each mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person-of-Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number-of-Subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2. Nominals

South-west Tanna nominals may be categorised morphologically into three major classes: pronouns (showing person, number, and case distinctions); inalienable or directly possessed nouns (requiring a possessive suffix); and other nouns. Each of these classes is discussed in turn below, with some attention being paid to subclassification and irregularities.

3.2.1. Pronouns

Pronouns in South-west Tanna vary in form for person, number, and case. The full range of free pronoun forms is given in Table VIII; possessive pronominal suffixes will be discussed in the next section.16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focal</td>
<td>1IN</td>
<td>kɪlau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1EX</td>
<td>iou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>iik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>1IN</td>
<td>alau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1EX</td>
<td>iou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>iik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Person and number distinctions in South-west Tanna have already been discussed in connection with the verb (section 3.1.1.), and require no further discussion here. The case distinction, however, needs some explanation. The term 'focal' is used to refer to those forms of a pronoun used when the pronoun stands alone in a sentence (e.g. as answer to a question). As will be seen, this form is also the form used as subject, and it contrasts with the 'object' form.

The object forms are used when the pronoun is the head of a NP which is (i) the object of a clause or (ii) preceded by a case-marker or preposition in a peripheral phrase (i.e. instrumental, dative, benefactive, etc.; see section 4. for clarification). Some examples:

(80) l-ɪm-miₐhu aliu
    3SG-PST-prevent them:DU:OBJ
    'He stopped/block the two of them'

(81) pa l-ɪm-m-aaₐ amia
    who 3SG-PST-see you:PL:OBJ
    'Who saw you (all)??'
Variation for case is only apparent in the non-singular pronouns; the singular object forms in Table VIII are identical to the focal forms. However, the third person singular pronoun shows a range of allomorphic variation when used as object which does not occur when it is used as a focal pronoun. First, in 3SG is regularly deleted when object of a verb, and only appears in object position in cases of very strong emphasis:

\[(84)\] i-ak-am-aam ø
1EX-CONC-CONT-see him
'I (can) see it/him/her'

\[(85)\] tu-k-Ø-s-ol ø
FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-do it
'They will do it'

Secondly, when preceded by the case-marker tukw, in 3SG has the allomorph un:

\[(86)\] i-em-ni tukw un ...
1EX-PST-say DAT him
'I said to him ... '

The focal forms are used in non-object position: i.e. as subjects, and in most reduced sentences (e.g. answers to questions):

\[(87)\] kìmua i-ak-am-s-ol
we:EX:PL 1EX-CONC-CONT-PL-do
'We are doing it'

\[(88)\] pa 1-imn-ol? kìmlu
who 3SG-PST-do? we:EX:DU
'Who did it? ' 'The two of us'

Morphologically, there is a clear break between the singular and the non-singular forms. The singular forms appear to be morphologically simple, and although there is some evidence that the initial /i/ may have once been a prefix, it no longer functions as one. The non-singular forms, however, are morphologically complex, and consist of a root marking person and case, followed by a suffix marking number. The internal structure of the non-singular pronouns appears to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and Case</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k fileType</td>
<td>1IN FOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kím fileType</td>
<td>1EX FOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kími fileType</td>
<td>2 FOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ili fileType</td>
<td>3 FOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be stressed, however, that the forms given in Table VIII function as units: i.e. neither the person-and-case elements nor the number elements may stand independently of each other.
3.2.2. Directly possessed nouns

It is common in Oceanic languages for one set of nouns to require relatively close possessive marking, while another set has more distant marking.\textsuperscript{18} Close marking, often referred to as inalienable or direct possession, generally involves the possessor — at least, the pronoun possessor — being marked by an affix to the possessed noun; in most Oceanic languages, this affix is a suffix. Distant marking, often called alienable possession, often shows this suffix being attached to some other word in the NP (a possessive-marker).

South-west Tanna shows this distinction, as will become clear in section 4.2.4. A number of distinct subtypes of distant possession can be isolated, but none of these involves any change in the morphology of the noun itself; rather, possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to some other morpheme, as in:

(89) kuli kafa-k
dog POS-1SG
'My dog'

Close possession, on the other hand, involves suffixation of the possessed noun, as in:

(90) 1tm-k
father-1SG
'My father'

The forms *kuli-k 'my dog' and *1tm kafa-k 'my father' are ungrammatical.

In direct possession, the following pronominal possessive suffixes are added to nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE IX: Possessive pronominal suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Case</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the singular forms differ, the morphological similarity between the possessive pronominal forms in Table IX and the focal and objective pronouns in Table VIII will be immediately apparent. (The two 3SG forms will be discussed below.)

The range of nouns to which these suffixes must be added can be at least partly defined semantically. Most kinship terms take these suffixes: e.g. 1tm- 'father', nis\(\d\)- 'mother', nauin- 'sister (of a man)', mila- 'mother's brother', etc. Similarly, many parts of the body (kwal\(\d\)- 'hand, arm', nahu- 'leg, foot', t\(\d\)ki- 'skin', nak\(\d\)mop- 'liver', n\(\d\)pwaghgi- 'nose', etc.) and parts of a whole (nuk\(\d\)wa- 'fruit', nua- 'root', iel\(\d\)k\(\d\)wa- 'in the middle', n\(\d\)kle- 'roof', etc.) also take these suffixes directly. There are also certain other nouns, conceived of as parts of a whole, which are required to
take possessive suffixes; these include nanmw- 'shadow', nhag- 'name', and liki- 'voice'. On the other hand, there is a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds, one might expect to belong to this class, but which in fact do not. These nouns, which include ielmaan 'husband', pilavin 'wife', kwotavha 'heart', pisasuu 'thumb', kwanoukouk 'kidney', tila 'mast', and quite a few others, will be discussed in section 4.2.4. below.

Two forms of the third person singular suffix were given in Table IX. The form -n occurs in all cases except (i) with words for siblings and (ii) the word for child. The various sibling terms take -ni rather than -n: noule-ni 'his/her older sibling of same sex', noulahini 'his/her younger sibling of same sex'. Two sibling terms whose roots end in n simply take -i: mwan-i 'her brother', naun-i 'his sister'. The word for 'child' shows further irregularities: the root nal- is used with 1SG and 2SG possessors (nal-k 'my child', nal-m 'your child'); with other possessors, the root ti- is used (thus ti-ni 'his/her child', etc.).

There are, in addition, a few directly possessed nouns which are irregular. These require the pronoun possessor being marked as an affix, but not in the same way as in the majority of cases; in these words, the possessive pronominal affix is suffixed to some other element, usually formally resembling one of the possessive markers to be discussed in section 4.2.4., and this whole constituent is then prefixed to the root. The following is an exhaustive list from my data; roots are capitalised, and PRO indicates where the pronominal affix occurs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-PRO-HAU</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa-PRO-IEL</td>
<td>'father's sister's son (of male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa-PRO-KAPWA</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-PRO-KAUGA</td>
<td>'chin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa-PRO-KUA</td>
<td>'anus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-PRO-KULA</td>
<td>'brain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-PRO-LAKW</td>
<td>'throat, neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa-PRO-MWANIP</td>
<td>'dorsal fin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa-PRO-UA</td>
<td>'vagina'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I cannot suggest any historical explanation for these cases. However, I can point to similar cases in all the Tanna languages, involving almost exactly the same set of roots (cf. Lynch 1978b:87), and can only suggest that this set of irregularities developed at the Proto-Tanna stage.

3.2.3. Other nouns

As a general rule, other nouns are morphologically simple in that they possess no inflectional morphology. However, certain human nouns are exceptions to this general statement. While other nouns are invariable for number (number being marked by a following modifier or in the verb), some human nouns show a distinct plural form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iame</td>
<td>ni-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ielmama</td>
<td>nelmama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(91) Singular | Plural
iame | 'the one (who)'
ielmama | 'person'
The plural generally involves the prefixing of n- or n̂-, though a prefix kwas- is observed in two instances, and there is also some evidence of other irregular formations (cf. the plurals of 'boy' and 'girl'). These examples apart, however, nominals which are neither pronouns nor directly possessed nouns show no evidence of inflectional morphology.

3.2.4. Derivational morphology

The derivation of nouns from other word classes, and the formation of compound nouns, are common processes in South-west Tanna, and this section will examine each of these processes briefly.

3.2.4.1. Derivational affixes. Nouns may be formed by attaching certain derivational affixes to roots belonging to other word classes. There are four such affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>agentive (AG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>instrumental (INST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i1-</td>
<td>identificatory nominaliser (NOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n- ... -ien</td>
<td>general nominaliser (NOM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The agentive nominaliser i- (ie- before a consonant) is added to a verb root to form an agentive noun:

(92) i-iklha 'a thief'
     AG-steal

(93) k-ftlai 'axe'
     INST-out

Similarly, the instrumental nominaliser k- (ka- before a consonant) is added to a verb to form an instrumental noun:

(93) k-ftlai 'axe'
     INST-out

ka-kfitle 'digging-stick'
The identificatory nominaliser il-forms nouns from adjectives and modifiers:

(94) il-akwas
    NOM-old
    'a/the old one'

il-vi
    NOM-new
    'a/the new one'

The general nominaliser is a discontinuous affix which forms a general or abstract noun from a verb or adjective. The affix involves prefixing n- and suffixing -ien to the verb or adjective root:

(95) n-amelinu-ien
    NOM-peaceful-NOM
    'peace, calm'

n-ivgin-ien
    NOM-eat-NOM
    'eating, food'

n-amhokw-ien
    NOM-foggy-NOM
    'fog, fogginess'

3.2.4.2. Compounding. In addition, nouns in South-west Tanna may be formed by compounding noun + noun, noun + adjective, or noun + verb:

(96) nal-ipwai
    thing-underworld
    'nightmare'

pis-asuu
    finger-big
    'thumb'

nal-mlagh
    thing-be:alive
    'animal'

By far the most common source of compounding, however, involves two forms which are used as the first element of the compound:

(a) kwa-, kwo-, nukwa-, nakwa-, nokwa-, ntkwa-, in their various forms. These forms derive from nukwa- 'fruit', and have a general meaning of 'fruit of, product of' in many compounds in which they occur:

(97) kwa-nkwa-
    'seed'
    cf. nukwa- 'fruit'

kwa-nelaus
    'vein, sinew'
    cf. nelaus 'rope'

In most such compounds, however, the second element seems to have ceased having any independent existence, and occurs only in the compound form:

(98) nukwanee-
    'hair (on head)'

kwanhel-
    'egg'

kwanakau
    'rib'

nakwatana
    'valley'

kwanikiatu
    'outrigger boom'

(b) mwa-, mwei-, nimwa, nimwei- and related forms. These forms probably derive from nimwa 'house', and have a general meaning of 'covering, outside of' in many compounds in which they occur:

(99) nimwa-nvhaga
    'bow'
    cf. nivhaga 'bow and arrow'

nimw-akilakil
    'shore, beach'
    cf. nipakil 'sand'

nimwa-nsii-
    'buttocks'
    cf. nisii- 'excrement'
As in the case with nukwa- compounds, many compounds with the derivatives of nimwa as the first element seem to have been lexicalised in South-west Tanna, the second element apparently no longer having any independent existence:

(100) nimweita - 'back'
    mwaitel - 'ear'
    mwankul - 'pandanus'

3.3. Modifiers

Modifiers are words which normally follow the head noun in an NP or the verb in a VP. They are morphologically simple, and this section will therefore not be concerned with their internal structure but with their subclassification.

3.3.1. General modifiers

General modifiers (GEN) may occur either in a verb phrase or in a noun phrase. Examples of two of these, vi 'new, newly' and ima 'just, only', are given below:

(101) l-ua-ua vi
    3SG-PF-come new
    'He is newly arrived'

(102) in e nimwa vi
    it DEM:1 house new
    'This is a new house'

(103) l-Ø-am-ala ima
    3SG-CONC-CONT-stay just
    'He is still staying'

(104) kimlu ima tu-Ø-pi-ala
    we:EX:DU just FUT-3NSG-SQ-stay
    'Just the two of us will stay'

This class is probably an open class, but with a small membership. Other general modifiers are akwastg 'behind', ankap 'very, very much' ialmih 'different(ly)', mala 'slow(ly)', kwiskis 'together', etc.

3.3.2. Verbal modifiers

Verbal modifiers (VM) may occur only in VPs, and not in NPs. Two of these, pîk 'a lot, very much', and ta 'completely, finished', are exemplified below:

(105) l-Ø-am-iv grin pîk
    3SG-CONC-CONT-eat very:much
    'He eats a lot'

(106) i-akua-s-ol ta
    1EX-PF-PL-do already
    'We have already done it', 'We have finished doing it'
This class is also small, but I have no evidence that it is a closed class. Other VMs are la 'now, then', and lu 'trying to'.

3.3.3. Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers (NM) may only occur in NPs, and not in VPs. Examples are given below of maul 'left' and mlsa 'dry':

(107) kwalm-n maul
    hand-3SG left
    'His left hand'

(108) nǐkien mlsialik
    coconut dry DEM:IND
    'A dry coconut'

Again, this class may be closed, but I have no evidence that it is; other NMs are favin 'which?', matukw 'right', and kalin (used in relationship terms: see section 6).

3.3.4. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers (QTY), which may only occur in NPs, contains the numerals 'one' to 'five':

(109) kśl̊ikiana
    'one'
kélalu
    'two'
kísisil
    'three'
kuas
    'four'
k̃̊ll̊k̊̊il̊p
    'five'

The class also includes a number of other words: tiksin 'some', kwatisin 'a few', hialma 'next', kihu 'how many?, how much?', mufam 'all', etc.

3.3.5. Grammatical number markers

Another set of modifiers which may only appear in NPs is the set of grammatical number markers (NUM). There are three of these:

(110) mîl
    'dual'
misil
    'trial'
mīna
    'plural'

These modifiers are not required in a NP, even when the head of the NP is non-singular. The number of the subject NP, for example, is marked as a prefix to the verb, so a subject NP may or may not include a NUM as well. Generally, when the number is important to the speaker or the context, then either a numeral or a NUM (or both in combination) will be used; if the number is not important, then no NUM will be used.
3.3.6. Demonstratives

Finally, there is a closed class of demonstratives (DEM). The list below is, I believe, complete:

(111) kiliik 'indefinite, a, some' (DEM:IND)
e 'this near speaker' (DEM:1)
en 'this, that, near addressee' (DEM:2)
aan-va 'this, that, indicated' (DEM:IDC)
kwuse 'this, that, previously referred to' (DEM:PR)

These modifiers normally occur in NPs:

(112) vha-pwa na1 en
give-DIR:1 thing DEM:2
'Give me that (which you have/near you)'

(113) kwan ai l-0-am-olkei piakafit kwuse
fellow DEM:PR 3SG-CONC-CONT-like girl DEM:IDC
'That/the man (we were talking about) likes that particular girl
(I am pointing to)'

They are occasionally found in VPs, however:

(114) kwate en!
stay DEM:2
'Stay there (where you are)!!'

3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives (ADJ) may be distinguished from modifiers in that they may take certain verbal affixes, and may thus stand as the sole constituent of a VP in a clause. On the other hand, they may be distinguished from verbs in that they may also occur without verbal affixes, and in their unaffixed form behave syntactically like modifiers, occurring in a NP following the head noun. The examples below show the adjectives esl a 'sharp' and amkimik 'dirty' being used both verbally and non-verbally:

(115) nau e l-0-esla
knife DEM:1 3SG-CONC-sharp
'This knife is sharp'

(116) vha-pwa nau esl a kiliik!
give-DIR:1 knife sharp DEM:IND
'Give me a sharp knife'

(117) na1-k muaam k-0-s-amkimik
child-1SG all 3NSG-CONC-PL-dirty
'All my children are dirty'

(118) vha-pin nepin amkimik aan!
give-DIR:3 clothes dirty DEM:3
'Give him those dirty clothes!'

Adjectives have been observed to occur with all the verbal prefixes except the intentional (which in any case seems to be extremely rare). They do not, however, take the verbal suffixes described in 3.1.1. above.
4. SYNTAX
4.1. Phrases

On the basis of their functions and their internal structure, a number of different phrase-types can be recognised in South-west Tanna. Each of these will be briefly discussed and exemplified below.

4.1.1. Verb phrases

Verb Phrases (VP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

(1) \[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{V} + \{ \text{GEN} \} + (\text{DEM}) + (\text{TRANS}) \\
\text{ADJ} + \{ \text{GEN} \} + (\text{VM}) 
\end{cases}
\]

The rule states that there are two basic types of VPs. One has as head a verb (i.e. verb root with appropriate affixes); optionally following the head appears a verbal modifier, a general modifier, or an adjective; this in turn may be followed by a demonstrative, with the transitive postclitic occurring finally in a VP. The other type of VP has an adjective (root + affixes) as its head; this may be followed by a general modifier or a verbal modifier.

Some examples of VPs showing various of these combinations are illustrated below. Slashes mark phrase-boundaries. Firstly, VPs with a V as head:

(2) \[
1-\text{am-akwita} \\
3SG-CONC-CONT-sit \\
'He is sitting down'
\]

(3) \[
1-ua-ua vi \\
3SG-PF-come new \\
'He is newly arrived'
\]

(4) \[
n-ak-am-eliuok mala \\
2-CONC-CONT-walk slowly \\
'You are walking slowly'
\]

(5) \[
t-i-ak-alae / ikine \\
\text{FUT-}1\text{EX-CONC-stay DEM:1 / place DEM:1} \\
'I will stay here'
\]

(6) \[
tagalua / 1-n-ouikat kif / tiki-n \\
\text{snake / 3SG-PF-shed already TRANS / skin-3SG} \\
'The snake has shed its skin'
\]

Next, some examples of VPs with an adjective head:

(7) \[
1-\emptyset-vha \\
3SG-CONC-good \\
'It is good'
\]

(8) \[
\emptyset-n-akwiliin ta \\
3SG-PF-full already \\
'It is full'
4.1.2. Noun phrases

The basic structure of the South-west Tanna NP is given in the following rule:

(10) \[ NP \rightarrow N + \left( \begin{array}{c} GEN \\ NM \\ Adj \\ NUM \\ QTY \\ DEM \end{array} \right) \]

Noun phrases have nominals as heads, and all other constituents are optional. If these optional constituents occur, they occur in the following order: first, either a general modifier or a nominal modifier or an adjective; next, a grammatical number marker; then a quantifier; and lastly a demonstrative. Examples of various NP-types will first be given of NPs whose head nominal is a noun:

(11) i-emn-uh / pukah
    1EX-PST-strike / pig
    'I killed a/the pig'

(12) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vi
    3SG-PF-make already / house new
    'He has built a new house'

(13) vha-pwa / nau esi en!
    give-DIR:1 / knife sharp DEM:2
    'Give me that sharp knife (near you)!'

(14) pilavin mil ai / tu-k-ʔ-la-ua
    woman DU DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-come
    'The two women will come'

(15) n-ak-am-aam / piakatit mil k'ilalu kwuse / ua?
    2-CONC-CONT-see / girl DU two DEM:IDC / or
    'Are you looking at those two girls there?'

In context, a head noun may be deleted and a quantifier may act as the head of a NP. Thus if the context included some discussion of two men who had gone away, then (16) would be grammatical:

(16) k'ilalu ai / tu-k-ʔ-la-lel1g
    two DEM:PR / FUT-3NSG-CONC-DU-return
    'The two will come back'

There are a few combinations of GEN + GEN which are acceptable within a NP. The most acceptable of these involve general modifiers like pik 'very much' or ankap 'very' as the second adjunct:

(17) i-emn-aam / nimwa vi ankap
    1EX-PST-see / house new very
    'I saw a very new house'

However, while informants will generally accept sentences with other combinations, such as (18) with ADJ + GEN:
(18) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha vi
3SG-PF-make already / house good new
'He built a good new house'

It is much more common for South-west Tanna speakers to either verbalise the adjective,

(19) l-n-ol- ta / nimwa vi / l-Ø-vha
3SG-PF-make already / house new / 3SG-CONC-good
'He built a good new house'

or to nominalise either the modifier or the adjective and remove it to an appositional phrase:

(20) l-n-ol ta / nimwa vha / il-vi
3SG-PF-make already / house good / NOM-new
'He built a good new house'

Now we turn to NPs whose head is a pronoun. Most commonly, pronoun heads are unmodified:

(21) ili u / k-ua-la-su ta / nekw
they:DU / 3NSG-PF-DU-plant already / yam
'The two of them have planted the yams'

(22) i-emn-aam / iik
1EX-PST-see / you:SG
'I saw you'

However, pronouns may occur with the other NP constituents (except adjectives), although not as commonly as nouns:

(23) kimlu imda / t-i-ak-la-vin
we:EX:DU just / FUT-1EX-CONC-DU-go
'Just the two of us will go'

(24) l-imn-uh / alia mina
3SG-PST-strike / they:OBJ:PL PL
'He hit/killed them all'

(25) kitaua mufaan / tu-Ø-pi-ha-ua
we:IN:PL all / FUT-1IN-SQ-PL-come
'All of us will come'

(26) vah / in e!
take / it DEM:1
'Take this one!

4.1.3. Location Phrases

Location phrases (LP) indicate direction after a verb of specific motion and location after other verbs. All LPs may be introduced by apwa which, though optional, marks the following phrase as a LP. Three subtypes of LPs can be identified:

(27)
\[
\text{LP} + (\text{apwa}) + \begin{cases}
\text{ikin} + \left\{ \text{MOD} \right\} \\
\text{locative noun} \\
\text{i}e + \text{NP}
\end{cases}
\]
The use of *apwa* is more common with LPs of the first two types; its use with the *ie+NP* type seems much less common.

The first subtype of LP uses the noun *ikin* 'place, location' followed by a modifier or an adjective. Most commonly, a demonstrative follows *ikin*:

(28) 1-Ø-am-ala / *ikin* e
3SG-CONC-CONT-live / place DEM:1
'He lives here'

(29) vah-pin / *ikin* aan!
take-DIR:3 / place DEM:3
'Take it over there'

(30) i-akn-aam ta / *apwa ikin* ai
1EX-PF-see already / LOC place DEM:PR
'I found it there (you-know-where)'

However, adjectives and other modifiers may also follow *ikin*:

(31) 1-Ø-am-ala / *apwa ikin* vi
3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC place new
'He lives in a new place'

(32) 1-Ø-am-ala / *ikin* ha
3SG-CONC-CONT-live / place bad
'He lives in a bad place'

The second kind of LP involves the use of a subclass of nouns which I call locative nouns. This subclass is defined by their behaviour in LPs: Locative nouns may occur alone as the head of a LP, while other nouns must take the case-marker *ie*. Locative nouns include the names of all places — e.g. *lounhanin* (a village), *lakwukak* (a village), *lsagf* (a government station) — and also a number of other nouns, of which the following list is an example:

(33) ipaka  'near, nearby'
    isokw  'far, far away'
    pihiu  'north'
    p+flaah  'south'
    pihiaak  'east'
    pila  'west'

One or two regular nouns have special locative forms:

(34) ielkwanu  'to, at, or in the village'
    (cf. lukwanu 'village')
    iimwa  'at home, home, homewards'
    (cf. nimwa 'house')

As noted above, these nouns may occur as the heads of LPs, although they may be introduced by *apwa*:

(35) 1-Ø-am-ala / *apwa lounhanin*
3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC Lounhanin
'He lives at Lounhanin'

(36) 1+hu / *apwa isokw!*
    put / LOC far
    'Put it down a long way away'
The third type of LP consists of a NP (as described in 4.1.2.) preceded by the case-marker ie. This case-marker is a clitic (as are the others to be discussed in later sections); it receives no stress in its own right, although it may be stressed if, when considered as the first syllable of the following noun, it fits the structural description of the stress-assignment rules (see 2.4. above). However, it will be more convenient for purposes of description to maintain the fiction that ie (and also the other case-markers) are in fact separate words.

Examples of LPs of this sort, with NPs whose heads are nouns, are given below:

(38) 1- Ø-am-eliuok / ie nipakil
     3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / LOC sand
     'He is walking on the beach'

(39) 1-Ø-am-ala / ie tukwasaan
     3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC mountain DEM:3
     'He lives on that mountain there'

(40) n-ak-am-avfin / ie n-asim-ien / uan?
     2-CONC-CONT-go / LOC NOM-work:in: garden-NOM / or
     'Are you going to the garden(s) ?'

Example (38) clearly illustrates the point made earlier that LPs have directional sense after a verb of specific motion (as in (40)) but a locative sense elsewhere (e.g. (39)). The verb in (38), eliuok 'to walk', is not a verb of specific motion, and thus (38) may only have a locative sense: walking on the beach. For a directional sense to apply to a verb like eliuok, a verb of specific motion would have to be conjoined; e.g.

(41) 1-Ø-am-eliuok / m-avin / ie nipakil
     3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / AND-go / LOC sand
     'He is walking to the beach'

Before a pronoun, ie shows some allomorphic variation: ie becomes il before the non-singular objective pronouns, with the third person non-singular showing further morphophonemic changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>il + aliu</td>
<td>il eliu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il + alisil</td>
<td>il isil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il + alia</td>
<td>il elia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the singular pronouns, ie has the form ila; further, the possessive forms of the pronouns, and not the free forms, occur with this allomorph: thus ila-k 'to me', ila-m 'to you', ila-n 'to him/her/it'.

(42) nau ai / 1-Ø-am-ala / ila-n
     knife DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-live / LOC-3SG
     'The knife is on it'

(43) kwan ai / 1-Ø-am-aiu / m-avin / apwa ila-k
     fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-run / AND-go / LOC LOC-1SG
     'That fellow is running to(wards) me'
4.1.4. Time phrases

Time phrases (TP) in South-west Tanna have the following structure:

\[ TP \rightarrow \{ \text{temporal noun} \} \cup \{ \text{ie} + \text{NP} \} \]

That is, TPs are composed either of a temporal noun, or of a NP introduced by the case-marker \text{ie}.

Temporal nouns are a subclass of nouns whose definition is similar to that of locative nouns discussed in the previous section: that is, they are nouns which may occur alone as the head of a TP. Below are some examples of temporal nouns:

(45) touei 'today'
    takwtakwun 'now'
    niiv 'yesterday'
    naho 'day before yesterday'
    nhiks!l 'two days ago'
    tukwienakwamil 'tomorrow'
    tukwnaho 'day after tomorrow'
    tukwnhiks!l 'two days hence'
    naghin 'when? (past)'
    tukwnaghin 'when? (future)'

Some examples:

(46) n-akn-ua / naghin?
    2-PF-come / when:past
    'When did you come'

(47) i-emn-ivgin / pukah / niiv
    1EX-PST-feed / pig / yesterday
    'I fed the pigs yesterday'

The other kind of TP consists of a NP preceded by the case-marker \text{ie}:

(48) 1-ua-ua / ie lukweha
    3SG-PST-come / TEM daylight
    'He came during daylight/during the daytime'

(49) 1-imn-aan / kamaam / ie naha nipig?
    3SG-PST-eat / fish / TEM what day
    'When did he eat the fish?'

When the head of the NP is \text{nipig} 'day, time', the case-marker \text{ie} may be dispensed with:

(50) nipig kape nehen / i-ak-lih / kuhuan
    time POS rain / 1EX-CONC-collect / shellfish
    'During the rain I collect shellfish'

(51) 1-Ø-am-aan / mana / nipig mufaam
    3SG-CONC-CONT-eat / chicken / day all
    'He always eats chicken', 'He eats chicken every day'
4.1.5. Dative phrases

South-west Tanna dative phrases (DP) have the following structure:

\[(52) \text{DP} \rightarrow \{ \text{tukw, kimi} \} + \text{NP} \]

That is, a dative phrase consists of a NP introduced by either the case-marker tukw or the case-marker kimi (which is kimi ~ kîm before a consonant).

The DP with kimi is used after verbs of giving:

\[(53) \text{tukw-1-0-vha-pwa / kimi iou} \]
\[\text{FUT-3SG-CONC-give-DIR:1 / DAT I} \]
\[\text{'He will give it to me'} \]

Some verbs of speaking require kimi, while others require tukw:

\[(54) \text{i-emn-inkiall / kimi aliu} \]
\[\text{1EX-PST-speak / DAT they:DU:OBJ} \]
\[\text{'I spoke to them'} \]
\[(55) \text{l-im-ni / tukw lim-n} \]
\[\text{3SG-PST-say / DAT father-3SG} \]
\[\text{'He talked to his father'} \]

4.1.6. Benefactive phrases

The benefactive phrase (BP) has the following structure:

\[(56) \text{BP} \rightarrow \text{ka pe} + \text{NP} \]

The BP is, then, a NP introduced by kape which also functions as a possessive-marker; see section 4.2.4.2. below for a discussion of its allomorphs. Below are examples of benefactive phrases:

\[(57) \text{n-ak-am-ol / kape lim-m / ua?} \]
\[\text{2-CONC-CONT-do / BENEF father-2SG / or} \]
\[\text{'Are you doing it for your father?'} \]
\[(58) \text{l-im-ni / niv / kape nisin-n} \]
\[\text{3SG-PST-work:in:garder / yesterday / BENEF mother-3SG} \]
\[\text{'Yesterday he worked in the garden for his mother'} \]

4.1.7. Instrumental phrases

South-west Tanna instrumental phrases (IP) consist of a NP preceded by the case-marker ie; that is:

\[(59) \text{IP} \rightarrow \text{ie} + \text{NP} \]

Examples:

\[(60) \text{t-i-ak-am-ilai / nai aan / ie kipas e} \]
\[\text{FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-cut / tree DEM:3 / INST axe DEM:1} \]
\[\text{'I'm going to cut down that tree with this axe'} \]
\[(61) \text{n-im-n-ol / ila-n / ua?} \]
\[\text{2-PST-do / INST-3SG / or} \]
\[\text{'Did you use it?', 'Did you do it with it?' }\]
4.1.8. Causative phrases

Causative phrases (CP) are NPs introduced by the case-marker tukw:

(62) CP + tukw + NP

(63) i-ak-a-mha / tukw kamaam
   iEX-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS fish
   'I am sick because of the fish'

(64) ni'amha / i-Ø-as iou / tukw alia
   anger / 3SG-CONC-bite I / CAUS they:PL-OBJ
   'I am angry because of them (i.e. because of something they did)'

4.1.9. Case-markers: Summary

A number of case-markers were introduced in the preceding sections. These are listed again below for convenience, together with their allomorphs and their functions:

- ie (i1-, ila-) location phrases
- time phrases
- instrumental phrases
- tukw dative phrases
- causative phrases
- kimì (kim) dative phrases
- kape (see 4.2.4.2.) benefactive phrases

4.2. Noun phrase expansions

The NP which forms the basis for most of the phrase-types discussed in section 4.1. may be expanded in various ways. In this section we shall examine coordination of NPs, relativisation, complex LPs, and possession.

4.2.1. Coordination

Any NP — and this includes any NP which is preceded by a case-marker in a LP, TP, etc. — may in fact consist of two or more conjoined NPs. Such NPs are conjoined by the following role:

(65) NP + NP + mine + NP + (mine)

That is, the conjunction mine 'and' joins two NPs, and mine may also occur after the second NP. In fact, when only two NPs are conjoined, mine does not normally occur after the second NP; however, when three or more NPs are conjoined, mine will normally follow the last NP, and earlier occurrences of mine (except between the second-last and last NP) may be deleted.

(66) i-ak-olkeikei / kwalei mine nekw
   iEX-CONC-like / sweet:potato and yam
   'I like sweet potato and yam'

(67) i-Øm-aan / kamaam mine mana
   3SG-PST-eat / fish and chicken
   'He ate fish and chicken'
4.2. Relativisation

Relative clauses on the head noun nipig 'time' yield a complex TP:

(76) t-i-ak-ua / ie hospital / (ie) nipig [t-i-ak-a-mha]
FUT-1EX-CONC-come / LOC hospital / (TEM) time [FUT-1EX-CONC-CONT-sick]
'I will come to hospital when I am sick'

Relative clauses on the head noun ikin 'place' yield a complex LP. The situation is somewhat different here, however. The relative clause may begin and end with ikin, as in (77); alternatively, either occurrence of ikin may be
omitted, with no change in the meaning, as in (78) and (79). However, both
occurrences may not be omitted, as the ungrammatical (80) shows:

(77) t-i-ak-vtn / ik±n [1-okwiaai] ik±n
FUT-LEX-CONC-go / place [3SG-cold] place
'I go to a place which is cold'

(78) t-i-ak-vtn / ik±n [1-okwiaai]

(79) t-i-ak-vtn / [1-okwiaai] ik±n

(80) ^t-i-ak-vtn / [1-okwiaai]

4.2.3. Complex location phrases

Certain complex LPs are merely NPs with relative clauses, and these were
dealt with in the previous section. Others, however, are complex in a different
way. Certain locative nouns (e.g. ipaka 'near' and, isokw 'far') may be
followed by tukw + NP to give a complex LP:

(81) l-±mn-eluok / ipaka tukw kopwiel
3SG-PST-walk / near DAT stone
'He walked near the stone'

(82) l-ø-am-ala / isokw tukw l±m-n
3SG-CONC-CONT-live / far DAT father-3SG
'He lives far away from his father'

4.2.4. Possession

A NP may also be expanded by the addition of a following possessive
phrase (PP):

(83) NP -> NP + PP

The possessive phrases in South-west Tanna occur in a number of subtypes, but
all may be conceived of as having the following underlying structure:

(84) PP -> POS + NP

The NP which is followed by the PP refers to what is possessed; the PP itself
contains a possessive-marker (POS) and the NP. If the NP is a pronoun, the
pronominal suffixes given in 3.2.2. above are used. The various subtypes of
possession will be examined individually.

4.2.4.1. Direct possession. Direct (or inalienable) possession has
already been briefly mentioned (section 3.2.2. above). In these phrases, when
the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive marker is zero, and possessive
pronominal forms are thus suffixed directly to the noun:

(85) l±m-n
father-3SG
'His father'

(86) kwalm-lla
hand-3PL
'Their hands'
When the possessor is a noun, a construct suffix is added to the possessed noun. This suffix is -t after a consonant-final directly possessed noun; after a noun ending in a, the suffix is -i; while after any other vowel the suffix is -ø:

(87) nisin-t pilavin e
mother-POS woman DEM:1
'This woman's mother'

(88) nipwaghig-t kwan ai
nose-POS fellow DEM:PR
'The/that fellow's nose'

(89) niplaa-i naai
body-POS tree
'The trunk of the tree'

(90) mila-i Natou
mother's:brother-POS Natou
'Natou's (maternal) uncle'

(91) noulahi-Ø Magau
younger:sibling-POS Magau
'Magau's young brother'

(92) nuhu-Ø pukah
leg-POS pig
'The pig's leg'

In direct possession, the first (i.e. possessed) NP may not contain any adjective or modifier. Thus a phrase like the following is ungrammatical:

(93) *nal(-t) amkimik pilavin e
child(-POS) dirty woman DEM:1

Instead, a modifier must be nominalised and moved out of the PP, while an adjective must be nominalised or verbalised and moved out of the PP:

(94) nal-t pilavin e / il-amkimik
child-POS woman DEM:1 / NOM-dirty
'This woman's dirty child(ren)'

(95) nal-t pilavin e / l-Ø-amkimik
child-POS woman DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-dirty
'The woman's dirty child'

4.2.4.2. Active possession. Active (or inalienable) possession involves the use of overt possessive-markers joining the two NPs. In cases of pronoun possessors, the possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to these possessive-markers; when the possessor is not a pronoun, the possessive-marker occurs between the two NPs.

When the possession is to be eaten, the possessive-marker is na-. The construct suffix -i mentioned above is suffixed to na- before a noun possessor:

(96) nekw na-m
yam POS:EAT-2SG
'Your yam(s) (for eating)'

(97) nipwan na-i kwan ai
banana POS:EAT-POS fellow DEM:PR
'That fellow's banana(s) (for eating)'
When the possession is to be drunk, the marker ni- is used:

(98) nǐkien ni-k  
*coconut POS:DRINK-1SG*  
'My coconut(s) (for drinking)'

(99) nu ni pilavin aan  
*water POS:DRINK woman DEM:3*  
'That woman's water (for drinking)'

When the possession is to be planted, the marker nai- is used:

(100) nītel nai- lia  
*taro POS:PLANT-3PL*  
'Their taro (for planting)'

(101) kwalei nai līm-k  
*sweet:potato POS:PLANT father-1SG*  
'My father's sweet potato (for planting)'

When the possession is for neither eating, drinking, nor planting, (i.e. in the unmarked case), then the marker kape- is used; kape- has the allomorphs kapa- before the singular pronominal suffixes.

(102) nīmwa kape-taua  
*house POS:PLANT-3PL*  
'Our house'

(103) kuli kape nīsin-k  
*dog POS:PLANT mother-1SG*  
'My mother's dog'

(104) nau kapa-n or nau kafa-n  
*knife POS-3SG*  
'His/her knife'

The important feature in the use of these possessive-markers is the intention of the speaker or possessor – i.e. the use to which the possession is going to be put. Water for drinking would be possessed with ni-, for example, but water for washing with kape-; a coconut for eating would be possessed with na-, one for drinking with ni-, and one for selling with kape-; and so on.

Like the other Tanna languages, South-west Tanna allows the possessor constituent to precede the possessed. This is particularly frequent when the possessor is a pronoun, and phrases like those below occur at least as frequently as their counterparts above without, as far as I have been able to ascertain, any semantic change:

(96a) nām nek w  
*your yam(s) (for eating)*

(98a) nī-k nīkien  
*my coconut(s) (for drinking)*

(100a) nītel nītel  
*their taro (for planting)*

(102a) kape-taua nīmwa  
*our house*

(104a) kapa-n nau  
*his knife*

The same is true to a much lesser extent when the possessor is a noun. A phrase like (103a) is certainly acceptable:

(103a) kape nīsīn-k kuli  
*my mother's dog*
However, firstly such a phrase is much less common than its counterpart (103) with possessor following possessed; and secondly, there is in this case a semantic shift — emphasis is being laid on the possessor, so that (103a) indicates that it is definitely my mother's dog, and certainly not anyone else's.

The indication of the high value a possessor places on his possession may also be indicated in a possessive phrase, although again this is not very frequent. In such cases, the structure of the (a) transforms above must be used, and the initial n of the noun deleted. The 'valued' forms of the (a) sentences above would be:

(96b) na-m ekw 'your favourite (kind of) yam (for eating)'
(98b) ni-k ikien 'my favourite (kind of) coconut (for drinking)'
(100b) nai-lia itel 'their best planting-taro'
(102b) kape-taua imwa 'our favourite house'
(104b) kapa-n au 'his prized knife'

For those nouns which do not begin with n, such a distinction between ordinary and valued possession does not operate. Nor does the distinction operate with noun possessors, as far as I am aware.

4.2.4.3. Locative possession. A few nouns referring to locations are possessed with imwa- (which takes the construct suffix -i when preceding a noun). This is not a particularly common construction-type in South-west Tanna; however, a few examples may be given:

(105) ielkwanu iimwa-k
    LOC:village POS:LOC-1SG
    'To/at/in my village'
(106) tana iimwa-i Misak
    place POS:LOC-POS Misak
    'Misak's place (in the sense of where he comes from, not necessarily where he is living)'

Example (105) shows the true locative sense of this marker, since the corresponding non-locative noun lukwanu can not be possessed with iimwa-, but only with kape-:

(107) lukwanu kapa-k
    village POS-1SG
    'My village'
(108) ≠lukwanu iimwa-k
    village POS:LOC-1SG

There is some evidence that PPs like (105) may also be transformed in the same way that active PPs are transformed:

(105a) iimwa-k ielkwanu 'to/at/in my village'

However, this transformation is much less common with locative possession. Furthermore, it seems not to be possible when the possessor is a noun:

(106a) ≠? iimwa-i Misak tana

There appears to be no valued variant of locative possession.
4.2.4.4. Passive possession. It was noted in 3.2.2. above that a number of nouns which, on semantic grounds, might be expected to participate in direct possession do not in fact do so. Instead, these nouns (which generally refer to parts of wholes) are possessed in a different manner, which I will call passive possession. All these nouns take ie as the possessive-marker, though some can use kape- as well:

(109) nimlakw iei napw
      ashes POS fire
      'The ashes of the fire'

(110) tipweua ila-n
      stomach POS-3SG
      'His/her/its stomach'

(111) kwaniqia tu iei ktnu (or kwaniqia tu kape ktnu)
      outrigger:boom POS canoe
      'The canoe's outrigger-boom'

(112) kwaniqwanai iei nahu-k
      ankle POS leg-1SG
      'My ankle'

The semantic relationship between passive possession and location, which is also marked by ie, should be remarked upon.

4.2.4.5. Possessive-markers: Summary. For convenience, the various possessive-markers introduced in this section, together with their allomorphs and functions, are listed below:

-Ø (-t, -i)  direct possession
kape- (kapa-, kafa-)  active possession (unmarked)
    passive possession (some cases)
na- (na-i)  active possession (marked: to be eaten)
ni-  active possession (marked: to be drunk)
nai-  active possession (marked: to be planted)
iiimwa- (iiimwa-i)  locative possession
ie (iil-, ila-)  passive possession

4.3. Clauses

Two basic types of clauses can be identified in South-west Tanna: clauses which have no VP, and clauses with a VP. The latter can be further divided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses.

4.3.1. Verbless clauses

A number of South-west Tanna clause-types requires no VP. These clauses are generally identificatory in nature, and have functions which could be variously labelled as equational, appositional, locational, and temporal.
It is possible to consider such clauses as topic-comment clauses, where the comment is verbless.

Most verbless clauses require the presence of two phrases. The commonest patterns are as follows:

\[
\text{verbless clause} \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{NP + NP} \\
\text{NP + LP} \\
\text{NP + PP} \\
\text{PP + NP} \\
\text{TP + NP}
\end{align*}
\]

(In each case, the NP constituent may be simple or may be expanded according to the various processes outlined in 4.2.)

Examples of these clause-types follow:

\[(114)\] in e / iemasuul kiliik
he DEM:1 / big:man DEM:IND 'He/this is a big-man'

\[(115)\] natou / ihie?
Natou / where 'Where is Natou?'

\[(116)\] pukah mina aan / kafa-k
pig PL DEM:3 / POS-1SG 'Those are my pigs', 'Those pigs are mine'

\[(117)\] kafa-n / nimwa
POS-3SG / house '(It's) his house'

\[(118)\] nitv / kamaam pik mina
yesterday / fish very:much PL 'Yesterday there were lots of fish'

Other clause-types occur, but are rarer; thus LP may precede NP in clauses like \[(115)\] if stress is being laid on the location; however, these are minor variations. The major types of verbless clauses are as illustrated above.

Negative verbless clauses do not occur. To make any of the verbless clauses above negative, a negative verb (such as \[\text{lak} \ 'not to be'\]) must be used, and the clause thus becomes intransitive verbal.

**4.3.2. Verbal clauses**

Clauses which require the presence of a VP are subdivided into intransitive, transitive, and negative clauses for the purposes of discussion.

**4.3.2.1. Intransitive clauses.** An intransitive clause requires the presence of a VP, and also requires one NP preceding the VP: this may be referred to as the core of the clause, with the NP acting as subject of the VP and conditioning the choice of the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb. There may in addition be a periphery, which could
contain one or more other phrases — a LP, TP, DP, BP, IP, or CP, but no other
NPs. These peripheral phrases generally follow the verb. There appear to be
no special ordering relations among these peripheral phrases, although benefactive
phrases (introduced by kape) often immediately follow the VP, if only so as to
avoid a possible interpretation as a possessive phrase (some of which are also
introduced by kape). A general rule for intransitive clauses would thus be:

(119)
\[
\text{intransitive clause} \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{VP} + (\text{LP}) + (\text{TP}) + (\text{DP}) + (\text{BP}) + (\text{IP}) + (\text{CP})
\]

The simplest examples of intransitive clauses are examples of cores only:

(120) piakatit ai / l-ø-am-eliuok
    girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk
    'That girl is walking'

(121) pukah mina / k-ø-a-s-tvgin
    pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
    'The pigs are eating'

(122) iou / i-emn-am-apīl
    I / 1EX-PST-CONT-sleep
    'I was sleeping', 'I was asleep'

(123) nau e / l-ø-esla
    knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-sharp
    'This knife is sharp'

Peripheral clauses may be added to this core, although in practice not more
than two or three ever occur in normal speech; further, it is unusual for
peripheral clauses to occur if the head of the VP is an adjective:

(124) piakatit ai / l-ø-am-eliuok / apwa ie nīpakīl
    girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk / LOC LOC sand
    'That girl is walking on the sand/beach'

(125) nai kilalu ai / l-ø-1kak ai / touei
    tree two DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-not:be DEM:PR / today
    'Those two trees are not there today'

(126) lim-lia / l-n-inkiaal ta / kīmi nāl-n mił
    father-3DU / 3SG-PF-speak already / DAT child-3SG DU
    'The father has already spoken to his two children'

(127) Magau / l-im-asim / niiv / kape nīsin-n
    Magau / 3SG-PST-work:in:gard:en / yester:day / BENEF mother-3SG
    'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'

(128) kwan ai / l-imn-hakta / ie nelauā
    fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-go:up / INST rope
    'The man climbed with a rope'

(129) pilavin kafa-k / l-ø-a-mha / tukw kuhuan ai
    wife POS-1SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS shellfish DEM:PR
    'My wife is ill because of those shellfish'
While TPs may occur anywhere in the periphery after the VP, it is just as common for them to occur at the beginning of the clause, before the subject NP. Thus (130) is a possible variant of (127):

(130) niiv / Magau / l-imn-asim / kape nisn-n
   yesterday / Magau / 3SG-PST-work:in:garden / BENEF mother-3SG
   'Yesterday Magau worked in the garden for his mother'

If this fronted TP refers to a future time, the future prefix may be omitted from the verb:

(131) tukwienakwamil / nal-k / (tukw-)1-o-ua
   tomorrow / child-1SG / (FUT-)3SG-CONC-come
   'Tomorrow my son will come'

Other peripheral phrases may be fronted to this pre-subject position, but usually only in cases of strong emphasis. Thus (132) would be a possible variant of (124), but with emphasis on the LP:

(132) apwai ie nipakil / piakatiti ai / l-0-am-elruok
   LOC LOC sand /girl DEM:PR / 3SG-CONC-CONT-walk
   'It is on the beach that the girl is walking'

When the semantics of the subject can be fully recovered from the person-of-subject and number-of-subject prefixes to the verb, the subject NP may be omitted. In practice, this means that (i) in discourse, subjects are often deleted; and (ii) when the subject is a pronoun, it is usually deleted, and is generally retained only in cases of emphasis. Contrast, for example, (133) with (134):

(133) n-ak-a-s-ivgin
   2-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
   'You are eating'

(134) kimia / n-ak-a-s-ivgin
   you:PL / 2-CONC-CONT-PL-eat
   'YOU are eating'

Such pronoun subject deletion is extremely common when the subject pronoun is first or second person. When it is third person, there is, naturally, greater potential for ambiguity, and context will determine whether the subject pronoun can be deleted without obscuring the semantics of the clause.

4.3.2.2. Transitive clauses. Transitive clauses in South-west Tanna are similar in structure to intransitive clauses except that the core requires two NPs: a subject NP preceding the VP, and an object NP following the VP. The VP in a transitive clause may not have an adjective as its head. Peripheral phrases almost always follow the object NP.

(135)

transitive clause → NP + VP + NP + ( LP TP DP IP CP ) + ( BP ) + ( BP ) + (...)
As with intransitive clauses, subject pronouns may be deleted. TPs are often fronted, other peripheral phrases are occasionally fronted.

Again, the simplest examples of transitive clauses are of cores only:

(136) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-aan / nauga tiksin
    dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-eat / meat some
    'That dog is eating some meat'

(137) ni'amha / tukw-1-Ø-as / iou
    anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-bite / me
    'I will get angry'

(138) pukaliakatiit e / l-Ø-am-gin-kin / kilhiavin
    boy DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-fear-TRANS/shark
    'This boy is afraid of sharks'

These cores may be expanded by the addition of peripheral phrases. (Note also the omission of pronoun subject NPs in examples (140) and (141).)

(139) kwai ai / l-1nm-tilai / nai mina / kafa-k
    fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-cut / tree PL / BENEF-1SG
    'That man cut down the trees for me'

(140) tukwahoe / n-ak-ha-1hu / kopwie e / ie iapiuan
    day:after:tomorrow / 2-CONC-PL-put / stone DEM:1 / LOC river
    'The day after tomorrow you will put this stone in the river'

(141) l-n-vha-pwa ta / pukah kilalu / kimi amlu / tukw lim-mlu
    3SG-PF-give-DIR:1 already / pig two / DAT us:EX:DU/CAUS father-1EX:DU
    'He gave the two of us two pigs because of our father (e.g. in compensation for his death, or as a repayment for something he did)'

(142) pukaliakatiit / l-1nm-huopnii / kuli / ie nau
    boy / 3SG-PST-kill / dog / INST knife
    'A boy killed a/the dog with a knife'

A third person singular object pronoun is normally deleted. Its inclusion denotes emphasis; contrast (143) and (144):

(143) piakatiit ai / l-1nm-am-kwasig-kin
    girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS
    'The girl was following him'

(144) piakatiit ai / l-1nm-am-kwasig-kin / in
    girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS / him
    'It was him that the girl was following'

Other pronoun objects, however, may not normally be deleted:

(145) piakatiit ai / l-1nm-am-kwasig-kin / ailiu
    girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-follow-TRANS / them:DU:OBJ
    'The girl was following the two of them'

Out of context, example (143) can only refer to a singular third person pronoun object. In context, it is possible that example (143) could be used as an alternative to (145), but to avoid any possible ambiguity, (145) would be the preferred structure.

There are a few contexts in which the object can be fronted to sentence-initial position. This occurs quite often when the verb is impersonal (see 3.1.1.8. above), and may also occur when strong emphasis is being placed on the object. Example (146) below shows a fronted object with an impersonal verb, while (147) shows an emphatic fronted object:
4.3.2.3. Negative clauses. A negative clause contains the verb apwah, to which all verbal affixes are attached, followed by the nominalised form of the 'content-verb' which is to be negated; the nominalisation takes the form of the discontinuous affix n--ien. A negative intransitive clause thus contains a NP (the nominalised verb) following the VP (apwah), and may also contain a number of peripheral phrases:

(148) negative intransitive \[ \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{negative VP} + \text{NOM-V} + \ldots \]

The negative forms of examples (121), (123), (127), and (131) above are given below:

(149) pukah mín / k-Ø-a-s-apwah / n+vgin-ien
pig PL / 3NSG-CONC-CONT-PL-not / NOM-eat-NOM
'The pigs are not eating'

(150) nau e / l-Ø-apwah / n-esla-ien
knife DEM:1 / 3SG-CONC-not / NOM-sharp-NOM
'This knife is not sharp'

(151) magau / l-imn-apwah / n-asim-ien / niiv / kape nisin-n
'Yesterday Magau did not work in the garden for his mother'

(152) tukwienakwamt / nal-k / (tukw-)l-Ø-apwah / n-ua-ien
tomorrow / child-1SG / (FUT-) 3SG-CONC-not / NOM-come-NOM
'My son won't come tomorrow'

Similarly, a negative transitive clause has the nominalised verb following the negative VP, with the object NP following this:

(153) negative transitive \[ \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{negative VP} + \text{NOM-V} + \text{NP} + \ldots \]

The negative forms of (136), (137), (139), and (143) above are given below:

(154) kuli aan / l-Ø-am-apwah / n-aan-ien / nauga tiksin
dog DEM:3 / 3SG-CONC-CONT-not / NOM-eat-NOM / meat some
'That dog is not eating any meat'

(155) n'amha / tukw-l-Ø-apwah / n-as-ien / iou
anger / FUT-3SG-CONC-not / NOM-bite-NOM / me
'I will not get angry'

(156) kwan ai / l-imn-apwah / n-ilai-aan / ná mín / kafa-k
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-not / NOM-cut-NOM / tree PL / BENEF-1SG
'That man did not cut down the trees for me'

(157) piakatít ai / l-imn-am-apwah / n-kwasig-kin-ien
girl DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-CONT-not / NOM-follow-TRANS-NOM
'The girl was not following him'
Note in (157) that the transitive suffix remains attached to the root of the nominalised verb; the same is true of other suffixes (e.g. directionals), though it is not true of the verbal prefixes:

\[(158) \text{tu}kw-1-0-\text{apwah} / n-\text{vha-pwa-ien} / n+\text{tu}kw / \text{kim}i \text{iou}\\ FUT-3SG-CONC-not / NOM-give-DIR:1-NOM / sugarcane / DAT me\\ 'He will not give me the sugarcane'\]

4.4. Sentences

South-west Tanna sentences may be subdivided into simple sentences, containing one clause, and complex sentences, containing more than one clause. Each of these types has a number of subtypes.

4.4.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences contain one major clause, although a phrase within this clause may itself contain an embedded clause, as discussed in 4.2.2. above. In this section we will briefly examine declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences.

4.4.1.1. Declarative sentences. A South-west Tanna declarative sentence contains a verbless, intransitive, transitive, or negative clause and does not contain any of the distinguishing features of interrogative or imperative sentences, as discussed below. Nearly all the examples given in 4.3. above were examples of declarative sentences, and it seems unnecessary to further exemplify this sentence-type here.

Declerative sentences are also characterised by a particular intonation-pattern. Generally, the end of a declarative sentence shows slowly falling intonation, with a slight rise on the last stressed syllable in the sentence; thus:

\[(159) \text{kw}n \text{ai} / l-\text{imn-uh} / \text{pukah} / \text{ielkwanu}\\ fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC: village\\ 'That man killed a pig in the village'\]

4.4.1.2. Interrogative sentences. Interrogative sentences are of three basic types. First, the tag \(\text{ua} 'or'\), when added to the end of a declarative sentence, makes the sentence interrogative:

\[(160) \text{kw}n \text{ai} / l-\text{imn-uh} / \text{pukah} / \text{ielkwanu} / \text{ua}\\ fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC: village / or\\ 'Did that man kill a pig in the village?'\]

\[(161) \text{n-ak-am-aan} / \text{mana} / \text{ua}\\ 2-CONC-CONT-eat / chicken / or\\ 'Are you eating chicken?'\]

\[(162) \text{tu}kw-1-0-\text{ua} / \text{ua}\\ FUT-3SG-CONC-come / or\\ 'Will he come?''\]
Questions of this type show rising intonation at the end of the sentence, with a slight wavering fall on the ua:

(160a) kwan ai / l-îmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu / ua

The second type of question uses one of the interrogative verbal affixes: either the interrogative prefix hau- or the interrogative directional suffix -hie. Since these were discussed in some detail in section 3.1.2. above, we will give just one example of each:

(163) kwan ai / l-îmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
fellow DEM:PR / 3SG-PST-WH-kill / pig / LOC:village
'How/why did that man kill a pig in the village?'

(164) lîm-m / l-.bd-am-asokw-hie?
father-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-go:to-WH
'Where is your father going?'

Intonation-patterns for this type of question are the same as for statements:

(163a) kwan ai / l-îmn-hau-uh / pukah / ielkwanu

The third type of question uses a special interrogative word in one of the non-verbal phrases in the sentence. The interrogative words which can be so used are:

pa (plural nîpa)  'who?, whom?'
naha  'what?'
naghîn  'when? (past)'
tukwnaghîn  'when? (future)'
ihie  'where?'
favin  'which?, where?' (modifier)

Some examples follow:

(165) pa / l-îmn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu?
who / 3SG-PST-kill / pig / LOC:village
'Who killed a pig in the village?'

(166) n-îmn-aam / pa?
2-PST-see / who
'Whom did you see?'

(167) n-îmn-uh / pukah kape nî-pa?
2-PST-kill / pig POS PL-who
'Whose pigs did you kill?'

(168) nîsin-m / l-.bd-am-ehakin / naha?
mother-2SG / 3SG-CONC-CONT-look:for / what
'What is your mother looking for?'

(169) l-^a-mha / tukw naha?
3SG-CONC-CONT-sick / CAUS what
'Why is he sick?'

(170) naghtîn / l-îmn-ua?
when:past / 3SG-PST-come
'When did he come?'
(171) tukwnaghin / tukw-l-∅-ua?
when:future / FUT-3SG-CONC-come
'When will he come?'

(172) pukah mina / ihie?
pig PL / where
'Where are the pigs?'

(173) n-ak-am-ala / kifin favin?
2-CONC-CONT-ive / place which
'Where do you live?'

The intonation-patterns in sentences such as these are the same as for declarative sentences, except that the pitch rises rather higher on the interrogative word:

(165a) pa / l-imn-uh / pukah / ielkwanu

(167a) n-imn-uh / pukah kape ni-pa

4.4.1.3. Imperative sentences. Imperative sentences are of two types, regular and polite. Regular imperative sentences have the same structure as declarative sentences, except that the subject NP is usually omitted; it may, however, be present as a kind of vocative initiator of the sentence, but in such cases it is usually separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause:

(174) s-akwita!
PL-sit
'Sit down (all of you)!

(175) aan / n-ivgin-i'en na-m!
eat / NOM-eat-NOM POS:eat-2SG
'Eat your food!

(176) kimia, s-akwita!
you:PL, PL-sit
'All of you, sit down!'

(177) tion, aan / n-ivgin-i'en na-m!
John, eat / NOM-eat-NOM POS:eat-2SG
'John, eat your food!

Intonation-patterns for such imperative sentences are similar to those in declarative clauses, in that they end in a rise-fall; however, the general fall over the whole sentence is much greater than that in a declarative sentence:

(175a) aan / n-ivgin-i'en na-m

Polite imperatives use the future tense, with or without subject NP, and the verbal modifier lu 'trying: to':

(178) t-∅-ak-s-akwita lu!
FUT-2-CONC-PL-sit trying:to
'Would you all mind sitting down?'
The intonation pattern for such sentences is similar to that of regular imperatives, although the sharpness of the fall is perhaps not so great.

4.4.2. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of at least two clauses, which are either independently conjoined or are in a relation of dependence one upon the other. A number of types of complex sentences will be discussed below.

4.4.2.1. Connected or sequential action. When two clauses represent connected actions, they may be joined by the conjunction kini 'and':

(180) l-im-k / l-imn-ua / kini / i-em-la-vin / ie hospital
father-1SG / 3SG-PST-come / and / 1EX-PST-DU-go / LOC hospital
'My father came and the two of us went to the hospital'

If the actions are sequential and the speaker wishes to indicate this fact, then the tense/aspect prefix epi- (see 3.1.1.5.) must be used in the verb of the second clause:

(181) l-im-k / l-imn-ua / kini / i-epi-la-vin / ie hospital
father-1SG / 3SG-PST-come / and / 1EX-SQ-DU-go / LOC hospital
'My father came and then the two of us went to the hospital'

In narrative discourse, kini is frequently followed by the demonstrative ai DEM:PR or by the verbal modifier ima 'just' + ai, with the sense 'and next, and then'. (Note that ima has an allomorph ími before ai.) Numerous examples of these combinations can be found in the two texts in the next section, especially 5.2.

Where the subject of the second verb in a connected or sequential action sentence is either the same as the subject of the first verb or else meets the other requirements laid down in section 3.1.1.4. above, the person-of-subject prefix m- AND will occur on the second (and subsequent) verbs, and in these cases kini may be omitted:

(182) l-imn-uh / mana / m-vaan / m-aan / kini / m-api!
3SG-PST-kill / chicken / AND-roast / AND-eat/ and / AND-sleep
'He killed the chicken, roasted and ate it, and then went to sleep'

4.4.2.2. Adversative sentences. In an adversative sentence, the second clause is introduced by melig 'but'. The verb of the second clause may take the prefix m- AND under the same conditions as clauses introduced by kini 'and':

(183) i-emn-ua / niív / melig / n-ak-íkak
1EX-PST-come / yesterday / but / 2-CONC:NOT:be
'I came yesterday but you weren't here'
4.4.2.3. Alternative sentences. In an alternative sentence, the clauses are joined by *ua* 'or'; again, *m- AND* may be used in the second clause under the conditions discussed above:

(185) l-imn-avin / ie nipe / ua / m-imn-am-ol / iolkwanu?
3SG-PST-go / LOC dance / or / AND-PST-CONT-do / LOC:village
'Did he go to dance or stay at home?'

4.4.2.4. Reason sentences. In a reason sentence, the second clause is introduced by *meligionai* 'because':

(186) l-imn-avin / Imlau / meligionai / niamha / l-o-am-as / nisin-n mine lim-n
3SG-PST-go / Imlau / because / anger / 3SG-CONT-CONT-bite / mother-3SG and
father-3SG
'He went to Imlau because his mother and father are angry'

4.4.2.5. Quotative sentences. Quotative sentences contain a verb of speaking in the first clause and the quotation in the final clause. They often, in addition, contain the quotative verb *ima* before the quotation:

(187) l-im-ni / kim io / m-ima / 't-o-ak-lel i lu'
3SG-PST-say / DAT me / AND-quote / FUT-2-CONT-go:back trying:to
'He said to me, "Would you please go back?"'

4.4.2.6. Purpose sentences. Purpose sentences contain a clause introduced by the conjunction *mima* 'that':

(188) t-i-ak-vin / ie tukwas / mima / io / t-i-ak-aam
FUT-1EX-CONT-go / LOC mountain / that / I / FUT-1EX-CONT-see
'I will go to the mountain so that I can see for myself'

4.4.2.7. Sentential complements. Complements are also introduced by
*mima* 'that':

(189) i-ak-hetelakin / mima / tukw-l-o-apwah / n-ua-ien
1EX-CONT-know / that / FUT-3SG-CONT-not / NOM-come-NOM
'I know that he won't come'

(190) i-ak-olkeikei / ilk / mima / t-o-ak-avhiu / kafa-k / nimwa
1EX-CONT-want / you / that / FUT-2-CONT-build / BENEF-1SG / house
'I want you to build me a house'
4.4.2.8. Conditional sentences. When the condition relates to the future, the conditional clause is introduced by *tukwmah* 'if'; the main clause may be preceded by *toko* 'then':

(191) *tukwmah* / *t-i-ak-au* / *tukwienakwam±l* / *toko* / *t-Ø-ak-aam* / *iou*
    *if* / *FUT-1EX-CONC-come* / *tomorrow* / *then* / *FUT-2-CONC-see* / *me*
    'If I come tomorrow, (then) you will see me'

(192) *tukwmah* / *nehen* / *l-Ø-1kak* / *t-i-ak-apwah* / *n-ala-iën* / *ielkwanu*
    *if* / *rain* / *3SG-CONC-not:be* / *FUT-1EX-CONC-not* / *NOM-stay-NOM* / *LOC:village*
    'If it doesn't rain, I won't stay at home'

Past (and therefore contrary-to-fact) conditions have the same structure, except that the conditional clause is introduced by *kipimah* 'if':

(193) *kipimah* / *nehen* / *l-epi-p* / *niiv* / *toko* / *iou* / *iimwa*
    *if* / *rain* / *3SG-SQ-rain* / *yesterday* / *then* / *I* / *LOC:house*
    'If it had rained yesterday, then I would have stayed at home'

(194) *kipimah* / *nehen* / *l-epi-apwah* / *n-p-iën* / *niiv* / *toko* / *i-epi-vin* / *ie nipe*
    *if* / *rain* / *3SG-SQ-not* / *NOM-rain-NOM* / *yesterday* / *then* / *1EX-SQ-go* / *LOC dance*
    'If it hadn't rained yesterday, then I would have gone to the dance'

5. TEXTS

The two stories below were told to me by Tom Hia, of Iounihan village. Each text is given morpheme-by-morpheme in South-west Tanna (Nivhaal dialect), with corresponding morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses; a slash in the South-west Tanna text represents a clause boundary. Notes on the text and a free English translation follow.

5.1. Nivaru

1 Nivaru mine Nula — kapa-n pilavin ai Nivaru, Nivaru and Nula — POS-3SG wife DEM:PR Nivaru,
  kapa-n ielmaan Nula — k-im-u-akwita apwa pihlaak POS-3SG husband Nula — 3NSG-PST-DU-sit LOC east
  ielkwan nipig iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok / m-ua / LOC:bush time volcano 3SG-INCH-CONT-walk AND-come
  m-akwita ie pihiu (Lamwinu) / m-telhau ikin /
AND-sit LOC north (Lamwinu) AND-go:out place

5 m-am-asokw-hakta / m-n-am-asokw-vhiaak / kopwiel
  mina mufaam tiksín k-s-aap / m-s-asokw-pihu / PL all some 3NSG-PL-run:away AND-PL-go:to-DIR:N
  tiksín m-s-asokw-hakta / tiksín k-s-aap /
some AND-PL-go:to-DIR:UP some 3NSG-PL-run:away
  m-am-ha-vin ikuplaaah / kini kapa-n pilavin Nivaru
AND-CONT-PL-go Whiteands and POS-3SG wife Nivaru
  na-tukw-l-ni-pin tukw Nula / pwah la / kilau
INT-FUT-3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT Nula let now we:IN:DU
SOUTH-WEST TANNA GRAMMAR OUTLINE AND VOCABULARY

10 k-la-telhau / tukwmah iahul l-ua / m-u-akwatelu-kin
1IN-DU-go:out if volano 3SG-come AND-DU-stay:hide-TRANS
alau / meliginai pilavin in l-am-gin pik /
use:IN:DU:OBJ because woman she 3SG-CONT-fear very:much
m-u-hekinteel / l-ni-pin tukw kapa-n ielmaan / i-ua /
AND-DU-get:up 3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT POS-3SG husband ?-come
m-ul / kapa-n ielmaan l-ni-pin tukw un /
AND-go:first POS-3SG husband 3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT her
l-ima / i-ua m-ula / kini ai in
3SG-quote ?-come AND-go:first and DEM:PR she
15 l-am-aiu okwupwin / m-u-aiu / m-u-aiu / m-u-aiu /
3SG-CONT-run in:front AND-DU-run AND-DU-run AND-DU-run
ø-n-elhelha / mima kapa-n ielmaan l-am-eliuok mala /
3SG-PF-look:back that POS-3SG husband 3SG-CONT-walk slow
l-ni-pin tukw un / l-ima / i-ua / m-ula /
3SG-say-DIR:3 DAT him 3SG-quote ?-come AND-go:first
melig l-ima / ula / kilau ima k-la-vin etamwheekw
but 3SG-quote go:first we:IN:DU just 1IN-DU-go place
kilikiana / k-u-aiu / m-la-s-vhiaak / m-la-vin /
one 3NSG-DU-run AND-DU-come:from-DIR:E AND-DU-go
20 m-la-vin / m-la-vin / m-u-ala ipaka tukw tahik /
AND-DU-go AND-DU-go AND-DU-stay near DAT sea
l-elhelha / m-aam kapa-n hualu / l-am-kwasig
3SG-look:back AND-see POS-3SG old:man 3SG-CONT-follow
maľa ima / l-akwilig ila-n / eliuok / m-ua /
slow just 3SG-talk:hareh LOC-3SG walk AND-come
kilau kwiskwis ima / melig l-ima / am-okwupwin /
we:IN:DU together just but 3SG-quote CONT-be:in:front
kilau ima k-la-vin / k-la-vin lenkalkal tahik /
we:IN:DU just 1IN-DU-go 3NSG-DU-go LOC:side sea
25 l-elhelha / m-aam / l-kwasig / l-ima / ula / aiu
3SG-look:back AND-see 3SG-folow 3SG-quote go:first run
okwupwin kilau mukwis / kapa-n pilavin l-aiu okwupwin /
in:front we:IN:DU together POS-3SG wife 3SG-run in:front
masokw-vila ie tahik / m-elhelha / m-aam kapa-n
AND-go:to-DIR:W LOC sea AND-look:back AND-see POS-3SG
ielmaan / ø-n-am-akwita pihiak / l-ima /
husband 3SG-INC-CONT-sit east 3SG-quote
t-ô-ak-ua ua? / melig l-ima / am-kwate en /
FUT-2-CONC-come or but 3SG-quote CONT-stay DEM:2
30 pwah / i-ak-am-kwate / am-kwate en / pwah /
let 1EX-CONC-CONT-stay CONT-stay DEM:2 let
n-elmama tu-k-ô-s-eliuok / m-s-hakta ie tukl-m
PL-person FUT-3NSG-CONC-PL-walk AND-PL-go:up LOC top-2SG
Nivaru and Nula — Nivaru was the wife and Nula the husband — were sitting in the bush in the east at the time when the volcano was walking around, when it came and sat down in the north at Lamwinu, and then left there and went south and then east — when all the stones ran away, some to the north, some to the south, and some to Whitesands. Well, Nivaru started to say to Nula, "Let's leave for the volcano might come and cover us up", for she was a woman and very frightened. So they got up and she said to her husband, "Come, you go first". But her husband said to her, "Come, you go first". And so she ran in front, and the two of them ran and ran and ran and when she looked back she saw that her husband was walking slowly, so she said to him, "Come, go in front", but he said, "You go first; the two of us are going to the same place". The two of them ran from the east and went on and stopped beside the sea; and she looked back and saw her husband way behind, following very slowly; and she spoke crossly to him, "Walk here so the two of us are together". But he said, "Just go in in front; the two of us will go as we are". They went to the edge of the sea, and she looked back and saw him behind and said, "You go and run in front so that the two of us are together". But the wife ran in front and went into the sea and looked back and saw her husband beginning to sit down on the shore, and she said, "Are you coming?". But he said, "Just you stay there and let me stay here". But she said, "You just stay there and people will come on top of you and shit on your head". And that's the end.

Notes

3 nipig iahul Ø-n-am-eliuok: The next text gives some background on when the volcano was walking around.

5 Note the use of -hakta DIR:UP to mean 'south'.

8 ikuplaah: Whitesands is on the central east coast of Tanna.

9 na-tukw-l-ni-pin shows the one occasion in which the intentional prefix na- was freely elicited.

11 in: The pronoun subject used for emphasis.

12 i-ua: I was unable to find the meaning or function of i- (which occurs, always with this verb, in a few other places in the text).

21 hualu 'old man' is often used, in a respectful sense, for 'husband'.

22 akwlig is one of a few verbs which take datives with ie.

23 kwiskwis: Note the relationship with -kwis ASSOC (and cf. also mukwis in 26).

31, Nivaru was turned into stone, and can still be seen offshore at Blacksand Beach, south of Imlau. Nula, however, was also turned into stone, but since he remained onshore, people could walk around in the bush and defecate on top of him.
5.2. Mwig

1. **k-am-olpe lakuwakak mine lounhanin / kini**
   
   3NSG-CONT-dance lakuwakak and lounhanin and

   *mwig l-ua ie nipe / m-s-olpe / kini ai*
   
   earthquake 3SG-come LOC dance AND-PL-dance and DEM:PR

   Ø-n-vhaak / m-n-am-avin / kini piamil kilalu
   
   3SG-PF-go:east AND-PF-CONT-go and woman:DU two

   **k-a-la-kwasi-kin / kini m-u-olipin / l-am-níahu**
   
   3NSG-CONT-DU-follow-TRANS and AND-DU-follow 3SG-CONT-block

2. **aliu / kini ai k-u-apwah / m-am-u-alel**
   
   them:DU:OBJ and DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-refuse AND-CONT-DU-stand

   **l-vhaak / m-telhau-pin lounhanin / kini ai**
   
   3SG-go:east AND-go:out-DIR:3 lounhanin and DEM:PR

   **k-u-olipin / kini ai l-am-níahu aliu / melig**
   
   3NSG-DU-follow and DEM:PR 3SG-COUNT-block them:DU:OBJ but

   **k-u-apwah / m-am-u-olkeikei / kini k-lh-vhaak /**
   
   3NSG-DU-refuse AND-CONT-DU-like and 3NSG-TR-go:east

   **m-lh-vin / kini ìmi ai l-ol nehen / l-am-uh**
   
   AND-TR-go and just DEM:PR 3SG-make rain 3SG-CONT-hit

3. **alisi / k-lh-vin / m-lh-vin / m-lh-vin / m-lh-elieti**
   

   **ikin apwa iimwa-n ikin / kini ìmi ai l-ëivi**
   
   place LOC POS:LOC-3SG place and just DEM:PR 3SG-pull:out

   **napwil / kini m-lh-aulu-pin / kini l-ala / m-ëivi**
   
   wall and AND-TR-enter-DIR:3 and 3SG-stay AND-pull:out

   **mun kliik / kini ai k-lh-aulu-pin / kini ai**
   
   again DEM:IND and DEM:PR 3NSG-TR-enter-DIR:3 and DEM:PR

   **l-ëivi iame n-faamienie / kini ai**
   
   3SG-pull:out the:one NOM-be:all-NOM and DEM:PR

4. **k-lh-aulu-pin / kini ìmi ai piamil**
   
   3NSG-TR-enter-DIR:3 and just DEM:PR woman:DU

   **k-n-u-okwiaai / kini l-hel napw / k-u-olkapkin /**
   
   3NSG-INCH-DU-cold and 3SG-blow fire 3NSG-DU-do:like:that

   **k-u-akwita / m-u-olkapkin / m-la-vin / m-la-vin /**
   
   3NSG-DU-sit AND-DU-do:like:that AND-DU-go AND-DU-go

   **kini ai m-n-a-la-vikouiam / kini ìmi ai**
   
   and DEM:PR AND-INCH-CONT-DU-sleepwalk and just DEM:PR

   **l-hakta / m-ìkel ie luau / kini m-ìlu-kilavin /**
   
   3SG-go:up AND-hang LOC ridgepole and AND-hang-flying:fox

5. **kini ai niml-n l-iel / kini nelam-n mine**
   
   and DEM:PR eye-3SG 3SG-come:out and tongue-3SG and

   **l-iel / kini ai nhinakwa-n l-am-ìlukwiiel /**
   
   3SG-come:out and DEM:PR spittle-3SG 3SG-CONT-rain

   **kini ìmi ai k-u-akwita / m-am-u-apíl /**
   
   and just DEM:PR 3NSG-DU-sit AND-CONT-DU-sleep
Free Translation

There was a dance at Iakwukak and Iounhanin, and Mwig (the earthquake) came to it, and they all danced. And then Mwig went away to the east. But two women were following him, and they followed him but he stopped them and wouldn't let them follow him. So they stopped and he went east and left Iounhanin. And they followed him and he stopped them, but they didn't want to be stopped, because they liked him. So the three of them went off to the east, and he made it rain and it rained on them. They went on and on and eventually arrived at his place. And he pulled out the wall and they went in. And he stayed and then pulled out more of the wall and they went in. And he pulled out all the wall and they went in. Then the two women began to feel cold, so he blew into the fire, and they sat there like that, on
and on until they began to sleepwalk. So he climbed up and hung from the ridgepole — hung like a flying-fox. And his eyes fell out, and his tongue also, and his spittle rained down. And the two women who were sleeping felt his spittle raining down and woke up and tried to see what was happening. He was hanging there and his tongue and his eyes had fallen out. So the two of them got up and ran to the corner of the wall. But he let go and jumped down and followed them. Then he picked up one and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want the intestines, so they stayed there. And then he picked up the other one and held her and crushed her and ate her, but he did not want the intestines so they stayed there. Then he broke some sugarcane and cleaned out his mouth with it. And they call that place 'Mwig's mouth-cleaning', and they plant things there still today. And that's the end.

Notes

This story is about the time when the volcano and the earthquake were wandering Tanna trying to find somewhere to settle down.

3 piamil: Probably a contraction of pian mil (women DU).

14 iame seems to be cognate with relative-clause introducers in other Tanna languages, but does not seem to be functioning in the same way here.

19 m-llu-kilavin: Note one of the very few verbs compounded of verb + noun; luau: a Lenakel form.

27 (kona ie napwil) is an intrusion of a Bislama word kona; the South-west Tanna word nikis was remembered almost immediately afterwards. Note, however, that the Bislama loan adapts to the grammatical system — in this case, passive possession.

31, 33 The significance of the intestines remaining behind is not apparent to me.

6. VOCABULARY

6.1. South-west Tanna vocabulary

This section contains a list of almost eight hundred South-west Tanna lexical and grammatical morphemes. The grammatical category of each morpheme is given immediately after the morpheme itself: V = verb, A = adjective, N = noun, M = modifier. Where data are insufficient to decide whether a given morpheme is a verb or an adjective, the abbreviation V/A has been used. Morphemes without such a category indicator will generally be grammatical affixes of some kind.

Alphabetisation follows the English system; kw follows k, mw follows m, pw follows p, and i follows i. Subscript numerals identify homophonous but semantically unrelated forms (e.g. aan₁ 'to eat', aan₂ 'that (yonder)'). Different but related meanings of the same form are indicated by numerals (e.g. aiu '1. to flow; 2. to run').
Other abbreviations are as follows:

adj. adjective

cf. cross-reference to other items

exc. exclusive

inc. inclusive

intr. intransitive

k.o. kind of

LwB loan from Bislama

LwL loan from Lenakel

n. noun

obj. object

PRO marks possessive suffix

s.o. someone

sth. something

tr. transitive

var. variant of, allomorph of

voc. vocative

"..." form given thus can not be further specified

A

a- var. of am- continuative aspect prefix

aa₁ V var. of avin to go

aa₂ M var. of aan₂ that (yonder)

aalh V to laugh

aaml V to urinate

aam₂ V to see, to find

aan₁ V to eat (tr.)

aan₂ M that (yonder); ikₚₙ aan there

aap V to run away

agka N anchor (LwB)

ahipwu V to smash

ahu V to plant

ahum V to dive

ai M the, this, that (previously referred to)

aikuas V to wash sth.

ainéin V not to know, to be ignorant of

aiu V 1. to flow

2. to run

ak- concurrent aspect prefix

akapil V to break

aki V to scratch

aklhakin V to steal

akn- 1. inchoative aspect prefix

2. var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix

akua-, akuan- perfective aspect prefix

akw V to be blind; niml-n 1-akw he is blind

akwapwa V to be thirsty

akwas A old (of things)

akwasig M behind

akwatelukin V to stay and hide

akweuun V/A to be grey, of hair

akwi V to wash s.o., to bathe s.o.

akwilliın A full, of a thing

akwita V to sit

akwitakwita V/A to be round

akwilig V to speak harshly or crossly to

akwlha A yellow

al V 1. to swim

2. to wash oneself (intr.)

ala V to live, to dwell

alau N us (dual inc. obj.)

alel V to stand (intr.)

alha V to be awake

alia N them (plural obj.)
aliepomh A long
alisil N them (trial obj.)
aliu N them (dual obj.)
aliuan V/A to be warm
aliplaai V to split
alkipin V to push
alkitaait A small
aluki₁ V to throw
aluki₂ V to forget
am- continuative aspect prefix
amako V to dance (of women only)
amasil N us (trial exc. obj.)
amaua N us (plural exc. obj.)
amha V/A to be thick
ami V to urinate
amia N you (plural obj.)
amialil V to urinate
amilu N you (dual obj.)
amisil N you (trial obj.)
amililha V to dream
amiv V to heal
amkaliv V to be hungry
amkimik A dirty
amlimla A blue, green
amlu N us (dual exc. obj.)
amhaakw V to sweat
ammun V to drown, to sink (intr.)
amwa V to want, to intend
amwha V to suck
ankap M very, very much
apgapigm commonplace, of no importance
apien V to smell (intr.), to stink;
apien vha fragrant
apig A black
apil V to sleep
apomh A loud
apitig A wet
apual V to boil (intr.), to be boiling
apus V to be tired, exhausted
apwa₁ V to be bald
apwa₂ V to be cooked
apwa₃ location phrase introducer
apwa₄ A hard (= not soft)
apwanapwan A hard (= not soft) (cf. apwa₂)
apwupw V to clean out the mouth or clean one's teeth after eating
as V to bite; to burn (tr., of a fire)
asanin A strong
asiis A full (of a person) (cf. esiis)
asiisasiis A fat (adj.) (cf. asiis)
asim V to garden, to work in the garden
asipin V to circumoise
asik V to hit, to shoot, to pound
asiktaa V to open
asitilakin V to clench the teeth
asokw- V to go in a specified direction (must take a directional suffix)
atasil V us (trial inc. obj.)
ataua V us (plural inc. obj.)
atite V to go down, to descend
atiuun V to show
atimw V to pinch
atmunmün V to murmur, to mumble
-atukw 1. reciprocal suffix
2. reflexive suffix
aulupin V to go in, to enter
avhekin V to count, to read
avhiu V to build
avhlekin V to turn sth. over
avilig V/A thin
avin V to go
avki‘in V to drag
avlig V to wrap, to wrap up

e M this (near speaker); ikin e here

eai V 1. to float, to drift
  2. to swim (in a particular direction)
eaihakta V to float (cf. eai + -hakta)
eapin V to hunt
eau V to cry, to weep
ehiaq V to breathe
ehiaqehiaq V to pant (cf. ehiaq)
ehiu A sour
ehua A big, wide, fat
eikwa V to lie, to tell lies
eivi V to pull sth. out or aside
elag N a fly
elita V to be better, best; l-vha
  ankap m-eleta she is very beautiful
effa V to be lazy
elgaavh V to spit
elhakin V to look for
elhelha V to look back
elieti V to arrive, to reach
eliuok V to walk
elkwaig V to hide (intr.), to be hidden
elpwu V to snap, to break by snapping
eluelua V/A to be light (= not heavy)
em-, emn- var. of imn- past tense prefix
en M this, that (near addressee)
enmwan V to fall (of dew)
eneno V/A to be mad, crazy
epi- sequential aspect prefix
es V to copulate, to have sexual intercourse
esiis V to swell up, to be thick
esla A sharp
etagil V to cough
etamwheekw N place; etamwheekw kilikiana the same place
etapig V to shut, to close
etkwatukw A straight, right (= correct)
etout V to tie or wear a lava lava
euau V to go down, to descend
eukweukw V to blow strongly (of the wind)

faam V to be all; n-faam-ien everything
fakta N above
favtn M which?; ikin favtn where?
-fiu var. of -pihui northwards

gin V to fear, to be afraid

ha A bad
ha- V plural prefix
hai V to stab; niamha l-am-hai X X is angry
haimilen V to hurry
haio V to ask
hakta V to go up, to ascend
-hakta upwards, southwards
hau- interrogative prefix
-hau N  penis (ni-PRO-hau)
hauan A  white
hekīmeel V  to get up (as from sleeping)
hekīn V/A  sweet
hel V  to blow sth.; hel naiu to blow a conch
hen V  to call, to name
hetelakin V  to know (sth. or s.o.)
helapu V  to blow a fire (cf. hel)
hialma M  next
-hie where?
hospital N  hospital (LwB)
hualu₁ N  old man, husband
hualu₂ A  old (of persons)
haua A  red
hueihuaa M  fast, quickly
huopni V  to kill

ielan N  daytime, day as opposed to night
ielkī N  to the place of; ielkī nasi'mien to the garden
ielkwa'a N  middle
ielkwān N  in the bush
ielkwānu N  at, to, or in the village
ielkweha N  midday
ielmaa N  man (= male), husband
ielmaa M  person
ielmoou N  saltwater eel
iemasuul N  big man, chief
iemwa N  mother! (voc.)
iennai N  evening
Ienitēm N  Aneityum (or Anatom) (island)
iennpig N  night
iennpigini N  morning (cf. iennpig)
iennpigilu N  midnight (cf. iennpig)
iessaietik N  scorpion
ieta N  below
ietapeka N  shallow water, the shallows
ihī N  squid, octopus
ihie N  where?
iiel N  spider
iik N  you (singular)
iimwa N  at home, homewards
iimwa-, iimwai possessive-marker (location)
iimwalim N  dance-ground, kava-drinking area (Bislama nakalam)
iikin N  place, location; ikin e here; ikin aan there; ikin faiv where?
iikuplaah N  the Whitesands (eastern) side of Tanna (cf. -plaa)
il-, ila var. of ie case-marker
ilapteinin N  to hold
ilia N  they (plural)
ilisti N  they (trial)
iliu N  they (dual)
in N  he, she, it, him, her
iohu V  to jump down
iou N  I, me
ipaka N  near, nearby, close (to)
ipwai N  underworld; nal ipwai dream
isokw N  far
iva V  to fly, to jump

-ı construct possessive suffix
ıhuai V  to divide, to separate
ıkav V  to twist, to bend
ıkel V  to hang (intr.)
ılaı V  to cut
ılaı V  1. to wake up (cf. alha)
   2. to be born
ılig V  to perceive: thus to hear, to feel, to smell (sth.);
   i-ak-am-ılig l-apien I can smell it
ılılb V  to braid
ılılp V  to stand sth. upright
ılılpw V  to follow
ılkis V  to tie
ılkwilkin V  to sink or drown sth.
ılu₁ V  to hang (intr.); ılu-kilavin
   to hang like a flying-fox
ılu₂ V/A  to be deaf
ılu₂wilienl V  to fall like raindrops
ım- var. of ımn- past tense prefix
ıma, V  quotative verb, to say
   (Followed by a quotation)
ıma₂ M  only, just
ımah V  to be sore, to be in pain
ımhill V  to be sore (of the body)
ımi var. of ıma₂ only, just
ımig V  to pant, to be short of breath
ımılb V  to lie down

ımitl V/A  to be rotten
ımla V/A  to be cold
ımn- past tense prefix
ınliaal V  to speak
ıpiknap V  to be dark
ıpsaah V/A  many
ıpwia A  smooth
ırouapig V  to lightning (LwL)
ısanisian V  to pound
ıspıll V  to clean, to wipe;
   i-ak-am-ıspıll iou I am wiping myself, I am drying myself
ıta V  to leave, to let go
ıtu V  to put, to put down
ıvgin V  to feed, to eat (intr.)
ıvit V  to wash sth.
ıvkaa V  to defecate
ıvkasıvkaı V  to itch, to be itchy
ıvkıı V  to defecate on
ıvkıı V  to play
ıvısau V  to tell a story
ıvısık V/A  to be dry; ıvısık tukw X
   to look after X after his circumcision
ıvısıkıvısık A  hard (= not soft)
   (cf. ıvısık)
ıvtelakin V  to be narrow
ıvtetelakin V  to squeeze (cf. ıvtelakin)

K

k₁ first person inclusive prefix
k₂ third person non-singular prefix
k₃ instrumental prefix
-k my
ka- var. of k₃ instrumental prefix
kafa- var. of kape- possessive-marker and benefactive-marker
kaha N grandparent
kaka N brother! (voc.)
kakil N adze, digging-stick (cf. kil)
kalin M as in lim-n kalin his paternal uncle (i.e. one he calls father but not his true father)
kalpa N club (used in war)
kualua N thunder
kamaam N fish; kamaam-kapa-nukna porpoise
kapa- var. of kape- possessive-marker and benefactive-marker
kape-, kape 1. possessive-marker (unmarked)
2. case-marker, marking benefactive phrases
kapkin M 'like that'
-kapwa N head (kapa-PRO-kapwa)
kasaua N headrest, pillow
kasik N k.o. ant (large)
-kauga N chin (ni-PRO-kauga)
kavhevhuau N hat
kel N louse
kilavi N flying-fox
kilil N a fan
kipimah conjunction, 'if', marking past contrary-to-fact conditions
-kil var. of -kin transitive postclitic
kil V to dig
kilai N axe (cf. k-3 + ilai)
kilalu M two
kilau N we (dual inc.)
kilhiavin N shark
kililik M indefinite adjunct: a, some (cf. kilikiana)
kilikiana M 1. one
2. the same
kilkil V to blow gently (of the wind)
kilkip M five
kima like, as
kimasil N we (trial exc.)
kimaau N we (plural exc.)
kimhau N star
kimi case-marker, marking dative phrases
kimia N you (plural)
kimilu N you (dual)
kimisil N you (trial)
kimlu N we (dual exc.)
-kin transitive postclitic
kini conjunction, 'and', joining clauses
kinu N canoe, boat (LWB)
kipas N axe
kisalkwaskwah N baby bird
kisisil M three
kitasil N we (trial inc.)
kitaua N we (plural inc.)
kivlaiu N grasshopper
kom N a comb (LWB)
kona N corner (LWB)
kopwiel N stone
koupwa N fence
kovamitma N small child
-kua N anue (kapa-PRO-kua)
kuas M four
kuhu M how much?, how many?
kuhu- N father's sister, mother's sister, wife's mother
kuhuan N shellfish
-kula N brain (ni-PRO-kula)
kuli N dog

KW

kwa N chap, fellow (kwan before a vowel)
kwakwa A short
kwalei N sweet potato
kwaleikwalei N sweet potato (cf. kwalei)
kwalkkau N ridgepole
kwalm- N hand, arm, branch
kwan N var. of kwa chap, fellow
kwanagei N story, legend
kwanai N rafter(s)
kwanaikwanai N ankle; kwanaikwanai ie nuhu-k my ankle
kwanaikwaskwas N small rafters (cf. kwanai)
kwanakau N rib
kwanelaus N vein, sinew (cf. nelaus)
kwanemwın N earth-oven
kwanetan N small rafters
kwanhau N spear
kwanhel- N egg
kwanhelìn N bay, harbour
kwankkiatu N outrigger-boom of canoe
kwankwa- N seed, fruit
kwankwulkwul N stanchions on outrigger
kwanmetau N fish-hook
kwanmılıh N citrus
kwanouier- N testicle
kwanoukóuk N kidney
kwanpalam N arrow
kwannun- N seed of breadfruit
kwasìg₁ V to follow, to be or go behind
kwasìg₂ then, next
kwatatva N club (for killing pigs)
kwate V to stay
kwatetal N bamboo pipes (musical)
kwatıksıń M a few
-kwis associative suffix
kwiskwis M together (cf. kwis)
kwılpa N heel
kwılu N tooth
kwotavha N heart
kwughen N god
kwuh V to weave
kwuse M this, that (indicated)

L

1- third person singular prefix
la M now, then
la- dual prefix
laan V to dawn, to be light;
1-n-am-laan it is dawn(ing),
1-ua-laan it is already light
lai V to rub
- lakw N throat, front of neck (ni-PRO-lakw)
lamustahik N foam (in the sea)
lapalapa N lavalava, sarong (LwB)
lau N canoe, boat
-lau our (dual inc.)
lelig V to come back, to go back, to return
lenkalkal- N to, at or on the side of (cf. nikalkal-)
lh- trial prefix
lhi V to sew
-lia their (plural)
lielle N spiderweb, cobweb
lih V to collect shellfish
likamnum N deep water, the deep
-lisıl their (trial)
-liu their (dual)
ligpúal V to belch
lih V to carry
lihu V to put, to put down
liki- N mind, voice; liki-k 1-am-uh I am thinking
likinál N the bush
likwun V to know
lim- N father, father's brother
limi1 N float of outrigger
limus N seaweed
lipu- N grandparent
lkak V not to be, not to be there
lu M trying to; 1-am-ni-pin lu ... he is trying to say ...
lu a V to vomit
luantahik N lobster, crayfish
lúatu N north-east wind
lúatuamlaai N north wind
lúatumwitua N north-west wind
lukwaikamaam N freshwater eel
lukwanu N village
lukweha N broad daylight

m- same or identifiable subject prefix
-m your (singular)
magkou N mango (LwB)
makua N moon
mala M slowly
malamala M soft
mama N mother! (voc.)
mana N bird, chicken, fowl
mas V to be low tide
-masil our (trial exc.)
matukw M right (hand or side)
-maua our (plural exc.)
maul M left (hand or side)
melaimelai N rainbow
meligi conjunction, 'but', joining clauses
meliganai conjunction, 'because' joining clauses
mha V to die, to be sick
-mia your (plural)
-mil M dual marker in noun phrases
-milu your (dual)
JOHN LYNCH

n-1 second person prefix
n-2 1. var. of akuan- perfective aspect prefix
   2. var. of akn- inchoative aspect prefix
-n his, her, its
n-...-ien discontinuous nominalising affix
na-1 intentional prefix
na-2 possessive-marker (possession to be eaten)
nage N almond, canarium sp.
naghin N when? (past)
naha N what?
nahe- N breast, milk
naho N the day before yesterday
nai 1 N tree
nai 2 var. of na- possessive-marker (possession to be eaten)
nai 3 var. of nai- possessive-marker (possession to be planted)
nai- possessive-marker (possession to be planted)
naienhu- N shin, tibia
naiu N conch shell, conch trumpet
nakanmop- N liver
nakapun N net for fishing
nakwatana N valley
nakwokwa N book
nal N thing, something; nal mlagh animal; nal ipwai dream
nal- N child; used only in first and second singular — with other possessors the form ti- is used
nalam- N flame
namkimik N dirt (cf. amkimik)
namsu N story
namtigai N mud, swamp
namwan- N brother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son (woman speaking)
nanmw- N shadow, spirit (of a person)
napua N cloud
napw N fire
napwag- N hole in sth. (e.g. in tree, rock, but not a hole in the ground)
napwil N wall (of a house)
napwok N betel nut palm
natoga N east wind
nau N knife
nauga N meat, flesh
nayin- N sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter (man speaking)
neai N sky
nehe- N juice of; nehe nikien coconut water, coconut milk
nehen N rain
nekw N yam, year
nelam- N tongue
nelaus N rope
nelpul- N the top of
nelpwa N fat (n.), grease
neluankapien N war
nenmwan N dew (cf. enmwan)
nepin N clothes
nerouaiipien N lightning (LWL)
netetau N tattoo
nhag- N name
nhel- N mouth
nhenapw N smoke (cf. napw)
nheniml- M tears (cf. nehe-, niml-)
nhiksiil N the day before the day before yesterday (cf. kisasiil)
nhinakwa- N spittle
ni1 V to say; ni nipe to sing
ni2, ni- possessive-marker (possession to be drunk)
niaiku V to block, to prevent, to obstruct
nîmha N anger; nîmha l-am-hai X X is angry
nîv N yesterday
nîl- N thorn
nîmwa N house
nîmwa- N nest (of a bird)
nîvîn N a sail
nîgal N salt
nîk- N nape of the neck
nîkal- N side, edge
nîkalîkâl- N the side of
nîkap- N cheek
nîkava N kava
nîkavkañv- N wing
nîkien N coconut
nîkîlkîlîli- N bone
nîkîsi- N corner
nîkle- N 1. chest (anatomical)
2. roof (of a house)
nîkom no
nîkouisîl N midrib of a coconut frond
nîkigail N sandalwood (LWL?)
nîlîgîvi- N fingernail, toenail;
nîlîgîvî kwâl- fingernail;
nîlîgîvi nûhû- toenail
nîm V to drink
nîmataq N wind
nîmel N breadfruit
nîml- N hole (in the ground)
nîml- N eye, face; vah nîml- n to buy
nîmlakw N ashes
nîmlînhel- N jaw (possibly nîml + nhel-)
nîmokwîlîl N dust
nîmomweñhel- N beard (cf. nhel-)
nîmoptana N ground, island
nîmwañkilâlîl N beach, shore
nîmwañl- N leaf
nîmwanlîli- N buttocks
nîmwanvhañ N bow (weapon)
nîmwapw N a sore
nîmwatîvhañ N shelf
nîmweîtaa- N back
nîmweñmweñhel- N beard (cf. nhel-)
nîmweñmîl- N eyebrows (cf. nîml-)
nîpakkî N sand
nîpalnai N a stick (cf. nai1)
nîpê N song; nîpê to sing
nîpeñalap N west wind
nîpikou- N tail
nîpîq N day (= period of 24 hours),
time
nîpin N banyan
nîplaa- N body, trunk (of tree);
nîplaa- nai1 tree trunk
nîplïg- N navel
nîpwâñhig- N nose (cf. napwag-)
nîpwana N banana
nîpwana N forehead
nîpwatakînîva- N thigh
nîpwatakñuñ N neck (front and back)
nîsi- N excrement
nîsînañ N guts, intestines
nîsîu N lake
nîsîn- N mother
nîsîn- N father
nîtau N blood
nîtel N taro
nîtîp N basket
nîtukw N sugarcane
nîvea N a paddle
nîveîl N back of the head
nîvîlîhîk N grass; nîvîlîhîk ha weeds
(cf. mwanvilîhîk)
nîvîg- N bark (of a tree)
nîvsauñen N story (cf. ñvsau)
nîvsiluà N doorway
nivtai- N the (other) side of
noulahi- N younger sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but younger than speaker
noule- N older sibling of same sex as speaker; also, child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex but older than speaker
nu N fresh water
nua-1 N 1. shoulder
   2. neck, especially near the shoulder
nua-2 N root
nuhu- N leg, foot
nukna N poison, sorcery; kamaam-kapa-nukna porpoise
nukwa- N fruit
nukwaamu M a large number, very many, a crowd of
nukwanee- N hair (on the head)
nukwaskap N fire-stick
nukwtou N 1. k.o. bracken (Bislama blakpan)
   2. arrow (made from blakpan)
nukwul- N knee, elbow; nukwul-i kwalm- elbow; nukwul-i nahu- knee
nukwumus N hunger; nukwumus i-as iou I am hungry
num V to bury
numl- N hair (on the body), fur, feathers

0

ok V to call out; ok 1-apomh to call out loudly
okiahu V to be proficient at, to know how to do sth. well
oklhekin V to turn around;
i-ak-am-oklhekin iou I am turning around
okwaai V to pull weeds, to pull up grass

okwaakw V (of the eyes) to have cataracts
okwag V to be open
okwai V to weed
okwiaai V to be cold
okwiaaikwiaai V to shiver, to be feverish (cf. okwiaai)
okwite V to have yaws
okwlakwul V to be afraid
okwlen V to call out
okwnii V to poison fish
okwupwin, N in front of
okwupwin2 V to be or go in front of, to precede, to lead
ol V to do, to make
olhminakin V 'to be like that'
olipin V to follow
olkapkin V to be or do 'like that'
   (cf. ol + kapkin)
olkeikei V to want, to like
olpe V to dance (of men only);
   (cf. ol + nipe)
omwhen V to choose
ouaah yes
ouakil V to put one's arms around
ouiaak V to shed the skin
ouhiaa V to lose
outin V/A difficult, hard (≠ not easy)

p

pa N who?, whom?
peau N a wave
pi- var. of epi- sequential aspect prefix
pia- N 1. sibling of same sex, or child of father's brother or mother's sister of same sex — relative age not relevant
2. friend
pihualu N old woman (cf. pian + hualu)
pikatiti girl
pamila N to women (cf. pian, mil)
pi N var. of pilavun woman, wife
pianelmis widower
piaak N the east
pih N the north
-pihu northwards
pila N the west
pilavun N 1. woman, wife
2. father's sister's daughter (man speaking)
pi M a lot, very much
pilaah N the south
-pin away from speaker and addressee
pisasul N thumb (cf. pispis-)
pispis- N finger, toe; pispis-kwalm- finger; pispis-nuhu- toe
-plaah southwards (cf. pilaah)
-pna towards addressee
pnaal V/A big
pukah N pig
puakiakatiti N boy
purun N broom (LwB)
pus V/A blunt, dull

PW
-pwa towards speaker
pwah V to let, to allow
pwa N south/south-west wind
pwam V/A to be heavy
pwoupwauk N butterfly

T

s- plural prefix
siosio N tidal wave
si- V to come from a specified direction (must take a directional suffix)
sig V to wake s.o. up
sikavun N bêche-de-mer
su V to plant
suatukw N road, path
sul V to comb

t- future prefix
ta M already, finished, completed
tagalu N (sea)-snake
tahik N sea
takwtawanu N now
tapana N tobacco (LwB)
tapig N door
-tasil our (trial inc.)
tata N father! (voc.)
-taua our (plural inc.)
tavweta N mat
telhau V to go out
ti- N child (used with all possessors except first and second person singular, when nal- is used)
tihi- N flower
til V to string (as fish)
tila N mast
tigai V to swallow
tik V to hiccup; liki-k I-am-tik
   I am hiccupping
tiki- N skin, bark
tikinau N bamboo (cf. tik-i-, nau)
tiksul N some
timtim V to be high tide
tipage- N crotch
tipu N belly
tipweua N stomach
twpwouelua N lung(s)
toko then, and so, therefore
tokolau N south-east wind
touei N today
toulhaai N whale
tu- var. of t- future prefix
tukl- N the top of
tukw case-marker, marking
  1. dative phrases
  2. causative phrases
tukw- var. of t- future prefix
tukwas N mountain
tukwienakwamiN tomorrow
tukwmah conjunction, 'if', marking
  future conditions
tukwnaghin N when? (future) (cf. naghin)
tukwnaho N the day after tomorrow
  (cf. naho)
tukwnhiksil N the day after the day
  after tomorrow (cf. nhiksil)
tupwnhel- N lip (cf. nhel-)

U
u- dual prefix
ua1 V to come (towards speaker)
ua2 V 1. conjunction, 'or', joining
  noun phrases and clauses
  2. question-tag
ua- var. of akuan- perfective
  aspect prefix
  -ua N vagina (kapa-PRO-ua)
ualu V to crush with the teeth
unan- var. of akuan- perfective
  aspect prefix
uh V to hit, to strike, to fight;
  liki-k 1-am-uh I am thinking
uhum V/A to be closed, to be shut
uk- var. of ak- concurrent aspect
  prefix
ula V to come (to addressee)
uokw V (of a fire) to burn (intr.)
uokwus V to bear offspring (of
  an animal)
uun V to answer

V
vaan V to roast, to cook by roasting
  (tr.); (of person) to burn sth.
vah V to hold in the hand; vah
  niml-n to buy
vha1 N A good; apien vha fragrant;
vha ankap beautiful
vha2 V/A to be clean
vha- V to give (must take directional
  suffix; cf. vhapin, vhapna and
  vhapwa below)
vhapin V to give to him/her/it/them
  (cf. vha- + -pin)
vhapna V to give to you (cf. vha- +
  -pna)
vhapwa V to give to me/us (cf. vha-
  + -pwa)
vhiaak V to go east (cf. pihiaak)
  -vhiaak eastwards (cf. pihiaak)
v1 V to pull
v2 M new
vikin V to boil (tr.), to cook by
  boiling (tr.)
vikouiam V to sleepwalk
  -vila westwards (cf. pila)
vln N saltwater eel
vipin N to pour
vilaakw N stringray
vin V to go
vinis N flying-fish
6.2. English finder list

This list is merely an index to the South-west Tanna vocabulary in 6.1., and is not intended as a dictionary of any kind; the full meanings, grammatical categories, etc. of the South-west Tanna forms will be found in 6.1. and not in this section. Further, grammatical affixes, etc., have generally been omitted from this list.

The same abbreviations will be used as were used in 6.1. English verbs will be followed by 'to', and English nouns by 'a' when there may be some confusion as to whether verb or noun is intended (e.g. 'fly, to', 'fly, a'); when no confusion exists, 'to' and 'a' will not be used.

A

a kîliik
above fakta
adze kakîl
afraid gîn, okwlakwul
again mun
alive mlagh
all mufaam, faam
allow pwah
almond nage
already ta
anchor agka
and kîni, mîne
Aneityum lenîtim
anger nîamha
angry nîamha l-am-uh
animal nîl mlagh
ankle kwanaikwanai
answer uun
ant mwalamwala, kashk
anus kúa
arm kwalm-
arrive elieti
arrow kwapanalam, nukwtou
as kîma
ascend hakta
ashes nîmlakw
ask haio

aunt ku hu-
awake alha
axe kîpas, kîlai

B

back nîmweitaa-
back of head nîvel-
bad ha
bald apwa₁
bamboo tikinau
bamboo pipes kwatetal
banana nîpwan
banyan nîpin
bark (of tree) nîvîg-, tik-
basket nîtîp
bathe (tr.) akwi
bay kwanhelin
be behind kwasîg₁
be in front okuwîpin
be like that olkapkin, olhînakin
beach nîmwakîlakîl
bear offspring uokwus
beard nîwulmûlwînhel-, nîmînweînhel-
because melîginai
bêche-de-mer stkavh
behind akwastîg
belch ligupûal
belly  tipu-
bellow  ietana
bend  ikav
best  eleita
betel  napwok
better  eleita
big  pnaal, ehua
big-man  iemasuul
bird  mana, kisalkwaskwah
bite  as
black  apig
blind  akw
block, to  níahu
blood  nitau-
blow  kilkil, eukwekuw (wind); hel helapu
blue  amlima
blunt  pus
boat  kinu, lau
body  niplaa-
boil  vikin (tr.), apual (intr.)
bone  nikililiki-
book  nakwokwa
boom  kwantkiatu
born, be  ìlha
bow (weapon)  nimwanvhaga
boy  pukaliakatìt
bracken sp.  nukwtou
braid, to  ìlìl
brain  -kula
branch  kwalm-
breadfruit  nimel
break  akapil, elpwu
breast  nahi-
breathe  ehiag
broom  purum
brother  namwan-, noulahi- noule-, pia-, kaka
burn  as, vaan (tr.), uokw (intr.)
bury  num
bush, the  likinál, ielkwan
but  melig
butterfly  pwoupwauk
buttocks  nimwansii-
buy  vah niml-n

call  hen, ok, okwlen
canoarium sp.  nage
canoe  lau, kinu
carry  lih
cataracts  okwaakw
chap  kwa, kwan
cheek  nikap-
chest  niklee-
chicken  mana
chief  iemasuul
child  nal-, ti-, kovatìmta
chin  -kauga
choose  omwhen
circumcise  asigpin
citrus  kwamnlh
clean, to  ìspìil, apwupw
clean, be  vha₂
clench teeth  asìtìlakin
close to  ipaka
close, to  etapìg
closed  uhum
clothes  nepìg
cloud  napua
club  kalpa, kwatavha
cocnut  nikien
cold  okwiai, ìmla
collect  shellfish  lih
comb, to  sul
comb, a kom
come ua₁, ula, si- (from), lelig (back), iel (out)
commonplace apgapig
completed ta
conch shell naiu
cook vikin, vaan (tr.), apual (intr.)
cooked apwa₂
copulate es
corner nikis, kona
cough, to etagil
count avhekin
cousin noule-, noulahi-, -iel, pilavin
crayfish luantahik
crazy eneno
crotch tipage-
crowd, of nukwaau
crush ualu (with teeth)
cry eau (= weep), okwlen (= call)
cut ilai

d
dance olpe (men), amako (women)
dance-ground iimwalim
dark ipiknap
dawn, to laan
day nipig, ielan
daylight lukweha
daytime ielan
def deaf ilu₂
deep likummum
defecate ivkaa, ivkii
descend euaiu, atite
dew nenmwan
die mha
different ialmih
difficult ouitin
dig kil
digging-stick kakil
dirt namkimik
dirty amkimik
dive ahum
divide thuai
do ol
do like that okkapkin
dog kuli
door tapig
doorway nivsilua
dorsal fin -mwanip
downwards -iehou
drag avkikin
dream, a nal ipwai
dream, to amiliha
drift eai
drink nim
drown ilkwilkin (tr.), amnum (intr.)
dry tvsik
dry coconut nikien misia
dull pus
dust nimokwilul

e
ear mwatelg-
earth-oven kwanewin
earthquake mwig
east pihiaak
east wind natoga
eastwards -vhiiaak
eat aan₁, ivgin
edge nikal-
eel ielmoou, vin, lukwaikamaam
egg kwanhel-
elbow nukwulin
enter aulupin
evening ienaiu
excrement nisi-
exhausted apus
eye nimi-
eyebrows nimwuliniml-

F

face nimi-
fall mil₂, ilukwiliel; enmwan (dew)
fan, a kilil
far isokw
fast hueihuaa
fat, be ehua, asiisasiis
fat (=grease) nelpwa
father lim-, tata
fear, to gin-
feather numi-
feed, to ivgın
fellow kwa, kwan
fence koupwa
feverish okwiaikwiaai
few kwatiksın
fight uh
fin -mwaniıp
find aam₂
finger pıspıs-
fingemail niligivi-
finished ta
fire napw
fire-stick nukwlaskap
fish kamaam
fish-hook kwanmetau
five kilkilip
flame nalami-
flesh nauga

float, to eai, eaihakta
float, a limıl
flow aiu
flower tihi-
fly, to iva
fly, a elag
flying-fish vinis
flying-fox kilavin
foam lamustahik
follow ılpw, olıpın, kwası̂g₁
foot nuhu-
forehead nipwana-
forget alukın₂
four kuas
fowl mana
fragrant apien vha
friend pia-
in front okwupwin
fruit nukwa-, kwankwa-
full asiis, akwiliin
fur numi-

G
garden, to asım
garden, a nasımien
get up hekimteel
girl piakatı́t
give vha-, vhapın, vhapna, vhapwa
go vin, avın, a₁, asokw-
go back lelıg
go behind kwası̂g
go down euaiu, atıte
go east vhıaak
go in front okwupwin
go inside aulupın
go out telhau
go up hakta
god kwughen

good vha

grandchild mukupu-

grandparent lipu-, kaha

grass mwanvihilik, nivhilik

grasshopper kivlaiu

grease nelpwa

great-grandchild mukupuka

green amimla

grey (hair) akweuun

ground nimoptana

guts nisinau-

H

hair nukwanee- (head), numl- (body)

hand kwalm-

hang ìlu₂, ìkel, ìlu-kilavín

harbour kwanhelín

hard ìvistikivsik, apwa₂, apwanapwan (not soft), outin (not easy)

hat kavhevhau

he in

head -kapwa, nível-

heal amív

hear ìlig

heart kwotavha

heavy pwam

heal kwilpas

her(s) in, -n

here ikín e, ikín en, -pwa, -pna

hicoup tik

hide (intr.) elkwaig

hidden akwatelukín

high tide, be timtím

him in

his -n

hit uh, asik

hold vah, ilaptelakín

hole nímil, napwag-

home(wards) iimwá

hook kwanmetau

hospital hospital

hot apwa₁

house nimwá

how much/many? kuhu

hunger nukwumus

hungry nukwumus l-as, amkalív

hunt eapín

hurry haimilín

husband hualu, ielmáan

I

I iou

if tukwamah, kipimah

indefinite kilílik

intend amwa

intestines nisinau-

island nimoptana

it in

itch ívkasívkas

its -n

J

jaw nímlinhel-

juice nehe-

jump íva, iohu

just ímá₂, ími

K

kava níkava

kava-drinking area iimwalim

kidney kwanoukóuk

kill huopnii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>nukwul-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>nau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>likwun, hetelakin; okiahu (well); ainéin (not know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louse</td>
<td>kel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low tide, be</td>
<td>mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lung(s)</td>
<td>tipwoeluela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>nislu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>aalh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lava lava</td>
<td>lapalapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>elfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead, to</td>
<td>okwupwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>nimwal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave</td>
<td>telhau, ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left (hand)</td>
<td>maul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>nuhu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legend</td>
<td>kwanagei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let</td>
<td>pwah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let go</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie (tell)</td>
<td>eikwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie (down)</td>
<td>imil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light</td>
<td>eluelua (not heavy), laan (not dark)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lightning, to</td>
<td>irouapig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>neroualipien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like, to</td>
<td>olkeikel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like (= as)</td>
<td>kima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'like that'</td>
<td>kapkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lip</td>
<td>tupwnhel-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>mlahg (= alive), ala (= dwell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>nakanmop-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobeter</td>
<td>luantahik</td>
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<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>ikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>aliepomh</td>
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<tr>
<td>look</td>
<td>elhakín (for), elhelha (back)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ivsik (after)</td>
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<td>lose</td>
<td>oulhiaa</td>
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<td>a lot</td>
<td>pik</td>
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<td>loud</td>
<td>apomh</td>
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<td>mad</td>
<td>enoeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man/male</td>
<td>ielmaan</td>
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<tr>
<td>mango</td>
<td>magkou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manioc</td>
<td>mwaiako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>ipsaah, nukwaau</td>
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<tr>
<td>mast</td>
<td>tila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>tavheta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>iou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>nauga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midday</td>
<td>ielkweha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>ielkwaa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midnight</td>
<td>iepigilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midrib</td>
<td>nikouisil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>nahi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mind</td>
<td>liki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>makua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>iepigienpig</td>
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<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>mumuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>nisín-, mama, iemwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>kuhu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>tukwas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>nhel-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mud</td>
<td>namtigai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumble</td>
<td>atmunmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### South-west Tanna Grammar Outline and Vocabulary

| N |  
|---|---|
| nakamal | iimwālim |
| name, to | hen |
| name, a | nhag- |
| nape | nīk- |
| narrow | ivtelakin |
| navel | nīplig- |
| near | ipaka |
| neck | nīk-,-lakw, nua-3 |
| nīpwatakua- 
negative verb | apwh₁ |
| nest | nimwa- |
| net | nākapan |
| new | vi₂ |
| next | hialma, kwasi₉ |
| night | ienpig |
| no | nīkom |
| north | pihu |
| north wind | lūatūamlaai |
| north-east wind | lūatu |
| northwards | -pihu, -fiu, -iehou |
| north-west wind | lūatumwitua |
| nose | nīpwagnhig- |
| not | apwh₁ |
| not to be | l̪akak |
| not to know | ainein |
| not to want | apwh₂ |
| now | la, takwtakwun |
| octopus | ihi |
| old | hualu, akwas |
| old man | hualu |
| old woman | piahualu |
| one | kīlikiana |
| the one who | iame |
| only | ūma₂, ūmi |
| open, to | asikt’aa |
| open, be | okwag |
| or | ua₂ |
| our (exc.) | -mlu, -masil, -maua |
| our (inc.) | -lau, -tasil, -tau |
| outrigger | limil (float), kwaniklatu (boom) |
| oven | kwanemwin |
| paddle, a | nivea |
| pain, be in | imha |
| pandanus | mwankuiu |
| pant | imig, ehiagehiag |
| path | suatukw |
| penis | -hau |
| perceive | ̓ilig |
| person | ielmama |
| pig | pukah |
| pillow | kasaua |
| pinch | atimw |
| pipes (musical) | kwatetal |
| place (noun) | etamwheekw, ikin, ielki- |
| plant, to | ahu, su |
| play | ivkil |
| poison | nukna |
| poison, to | okwnii |
| porpoise | kamaam-kapa-nukna |
| pound, to | asik, isianisian |
| pour | vipin |
| precede | okwupwin |
| prevent | nlahu |
| proficient | okiahu |
| pull | vi₁, eivi, okwaai |
| push | alkipin |
| put (down) | ̇lhu, ̇tu |
| put arms around | ouakil |
Q
quick(ly) hueihuaa

R
rafters kwanaï, kwanetan, kwanaikwaskwas
rain, to p
rain, the nehen
rainbow melaimelai
rat iahukw
reach elieti
read avhekin
red huau
refuse, to apwah₂
return lelig
rib kwanaïkau
ridgepole kwalkwau
right (hand) matukw
right etkwatukw (= correct)
river iapiuan
road suatukw
roast, to vaan
roof nïklee-
root nua-₂
rope nelaus
rotten imitat
round akwitakwîta
rub lai
run aïu
run away aap

S
sail, a nivin
salt nîgal
same kilikiana
sand nîpakîl
sandalwood nîkîps
sarong lapalapa
say ni₁, ima₁
scorpion iesaïetik
scratch, to aki
sea tahiïk
seaweed limus
see am₂
seed kwanka-, kwanun-
separate, to ñhuai
sew ñhi
shadow nanmw-
shallow ietapeka
shark kilhiavîn
sharp esla
she in
shed skin ouiak
shelf ñîmwatîvhaïa
shellfish kuhuan
shin naïenhu-
shiver okwiaïkaïaaï
shoot aïk
shore ñîmwakîlakîl
short kwakwa
short of breath ìmig
shoulder nua-₁
show atiiuun
shut, to etapïg
shut, be uhum
sibling of same sex pia-, noulahi-, noule-
sick mha
side nîkal-, nîkalakal-, lenkalkal-, nîvtaï-
sinew kwanelaus
sing ni₂ nipe
sink ìlkwïlîkin (tr.), amnum (intr.)
sister nauin-, noulahi-, noule-, pla-
sit akwita
skin tiki-
sky neai
sleep apil
sleepwalk vikouiam
slow(ly) mala
small alkititi
smash ahipwui
smell, to apien (intr.), ilig (tr.)
smoke nhenapw
smooth ipwia
snake tagalua
snap elpwu
so toko
soft malamala
some tiksini, kilik
something nal
song nipe
sorcery nukna
sore, be imha, imhil
sore, a nimwapw
sour ehiu
south pilaah
south wind pwai
south-east wind tokolau
southwards -plaah, -hakta
south-west wind pwai
speak inkiaaal
spear, a kwanhau
spider mwakali, iielia
spiderweb lielie
spirit nammw-
spit elgaavh
spittle nhinakwa-
split aliplaai

squeeze ivtetelakin
squid ihi
stab hai
stanchions kwankwulkwul
stand alei (intr.), ilip (tr.)
star kimhau
stay kwate, akwatelukin
steal aklhakin
stick, a nipalnai
stingray vilaakw
stomach tipweua
stone kopwiel
story kwanagei, namsu, nivsauien
straight etkwatukw
strike uh
string, to til
strong asanin
suck amwha
sugarcane nitukw
sun mil
swallow tigai
swamp namtigai
sweat, to amnhaakw
sweet hekin
sweet potato kwalei, kwaleikwalei
swell up esiis
swim al, eai

T
tail nipikou-
talk harely akwlig
tapioca mwaiako
taro nitel
taste apwaihasigivin
tattoo netetau
tears nheniml-
tell lies  eikwa
tell story  ivsau
testicle  kwanouier-
that  mīma, aan₂, aₐ₂, ai, en, kwuse
the  ai
their  -lia, -lisīl, -liu
them  aliu, alīsīl, alia
then  la, toko, kwāsi₂
there  ikīn en, ikīn aan₂, -pīn, -pna
therefore  toko
they  iliu, ilisīl, ilia
thick  esīis, amha
thief  iaklha
thigh  nipwatakência-
thin  awilīg
thing  nai
think  līkī-n l-am-uh
thirsty  akwapwa
this  e, en, ai, kwuse
thorn  nilh-
three  kīsīsīl
throat  -lakw
throw  alūkīn₁
thumb  pīsasuuul
thunder  kalualua
tibia  naienhu-
tidal wave  siosio
tide  mas (be low), timtim (be high)
tie  iltis, etout
time  nipīg
tired  apus
tobacco  tapaka
today  toueì
toe  pīspsīs
toenail  niligivi-
together  -kwis, kwiskwis, mukwis
tomorrow  tukwienakwamin

tongue  nelam-
tooth  kwīlu-
top  nelpul-, tukl-
tree  nai₁
trunk  nīpłaa-
trying to  lu
turn  oklhekīn (self), avhlekīn (sth.)
turtle  iakw
twist  iltkav
two  kīlalu

uncle  mīla-, līm- kalīn
underworld  ipwai
unimportant  apgapīg
upwards  -hakta
urinate  aam₁, ami, amialil
us (exc.)  amlu, amasīl, amaua
us (inc.)  alau, atasīl, ataua

vagina  -ua
valley  nakwatana
vein  kwanelaus
very  ankap, pīk, eleita
village  lukwanu, ielkwana
voice  iltik-
volcano  iahul
vomit  lua
W

wake up  i̋ha (intr.), sîg (tr.)
walk  eliuok
wall  napwil
want  olkeikei, amwa; apwah₂ (not want)
war  neluankapien
warm, be  aliuan
wash  ivate, aikuaas (sth.), al (self), akwi (s.o.)
water  nu
wave, a  peau, siosio
we (exc.)  kîmlu, kîmasîl, kîmaua
we (inc.)  kîlau, kîtasîl, kîtaua
wear  lavalava  etout
weave  kwuh
web  lie lie
weed, to  okwai
weeds  nivhîlık ha
weep  eau
west  pilâ
west wind  nîpelaap
westwards  -vîla
west, be  aptîg
whale  touilhaai
what?  nahâ
when?  naghin (past), tukwnaghîn (future)
where?  -hie, ihie, ikîn favîn
which?  favîn
white  hauan
Whitesands  ikuplaah
who?  pa
whom?  pa
wide  ehua
widower  pianielmîs
wife  pilavîn, pian
wind  nîmataag

wing  nîkavkav-
wipe  ispîl
woman  pilavin, pian, piamîl
work in garden  asîm
worm  mwatîkalo
wrap (up)  avlîg

Y

yam  nekw
yaws, have  okwîte
year  nekw
yellow  akwlha
yes  ouaah
yesterday  niîv
you  iik, kîmilu, amîlu, kîmîsîl, amîsîl, kîmîa, amîa
your  -m, -milu, -misîl, - mia
NOTES

1. See Lynch (1978a:718-719) for further discussion and elaboration.

2. I was unable to elicit any name for this dialect. The tribal group who speak it are known as the Nelpwaai-mîne (-mîne being an associative suffix used in tribal names), and this is where the name Nelpwaai comes from. Nîvhaal and Nîvai are, however, names of the dialects.

3. My own data (Lynch 1978a:720) show a higher figure (73%) between the Nîvhaal dialect and Lenakel, but this is almost certainly due to elicitation in Lenakel.

4. Research was supported by the East-West Center and the University of Papua New Guinea. I would like to thank Terry Crowley for his comments on an earlier draft of this grammar.

5. Of the 'dento-alveolar' sounds, t and s are dental, and the others are alveolar (but see also the discussion concerning v and r). The symbol g is used for the velar nasal [ŋ] since this is the common symbol in the orthographies of many of the languages of Vanuatu; all of the languages of Southern Vanuatu use g for [ŋ]. The phonological rules of South-west Tanna are very similar to those of Lenakel, of which Lynch (1975) is a detailed description.

6. The phonemic status of the mid central vowel was not recognised by early missionaries in designing orthographies for the Tanna languages, and so no traditional symbol exists; the symbol ✤ is used in publications on Lenakel (see bibliography), and is used here for that reason.

7. The phoneme /h/ is not considered a non-vowel in the devoicing environment where it undergoes crasis with a preceding consonant; thus /oklhekîn/ [oklEkon] 'to turn' is considered to have a medial cluster of only two consonants.

8. It should also be pointed out here that / ✤ / is the only vowel which may not occur word-finally.

9. Theoretically, a class of exclamations/interjections should be included as a fifth major class including, inter alia, ouaah 'yes', nîkom 'no', and a number of other items. I have decided to dispense with any detailed treatment of these items in this grammar outline. Conjunctons and case-marking prepositions are not treated as major word classes, and are discussed in the appropriate subsections of section 4.

10. Sound correspondences established in Lynch (1978a) include the following: Proto-Oceanic *t > South-west Tanna (Nîvhaal) t, *d > l, *p > v, *m > m, *n > n, *g > g, *s > h, *q and *k lost in some environments. This accreted initial vowel is a feature of the whole Southern Vanuatu subgroup (Lynch 1978a:757), and the fact that it once must have been a prefix can also be shown by an examination of the verb in sie (Erromango) (Lynch 1981b). However, I have not as yet been able to assign a clear function to it in the languages of the subgroup.

11. The homophony between the 1IN and 3NSG forms is not a peculiarity of South-west Tanna but is found in all the languages of Tanna.
12. See Lynch (1978a:758) for a suggestion that this marker derives historically from the Proto-Oceanic conjunction *ma 'and'.

No tense/aspect markers appear in many of the verbs given in the examples in this section. These examples mainly come from narrative discourse; and in any context where the tense/aspect is obvious, it need not be overtly marked. In fact, tense/aspect markers rarely follow the prefix m-, for this very reason.

13. There is some evidence that South-west Tanna /h/ has recently moved further leftwards in words, so that some cases of medial /h/ have subsequently moved to initial position. Compare South-west Tanna helapu 'blow a fire', nhe- 'smoke', kuhu 'how many', and mha 'sick, die' with Whitesands (East Tanna) ahlapu, nah-, kuvah, and m̃ respectively. The evidence needs to be further examined; however, if there was a general leftward shift of /h/, it may explain why the /h/ is virtually ignored in the morphophonemics of the number prefixes.

14. Compare these suffixes with the locative nouns pihu 'the north', pīlah 'the south', pihiaak 'the east', and pīla 'the west'.

15. Note that since eliuok is not a verb of specific motion (i.e. it implies no specific direction), (75) can not mean *'Where are you walking?'.

16. Apart from the expected phonological differences (e.g. r for Nivhaal 1), Nivai dialect pronoun forms show one significant difference from the Nivhaal forms: the presence of an initial i in the focal non-singular pronouns – e.g. ikarau lIN:DU, ikanuru lEX:DU, ikanimisir 2TR, etc.

17. The Ø allomorph is represented here in examples (84) and (85) in order to illustrate this deletion; in other examples elsewhere in the text, however, it will not be written in.

18. See, for example, Lynch (1973, 1981a) and Pawley (1973) for a discussion of this.

19. The fact that the basic meaning of ielmāan is 'man' and that of pilavīn is 'woman' is relevant here.

20. The Nivai dialect seems to show a greater range of use of the 3SG allomorph -ni: the small amount of data I have available suggests that -ni is used with all kinship terms which take direct possession, while -n is used with non-kinship terms in direct possession.

21. In previous discussions of the grammar of Tanna languages (e.g. Lynch 1978b), this class was labelled 'adjectives'. However, the similarity between 'adjectives' and 'adjectives' is such that I have substituted the term 'modifier' for 'adjectival'.

22. Numerals between six and nineteen are formed by compounding on the base 'five' and using the ligature m̃i: thus kīlkīlīp-m̃i-kīlkīlīp-m̃i-kīlalu 'twelve'. Twenty is formed on the base l-lkak ielmama (3SG-not:be person): l-lkak ielmama kīlkīkiana m̃i-kuas (literally, one person is not, and four) 'twenty-four'. Needless to say, numerals above five are not frequently used, having largely been replaced in normal conversation by borrowings from Bislama.
23. Noun-initial n derives historically from a Proto-Oceanic article *na. In the Tanna languages, this *na has been fused at the beginning of many nouns in the form n or n + vowel, and it is now part of the noun. In South-west Tanna, 36.5% of the nouns listed in the vocabulary in section 6 begin with n; the next most frequent initial phonemes are i with 11.7% (cf. i- 'agentive prefix'), k with 11.4% (cf. k- 'instrumental prefix'), and kw with 9.1%.

24. Recall the discussion in 3.1.1.11. above where it was pointed out that, in a transitive clause, certain verbs require the transitive postclitic -kfn (e.g. gin in (138)), while others do not (e.g. aan in (136), as in (137)).

25. This question-type is really a reduction of an alternative sentence (see 4.4.2.3. below): "That man killed a pig in the village or (he didn't kill a pig in the village)?" It is convenient, however, to treat such questions as simple rather than complex sentences.

26. The conjunction meligina 'because' looks formally like a compound of melig 'but' + in 3SG + ai DEM:PR, and comparative evidence suggests that this is correct: cf. Lenakel merouinka 'because' (merou 'but', in 3SG, ka DEM:PR). However, the form in South-west Tanna seems to be monomorphemic synchronically (as do its cognates in Lenakel and other Tanna languages).

27. It is possible that the conjunction is (or was) m-ima (AND-quotative: verb); again, there is some comparative evidence for this, though the form is synchronically monomorphemic.
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ANEJOM GRAMMAR SKETCH
John Lynch

0. Introduction

Anejom

Anejom, or Aneityumese, is the only language of Aneityum, the southernmost of the islands of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides). In the early period of research into the languages of Oceania, Anejom was comparatively well-known: the language had been studied by the early Presbyterian missionaries, and a dictionary and grammatical sketch was published exactly a century ago (Inglis 1882); the whole bible was translated; and an abridged Pilgrim's Progress and other religious material were printed in the language. These missionary materials formed the basis for later studies of the language (Gabelentz 1861-73, Codrington 1885, Kern 1906, Ray 1926).

However, with the drastic reduction in the population of the island, Anejom lost any prestige it might otherwise have had, and little linguistic study has been undertaken this century. Hewitt's (1966) phonological and lexical study is the only recent published work on the language. At the same time, considerable change — phonological, grammatical, and lexical — has clearly taken place in the language since Inglis' publication.

For these reasons, it is important that what is known of the language be made available. This is perhaps even truer of Anejom than of other Melanesian languages in a similar state of linguistic neglect: Anejom has a complex historical phonology, but perhaps of even greater interest to Oceanic linguists is the fact that Anejom is one of the very few Melanesian languages to favour a sentence order verb + object + subject.

Data

My original intention was to edit an unpublished manuscript grammar sketch of Anejom, written by Arthur Capell in the early 1960s, and entitled 'A Re-Study of the Language of Aneityum, New Hebrides'. Capell's "grammar sketch was based largely, though not by any means entirely, on the printed [Bible] translation", while the phonemic sketch was "based on the language as spoken at the present day" (Capell MS:2). However, since the publication of Hewitt (1966), and of a few notes on the phonology and grammar based on my own initial contact with the language (Lynch 1976), it is clear that Capell's phonology is not wholly accurate. At the same time, Capell uses for his grammatical description a framework, deliberately experimental, which for those who do not already know something about the language is quite hard to follow. Since I was able to...
elicit a certain amount of Anejom data while working on other languages of Southern Vanuatu, I felt it was worthwhile to try to write a grammar sketch based on modern Anejom, although I have added information from Capell's MS where necessary. There are a large number of gaps in this sketch, but my intention has simply been to make accessible what is currently known about the language.

Organisation and abbreviations

The sections which follow examine the phonology, the morphological structure of bases or major morphemes, and the structure of phrases, clauses, and sentences. Section 6 provides a text elicited in 1981 from a young Anejom-speaker. Where quoting directly from Capell's MS, I use ordinary quotations but source them simply with the letter C followed by the page number(s). In addition, I have re-phonemicised some of Capell's examples according to the phonological analysis presented in section 1; no specific note is made when Capell's examples have been re-phonemicised, even in direct quotations from his MS.

The following abbreviations are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>first, second, third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT</td>
<td>referential preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbial particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSERT</td>
<td>assertive particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Capell (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>construct suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEIC</td>
<td>deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>echo-subject prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAR</td>
<td>far deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT/HOR</td>
<td>future/hortative/ subjunctive particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.o.</td>
<td>kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC:STM</td>
<td>locative subject/tense/mood particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>mid deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG:IMP</td>
<td>negative imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>near deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS:DRINK</td>
<td>drink possession marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS:EAT</td>
<td>eat possession marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF</td>
<td>previous reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>subject-marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STM</td>
<td>subject/tense/mood particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

This analysis of Anejom phonology is based largely on Hewitt's (1966) published study and on my own analysis (largely unpublished, though see Lynch 1976). The phonemes of Anejom, as established by both Hewitt and myself, are as follows:

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Velarised</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives, voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives, voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The orthography used is that of the mission translations – which is the system currently used today – with the addition of the three phonemes /b m n/ not recognised by mission translators. A fuller discussion of the orthography may be found in 1.4. below; for the moment, note that b represents /p/ , c represents /t/ , d represents /d/ , g represents /n/ , and m represents /m/. 

1.1. Consonants

Anejom has twenty consonant phonemes, which are discussed according to manner of articulation below.

**Stops.** Stops "voice completely when flanked by vowels, and at least partially when following a voiced consonant" (Hewitt 1966:4). In other environments, the stops are voiceless, but lenis. The palatal stop in fact occurs strongly affricated ([e], [j]) in most environments, retaining its stop character ([t], [d]) only when followed by the nasals m and g. Velarised and simple bilabial stops are in contrast (as they are in other languages of the region):
Hewitt (1966:12) mentions the apparent neutralisation of the velarised/simple contrast before the back rounded vowel /o/, but this in fact seems to be an incorrect interpretation, as examples like the following show:

(2) /abos/ [ˈabəs] 'carry'

Fricatives. Fricatives show a voicing distinction only in the labial series, voiceless labiodental /f/ contrasting with voiced labiodental /v/:

(3) /nefatimi/ [ncfadımi] 'old man'
/nevatimi/ [nɛvadımi] 'which man?'

The voiceless interdental fricative /d/ ([θ]) contrasts with the voiceless apicodental fricative /s/:

(4) /adgaŋ/ [ˈɑθnaŋ] 'put on head'
/asga/ [ˈɑsna] 'all'
/edei/ [ˈɛθei] 'chew'
/esej/ [ˈɛseɛj] 'three'

The remaining fricatives are the voiced velar fricative /c/ ([ɣ]) and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, realised as a glottal stop in preconsonantal position.

Nasals. The nasals show a five-way contrast similar to that found in the stops. Contrast between velarised and simple bilabial nasals is clear, and again this contrast is found before /o/ as well (contra Hewitt 1966:12):

(5) /Ma/ [ˈmə] 'be murky, unclear'
/ma/ [ˈmɑ] 'be ripe, of fruit'
/inm̱oso/ [ˈinm̱oso] 'fog'
/inmohoc/ [ˈinm̱ohɔ] 'moon'

Contrast between the alveolar, palatal, and velar nasals is also clear, and carries a relatively high functional load:

(6) /anag/ [ˈɑnanaŋ] 'many'
/aŋaŋ/ [ˈaŋaŋ] 'I'
/agag/ [ˈaŋaŋ] 'swim'
Liquids. The two liquids, voiced dental lateral /l/ and voiced alveolar flap /r/, are in clear contrast:

(7)  /alou/  [ˈalou]  'vomit'
     /a례urei/  [ʔaɾouˈɾei]  'tie up'

Semivowels. There are two semivowel phonemes /w/ and /y/. Their status as consonant phonemes independent of the high vowels will be discussed in sections 1.2. and 1.3. below.

1.2. Vowels

Anejom has a five-vowel system similar to that found in many other Oceanic languages. The unconditioned allophones of the vowels are lax: [1], [u], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [a]. The conditioned allophones are discussed below.

The high front vowel /i/ is tense [i] in a number of environments: adjacent to a vowel; finally; or before a palatal consonant. Similarly, the high back vowel /u/ is tense [u] adjacent to a vowel. Both high vowels are long and tense when geminate (i.e. /ii/ = [iː] and /uu/ = [uː]).

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ occur tense [e] and [o] when before /i/, and /o/ is also tense before /u/. The mid front vowel /e/ has a central allophone [ə] when before the velar fricative /c/. Both mid vowels, and also the low vowel /a/, have a palatal offglide when they occur before the palatal consonants /j/ and /ɾ/.

Some examples of the various allophones of the vowel phonemes are given below:

(8)  /intal/  [ʔindal]  'taro'
     /nadiat/  [nahiˈat]  'day, daytime'
     /iжиnis/  [ʔiʃiniz]  'up, above'
     /nakia/  [nakiˈa]  'outtrigger-boom'
     /anlii/  [ʔanliː]  'inside'
     /itjuu/  [ʔidjúː]  'fall'
     /nahou/  [náhou]  'turtle'
     /nahoj/  [náhoˈtʃ]  'k.o. betelnut'
     /etec/  [ʔedʃɨ]  'be, stay'
     /esej/  [ʔeʃeˈtʃ]  'three'
     /añak/  [ʔaˈnak]  'I'
     /nupun/  [núbun]  'thorn'

"In the present day spoken language there is a strong tendency to lower many of the /i/’s ... to [e] [i.e. to [ɛ]:ʃ] ... . The /o/ on the other hand is tending towards [u]" (C:3). In addition to these tendencies, clear also in Hewitt’s lists and in my data, there is also considerable confusion, even in
the speech of a single informant, between /ai/ and /ei/ and between /au/ and /ou/. At the moment, however, insufficient data are available to comment further on these developments.

Two other points require mentioning in connection with the Anejom vowels. The first is that word-initial vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop (which also occurs intervocally in the interjection /a'∅/ [ʔaʔɔ] 'no'); there are a number of examples of this in (8) above. The other point concerns the contrast between the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the corresponding semivowels /y/ and /w/. In Hewitt's (1966) phonological study,

the major unresolved problem involves the classification of glides. ... Phonetically some high vocoids seem as likely to be unstressed vowels as semivowels. This is further complicated by variant pronunciation. Bi-syllabic /nadyat/ 'daytime' is as acceptable and as likely to occur as tri-syllabic /nadiat/ (1966:13)

On the basis of the behaviour of geminate clusters as opposed to clusters of /yi/ and /wu/, however, Hewitt concludes that it is preferable to posit /y/ and /w/ as semivowel phonemes in contrast with /i/ and /u/.

1.3. Phonotactics

Although no detailed study of Anejom phonotactics has been carried out, some general statements can be made. Normally, words may begin either with a vowel or a consonant, and may end with either a vowel or a consonant. However, not more than one consonant may appear initially or finally, and not more than two consonants may cluster medially. Within a syllable, two vowels may occur as a diphthong (involving either high vowel + non-high vowel, low vowel + non-low vowel, or mid vowel + high vowel). No obvious prohibited combinations of vowels across syllable-boundaries have been observed, nor does the data show any clear prohibitions on consonant + consonant or consonant + vowel sequences; some of Hewitt's statements in this regard have been shown, by the collection of further data, to be invalid.

The significance of gemination in [Anejom] remains uncertain. The Dictionary [i.e. Inglis 1882] gives a number of words with or without geminated consonants, such as /'netto/ or /'neto/, 'sugar cane'. ... At the present day it does not seem to occur. Forms such as uYe, uYYe, 'thus' are listed but the former is more generally heard .... It is possible that such variations were originally present, but dialectal (from the viewpoint of the missionaries' chosen headquarters). There are, however, no records of dialectal variation on any large scale" (C:5).

Hewitt and I both recorded the glottal stop allophone of /h/ in preconsonantal position, and Hewitt's only other remarks on consonant gemination are that "no geminate consonants have yet been verified" (Hewitt 1966:12). On a number of occasions, however, I found myself writing now a geminate consonant, now /h/ + consonant, and as my research continued I leaned more and more to the geminate consonant interpretation. Thus what I originally heard as /ahtaj/ [ʔaʔtaʔɛ] 'they (trial)' I later felt was /attaj/ [ʔaʔtaʔɛ], and similarly with some, but by no means all, examples of /h/ + consonant in the data. This problem of consonant gemination is one which requires further investigation.
Gemination in vowels, however, is much more clearcut. It seems that all vowels may occur geminate, though /ii/ is by far the most frequent. Geminate vowels tend to be longer and, in the case of non-low vowels, tenser than their ungeminated equivalent.

Finally, phonotactic evidence gives support to the interpretation of \[y\] and \[w\] as separate semivowel phonemes rather than as allophones of /i/ and /u/. Hewitt notes, for example, that portions of Anejom 'words' appear to have nominalising function. Many 'nouns' with initial /n-/ or /in-/ are 'derived' from 'verbs' or 'adjectives' by means of these prefixes [and cf. 2.2.1. below]. ... [Her] examples demonstrate that /n-/ occurs before vowels, and /in-/ before consonants. Pertinently, glide initial forms do show the consonantally selected allomorph of the prefix. (Hewitt 1966:13)

e.g. /yubal/ 'tell a story', /inyubal/ 'story'.

1.4. Orthography

The orthography used in this grammar sketch is based largely on that developed by the Presbyterian mission in the last century, and used in mission and other publications on the language. The orthography is similar, at least in basic principles, to that developed around the same time for Fijian: one symbol for one significant sound, with otherwise unused Roman letters being used for single consonant phonemes (cf. Fijian c, g, q, etc.).

The five vowels occasion no real problem, with each of the symbols having their 'expected' realisation. The problem for those unfamiliar with Anejom, however, lies in the consonants. Of these, three do not appear at all in the mission literature: the velarised bilabial stop /b/, the velarised bilabial nasal /m/, and the palatal nasal /m/. Of the other consonant symbols, /p t k f v s h m n l r w y/ call for little comment. The remaining four symbols, however, should be briefly commented on.

The symbol j is used for the alveopalatal affricate (Capell uses c for this in his MS). The symbol d is used for the interdental fricative (Capell uses θ): I have retained the old mission symbol, at least partly because the most logical alternative, the digraph th, is unsatisfactory, sequences of /t/ + /h/ being permissible (e.g. /intaketha/ [ʔindagētha] 'woman'). The symbol g, as in so many languages of Oceania, represents the voiced velar nasal; Capell's MS shows η. Finally, the symbol c represents the voiced velar fricative (Capell's γ).

1.5. Stress

Neither Capell nor Hewitt treats stress at all, and I have only been able to make small headway with the analysis of stress (Lynch 1976:2). Generally, primary stress in Anejom appears to fall on the penultimate syllable, with geminate vowels counting as two syllables:

\[\text{(9)}\]

/eded/  \[?ɛdɛ:ɛ\]  'suck'
/nefalaŋ/  \[nefálaŋ\]  'road'
/incowoj/  \[?ɪnyoˈwoɪɛ\]  'hook'
There is some evidence, however, that primary stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable if the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables of a word contain the same vocalic elements and are separated by a single consonant:

(10) /itiyi/ [ˈtiːdiyi] negative particle
/elhele/ [ˈleːleː] 'blow, of wind'
/ilililia/ [ˈiːliːlai] 'bush'
/inmunuka/ [ˈiːmnʊŋuka] 'thunder'

Stress is, however, one more area of Anejom phonology that requires considerably more attention.

2. BASES

Five types of major morphemes or bases may be distinguished in Anejom: pronouns, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adjuncts. These are briefly established, and their morphology discussed, in this section. Their wider grammatical features, however, are left until later sections.

2.1. Pronouns

Pronouns are bases which distinguish person and number (and also case — cf. 2.3. and 3.2. below). Four numbers are marked in Anejom pronouns: singular, dual, trial, and plural. In the non-singular numbers, the common Oceanic distinction between inclusive and exclusive first persons is also found. Thus in each of the cases fifteen pronominal forms can be distinguished.

The three cases are (i) focal, which occur as subject noun phrases and disjunctively; (ii) objective, which occur as suffixes to verbs and will be treated in 2.3. below; and (iii) possessive, which occur as suffixes to nouns or to possessive morphemes and will be treated in 3.2. below. The grammar of the various cases of pronouns will also be examined in subsequent sections.

The Anejom focal pronouns are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. inc.</td>
<td>akajau</td>
<td>akataj</td>
<td>akaja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. exc.</td>
<td>aŋak</td>
<td>ajamrau</td>
<td>ajamtaj</td>
<td>ajama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>aek ː aak</td>
<td>ajourau</td>
<td>ajoutaj</td>
<td>ajowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>aen ː aam</td>
<td>aarau</td>
<td>attaj</td>
<td>aara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of points to note about these focal pronoun forms.

First, the focal pronouns are all a-initial. Anejom sentences are almost all of the form VS or VOS, with the subject noun phrase usually being marked by the particle a; for example:

(12) et cim wametec a pikad
3SG:AOR eat sweet:potato SM pig
'The pig ate/is eating sweet potato'
Since the most frequent position of occurrence of the focal pronouns is as subject noun phrases, and since in this position they are not themselves further marked by the subject-marking particle a — e.g.

(13) et ciff wametec aen  
3SG:AOR eat sweet:potato he  
'He ate/is eating sweet potato'  
*et ciff wametec a aen  
3SG:AOR eat sweet:potato SM he

— then it seems likely that the initial a in the focal pronouns is a fused subject-marker.

Second, the second and third person singular forms each show two variants. The former (aek, aen) are the older forms, which include the relatively infrequent vowel sequence /ae/; the latter forms (aak, aan) appear to be taking over from the former, and may even be being further reduced to ak, an.

Third, the non-singular focal pronoun forms suggest a combination of pronoun root + number suffix. Although neither the roots nor the suffixes occur alone as free forms, it is useful to list the underlying forms here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-kaj-</td>
<td>1st. inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-jam-</td>
<td>1st. exc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-jou-</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ar-</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number suffixes bear no synchronic relation to the numerals, although there appears to be some historical relationship. There are also a number of morphophonemic changes involved in the combination of root + suffix: a following consonant is lost after a-kaj- 'first inclusive' degemination takes place in a-ar-rau; and a-jou-a becomes ajowa through a process of desyllabification.

Fourth, the third person trial, underlying a-ar-taj, produces a geminate consonant. Where I recorded ahtaj, other sources give this form as ahtaj (C, Hewitt 1966, Inglis 1882).

Finally, there appears to be variation in the final syllable of the dual forms between -(r)au and -(r)ou. Both terminations are found in my data and in all the sources except Inglis (1882), who has -(r)au only. In this sketch, I will consistently give the forms in -(r)au, since these are both historically prior and, I believe, more common; such forms, however, should be taken to include the forms in -(r)ou as acceptable alternatives.

The focal pronouns are further exemplified below:

(15) is apam añak  
PAST come I  
'I came'  
et awod kuri albas et ithii aan  
3SG:AOR hit dog big 3SG:AOR one he  
'He hit a/one big dog'  
era hag aarou  
NSG:AOR dine they:DU  
'They two are eating'
2.2. Nouns

The category of noun "include[s] words which function as [actor] or [goal] in an utterance. There is no formal distinction to indicate the particular function, i.e. there are no case distinctions" (C:27). However, number is usually indicated in the noun (unlike many other Oceanic languages of Melanesia). Since a great part of the morphology of nouns involves a prefix, n- or in-, one of whose functions is to derive nouns from verbs, it will be convenient to first examine this derivational prefix, and then look at other aspects of noun morphology.

2.2.1. Derivation

Anejom "does not possess a regular series of derivational affixes" which derive nouns from other bases;

such derivations have usually to be expressed in syntactic phrases. Examples: natimi atgei atmas, 'murderer', lit. 'person kill spirits'; natimi ahilek mu, 'a fisherman', lit. 'person seek fish' ... . The location of an action may be indicated by inworen, 'place': inworen asjapijgãr iran, 'market', lit. 'place collect thereat' (C:28).

In addition to these forms, the use of the prefix inta- to form instrumental nouns should also be noted:

(16)  inta-amñii (INS-drink) 'something to drink'
      inta-arei (INS-sweep) 'broom'

Whether this is a prefix, or whether the forms above are compound nouns with inta- being a form of nitai 'thing', is a matter for further analysis.

There is, however, one very productive derivational process for deriving nouns from verbs and adjectives, and this involves the prefixation of n- or in-. Although there are some exceptions, the general rule seems to be that n- is prefixed to vowel-initial roots and in- to consonant-initial roots. Some examples are given below.

(17)  Verb Root  Derived Noun

| alañaheni        | 'pray'       | n-alañaheni | 'prayer'   |
| edua             | 'hunt'       | n-edua      | 'war'      |
| omrag            | 'be old'     | n-omrag     | 'old person' |
| umuñu            | 'moisten'    | n-umuñu     | 'dampness' |
| hag              | 'dine, eat'  | in-hag      | 'food'     |
| ja               | 'bleed'      | in-ja       | 'blood'    |
| meret            | 'want'       | in-meret    | 'preference' |
| tas              | 'speak'      | in-tas      | 'word, message' |

Most, though not all, nouns in Anejom begin with n- or in-.

This prefixed n- or in- has usually been described as an article. Although this may be true from the viewpoint of historical linguistics, it is not synchronically true. It is better to
treat it specifically as a noun-marker. As such, it is neither
definite nor indefinite and in no sense an article; deictics are
used where needed to add definiteness to the expression (C:27a).

There are in fact cases of what appear to be primarily nouns dropping
the initial n- or in- and becoming verbs: Capell gives the example of nise
'stick', isec 'be or become a stick', and similar pairs will be given in 2.3.
below.

Generally, however, it appears as if n- ~ in- was added to noun bases at
some stage in the history of Anejom as some kind of noun-marker; and it is true
to say that this prefix normally remains attached to the noun. There seem to
be only three contexts in which this noun-marker may be dropped: the verbal
sense discussed above, in certain compounds (see 2.2.3. below), and in the
plural, to which we now turn.

2.2.2. Pluralisation

Most Anejom nouns are capable of showing a distinction between singular
and non-singular, although there is no distinction in nouns between dual, trial,
and plural. The exceptions to this general statement are (a) nouns which,
semantically, do not allow of a plural, and (b) most nouns which do not begin
with n- ~ in-.

Generally, inanimate nouns express the plural by simply deleting the n- or
in- marker. Example:

(18) et attii incai aan
3SG:AOR fell tree he
'He cut down the tree'

et attii cai aan
3SG:AOR fell trees he
'He cut down the trees'

On the other hand, human nouns not only delete n- ~ in-, but replace this with
ilpu- (sometimes elpu-) as a marker of human plurality.6 Example:

(19) et asjii inman a natañana
3SG:AOR shoot bird SM man
'The man shot a bird'

er asjii man a ilpu-atañana
NSG:AOR shoot birds SM HUM:PL-man
'The men shot birds'

Inanimate nouns which do not begin with n- ~ in- do not formally distinguish
singular and plural. Number is deduced from subject-marking prefixes (if the
noun is subject), as in (20), or from specific numeral or quantifying verbs,
as in (21). Note, however, that kuri in (22) is ambiguous as to number.

(20) et hag a kuri
3SG:AOR dine SM dog
'The dog ate/is eating'

era hag a kuri
NSG:AOR dine SM dog
'The dogs ate/are eating'
(21) **et cin ku ri et anag a natamaha**
3SG:AOR eat dog 3SG:AOR many SM man
'The man ate/is eating many dogs'

(22) **et cin ku ri et anag a natamaha**
3SG:AOR eat dog SM man
'The man ate/is eating a dog/dogs'

Human nouns which do not begin with **n-** in- simply prefix **ilpu-**.

Example:

(23) **et Man apam a Mabo-k**
3SG:AOR PF come SM grandchild-my
'My grandchild has come'

**era Man apam a ilpu-Mabo-k**
NSG:AOR PF come SM HUM:PL-grandchild-my
'My grandchildren have come'

A difficulty arises in describing the plural forms of nouns referring to the larger animals. It appears that both simple deletion of **n-** in-, and replacement of **n-** in- with **ilpu-**, are both possible. Thus both epcev and ilpu-epcev are grammatical plurals of nepcev 'shark', and kuri and ilpu-kuri are grammatical plurals of kuri 'dog'. The forms with **ilpu-** seem to be less acceptable, or at least less common. Whether there is any semantic distinction I am unable to say.

Two other forms, both treated in Lynch (1976) but only one found in Capell's MS, need to be mentioned briefly here. Both Capell and I isolated a plural prefix **niji-** (Capell also gives the form **iji-**) which is added to inanimate nouns after **n-** in- has been deleted: inhat 'stone', hat and niji-hat 'stones'. Capell says that the prefixation of **niji-** (v **iji-**) "does not add anything to the meaning of the expression" (C:57), and similarly I was unable to discover any difference between, for example, hat and niji-hat as plural forms of inhat 'stone'. The similarity of **niji-** v **iji-** to various deictics (cf. 2.5.3. below), however, leads me to suggest that this prefix may denote a more definite plural than simple deletion of the noun-marker. However, further research is necessary to test this.

I also isolated a form **nupu-**, which does not appear in Capell's MS, which was occasionally used as a plural marker on non-human animate nouns; e.g. nupu-kuri 'dogs'. This may possibly mark a more definite plural, and its similarity to **ilpu-** should also be noted. Again, however, further investigation is needed.

2.2.3. Compound nouns

Compound nouns tend to be of the form Head + modifier and to have the structure noun + verb, noun + adjective, or noun + noun. In the case of compounds with the structure noun + verb or noun + adjective, there is little to be said regarding their morphology, as the following examples will show:

(24) **Noun + Verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intohou-alai</td>
<td>(shell-blow)</td>
<td>'conch trumpet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadiat-atumop</td>
<td>(day-rest)</td>
<td>'Sunday, sabbath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nau-ata</td>
<td>(knife-out)</td>
<td>'circumcision-knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niom-amya</td>
<td>(house-menstruate)</td>
<td>'menstrual hut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun + Adjective

namjeg-acen  (sleep-poisonous)  'nightmare'
nedou-ijifnis  (behaviour-high)  'matter of pride'

Noun + noun compounds show greater morphological complexity. There are no clear cases of noun + noun without some change. In some cases, the noun-marker n- ~ in- is dropped from the second noun:

(25)  nepcev + inligif'hap  >  nepcevligif'hap
'shark'  'shoulder'  'hammerhead shark'
inpai + niom  >  inpaiyom
'site'  'house'  'house-site'
nita + acred + neam  >  nitaacredeam
'thing'  'scrape'  'coconut-grater /scraper'
numri- + nemta-  >  numriemta-
'hair'  'eye'  'eyebrows, eyelashes'

Other cases are less clearcut, like those shown below in (26). In these examples, the first noun is inalienable, and the root ends in a vowel; the second noun in each compound begins with in-. Clearly, the i of in- is lost; and since Anejom does have a possessive construct suffix -i, I suggest that these forms in fact show reduction of in- to n- in these compounds (cf. 3.2.2.2. below). Examples:

(26)  narase- + incai  >  narasencai
'skin'  'tree'  'bark'
neduo- + inriti-  >  neduonriti-
'bone'  'chest'  'rib'
nesepya- + inhade-  >  nesepyanhade-
'nipple'  'breast'  'nipple'

Interrogative compounding should also be briefly mentioned here. An interrogative form which is basically neve does not appear to occur alone but occurs as the first member of a compound with nouns:

(27)  nei awod neve-kuri aak?
2SG:AOR hit which-dog you:SG
'Which dog did you (SG) hit?'

However, nouns with an initial noun-marker show some morphophonemic reduction. The noun-marker n- is lost, and neve becomes nev before the following vowel; the noun-marker in- is lost, but neve remains nev before the following consonant. Examples:

(28)  neve + natimi  'person'
neve + nouban  'time'
neve + nitaai  'thing'
neve + nelcau  'canoe'
neve + natamaf  'man'
neve + intaketha  'woman'
nevatimi  'which person? who?'
nevouban  'which time? when?'
nevitai  'which thing? what?'
nevelcau  'which canoe?'
nevataf  'which man?'
nevetaketha  'which woman?'
2.3. Verbs

Verbs in Anejom "include numerals and quantitative words in general as well as verbs as understood in European languages. They are distinguishable formally as a class by the presence immediately before them of certain supplements [i.e. particles]" which mark subject, tense, and aspect (C:33). Unlike the other languages of Southern Vanuatu, these particles are not prefixes to verbs, and a discussion of the verbal morphology of Anejom is thus simpler than that of its relatives.

2.3.1. Classes of verbs

Verbs may be divided into a number of classes according to semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria which will become obvious later in this sketch.

Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a class of verbs which are used generally with preposed verbal particles, but may also be used with the multiplicative prefix ec-. Within this class, the numerals form a large subclass, and they are further characterised by the ability to occur alone in serial counting or in answers to questions.

The true [Anejom] numerals are not fully preserved, because English numerals have been taught from the earliest days of Mission work for all numbers above five; in the Bible translation for is used for 'four' and ford ['forθ] for 'fourth'. (C:39)

The five numerals which I recorded are:

(29) i thi i 'one'
erou 'two'
es ej 'three'
nijn man 'four'
me le d 'five'

The original system was apparently quinary, with compounds used for forms above five (C:39-40). The first three numerals given by Capell correspond to those given above; however, he gives manohwan 'four' and nijn man 'five' — note the similarity of the latter to the modern form for 'four'. The compounds for numerals above five were apparently formed with a morpheme celed, which is again similar to the modern form for five. Some of these compounds are, from Capell's sketch:

(30) nijn man celed et i thi i 'six'
nijn man celed et erou 'seven'
nijn man celed et es ej 'eight'
nijn man celed et manohwan 'nine'
nijn man le p i jm an 'ten'
The form for twenty given by Capell—njiman erou un reduon—makes reference to hands (njiman) and feet (reduon—probably neduon). However, these forms have all died out.

The multiplicative prefix ec- may be affixed to any of the numerals: ec-ithii 'once', ec-esej 'three time', etc. It may also be affixed to other quantifiers, such as anag 'many', ehed 'how many?', and so on—e.g. ec-anag 'many times', ec-ehed 'how many times?'.

Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs never take objects. Some examples:

(31) hag 'eat, dine'
    mas 'die'
    atga 'walk, go, travel'
    etec 'stay'
    amjeg 'sleep'

Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs require an object, and have no transitive suffix.

Examples:

(32) ciif 'eat'
    atou 'know'
    awod 'hit'
    acan 'spear'
    asvamod 'twist, wring'

Other Verbs

As will be seen in 2.3.5. below, there are problems regarding the identification of the transitive suffix in Anejom, and assessing its role. There are a number of pairs like hag 'eat (intransitive)', ciif 'eat (transitive)', where the relation of transitivity is not expressed morphologically but lexically; there are other pairs like awanipin 'smell (intransitive)', ipfii 'smell (transitive)' where, although the verb forms are similar, there is no clear derivational process by which one is derived from the other. The class of other verbs thus comprises verbs which may function transitively, and which appear to have a transitive suffix (-i, -ii, -ai, -oi, -i), but whose root does not apparently occur alone.
2.3.2. Verb roots

In common with other languages of the region, Anejom shows evidence of a process in which an initial vowel, usually /a/, was added to consonant-initial roots. The following inherited forms from Proto-Oceanic (POC) show this process clearly.

(33)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POC</th>
<th>Anejom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kali</td>
<td>acji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kati</td>
<td>aces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*luaq</td>
<td>alou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mataq</td>
<td>emtac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pano</td>
<td>apan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tolu</td>
<td>esej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all verbs, however, are vowel-initial. Capell gives a table showing the occurrence of initial phonemes in verbs in Inglis' dictionary (C:6). The table shows about 90% of Anejom verbs are vowel-initial, with about 10% being consonant-initial. Of the vowel-initial verbs, nearly 56% begin with /a/ and almost 20% begin with /e/. The function of this prefix is not clear. Capell, in discussing Kern's (1906) study of Anejom, states that Kern identified a verbal prefix a-,

predominantly a marker of the intransitive. ... There are instances in which transitive forms begin with a-, and comparison shows that the a- is a prefix and not part of the root. ... The study of [Anejom] is continually made complex by the petrified state of its words, of which no clear analysis can be given apart from diachronic comparisons (C:34).

Synchronically, it is impossible to assign any function to this prefixed a-, although a few cases discussed in the next section suggest that it may have been a verb-marker or verb-formative.

Verbal roots are "invariable except for those — comparatively few — which are modified to indicate plurality of goal. The following list of such plural object verbs does not claim to be exhaustive" (C:37). Capell's list (C:37-39) is given below, together with corrections and additions from Hewitt 1966.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acaitei</td>
<td>atai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acas</td>
<td>ecas, ecescas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahtalcai</td>
<td>etukocaì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apitac</td>
<td>epitpitac, atauwud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asjupinmoñ</td>
<td>esjupinmoñ, isjupinmoñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asvahtec</td>
<td>esvehtec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aswaplec</td>
<td>iswoplecoplec, iswisoplec, auwohoplecoplec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.3.3. Formation

Generally, verbs (and adjectives) seem to be 'basic' in all the Southern Vanuatu languages; that is, cases of nouns derived from verbs are extremely common, whereas cases of verbs derived from other parts of speech are extremely rare. We have, however, mentioned one process of verbal derivation which, though not common, is found in a few cases. This is the deletion of the noun-marker n- ~ in- from nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
nisec & \quad \text{'stick'} & \quad & \text{isec} & \quad \text{'be or become a stick'} \\
nata\mathcal{M} & \quad \text{'man'} & \quad & \text{ata\mathcal{M}} & \quad \text{'be male; be careful'} \\
nata\mathcal{H} & \quad \text{'woman'} & \quad & \text{ata\mathcal{H}} & \quad \text{'be female'} \\
in\mathcal{H}alav & \quad \text{'child'} & \quad & \text{halav} & \quad \text{'be childish'}
\end{align*}
\]

Certain of these verbs are clearly intransitive (mas, umoh, for example), and it is not clear if in these cases the plural form refers to a plural subject. Many of the plural forms involve partial reduplication, and many involve a change in the initial vowel; however, there are a number of suppletive forms, and no general rule on formation can be stated. My own observations are that the phenomenon is relatively rare in (modern) Anejom, and that the list given by Capell may be taken as an indication of the number of verbs which have plural forms.
There are also one or two cases which involve the prefixation of a- to other forms:

(35) lūma- 'drink possession' alūma- 'give to drink'

nabat 'darkness' anabat 'be ancient'

2.3.4. Prefixes

Capell lists a number of prefixes to verbs, but these derivational prefixes are so interwoven phonetically with the bases, and so few of them are actively productive, that it is often difficult to define which are simple and which are derived bases. In fact, it is safe to say that the distinction can hardly be made on the evidence of [Anejom] alone, but needs comparison with the corresponding forms in other languages. ... [These derived stems] are not used, as a rule, without their prefixes, and the prefixes may not be added at will to any stem to give any special nuance or meaning. That is why it was said that these prefixes are for the most part not productive in the modern language (C:32-33).

In fact, the only apparently productive prefix to a verb in the modern language is the multiplicative prefix ec-, already discussed in 2.3.1. above.

2.3.5. Suffixes

Various kinds of suffixes may be added to Anejom verbs. In this section I briefly discuss pronoun object suffixes, suffixes of direction or location, and the transitive suffixes.

Pronoun object suffixes

When the object noun phrase is a pronoun, the focal forms discussed above are not used. Instead, shorter but related forms are placed after the verb. It is not absolutely clear from the available data whether these forms are in fact suffixes, or whether they are postposed, but free, object pronouns. Given the kinds of morphophonemic changes which take place especially in the singular forms, I suspect that they are suffixes. The forms are:

(36) Singular Dual Trial Plural

1st inc. -cajau -cataj -caja
1st exc. -nūk -camrau -camtaj -cama
2nd -yic -c -courau -coutaj -cowa
3rd -yin -n -rau -ettaj -ra

The same remarks regarding the final syllable of the dual forms apply here as applied to the focal pronouns (2.1.). There are some morphophonemic changes to the second and third person singular forms, apparently involving loss of /y/ after a vowel-final root.
While there are some differences, the forms of the objective pronouns are clearly related to the focal pronouns. The non-singular forms consist of a root and a number suffix, neither of which may occur without the other. The number suffixes are the same as identified for the focal pronouns: dual -rau, trial -taj, and plural -a. The pronominal roots are first inclusive -caj-, first exclusive -cam-, second -cou-, and third -r-; combinations of root and suffix involve similar morphophonemic changes to those discussed in 2.1. for the focal pronouns.

These objective pronominal forms are exemplified below:

(37) et awod-yic aan
3SG:AOR hit-you:SG he
'He hit/hits you (sg)'

is ege-mak a kuri
PAST hear-me SM dog
'The dog heard me'

ek man atgi-ra a†mak
1SG:AOR PF kill-them:PL I
'I have just killed them (pl)'

Direction/location suffixes

A number of suffixes marking the direction or location of the action may be attached to verbs. These bear some relation to the deictics, discussed in 2.5.3.; partly for that reason, and partly because they are not well understood, I only mention them briefly here. Those isolated so far are:

(38) -panki 'movement away'
-pan 'movement there'
-pam 'movement here'
-jai 'up, on top of, eastward'
-se 'down, (westward?)'
-sjipe 'back and forth, about'

Some examples of verbs with these suffixes:

(39) atii 'put'
ati-panki 'take away'
ati-jai 'put on top of'
ati-se 'put down'
yet- 'arrive' (apparently not a free form)
yet-pam 'arrive here'
yet-pan 'arrive there'
ahtag 'approach'
ahtag-pan 'approach there'
ahtag-pam 'approach here'
atíc 'sit'
atíc-se 'sit down'
atíc-jai 'sit on'
elád- 'look in a certain direction' (not a free form)
elád-jai 'look to the east'
elád-pan 'look towards'
atá 'walk'
atá-sjipe 'walk about, walk back and forth'

Transitive suffix(es)

This is a poorly understood area of Anejom grammar. When the object is a non-pronominal noun phrase, pronoun object suffixes are not used; instead, a transitive verb with an apparently fused transitive suffix is used. The problem in identifying transitive suffixes, however, is that, as has already been mentioned (2.3.1.), few intransitive verbs may take a suffix making them transitive. The clearest way of identifying the suffixes is to look at verb + object suffix, and verb with noun object; e.g.

(40) is ecet-ká a detó
    PAST see-me SM Detó
    'Detó saw me'

is ecet-ai kurí a detó
    PAST see-TRANS dog SM Detó
    'Detó saw a dog'

Neither Capell's MS nor my own data, however, contain large numbers of verbs in both environments, from which both the transitive suffixes and their conditioning environments can be extracted. There do appear to be two sets of suffixes: one has the basic form -í, often with a preceding vowel which is in fact the historical final vowel of the root which is dropped in certain environments (cf. ecet, ect-ai = ec-ta-i < POC *kita 'see'). The other suffix seems to be -í, or vowel + í, found in verbs like the following: adá 'hide', adá 'put on head', ahac 'awaken', ahoda 'ask', alá 'call to', amó 'drink', arí 'soften', ethá 'lose', evá 'show', and so on. However, little more can be said at this stage, and transitive-marking in Anejom remains a subject for further study.

2.4. Adjectives

Capell treats adjectives as a class of verbs, and in some ways this makes good sense: they show the same formation possibilities (2.3.3.) and, as head of a predicate, they may be preceded by the same subject, tense, and aspect markers as verbs (3.1.1. below). For example:

(41) et albas a kurí
    3SG:AOR big SM dog
    'The dog is big'

However, there are two important differences between adjectives and verbs which suggest that the two belong to different classes. One is that adjectives never
take verbal suffixes of any kind, and the other is that adjectives may also be
used non-predicatively. In this non-predicative use, the adjective follows
the head noun of a noun phrase or the head verb of a verb phrase, and does not
take a preverbal particle:

(42) et awod kuri albas aen
    3SG:AOR hit dog big he
    'He hit/hits the big dog'

2.5. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are similar to adjectives in that they follow the head of a
noun phrase or verb phrase and "serve to delimit it in some way: to describe,
to point out, to modify" (C:41). They differ from adjectives, however, in
that they may never occur preceded by preverbal particles. Three types of
adjunct will be briefly discussed here: indefinite adjuncts, modifiers, and
deictics.

2.5.1. Indefinite adjuncts

Indefinite adjuncts usually precede the noun in a noun phrase. Some
indefinite adjuncts are:

(43) hal 'some, any'
tah 'any, either'
tak, intak 'other'

Example:

(44) ek man atgii hal pikad aafak
    1SG:AOR PF kill some pig I
    'I have killed some pigs'

2.5.2. Modifiers

There appears to be another class of descriptive words which may not take
preverbal particles but which follow the head of a noun or verb phrase. I have
called these adjuncts modifiers. Some, like asga 'all' follow the head, while
others, like acen 'very', follow another adjunct or an adjective. The
available data are so limited, however, that little further can be said about
this class at this stage.

2.5.3. Deictics

A complex series of adjuncts serves to indicate emphasis, location, and
movement in various ways and directions. Each [apparently] consists
of a root, combined with prefixial and/or suffixial supplements. ...
The relationships of these [roots and affixes] are complicated and
phonetically somewhat irregular, so that they do not lend themselves
to diagrammation. ... These forms are demonstratives and deictics,
whether used alone pronominally or with a [noun] base adjectivally (C:42-43)
or a verb base adverbially. There appear to be at least forty such
deictics in Anejom: a number are found in Capell's MS, some others in Hewitt
1966, and still others collected by me. This is another area where considerable
further investigation is required; however, I attempt below an analysis based
at least in part on that given by Capell (C:42-47).

Capell divides the deictics into three classes: emphasis, location, and
movement. Those relating to movement appear to be directional suffixes to verbs,
and have been treated above (2.3.5.). The remaining two classes correspond
loosely with nominal deictics (demonstratives) and verbal or sentential deictics
(locational adverbs) respectively, although there appears to be some overlap in
usage and considerable similarity in formation.

Nominal deictics

The demonstratives are further analysable into three groups. One of these
groups has to do with the reference system, and contains demonstratives marking
previous reference:

(45) iyi, iyihki 'previous reference, singular'
iraaki 'previous reference, paucal'
iji, ijiiki 'previous reference, plural'
aâmkì 'the one who'

Exactly what the semantic ranges of the paucal and plural forms are is not clear;
similar constraints exist in the other demonstrative sets, and Hewitt (1966)
merely glosses them 'of a few' and 'of many'.

The other sets of demonstratives seem to be partially identical, except
that one set has a prefix i-. The available evidence suggests that the set
with i- is adjectival and the set without i- is pronominal; however, the data
are insufficient to allow a secure statement on this matter. Again, the
distinction between singular, paucal and plural is present, as is a distinction
between near speaker, mid/near addressee, and far/near third person. There are
one or two gaps in the data, but the extrapolated forms are included in square
brackets in the following table:

(46)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular:</td>
<td>niâmkì, ni</td>
<td>nanai, nanei, na</td>
<td>[naikou]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iniâmkì</td>
<td>inanai, inanei</td>
<td>inaikou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iniM, ineM</td>
<td>inai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paucal:</td>
<td>raâmkì</td>
<td>[ranai]</td>
<td>raâmkou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iraâmkì</td>
<td>[iranai]</td>
<td>iraâmkou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>jiâmkì</td>
<td>[jiknai]</td>
<td>jiknaikou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ijiâmkì</td>
<td>ijknaï</td>
<td>ijknaikou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ijiM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although, as Capell suggested, considerable morphophonemic changes have taken place, the elements of the system seem to be reconstructible:

Number: na-/ni- 'singular', ra- 'paucal', ji(i)/jik- 'plural'
Roots: -ñ-ki 'near', -nai 'mid', -ñ-kou/-nai-kou 'far'.
Capell also gives an 'inclusive plural' form in sji- (e.g. sjiñki, sjiiki), but he does not give full paradigms.

Locative deictics

The locative deictics are also complex. The basic locatives show a similar formation to the nominal deictics, with a near/mid/far distinction, and also a separate set marking previous reference:

(47) | Near | Mid | Far |
---|---|---|---|
Simple: | inkahenkä | ankehan | oupankou |
| inkahe | eankou |
| inka | ean |
Previous reference: | inkaki, inkahki | eahki |
Awareness of thing sought: | aabiñki (sg.) | abnaikou |
| aanjiñki (pl.) |

More specific locations are encoded by using these bases or demonstrative bases and the directional suffixes discussed in 2.3.5. Rather than attempting to diagram these other locational deictics, it is easier to list those so far recorded under a number of headings; because of various combinations, some appear more than once.

(48) Upwards: | jipan, maretjipan | 'upwards' |
| inkajai | 'up here' |
| jipankou | 'up there' |
| jipaikou | 'up inland' |

Downwards: | upou | 'downwards' |
| sepan | 'downwards' |
| adehpan | 'downwards' |
| sepankou | 'down from speaker' |
| sepamki | 'down here' |
| inkase | 'down here' |

Seawards: | pokou | 'seawards' |
| inkapok | 'seawards' |

Landwards: | inkahi | 'landwards' |
| inkapahai | 'on landward side' |
3. PHRASE STRUCTURE

This section examines in turn the structure of verb phrases, noun phrases, and other kinds of phrases in Anejom.

3.1. Verb phrases

Verb phrases have as head either a verb root (with appropriate affixes) or an adjective root. Various adjuncts or adjectives may follow the head of the verb phrase, and a number of sets of particles may precede the head. In this section we first examine these particles, and then look at the structure of the verb phrase in more detail.

3.1.1. Subject/tense/mood particles

Tense and mood are indicated by a number of supplements [i.e. particles], no doubt originally independent particles, but now disguised by various degrees of compounding with elements of a pronominal nature (C:60).

While a certain amount of historical analysis can probably be carried out, the forms are basically unsegmentable. Considerable reduction in these particles has also taken place over the last century, which presents some complication in presentation.

Three basic sets of subject/tense/mood (STM) particles are found, and these may be used in combination with other aspect particles to give a range of tense/aspect combinations. The three sets are aorist indicative, past indicative, and subjunctive; the semantics of these sets will become clear in this and succeeding sections.

Capell's MS lists the three sets of STM particles, providing corrections where Bible translations show departures from Inglis' (1882) grammar sketch. I will compare Capell's forms with those that I elicited; I should point out,
however, that not only do the forms that I elicited differ from those given by
Capell, due to wholesale reduction of the system, but the two Anejom-speakers
who worked with me differed slightly among themselves. In these latter cases,
the earlier data collected from an older speaker appears on the left and is
separated by a semicolon from the more recent data collected from a younger
speaker.9

Aorist indicative

Capell shows separate forms for all persons and numbers:

(49)           Singular        Dual         Trial         Plural

1st inc. intau  intaj     inta
1st exc. ek    ecrau       ektaj, ektij ecra
2nd na        ekau        ahtaj     eka
3rd et        erau        ehtaj     era

Before the aspect markers pu 'future' and mu 'hortative', a number of assimilatory
changes were noted: the second person dual form ekau becomes akau before pu and
aru before mu, while the plural forms occur as intu, ecru, aku, and eru.

Modern data shows a breakdown of the system:

(50)           Singular        Non-singular

1st inc. ekra; era ^ rai-
1st exc. ek ^ k-        ekra; era ^ rai-
2nd nei ^ na-          ekra; era ^ rai-
3rd et ^ t-           ekra; era ^ rai-

Before the future marker pu, nei > na, ekra > ekru, era > eru, and rai- > ru-.

Past indicative

The forms given by Capell are:10

(51)          Singular        Dual         Trial         Plural

1st inc. intis [intijis] imjis
1st exc. kis  ecrus       ektijis ecris
2nd as        akis        ahtijis akis
3rd is        erus        ehtijis eris

Again, the forms I elicited show considerable breakdown of the original system:

(52)          Singular        Non-singular

1st inc. kis; is
1st exc. kis; is
2nd is        ekris; is
3rd is        ekris; is
Subjunctive

The forms given by Capell and Inglis are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tiji</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>inki, ki</td>
<td>ecru</td>
<td>tiji</td>
<td>ecru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>eru</td>
<td>tiji</td>
<td>aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>inyi, yi</td>
<td>eru</td>
<td>tiji</td>
<td>eri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By contrast, the forms I elicited are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ri; ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>imiyi ∼ yi</td>
<td>ri; ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Segmentation

The data given by Capell suggests that the forms can probably be analysed, at least historically, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tense/Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ek</td>
<td>1st sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>-is past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nei</td>
<td>2nd sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ø aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et</td>
<td>3rd sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>-i/-u subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int-</td>
<td>1st inc. nsg</td>
<td>-au</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecr-</td>
<td>1st exc. nsg</td>
<td>-taj/-tij</td>
<td>trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ek-</td>
<td>2nd nsg</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er-</td>
<td>3rd nsg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Developments in the system

It is clear from an examination of the data given above that there have been significant changes in the system of STM particles in Anejom. Firstly, the distinction between dual, trial, and plural has been lost, with modern Anejom-speakers now marking only a singular/non-singular distinction. Second, a distinction between the persons has been lost in the aorist non-singular and is being lost in the past and subjunctive non-singular and the past singular. There is evidence, in the aorist indicative at least, that what were once free particles are becoming prefixes to verbs. Further fieldwork, however, will be necessary to show precisely what changes have taken place and are taking place.
3.1.2. Tense and aspect

A number of different tenses and aspects are marked by the STM markers alone or in combination with some other particle which follows them.

Aorist

The aorist tense is marked by the aorist indicative markers with no following tense/aspect particle. The tense indicates a present or recent past action or state.

(56) ek hag aŋak
1SG:AOR eat I
'I am eating', 'I eat', 'I (just) ate'

et avif numu aen
3SG:AOR want fish he
'He wants a fish', 'He (recently) wanted a fish'

Past

Past tense is marked by the past indicative markers with no following tense/aspect particle. This tense indicates an action or state in the past, but not the very recent past.

(57) is hag aŋak
PAST eat I
'I ate'

is avif numu aen
PAST want fish he
'He wanted a fish'

Future

The future marker is pu, which follows the STM particles. A simple future is marked by aorist indicative particles plus pu:

(58) ek pu hag aŋak
1SG:AOR FUT eat I
'I will eat'

et pu avif numu aen
3SG:AOR FUT want fish he
'He will want a fish'

A future-in-the-past sense is conveyed by past indicative particles plus pu:

(59) is ika aen is pu apam imraŋ
PAST say he PAST FUT come tomorrow
'He said that he would come tomorrow'

is ika aen is pu apam aŋ ak imraŋ
PAST say he PAST FUT come I tomorrow
'He said that I would come tomorrow'
Another particle, mu,
is not used as a pure future, but in sentences which contain a
general prescription, an exhortation, a stimulus. Therefore, it
embraces the imperative in the 1st and 3rd persons and even in the
2nd person in a request, prayer, or urging (C:62 quoting Kern 1906:57).

It also appears to have a subjunctive or vague future sense. Examples:

(60) is man atou aen mika mu ude-ra
PAST PF know he that FUT/HOR leave-them:PL
'He knew that he would leave them'

et mu hag aen
3SG:AOR FUT/HOR eat he
'He will eat!', 'Let him eat!'

Perfective

The perfective or assertive particle, man, may follow either the aorist or
the past STM particles. The former combination indicates recent completion,
while the latter indicates completion not so recent:

(61) ek man hag aŋak
1SG:AOR PF eat I
'I have just eaten'

is man hag aŋak
PAST PF eat I
'I have eaten'

Temporal/conditional

The markers used in conditions or in temporal phrases are wat and wut;
wat is used in the past, wut in the future. Both may be preceded by aorist
STM markers, with wat also having the potential of being preceded by past STM
markers. Examples of the use of these particles will be given in the discussion
on complex sentences in section 5.2.2.

Assertive

The assertive marker idim comes between the STM markers and the head:

(62) et idim upnii
3SG:AOR ASSERT good
'It is good indeed'

ek pu idim apan m-asjaŋa
1SG:AOR FUT ASSERT go ES-fish
'I will surely go fishing'
3.1.3. Negation

The negative marker iti yi follows the markers of aspect. Some examples:

(63) et iti yi hag aen
3SG:AOR NEG eat he
'He is not eating', 'He didn't (just) eat'

is iti yi avif numu affak
PAST NEG want fish I
'I didn't want a fish'

na pu iti yi apam aek
2SG:AOR FUT NEG come you:SG
'You (sg) will not come'

The perfective particle man, however, may not be used with the negative iti yi; instead, a negative perfective particle fi is used, and this functions as an adverbial particle (cf. 3.1.4.) in that it follows rather than precedes the negative:

(64) *et man iti yi hag aen
3SG:AOR PF NEG eat he

et iti yi fi hag aen
3SG:AOR NEG not:yet eat he
'He hasn't eaten yet'

3.1.4. Adverbial particles

A number of adverbial particles may occur between the negative particle and the verb root. Those identified so far are listed below:

(65) lep 'also, again'
ici 'thus' (also uce, uco, ucco)
top 'merely, just'
fi 'not yet'
bar 'next, then'
upci ii 'first'
am sequential action

These particles are best exemplified in continuous text, and reference should be made to the text at the end of this grammar sketch. Some examples, however, are given below:

(66) is man upci ii apam aen jae is bar amjeg affak
PAST PF first come he then PAST next sleep I
'After he came, I slept'

is ecet deto a tosei is am lav aen
PAST see Deto SM Tosei PAST SEQ laugh she
'Tosei saw Deto and then she (Deto) laughed'

is man lep ege-yin attaj
PAST PF again hear-him they:TR
'The three of them heard him again'
More than one such particle may be used in a single verb phrase:

\[(67)\] itwuacen is wat top am rijai a nalañaheni anejom ...

\[long:ago PAST TEMP merely SEQ arrive SM religion Aneityum ...

'Long ago, when religion first arrived in Aneityum ...'

3.1.5. Verb phrase structure

The Anejom verb phrase has the following structure:

\[
\text{STM + (Aspect) + (Neg) + (Adv) + HEAD + (Adjunct/Adjective)}
\]

Examples of verb phrases containing various preposed particles have been given above. In addition, a verb phrase may contain a postposed adjunct or adjective:

\[(68)\] is lep amen upnii a natimi

\[PAST also stay good SM people\]

'\text{The people lived well}'

\[is omrag upnii aen\]

\[PAST old good he\]

'\text{He was very old}'

\[is adia asa aen\]

\[PAST go:away all he\]

'\text{He died} (\text{lit.}, '\text{He went away altogether}')

As will be clear from the Anejom text in section 6, the STM particles may be omitted in discourse, when both the tense is recoverable from context and when the subject is overtly marked. In what might be termed 'colloquial' Anejom, the STM particles may also be omitted in individual sentences, under the same conditions. I will return to this in the discussion of clause and sentence structure (cf. section 5.3. below).

3.2. Noun phrases

In this section, I will examine two types of noun phrases in Anejom: the simple noun phrase, which may include an adjective or numeral preceded by an STM marker, and the possessive phrase. The structure of the noun phrase is summarised in section 3.2.3., as is the syntax of coordinate noun phrases.

3.2.1. Simple noun phrases

Simple noun phrases minimally contain, as head, a noun or a pronoun. Indefinite adjuncts may precede the head, and the head may be followed by an adjunct or an adjective, which itself may be followed by a deictic. Some examples are given below:

\[(69)\] et Man ciff wametec aen

\[3SG:AOR PF eat sweet:potato he\]

'He has eaten sweet potato'

et awod kuri albas aen

\[3SG:AOR hit dog big he\]

'He hit/is hitting a big dog'
Noun phrases like those discussed above may be expanded by adding an adjective or numeral, preceded by a STM marker, after the head noun. This is the only way in which numerals can be incorporated into a noun phrase, and the commonest way of expressing adjectives. Some examples:

(70) is lep amen nomrag is echei
   PAST also stay old:man PAST different
   'There was also another man'

is amen a nomrag is ithii ahajom
   PAST stay SM old:man PAST one Ahajom
   'There was an old man living at Ahajom'

et awod kuri albas et erou aen
   3SG:AOR hit dog big 3SG:AOR two he
   'He hit/is hitting two big dogs'

is ect-ai kuri albas et apeñ añak
   PAST see-TRANS dog big 3SG:AOR black I
   'I saw a big black dog'

3.2.2. Possessive phrases

It will be convenient to divide this discussion of the possessive phrase into two parts - pronominal possession (possession by a pronoun), and nominal possession.

3.2.2.1. Pronominal possession. As in most Oceanic languages, Anejom shows a formal distinction between inalienable or direct possession, and alienable or active possession. Direct possession involves suffixation of pronominal forms to nouns referring to kinship terms or parts of the body or of things; active possession involves other types of nouns, and in these constructions the pronominal forms are suffixed to special possessive morphemes.

Inalienable (direct) constructions

The inalienable or direct construction requires that pronominal forms be suffixed directly to the possessed nouns. The pronominal suffixes are:
The similarity of these forms to other pronominal forms, especially in the non-singular numbers, will be obvious. The variation between au and ou in the dual pronouns, discussed above in 2.1., occurs also in the suffixed possessive forms of the pronouns.

These suffixes are illustrated in paradigm form below; the root noun to which they are suffixed is risi- 'mother':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(72)</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>risijau</td>
<td>risitaj</td>
<td>risija</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>risik</td>
<td>risimrau</td>
<td>risimtaj</td>
<td>risima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>risim</td>
<td>risimirau</td>
<td>risimitaj</td>
<td>risimia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>risin</td>
<td>risirau</td>
<td>risittaj</td>
<td>risira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alienable (active) constructions

Alienable or active possession requires suffixation of pronominal forms to a possessive morpheme, which follows the possessed noun. There are three such possessive morphemes in Anejom: inca-, used with things for eating; lũma-, used with things for drinking; and u-, used with other possessions. The possessive morphemes inca- and lũma- take the suffixes listed above in (71), as the following examples show:

(73) intal inca-ra
taro POSS:EAT-their:PL
'Their (pl) taro (for eating)'

wametec inca-k
sweet:potato POSS:EAT-my
'My sweet potato (to eat)'

inwai lũma-n
water POSS:DRINK-his
'His water (to drink)'

The general possessive morpheme u-, however, shows a number of morphophonemic variations to the base and to certain of the possessive suffixes; the full paradigm is listed below:

(74) | Singular | Dual | Trial | Plural |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st inc.</td>
<td>ujau</td>
<td>utaj</td>
<td>uja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st exc.</td>
<td>uŋkak</td>
<td>uŋmirau</td>
<td>uŋmitaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>uŋnum</td>
<td>uŋmirau</td>
<td>uŋmitaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>uwun</td>
<td>urau</td>
<td>uwottaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some variation has been observed in these forms: the third person trial also occurs as uettaj, while the second person non-singular forms also show u after m — i.e., umumirau, umumitaj, and umumia as well as the forms given above. Thus the general alienable possessive morpheme has the allomorphs u-, unV- and uwV-; u- has been chosen as the base form since, as will be seen in 3.2.2.2., below, that is the form that is used in nominal possession.

The use of the general alienable possessive morpheme is exemplified below:

(75) niom uñak
   house POSS:my
   'My house'

   pikad uwun
   pig POSS:his
   'His pig'

   intal ura
   taro POSS:their:PL
   'Their (pl) taro (not specifically viewed as food)'

3.2.2.2. Nominal possession. This discussion of possession of a noun by a noun is again divided into inalienable and alienable sections.

Inalienable constructions

When a noun is possessed by another noun, the construct suffix -i appears on the possessed noun:

(76) etma-i deto
    father-CONS Deto
    'Deto's father'

    nijma-i risi-m
    hand-CONS mother-his
    'His mother's hand'

When the possessed noun already ends in i, this i plus the construct suffix merge as i: thus risi-i deto 'Deto's mother' surfaces as risi deto.

From the limited data available, it appears that when a noun beginning with the noun marker in- is preceded by the construct suffix -i, both occurrences of /i/ are deleted:

(77) inra-ncai (underlying inra-i incai)
    branch-tree branch-CONS tree
    'Branch of a tree'

    nijma-ntaketha (underlying nijma-i intaketha)
    hand-woman hand-CONS woman
    'The woman's hand'
Alienable constructions

When a noun is possessed alienably by another noun, the possessive morphemes discussed above are used. The general possessive morpheme has the form u. The specific possessive morphemes require the construct suffix, and appear as inca-i (eating possession) and lum-a-i (drinking possession).

Examples:

(78) nio m u intaketha
    house POSS woman
    'The woman’s house'
    inman-alawowa u inwai
    hole-bubble:up POSS water
    'Source of a river'
    intal inca-i intaketha
    taro POSS:EAT-CONS woman
    'The woman’s taro (to eat)'
    inwai lum-a-i di?
    water POSS:DRINK-CONS who
    'Whose water (to drink)?'

3.2.3. Noun phrase structure

The Anejom noun phrase thus has the following structure:

(Indef) + HEAD + (Adjunct Adjective) + (Deictic) + (Poss.Phr)

Only indefinite adjuncts precede the head; all other modifiers follow the head, in the order given above. One example from the text in section 6 shows that possessive constituents follow deictics:

(79) et lam ini inyubal ini ujou
    3SG:AOR PF finish story this POSS:our:INC:DU
    'This story of ours (inc.du) is finished'

Noun phrases are coordinated by the conjunction im. Capell gives the example nouhatag im nopohtan 'heaven and earth' (C:66). Note also the following:

(80) risi-k na im deto
    mother-my DEIC:MID and Deto
    'Deto’s and my mother'
    risi-i deto im risi-k
    mother-CONS Deto and mother-my
    'Deto’s mother and my mother'

3.3. Other phrases

Various other types of phrases, some of which are introduced by prepositions, will be discussed in this section. There is a considerable amount of material available on locative and temporal phrases, but rather less on other types of phrases, which have been discussed only briefly.
3.3.1. Locative phrases

Locative phrases in Anejom fall into a number of subtypes: some are introduced by prepositions, some use locational inalienable possessed nouns, and some are unmarked.

When the head of the locative phrase is a placename or an interrogative, the phrase is unmarked:

(81) is amen a n-omrag is ithii ahajom
PAST live SM NOM-old PAST one Ahajom
'There was an old man living at Ahajom'

is apan aen vila
PAST go he Vila
'He went to Vila'

et ehes aen anelcauhat
3SG:AOR come:from he Anelcauhat
'He came from Anelcauhat'

na amen aek eda?
2SG:AOR live you:SG where
'Where do you (sg) live?'

et apan aen eda?
3SG:AOR go he where
'Where is he going/did he go?'

In one case (see the text in section 6), the form eitei precedes a placename:

(82) is amen aen eitei anouyac
PAST live he ? Anouyac
'He lived at Anouyac'

If indeed eitei is a locative-marker, I have no evidence as to its nature.

The basic locative prepositions are a and u, and a large number of locative phrases whose heads are not placenames or interrogatives are introduced by one or other of these two prepositions, either alone or in combination with some other element (see below). The difference in meaning between a and u is not clear; the following examples show that, while they behave similarly, they are not totally interchangeable:

(83) et ehes aen u incai
3SG:AOR come:from she LOC tree
'She is coming from the tree'

et ehes aen a nauritai
3SG:AOR come:from she LOC garden
'She is coming from the garden'

*et ehes aen u nauritai
3SG:AOR come:from she LOC garden

The examples in (83) suggest that either there is some slight semantic difference between a and u, or their use is conditioned by the following noun — it is clear that they can be used with the same verbs. It also appears that u is less common than a, although the evidence available is not wholly clear on this.

Each of these prepositions undergoes and/or causes a number of morphophonemic changes. Nouns beginning with the noun-marker in- drop the /i/ when preceded by a: thus a inlilitai 'LOC bush' becomes a nlilitai; forms like this will be
written with a hyphen (a-nilitai) to indicate this. Before a pronoun, a is replaced by ira-, and this form takes possessive suffixes. Before plural nouns, the form ira-, with the construct suffix -i, is used; ira-i is also used before at least some borrowed nouns. Examples:

(84) ek apan afak a nauritai
1SG:AOR go I LOC garden
'I am going to the garden'

et eses aen a-nilitai (cf. inilitai 'bush')
3SG:AOR come:from she LOC-bush
'She is coming from the bush'

et atec-se aen ira-k
3SG:AOR sit-down he LOC-my
'He sat down on me'

era amen ira-i jom (cf. niom 'house')
NSG:AOR stay LOC-CONS houses
'They are staying in their houses'

is apan aen ira-i taun
PAST go he LOC-CONS town
'He has gone to town'

Regarding the preposition u, Capell's MS shows the forms ura- before pronouns (which occur as possessive suffixes) and ura-i before plural nouns; i.e. the pattern seems to be the same as for a. However, I have no examples of these allomorphs of u.

I have identified two locative inalienably possessed nouns (exclusive of the forms ira- and ura- discussed above). One is ehele- which, in its locative sense, has the meaning 'to' or 'towards'; it also has a dative sense (cf. 3.3.3.). The other locative noun is etha- 'under'. Examples:

(85) et apam aen ehele-k
3SG:AOR come he towards-my
'He came towards me'

et apan aen vila ehele-i inhul uwun
3SG:AOR go he Vila towards-CONS son POSS:his
'He went to Vila to his son'

et atec a kuri etha-ncai
3SG:AOR sit SM dog under-tree
'The dog is sitting under the tree'

Other locative senses are conveyed by 'compound prepositions' — i.e. nouns compounds with either a or u. Those so far identified are given below:

(86) a-nloul- 'on top of'
a naha- 'beside'
a nepla- 'between'
a-nlii- 'inside'
ijhou a 'outside'
ijinjis a 'on top of'
itac a 'behind'
uhup a 'in front of'
itac acen pan u 'far from'
opopotet u 'near' (with nouns)
opopotet ehele- 'near' (with pronouns)

Some examples:

(87) et amen a intaketha a-nlii-i niom
3SG:AOR stay SM woman LOC-inside-CONS house
'The woman is inside the house'
et apam a pikad opopotet ehele-k
3SG:AOR come SM pig near towards-my
'The pig came near me'
et amen a kuri itac a niom
3SG:AOR stay SM dog behind LOC house
'The dog is behind the house'

3.3.2. Temporal phrases

Unmarked temporal phrases consist of temporal nouns like the following:

(88) inpiñ 'today'
imrañ 'tomorrow'
iynev 'yesterday'
itwuacen 'long ago'
kou 'now'

For example:

(89) et pu apam a risi-k imrañ
3SG:AOR FUT come SM mother-my tomorrow
'My mother is coming tomorrow'

Other temporal phrases are marked by the preposition a, whose use in locative phrases was discussed in 3.3.1. above. Examples:

(90) et apam aen a nouban?
3SG:AOR come he LOC time
'When did he come?'
et apam aen a nev-ouban?
3SG:AOR come he LOC which-time
'What time did he come?'
is iti yi hag aen a nuyaleg
PAST NEG eat he LOC morning
'He didn't eat in the morning/this morning'
is hag aek iyenev a nepeñ ka a'o?
PAST eat you:SG yesterday LOC night or no
'Did you (sg) eat last night?'
is hag añak a-njupura
PAST eat I LOC-evening
'I ate in the evening'
3.3.3. Other prepositional phrases

A number of other prepositional phrases are briefly discussed in this section.

Dative/benefactive

The major dative/benefactive preposition is imta-, which takes pronominal suffixes or the construct suffix:

(91) et tas imta-i tosei aen

3SG:AOR speak DAT-CONS Tosei he

'He spoke to Tosei'

ek pu yuabal imta-m

1SG:AOR FUT tell:story DAT-your:SG

'I will tell you (sg) a story'

As was noted above, the locative inalienably possessed noun ehele- is also used with a dative sense:12

(92) ek meret aŋak mika ki aŋaŋ yuabal ehele-m

1SG:AOR want I that 1SG:SUBJ tell story DAT-your:SG

'I want to tell you (sg) a story'

Capell also lists the preposition i, but I have only recorded one case of its use:

(93) is apan aen am tas im i tosei

PAST go he SEQ speak DAT Tosei

'He will go and speak to (i.e. have words with) Tosei'

Instrumental

The ubiquitous a functions also as an instrumental-marker:

(94) et atgi a pikad aen a-ŋpas

3SG:AOR kill pig he INS-axe

'He killed the pig with an axe'

ek pu atgi a pikad aŋak a nevitaŋ?

1SG:AOR FUT kill pig I INS what

'What will I kill the pig with?'

Referential

Again, a is used:

(95) is apan aen m-amjeg m-amjegacen a nesgi

PAST go he ES-sleep ES-dream ABOUT school

'He went to sleep and dreamt about school'

inyuabal a n-alaŋaheni

story ABOUT NOM-pray

'A story about religion/Christianity'
Comitative

Comitative phrases are introduced by pan followed by the locative preposition a:

(96) ... am lep udei-yin pan ira-i atimi is amen m-amenjina-yin
... SEQ again leave-him COM LOC-CONS persons PAST stay ES-look:after him
'And again they left him with the people who were looking after him'

is bar cif aen pan a nabun ira-n
PAST then eat he COM LOC crust LOC-its
'He then ate it with the crust on it'

Causative/purposive

Causative phrases are introduced by va-, whose other uses will be discussed in section 5 on sentence structure.

(97) et meret aen va-i sikaret
3SG:AOR want he CAUS-CONS cigarette
'He wants a cigarette'

et adia va-nhe?
3SG:AOR go:away CAUS-what
'Why did he go away?'

4. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Anejom clauses contain at most only one verb (although noun phrases which contain a numeral or an adjective preceded by STM particles will not be treated here as containing a clause). In this section we examine firstly verbless clauses. Following this, the basic arrangement of subject, verb, and object in intransitive and transitive clauses is discussed. This in turn is followed by a brief discussion of the syntax of other phrase types.

4.1. Verbless clauses

I have not elicited any verbless clauses (unless the last clause of the text in section 6 qualifies as a verbless clause). Equational clauses are basically intransitive verbal clauses, and use STM or tense/aspect particles:

(98) et uñak intal
3SG:AOR taro
'The taro is mine', 'It's my taro'

is atimi-alafaheni aen
PAST person-pray he
'He was a pastor/preacher'

... jai top inla u atua
... but just light POSS god
'... but it was just the light of God'

wat nepeñ, ...
TEMP night
'When it was night, ...'
Capell, however, states that there is one equational sentence type which can dispense with the predicate. This reverses the normal order predicate-subject, so that it is satisfactory to treat it as a subject with a zero predicate before it. There is also a slight difference in stress and intonation pattern. In such an utterance as natimared iyihki, 'this chief', the demonstrative follows the noun as usual. However, natimared iyihki may also be 'this is the chief', but then the stress on -ma- is stronger than in the descriptive phrase, and the tone (?) on iyihki falls rather more sharply to sentence-final. While, therefore, this type of utterance is grammatically only a phrase, syntactically it is a complete utterance, and must be regarded as the one exceptional type in the language. ... There is another ambiguous instance also, i.e. aek di aŋki? 'who are you?', lit.

aek di aŋki
you who this:one

Here there is the same reversal of normal order, but the type appears to be limited to the interrogative equational sentence type (C:8).

4.2. Basic verbal clause structure

In this section we examine the ordering of subject, verb, and object in intransitive and transitive clauses.

4.2.1. Intransitive clauses

The preferred order in intransitive clauses is verb + subject. Nominal subjects are preceded by the subject-marker a; pronominal subjects already have this a accreted to the pronominal stem (cf. 2.1.). Examples:

(99) et man apam a kuri
3SG:AOR PF come SM dog
'The dog has come'

ek pu hag aŋak
1SG:AOR FUT eat I
'I will eat'

et albas a pikad
3SG:AOR big SM pig
'The pig is big', 'The pig is getting big'

The order verb + subject is found in virtually every intransitive clause elicited so far. Only a very few cases of subject + verb have been elicited, and even one of these shows repetition of a pronominal subject in postverbal position:

(100) nejhe-n is upni aŋga
tooth-his PAST good all
'His teeth were all good'
n-omrag iy i is i tiyi imehe aen
NOM-old PREF PAST NEG sick he
'This old man wasn't sick'

4.2.2. Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses, the preferred order is verb + object + subject. Again, a marks the subject noun phrase, and a-initial focal pronouns are used as subject. Object pronouns are suffixed to verbs. Examples:

(101) et man ci M wametec a pikad
3SG:AOR PF eat sweet:potato SM pig
'The pig has eaten the sweet potato'

et awod kuri aen
3SG:AOR hit dog he
'He is hitting the dog'

et egei- M ak a deto
3SG:AOR hear-me SM Deto
'Deto heard me'

et acan numu a natimi ina
3SG:AOR spear fish SM man DEIC:SG:MID
'That man speared a fish'

The order object + verb + subject, as a variant of the normal order, has been found in some questions when the object is the focus of the question. Compare the following pairs of sentences below:

(102) na ecet nev-atimi aek?
2SG:AOR see which-man you:SG

nev-atimi yi na ecta-ai aek?
which-man PREF 2SG:AOR see-TRANS you:SG

'Which man did you (sg) see?'

(103) et awod neve-kuri aen?
3SG:AOR hit which-dog he

neve-kuri yi et awod aen?
which-dog PREF 3SG:AOR hit he

'Which dog did he hit?'

Capell also notes that the order verb + subject + object is possible if the object is lengthy, and gives the following example (C:17):

(104) na asa M aek intas itiyi ahajeg inen?
2SG:AOR speak you:SG word NEG understand this

'Did you (sg) speak this incomprehensible word?'

The only examples so far elicited of ditransitive clauses are with the verb 'give' and pronoun indirect objects. In these cases, the pronoun is suffixed to the verb and the direct object follows in normal position:

(105) ek pu alba-c nawutoga a M ak
1SG:AOR FUT give-you:SG knife I
'I will give you (sg) a knife'

I have no data on the behaviour of nominal indirect objects.
4.3. Expanded clauses

Generally, other kinds of phrases follow verb + object in intransitive clauses, and verb + object + subject in transitive clauses. Examples:

(106) is wat a lauj hu a a ra a nuyaleg, ...
   PAST TEMP go:out they:PL LOC morning, ...'
   'When they (pl) went out in the morning, ...'
   ... am asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i niom
   ... SEQ lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS house
   '... and the old man was lying inside the house'
   na man awod natim a aek iyenev
   2SG:A OR hit man you:SG yesterday
   'You (sg) hit the man yesterday'
   et apan aen vila ehele-i inha l uwun
   3SG:A OR go he Vila DAT-CONS son POSS:his
   'He went to Vila to his son'

In some cases, however, the subject may be moved to sentence-final position after prepositional phrases:

(107) is et tet i ra-i pi k a a nata'maf
   PAST meet LOC-CONS pig SM man
   'The man met up with a pig'
   nev-elcau yi et atga ira-n aen?
   which-canoe PREF 3SG:AOR travel LOC-its he
   'Which canoe did he go on?'
   et tas imta-k a tosei
   3SG:AOR talk DAT-my SM Tosei
   'Tosei spoke to me'

As in most languages, temporal phrases often occur in sentence-initial rather than postverbal position:

(108) nouban ina is lep ati n-imehe
   time that PAST also not:be NOM-sick
   'At that time also, there was no sickness'
   jai i npilꞏꞏ era itiyi atou akaja maka ...
   but today NSG:AOR NEG know we:INC:PL that ...
   'But today, we (pl.inc) don't know whether ...'

Oddly enough, however, the interrogative temporal phrase a nouban 'when?' is apparently not permitted to occur in sentence-initial position:

(109) is apan aen a nouban?
   PAST go he LOC time
   'When did he go?'
   *a nouban is apan aen?
   LOC time PAST go he
5. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

5.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences contain only one verb (although sentences containing noun phrases which include an STM particle plus adjective or numeral will also be classed as simple). This section examines sentence-types in Anejom — statements, commands, and questions. Naturally, an explanation of these types of simple sentences also applies to complex sentences; but the discussion on complex sentences in 5.2. focusses more on their internal structure than their function.

5.1.1. Statements

Numerous examples of statements in Anejom have been given in earlier pages, and there is little to be added here. While questions and commands are usually overtly marked in some specific way, statements are unmarked sentences.

5.1.2. Commands

The discussion on commands will be divided into sections on affirmative and negative commands.

Affirmative

In affirmative commands, the STM particles do not appear; the subject pronoun, however, is almost always present. Examples:

(110) hag aek
eat you:SG
'Eat! (singular subject)'

ayo aek im-hag
come you:SG ES-eat
'Come and eat! (singular subject)'

awod pikad ajowa
hit pig you:PL
'Beat the pig! (plural subject)'

Commands given to a non-second person usually involve the imperative of the verb udei 'leave, let', followed by a verb marked by subjunctive STM particles:

(111) udei-yin yi hag aen
let-him 3SG:SUBJ eat he
'Let him eat'

udei-ŋak ki apan ɑŋak
let-me 1SG:SUBJ go I
'Let me go'
Negative

Negative commands show a preverbal particle jîm:

(112) jîm hag aek
NEG:IMP eat you:SG
'Don't eat! (singular subject)'

jîm udei-yin yi hag aen
NEG:IMP let-him 3SG:SUBJ eat he
'Don't let him eat'

5.1.3. Questions

Yes-no questions

Questions demanding confirmation or denial may be encoded in two ways. First, a simple statement with final rising rather than falling intonation constitutes a question:

(113) is apam aen a nepeff?
PAST come he LOC night
'Did he come in the night?'

Second, a statement becomes a question when the clause is followed by ka a'o 'or not', often abbreviated as ka'o:

(114) is apam aen a nepeff ka a'o?
PAST come he LOC night or not
'Did he come in the night (or not)?'

Information questions

Information questions require the use of special interrogative bases. The locational interrogative eda 'where?' and the temporal interrogative a nOBan 'when?' have already been discussed in other contexts (3.3., 4.3.), and are briefly illustrated again here:

(115) na amen aek eda?
2SG:AOR stay you:SG where
'Where do you (sg) live?'

is adia aen a nOBan?
PAST go:away he LOC time
'When did he go away?'

et pu adia aen a nOBan?
3SG:AOR Fut go:away he LOC time
'When will he go away?'

In addition, the use of the interrogative prefix neve- was discussed above in 2.2.3. and 4.2.

A number of the other interrogative bases function as nouns. These include:

(116) di
'who?'

di imna 'who (non-singular)?
nevita'i 'what?' (cf. neve- + nitai 'thing')
inhe 'what?'
va-nhe 'why?'
va nevita'i 'why?'

Examples:

(117) et atgii pikad a di?
3SG:AOR kill pig SM who
'Who killed the pig?'

et aces di a pigad?
3SG:AOR bite who SM pig
'Whom did the pig bite?'

et attii incai u di aen?
3SG:AOR cut:down tree POSS who he
'Whose tree did he cut down?'

et cifi inhe aen?
3SG:AOR eat what he
'What is he eating?'

is atgii pikad a nataMafia ina a nevita'i?
PAST kill pig SM man that INS what
'What did that man kill the pig with?'

et adia aen va-nhe?
3SG:AOR go:away he CAUS-what
'Why did he go away?'

The remaining interrogatives function as heads of verb phrases. These include:

(118) echa 'why?'
ehed 'how many?'
awuri 'to do what?'

Examples:

(119) et echa et bar aces-yic a pigad?
3SG:AOR why 3SG:AOR then bite-you:SG SM pig
'Why did the pig bite you (sg)?'

era apam a natimi et ehed?
NSG:AOR come SM person 3SG:AOR how:many
'How many people came?'

et ika aen yi awuri?
3SG:AOR say he 3SG:SUBJ do:what
'What does he want to do?'

Finally, the (verbal?) form owo nev was observed translating the English interrogative 'how?':

(120) et owo nev adia aen?
3SG:AOR how which(?) go:away he
'How did he leave?'
5.2. Complex Sentences

The amount and quality of data available on various complex sentence types are quite variable. In this section, I look first at various kinds of coordination, and then at a number of cases involving subordination.

5.2.1. Coordinate clauses

There is a considerable amount of data on sequential action and relativisation (which in Anejom is expressed by coordination), but not nearly so much on disjunction and alternation.

Sequential action

When the subjects of the two clauses are different, the two clauses may be joined by the connective jai, and the verb in the second clause will normally contain at least one of the aspect markers am 'sequential action', lep 'also, again', or bar 'then, next'. A few sentences have been elicited where the STM marker has been deleted from the second clause, but generally these are retained. Examples:

(121) is man upcii apam aen jai is bar amjeg aŋak
PAST PF first come he and PAST then sleep I
'I came and then I slept'

is ecet deto a tosei is am lav aen
PAST see Deto SM Tosei PAST SEQ laugh he
'Tosei saw Deto and then she (Deto) laughed'

is ect-ai pikad a nataMaŋ is am athut m-adia
PAST see-TRANS pig SM man PAST SEQ run ES-go-away
'The man saw the pig and it ran away'

et acan numu aen am acan nahou aŋak
3SG:AOR spear fish he SEQ spear turtle I
'He speared a fish and I speared a turtle'

When the subjects of both clauses are the same, similar structures to those discussed above may be used. In these cases, however, the STM particles on the second verb seem to be almost invariably omitted, and the subject of the second clause is also normally deleted:

(122) ek pu hag aŋak jai bar amjeg
1SG:AOR FUT eat I and then sleep
'I will eat and then sleep'

et man apam a pikad am hag
3SG:AOR PF come SM pig SEQ eat
'The pig came and ate'

is ecet deto a tosei am lav
PAST see Deto SM Tosei SEQ laugh
'Tosei saw Deto and laughed'

Compare especially this last example in (122) with the second example in (121) to see the difference between the two types.
However, when the subjects of both clauses are the same, there is another structural option. This involves the use of the echo-subject marker $m$- which is prefixed to the first morpheme in the verb phrase; if this morpheme is consonant-initial, $m$- becomes $im$-. STM and aspect particles may not be used in the verb phrase when $m$- is used. It appears that $m$- is most commonly used when the preceding verb is one of motion, although in a number of examples which I have elicited the type with $m$- may occur in apparent free variation with the type described above. The examples below are all taken from the text in section 6.

(123) apan aara $m$-aihec-vai-yin $m$-taf $ira$-n
  go they:PL ES-greet-CAUS(?)-him ES-cry LOC-his
  'They (pl) went to farewell him and to cry over him'

  wat nepef amen aara am ecet inla iyi is
  TEMP night stay they:PL SEQ see light PREF PAST

  asuol asuol $m$-apan im-taujai $ira$-i $n$-omrag iyi
  descend descend ES-go ES-touch LOC-CONS NOM-old PREF

  'When it was night they stayed and saw that light coming
down, and it went and touched that old man'

  is man omrag upnii amen $m$-itiyi atou $m$-atga-sjipe
  PAST PF old good he ES-NEG know ES-walk-about
  'He was very old and wasn’t able to walk about'

  is itiyi imehe aen jai $m$-amen $m$-ajgan nouban mas
  PAST NEG sick he and ES-stay ES-wait:for time die
  'He wasn’t sick, he was just waiting for the time to die'

Relativisation

Relativisation in Anejom does not involve any specific marking of the relative clause. Rather, the relative clause is simply appended to the main clause:

(124) ek atou natimi iyi aŋak na awod aek iyenev
  1SG:AOR know person PREF I 2SG:AOR hit you:SG yesterday
  'I know the person whom you (sg) hit yesterday'

  et man apan vila a natimi iyi is hegei tal
  3SG:AOR PF go Vila SM person PREF PAST eat:up PL:taro

  uŋak a pikad uwun
  POSS:my SM pig POSS:his

  'The man whose pig ate up my taro has gone to Vila'

Other types of coordination

Alternation involves the use of the conjunction $ka$ "or", which was discussed above with reference to yes-no questions (section 5.1.3.). Disjunction involves the use of the conjunction $jam$ "but", which is illustrated in the following sentence taken from Capell’s MS:
(125) et pu itiyi mas aen jam umu
3SG:AOR FUT NEG die he but live
'He will not die, but will live'.

5.2.2. Subordination

A number of different types of subordination for which data are available will be discussed briefly below:

Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses use the aspect markers wat in the past and wut in the future, along with the regular STM particles (which, however, are often deleted in discourse, as will be pointed out in 5.4. below). Examples:

(126) wut amen ajowa wut nadiat-atumop wut alañaheni
TEMP:FUT stay you:PL TEMP:FUT day-rest TEMP:FUT pray
ajowa a nuyaleg wat alaujuh män apam m-aihec-vai-mak
you:PL LOC morning TEMP go:out PF come ES-greet-CAUS(?)-me
'When you are there praying on Sunday morning, and when you have come out (from Church), then you must come and farewell me'

is wat yetpan ina is wat alaujuh aara
PAST TEMP arrive SM time that PAST TEMP go:out they:PL
a nuyaleg, män ajujai natimi asga ehele-n
LOC morning, PF go:east person all DAT-his
'When the time arrived, and when they had come out (of Church) in the morning, then all the people went east to see him'

Conditions

Conditions were apparently expressed by the particle elet, optionally followed by wut or wat. Example:

(127) elet wut apam aen, na pu ecet-yin aek
COND TEMP:FUT come he, 2SG:AOR FUT see-him you:SG
'If he comes, you (sg) will see him'

According to informants, however, this is a style of speech now used only by old people, and is thus apparently dying out. In the modern language, conditions tend to have one of the following structures:

(a) STM particle + wut or wat, which means that this type of conditional clause is indistinguishable from the temporal clause:

(128) ek wut itiyi apan anejom aMak, ek pu itiyi ecet-yic
1SG:AOR TEMP:FUT go Aenityum I, 1SG:AOR FUT NEG see-you:SG
'If I don't go to Aenityum, I won't see you (sg)'
et wat ehe iyenev, ek amen a nemnem
1SG:AOR TEMP rain yesterday, 1SG:AOR stay LOC home
'If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed at home'
(b) elet + condition, elet + main clause. It may be coincidental that the only examples I have of this structure are with negative conditions.\textsuperscript{16}

(129) elet itiyi amap uwun iyenev, elet bar top
COND NEG come POSS:his yesterday, COND then just
amen a nemnem akaja
stay LOC home we:INC:PL

'If he hadn't come yesterday, we (inc.pl.) would have just stayed at home'

(c) The most common modern structure, however, involves the use of wut or wat, optionally preceded by the STM particles, and followed by the verb ika 'say, want'; the verb of the actual condition follows this clause, and it normally takes subjunctive STM particles. Examples:

(130) et wut ika aen yi apam, na pu ecet-yin aek
3SG:AOR TEMP:FUT say he 3SG:SUBJ come, 2SG:AOR FUT see-him you:SG
‘If he comes, you (sg) will see him’

et wut ika et idim itiyi ehe iyenev, ek
3SG:AOR TEMP:FUT say 3SG:AOR ASSERT NEG rain yesterday, 1SG:AOR
pu idim apan m-asjaña
FUT ASSERT go ES-fish

‘If it didn’t rain yesterday, I would have gone fishing’

Quotations

Quotative sentences involve the quotative verb ika with no introductory particle before the quotation:

(131) kis ika aľak, 'ek pu apam imraľ'
1SG:PAST say I, "1SG:AOR FUT come tomorrow"
‘I said, "I will come tomorrow"’

is ika a jon, 'ek pu apan aľak imraľ'
PAST say SM John, "1SG:AOR FUT go I tomorrow"
‘John said, "I will go tomorrow"’

Compare these examples of direct speech with similar examples of reported speech:

(132) kis ika aľak kis pu apam imraľ
1SG:PAST say I 1SG:PAST FUT come tomorrow
‘I said I would come tomorrow’

is ika a jon is pu apan imraľ
PAST say SM John PAST FUT go tomorrow
‘John said he (John) would go tomorrow’

is ika a jon kis pu apan aľak imraľ
PAST say SM John 1SG:PAST FUT go I tomorrow
‘John said I would go tomorrow’

Complementation

This discussion of quotative sentences leads naturally into a treatment of complementation, and it can be seen from the examples above that quotative complements do not require any introductory conjunction. Most other complements, however, require a conjunction or nominalisation of the verb.
The conjunction which introduces complements is mika, which is presumably (historically, at least) echo-subject marker m- + ika 'say, want'. The verb in the complement takes regular STM markers: aorist or past if the complement is realis (e.g. after 'know', 'hear', etc.), subjunctive if the complement is irrealis (e.g. after 'want', etc.). Examples:

\[(133)\] ek atou afake mika et man apam a natini ina
1SG:AOR know I that 3SG:AOR PF come SM man that
'I know that that man has come'

ek egei afake mika is man apam a etma-m vila
1SG:AOR hear I that PAST PF go SM father-your;SG Vila
'I heard that your (sg) father had gone to Vila'

ek meret afake yia apam aen imraff
1SG:AOR want I that 3SG:SUBJ come he tomorrow
'I want him to come tomorrow'

et meret aen mika ki apam afake iyenev
3SG:AOR want he that 1SG:SUBJ come I yesterday
'He wanted me to come yesterday'

Nominalisation of the verb in the complement clause is another alternative method of expressing complements; this is used particularly, though not solely, when the subjects of both clauses are the same. Nominalisation involves prefixation of n- and suffixation of -vaq, which has some (as yet to me unclear) relationship with the causative preposition va. Examples:

\[(134)\] ek meret afake n-apam-vaq imraff
1SG:AOR want I NOM-come-NOM tomorrow
'I want to come tomorrow'

ek iti yi meret afake n-apam-vaq aen imraff
1SG:AOR NEG want I NOM-come-NOM he tomorrow
'I don't want him to come tomorrow'

Result

Result clauses are introduced by vaq-ni 'because'.

\[(135)\] et aces-fake a pikad vaq-ni ek asjii-yin afake a-nhat
3SG:AOR bite-me SM pig because 1SG:AOR shoot-him I INS-stone
'The pig bit me because I threw a stone at him'

is apam aen vila vaq-ni is imehe aen
PAST go he Vila because PAST sick he
'He went to Vila because he was sick'

5.3. Locative sentences

In addition to regular sentences containing locative phrases, as exemplified in 3.3.1. above, Anejom possesses another type of locative sentence whose grammar is quite different. No mention of this type is made by Capell or by Inglis (1882); here I merely present the data, since I am unable to satisfactorily analyse these sentences.
In this type of locative sentence, the verb is preceded by a (STM?) particle elaŋ (glossed here as LOC:STM), and is followed by one of two deictics: the near deictic ni, indicating the closeness of the subject to the speaker, or the mid deictic na, indicating that the subject is at some distance from the speaker. The underlying subject of the sentence appears in the alienable possessive form. Some examples:

(136) elaŋ apan ni uľak a naĩritai
    LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS:my LOC garden
    'I am going to the garden'

elaŋ apan ni uľak im-hag
    LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS:my ES-eat
    'I am going to eat'

elaŋ hag ni uľak
    LOC:STM eat DEIC:NR POSS:my
    'I am going to eat'

elaŋ apan na u natamaf ina viľa
    LOC:STM go DEIC:MID POSS man that Vila
    'That man is going to Vila'

elaŋ apan ni u natamaf ina viľa
    LOC:STM go DEIC:NR POSS man that Vila
    'That man (near me) is going to Vila'

The marker elaŋ may occur, with the same type of construction, with heads of verb phrases which are not verbs:

(137) elaŋ eda na uwun?
    LOC:STM where DEIC:MID POSS:his
    'Where is he going'

elaŋ ehele-k na uwun
    LOC:STM DAT-my DEIC:MID POSS:his
    'He is coming towards me'

In one case, in a negative conditional, a similar construction was elicited; however, the marker elaŋ was replaced by the conditional marker ele t, and the deictic was not present. The full example is given as (129) above; I repeat here only the condition:

(138) ele t itiyi apam uwun iyenev ...
    COND NEG come POSS:his yesterday, ...
    'If he hadn't come yesterday, ...'

Two factors suggest that these sentences should be treated as nominalisations: the presence of the deictics following the verbs, and the use of alienable possession to express the underlying subject. Against that interpretation, however, must be put the fact that the verbs in each case are not themselves nominalised: there is no n- prefix or -vaŋ suffix. The marker elaŋ does not appear in either Inglis' or Capell's grammar sketches, and while it bears some resemblance phonologically to the sequence el an reported by Inglis, this sequence is in fact el 'conditional' + an 'second person singular subject prefix', which appears to have little to do at least with the semantics of the sentences in (136) and (137). I present this data without analysis, then, since it appears to be an interesting aspect of Anejom grammar and one which clearly requires further research.
A second type of locative sentence is even less well understood. Consider the following examples:

(139) yek aen et etec a nemnem
3SG:LOC he 3SG:AOR stay LOC home
'He is at home'

yek aen a nauritai
3SG:LOC she LOC garden
'She is in the garden'

*et yek aen a nauritai
3SG:AOR 3SG:LOC she LOC garden

Capell (C:20) gives the following example:

(140) etwa-m yek eda?
brother-your:SG 3SG:LOC where
'Where is your (sg) brother?'

In this example, "the particle yek marks the third singular equation, like ap and ak for first and 2nd persons respectively". We find (C:9) the following examples of these latter particles:

(141) aek ak eda?
you:SG 2SG:LOC where
'Where are you (sg)?'

añak ap anki
I 1SG:LOC this
'Here I am'

It is clear that ap, ak, and yek (a) cannot be preceded by the regular STM particles, and yet (b) function in some way as verbs in locative sentences. This remains a topic for further investigation.

5.4. Subject-marking in discourse

As may have already become obvious from a number of the examples given above, the rules for subject-marking, especially though not only in connected discourse, admit of some variation. The following possibilities should be noted:

(a) In cases where the basic tense is obvious from the context, and the person and number of the subject is clear from an overt pronominal or nominal subject, the STM particles may be omitted. Thus, in context, both sentences in (142) are acceptable:

(142) ek attii incai añak iyenev
1SG:AOR cut:down tree I yesterday
'I cut down the tree yesterday'

attii incai añak iyenev
cut:down tree I yesterday
'I cut down the tree yesterday'

(b) Conversely, a pronominal subject may be deleted if its person and number are adequately marked by an STM particle, and if the subject is recoverable from context. Thus again, (143) would be an acceptable version, in context, of the examples given in (142):
(143) ek attii incai iyenev
1SG:AOR cut:down tree yesterday
'I cut down the tree yesterday'

(c) Thirdly, there are a few cases where the nominal subject, especially of an
intransitive clause, is not preceded by the subject-marker a. Again, the
important point seems to be that a may be omitted only if confusion would
not result. Example:

(144) et man apam pikad im-ciff wametec
3SG:AOR PF come pig ES-eat sweet:potato
'The pig came and ate the sweet potato'

These points should be kept in mind when the text in the next section is
examined.

6. TEXT

The text given below tells the story of the early Aneityumese Christians.
It was told to me in Port Moresby by Deto Wimae. The text is given first
morpheme-by-morpheme in Anejom with interlinear English morpheme glosses, and
this is followed by a fairly free English translation.

nuyaleg upnii John. ek meret amfak mika ki asea yubal
morning good John. 1SG:AOR want I that 1SG:SUBJ tell story
ehel-om a nuyaleg ini. et epjedepjed inyubal ini, inyubal a
DAT-your:SG LOC morning this. 3SG:AOR short story this, story ABOUT
n-alafaheni a-nrijai 3SG:AOR:SG Anejom itwuacen. Maya, itwuacen is wat
NOM-pray ABOUT-arrival LOC-its Aneityum long:ago. yes, long:ago PAST TEMP
top am rijai n-alafaheni Anejom is ecvan upnii n-imsijis n-invijic
just SEQ arrive NOM-pray Aneityum PAST strong good NOM-believe NOM-true
u atimi ehele-i atua. is lep amen upnii natimi am amen upra.
POSS PL:person DAT-CONS god. PAST also stay good person SEQ stay long.
is ago-ra n-imsijis n-invijic ehele-i atua is atou nouban ine
PAST make-them:PL NOM-believe NOM-true DAT-CONS god PAST know time this
aara is pu tii ira-n.
they:PL PAST FUT no:longer LOG-ite.

Maya, is amen a n-omrag is ithii Ahajom, jai is atimi-alafaheni
yes, PAST stay SM NOM-old PAST one Ahajom, but PAST person-pray
aen am amen niomi-avtaitai. is amen aen n-omrag upnii. is amen natimi
he SEQ stay house-PL:book. PAST stay he NOM-old good. PAST stay person
m-amenjinai-yin. nouban ina is lep ati n-imehe, m-itiyi imehe
ES-look:after-him. time that PAST also be:not NOM-sick, ES-NEG sick
natimi m-amen n-omrag upnii ja bar ememas. Maya, n-omrag iy i is itiyi
person ES-stay ES-old good but then PL:die. yes, NOM-old PREF PAST NEG
imehe aen. nejhe-n is upnii asga. is wat ika aen yi hag jam
sick he. tooth-his PAST good all. PAST TEMP want he 3SG:SUBJ eat so
avitan intal ine is ahen acred is cascas jai is bar cin aen pan
want:eat taro this PAST roast scrape PAST crisp but PAST then eat he COM
m-amen aen jai imyimin alañaheni wat atga-sjipe
LOC crust LOC-its. ES-stay he so repeatedly pray TEMP walk-back:and:forth
natimi a nepeñ wat elad-pan a niom uwun jam ectsai is atau-naju
person LOC night TEMP look-to LOC house POSS:his so see:TRANS PAST illuminated
ira-n, fan la ira-i bensin lam edecvañ. Mäya, jai top inla u
LOC-its, like light LOC-CONS benzene lamp like:it. yes, but just light POSS
atau yi amen aen wat yetpan a nouban ini is ika yi tii
god 3SG:SUBJ stay he TEMP arrive SM time that PAST want 3SG:SUBJ no:longer
am apraf-se intas Umej mika "wut amen ajowa wut nadiat-atumop
SEQ send-down word Umej that "TEMP:FUT stay you:PL TEMP:FUT day-rest
wut alañaheni ajowa a nuyaleg wat alaujhu man apam m-aihec-va-flak".
TEMP:FUT pray you:PL LOC morning TEMP come:out PF come ES-greet-CAUS(?)-me".
Mäya, is wat yetpan a nouban ina is wat alaujhu aara a nuyaleg,
yes, PAST TEMP arrive SM time that PAST TEMP come:out they:PL LOC morning;
man ajujai natimi asga ehele-n. apan aara m-aihec-vai-yn im-tañ
PF go:east person all DAT-his. go they:PL ES-greet-CAUS(?)-him ES-ory
ira-n is itiyi fi mas aen jai n-evam yi mika is aihec-vai-yn
LOC-his PAST NEG yet die he but NOM-show 3SG:SUBJ that PAST greet-CAUS(?)-him
aara am atou aara mika mu itiyi lep ectet-yn. Mäya, wat ago
they:PL SEQ know they:PL that FUT/HOR NEG again see-him. yes, TEMP do
ini pan aara am lep udei-yn pan ira-i atimi is amen
this ? they:PL SEQ again leave-him COM LOC-CONS PL:person PAST stay
m-amenjinai-yn. wat nepeñ amen aara am ecet inla iyi is asuol,
ES-look:after-him. TEMP night stay they:PL SEQ see light PREF PAST descend,
asuol m-apan im-taujai ira-i n-omrag iyi wat tii-pan wat
descend ES-go ES-touch LOC-CONS NOM-old PREF TEMP no:longer-there TEMP
etcei-pan-yn a ilpu-atimi-amenjinai-yn is man ahiwi aen, man mas aen.
feel-there-him SM HUM:PL-person:look:after-him PAST PF cold he, PF die he.

Mäya, is lep amen n-omrag is echei is lep ici aen, is amen
yes, PAST also stay NOM-old PAST another PAST also thus he, PAST stay
aen eitei Anouyac, is lep ici aen, is omrag upnii aen, is lep amen
he at(?) Anouyac, PAST also thus he, PAST old good he, PAST also stay
natimi m-amenjinai-yn. is man omrag upnii aen m-itiyi atou m-atga-sjipe.
person ES-look:after-him. PAST PF old good he ES-NEG know ES-walk:back:and:
forth.

jai is itiyi imehe aen jai m-amen m-ajgan nouban mas. amen aara wat
but PAST NEG sick he but ES-stay ES-wait:for time die. stay they:PL TEMP
yetpan a nouban is ithii is man atou aen mika mu ude-ra. amen
arrive SM time PAST one PAST PF know he that FUT/HOR leave-them:PL. stay
a tijiraki is amen m-amenjinai-yn ijhou m-atec im-yubal am
asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i niom. (ek lep anag a nida-ra
lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS house. (1SG:AOR also forget ABOUT name-their:PL
amak jai et am apan inyubal ini m-ici). asjec a n-omrag a-nlii-i
I but 3SG:AOR SEQ go story this ES-thus). lie SM NOM-old LOC-inside-CONS
niom jai nepef yi am ege-yin attaj is amen aen im-tas. rectidai attaj house but night PREF SEQ hear-him they:TR PAST stay he ES-talk. get:up they:TR m-athut m-apan a-nlii-i niom, am ika is ithii, 'n-omrag, nevitai yi ES-run ES-go LOC-inside-CONS house, SEQ say PAST one, "NOM-old, what PREF na amen aek m-asam?" is am ika aen, 'a'o, era amen akaja 2SG:AOR stay you:SG ES-say?" PAST SEQ say he, "no, NSG:AOR stay we:INC:PL m-apan u n-alaframahen et amen a natimi-n-nalaframaheni m-ika et etec ES-go LOC NOM-pray 3SG:AOR stay SM person-NOM-pray ES-say 3SG:AOR be inpeke-upnii am etec ipeke-has. jai inpif era itiyi atou akaja mika place-good SEQ be place-bad. but today NSG:AOR NEG know we:INC:PL that et invijic intas uwun aen ka et acil. jai amen akaja wut 3SG:AOR true word POSS:his he or 3SG:AOR false. but stay we:INC:PL TEMP:FUT ika afak ki ude-coutaj ka cowa mu top elad-jai ajoutaj want I 1SG:SUBJ leave-you:TR or you:PL FUT/HOR just look-east you:TR a-netjai uwun inworen ineft et retjai inMojev-a-nuyaleg ira-n. LOC-rising POSS:its place this 3SG:AOR rise STAR-LOC-morning LOC-its. wut ika ajoutaj ri ecet inla y-asuol, mu imysijis TEMP:FUT say you:TR NSG:SBJ see light 3SG:SBJ-descend, FUT/HOR believe n-invijic ajoutaj mika et invijic et etec inpeke-upnii im inpeke-has". NOM-true you:TR that 3SG:AOR true 3SG:AOR be place-good and place-bad".


Maya, is man lep ude-n a tijiraki m-alaujhu m-amén ijhou. yes, PAST PF again leave-them SM three:people ES-go:out ES-stay outside. is lep tii n-amjeg. amen attaj wat yetpan a nouban iyi et PAST again no:longer NOM-sleep. stay they:TR TEMP arrive SM time PREF 3SG:AOR asam a n-omrag a nithut-u-nadiat, am ecet inla iyi is asuol-asuol say SM NOM-old LOC dawn-POSS-day. SEQ see light PREF PAST descend-descend
Good morning, John. I want to tell you a story this morning. It's a short story, about the arrival of Christianity on Aneityum long ago. Well, long ago, when Christianity had first arrived on Aneityum, people's belief in God was very strong. People lived well, and they lived long. And their faith in God allowed them to know when they were going to die.

There was an old man at Ahajom, and he was a religious man and had a library. He was very old, and some people were looking after him. At that time also there was no sickness, and people did not get sick but lived to a ripe old age and then died. Well, this old man wasn't sick. He had all his teeth. When he wanted to eat he roasted taro and scraped off the crisp bits and ate it with the crust still on. He prayed repeatedly, and anyone walking around at night could see that his house was all lit up, as if he had a benzene lamp; but this was the light of God. There came a time when he was ready to die, and he sent word down to Umej as follows: "When you go to church on Sunday morning, when you have come out, come and take leave of me". So the time came, and the people came out of church and went east to see him. They went and took leave of him and they cried over him; he hadn't yet died, but this was to show that they were farewelling him because they knew that they wouldn't see him again. So they did this and then left him again with the people who were looking after him. When night came they saw a light descending, and it came down and touched the old man and disappeared, and when the people looking after him felt him, he was cold—he was dead.

Well, there was another old man like this living at Anouyao; he was just like this, very old, and he also had people looking after him. He was so old that he couldn't walk about. But he wasn't sick, he was just waiting for his time to die. A time came when he knew that he was going to leave them. The three people looking after him were sitting outside telling stories, and the old man was lying inside the house. (I've also forgotten their names, but this is how the story goes.) The old man was lying inside the house, and that night they heard him talking. They got up and ran inside the house, and one of them said, "Old man, what were you saying in here?". He replied, "We go to church and the pastor says that there is a Heaven and a Hell. But today we don't know whether his words are true or false. We are here now, but when I leave you three or all of you just look towards the east where the morning-star rises. If you see a light descending, you can believe that there is a Heaven and a Hell".
Well, there they were; the three people went away and stayed outside and again sat round chatting, while the old man lay inside the house. And again they heard him talking. So again they got up and went inside the house and asked him, "Old man, what were you saying in here?". And he replied, "Oh, I was lying here and I saw two people coming. They came here dressed in white, and they carried white clothes. The two of them came and stood beside me and said that if they came again at dawn, they would take me with them".

So the three people left him again and went and stayed outside. But there was no more sleep. They stayed until the time the old man had spoken about, and at dawn they saw a light descending in the place he had talked about, and it came into the chimney of the house and touched the old man's forehead and disappeared, and then went to his toes and then disappeared. So the three people went inside the house, but when they felt the old man, he was cold—he was dead.

Well, that's the end of this story of ours; but, John, it's a true story.

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Not included on this list are various forms of the pronouns, which are listed elsewhere (focal forms in (11), objective forms in (36), and possessive forms in (72 and (74)), and also the various deictics, listed in (45)- (48).
NOTES

1. I am grateful to Deto Wimae and Thomas Niditauae for providing much of the data on which this paper was based; to the University of Papua New Guinea for research funds, and to that University and the Australian National University for assistance with a period of study leave during which this paper was written; and to Darrell Tryon and Don Laycock for comments on an earlier draft.

2. The traditional orthography either did not distinguish /p/ from /b/ or /m/ from /n/, or else wrote the velarised labials as simple labials with a following u. The palatal nasal received various treatments in the orthography: n, ny, and ig (finally) were the most common. Hewitt (1966) uses ð and ﹆ for the velarised labials.

3. Compare the dual suffix -rau with the numeral erou 'two', and the trial suffix -taj with esej 'three'.

4. One of my informants (Deto Wimae) said that the -rau termination is used by speakers in the east of the island and the -rou termination by speakers in the west.

5. The preposing of /i/ seems to be a regular morphophonemic process in the language to break up an unacceptable initial consonant cluster: note the discussion in 5.2.1. regarding the echo-subject prefix m-, which becomes im- before verbs or preverbal morphemes beginning with a consonant.

6. This variation between elpu- and ilpu- is an example of the more general fluctuation between /i/ and /e/, which was discussed in 1.2. above.

7. The form etpo- 'grandparent' shows an intrusive /r/ in the plural formation - ilpur-etpo-n 'his grandparent' for **ilpu-etpo-n.

8. "The following is the list [of now non-productive prefixes] worked out by Kern, with the meanings provisionally assigned to them ... [but] without the diachronic comparisons made by him" (C:32-33):

   1. aha- ~ ahe- ~ oh- "makes reference to time and space relationships. Kern says '(they) serve to indicate that the action in the stem takes in a stretch of time or spreads over a certain space" (C:35).
      Examples: ahboi 'slap', ahboboi 'olap', ahpeto 'grow a second time', ahele 'sail'.

   2. a + nasal: imperfective. Examples: agrei 'break, as waves', agsei 'pluck leaves', antim 'mock'.

   3. ava-: causative. "Kern says 'this is only a prefix in appearance, really nothing but a variant pronunciation of aua, 'make', 'cause'" (C:35). In modern Anejom, forms with ava-, awa-, and awo- can be recognised: avahpak 'bruise', avaktit 'take by force', awanipîm 'smell', awonentam 'buy', awotyatafîl 'perform in the manner of a man', etc.

   4. eh-, "occasionally ah-, has two uses, desiderative and directive. The latter is primary, 'direct oneself to' the idea indicated by the stem" (C:35). Examples: ehtowou 'fight', ehtihe 'be envious', ehtele 'be hungry'.

   5. ehc- ~ ahc-, probably derived from POC *paka-, is a causative: ehcobos 'appear', ehcîl 'join, splice'.
6. ehr-, probably from POC *paRi-, is reciprocal: ehramen 'live together',
ehriciM 'eat together', ehratga 'go together'.

7. Capell and Kern record imi- ~ imy- as a causative, but it also appears
to have a comitative sense: imyapam 'bring' (cf. apam 'come'), imyapan
'take along' (cf. apam 'go'), imyatii 'cause to put' (cf. atii 'put'),
imyedou 'take for a walk' (cf. edou 'wander').

8. ta- "the common Austronesian prefix of spontaneity, is found petrified
in certain words" (C:36): talulu 'drown', talala 'pass out of sight',
tallek 'be bad, ruined'.

9. The older speaker referred to is Thomas Niditauae, who worked with me in
Tanna in 1975. The younger speaker, Deto Wimae, worked with me in Port
Moresby in 1981.

10. In the trial, Inglis (1882) gave only tajis for all persons. Capell,
however, isolated the first exclusive, second, and third person forms
from Bible translations, and extrapolates the first inclusive (which is
thus shown in square brackets). Inglis has intis for the first inclusive
plural, but since this is homophonous with the dual form it is probable
that it is a misprint and that Capell's form is correct.

11. Capell gives the forms eti and ti, but itiyi seems to be the common modern
negative.

12. Note the morphophonemic change here in ehelo-m for expected **ehele-m.

13. One informant suggested that the difference between inhe and nevitali was
that inhe was used specifically if one was pointing at or indicating an
object, or if it was in sight, whereas nevitali had a more general use.
Note also that the fluctuation between /e/ and /i/ mentioned in 1.2.
above occurs very frequently with nevitali, nivitali being almost as
commonly heard.

14. Compare the discussion in 2.2. regarding the noun-marker n- (before vowels)
~ in- (before consonants). That the /i/ in the form im- is epenthetic was
not noticed by previous analysts, who thus took im- to be the same morpheme
as the conjunction joining noun phrases, and saw m- as merely a reduced
form of this.

15. It is probable that elet derives from an earlier el (conditional) + et
(3rd singular aorist). Inglis (1882:38) gives, for the 'subjunctive'
singular, the forms elek (1st), el an (2nd), and el et (3rd).

16. For an explanation of the possessive as subject, see 5.3.
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LYNCH, John

RAY, S.H.
A TIKOPIA PHONOLOGY

Daniel D. Dodenhoff

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a phonemic analysis of the Tikopia language. A description is given of the phoneme, syllable, word and phrase levels.

Tikopia is a 'Polynesian Outlier' in the British Solomon Islands. It is located at approximately 12° S 169° E. The island is 2.25 square miles of inactive volcano surrounded by a coral reef. The crater contains a fresh water lake which covers about one-fourth of the total area, mountains cover about half and level sandy beaches cover the remaining fourth of the island.

The speech community at present (1975) is about 2000, although some estimates are as high as 5000. About 1000 live on Tikopia, 500 in the Russell Islands, 400 on San Cristobal, 100 in Honiara and a small group on Vanikoro. Because these colonies were started in this generation there is little or no difference in dialects. There is little bilingualism on Tikopia but almost everyone in the colonies speaks Solomonese, the Melanesian-English creole which is the lingua franca of the Solomon Islands.

The previous work on Tikopia is best summarised by Biggs (1971)

Tikopia culture is better known than that of any other Polynesian society but published study of the language is limited to a rather inadequate wordlist (Durra 1926-7) and an article on the existence of l and r (Firth 1963), an unusual phonemic feature in Polynesia.

The description which follows comes from data collected in the field during the (southern) academic year of 1974, while the author was engaged in linguistic and ethnomusicological research in the British Solomon Islands.

The author is indebted to the Tikopia of Nukufero, Russell Islands; Nukukaisi, San Cristobal; Honiara, Guadalcanal and Namo, Tikopia. Assistance was mainly provided by Mark Vaka, Aron Teopa and Philip Koria although many Tikopia were helpful on linguistic matters.

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SANTA CRUZ

POLYNESIAN

LANGIUA

ANUTA

LANGUAGES

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Non - Austronesian

Non - Austronesian with very strong Austronesian influence.

ANUTA Language name

Malaita Island name

BILUA

Kilometres

100

200

Bourgainville

Choiseul

New Georgia

Santa Isabel

Savosavo

Guadalcanal

San Cristobal

KIPOPIA

OUTLIERS

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2. PHONEME LEVEL

2.1. Phoneme chart

2.1.1. Consonants

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<td>k</td>
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<td>g</td>
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<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>v</td>
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2.1.2. Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Higher</strong></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3. Description of contrastive features

There are eleven consonant phonemes in Tikopia which contrast in manner of articulation between stops, nasals, lateral, trill and fricatives.

Stops and nasals contrast in point of articulation as to labial, dental-alveolar, and velar. The lateral occurs at dental point of articulation, the trill at alveolar. The fricatives occur at labial and alveolar points of articulation.

There is contrast between front and back vowels as to higher and lower tongue positions. The lower central vowel occurs with the tongue in the neutral or non-flexed position and contrasts with front and back vowels as to flexed positions.

2.2. Description

2.2.1. Consonant contrasts

The following consonants contrast in word initial and medial positions.

The trill and lateral

/r/ and /l/

/laŭ/    ['laŭ]   'dance'
/raŭ/    ['raŭ]   'leaf'
/soľo/   ['soľo]   'melt'
/sorō/   ['sorō]   'whet axe'
The alveolar and velar nasals
/n/ and /ŋ/

/nau/ ['nau] 'mother'
/ŋau/ ['ŋau] 'chew'
/mana/ ['mana] 'father'
/maga/ ['maga] 'fork in tree'

The voiced and voiceless labiodental fricatives
/f/ and /v/

/vaka/ ['vaka] 'canoe'
/faka/ ['faka] 'very'
/tovi/ ['tɔvi] 'boat'
/tofi/ ['tɔfi] 'garden'

The dental stop and alveolar grooved fricative
/t/ and /s/

/se/ ['se] 'not'
/te/ ['tæ] 'the'
/fetari/ [fe'tarı] 'wait'
/esari/ [esarı] 'gave'

2.2.2. Consonant variants

The oral stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ occur word initial and medially. Each has an aspirated allophone (pʰ), (tʰ) and (kʰ) which occur preceding the high back vowel /u/.

/p/ (pʰ) voiceless bilabial aspirated stop
(p) voiceless bilabial stop

/pe/ ['pe] 'throw'
/tupə/ ['tʰupə] 'white crab'
/puna/ ['pʰuna] 'grandfather'
/fakanupu/ ['faka'nupu] 'draw water'

/t/ (tʰ) voiceless dental aspirated stop
(t) voiceless dental stop

/te/ ['tæ] 'the'
/fetari/ [fetarı] 'wait'
/τu/ ['tʰu] 'out'
/ftu/ ['ʃtu] 'stone'

/k/ (kʰ) voiceless velar aspirated stop
(k) voiceless velar stop

/kasi/ ['kasi] 'spoon'
/kuka/ ['kʰuka] 'embers'
/mauku/ ['maukʰu] 'grass'
The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ has a semivowel allophone (w) which occurs medially following the high back vowel /u/.

/v/ (v) voiced labiodental fricative
(w) voiced high back rounded semivowel
/tovi/ [ˈtɔvi] 'boat'
/tauvi/ [ˈtɔwɔ] 'buy'
/vai/ [ˈvai] 'water'

The following consonants each have a single allophone, the phonetic norm, which occur initially and medially.

/m/ (m) voiced bilabial nasal
/ma/ [ˈma] 'and'
/mama/ [ˈmama] 'priest'

/n/ (n) voiced alveolar nasal
/na/ [ˈna] 'his'
/mana/ [ˈmana] 'father'

/g/ (g) voiced velar nasal
/qa/ [ˈqa] 'the'
/maga/ [ˈmaga] 'fork in tree'

/l/ (l) voiced lateral
/laoi/ [ˈlaoi] 'good'
/solo/ [ˈsolo] 'melt'

/r/ (r) voiced alveolar trill
/ro/ [ˈro] 'ant'
/soro/ [ˈsoro] 'whet axe'

/f/ (f) voiceless labiodental fricative
/fai/ [ˈfai] 'try'
/tofi/ [ˈtɔfi] 'garden'

/s/ (s) voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
/se/ [ˈse] 'not'
/əsi/ [ˈəsi] 'big'

2.2.3. Vowel contrasts

The five vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ contrast with each other in the peak slot of syllables occurring in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/
/kgi/ [ˈki] 'to'
/ke/ [ˈke] 'you'
/ka/ [ˈka] 'future'
2.2.4. Vowel variants

Each of the three lower vowels /e/, /a/ and /o/ has two allophones which occur in free variation.

/e/ /e/ mid open front unrounded vocoid
/e/ mid close front unrounded vocoid

/pet/ ['peti] ∼ ['peti] 'fat'
/ema/ [e'mao] ∼ [e'mao] 'far from'
/te/ ['te] ∼ ['te'] 'the'
Each of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ has a single allophone which occurs in the peak slot of stressed and unstressed syllables.

/i/ (i) voiced high close front unrounded vocoid

/i/  ['i]       'in'
/tofi/  ['tofi] 'garden'

/u/ (u) voiced high close back rounded vocoid

/u/  ['u]       'crab'
/maru/  ['maɾu] 'speaker'

3. SYLLABLE LEVEL

For Tikopia, a syllable is defined as a single mora of length consisting of a nucleus of one or two vowels with an optional onset of a single consonant.

3.1. Syllable contrasts

There are four emic syllable types /v/, /vv/, /CV/ and /CVV/ which contrast in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/v/  /o/          ['o]      'of'
/vv/ /ao/         ['ao]     'no'
/CV/ /te/         ['te]     'the'
/CVV/ /sea/       ['sea]    'what'
/V/ /esari/      [e'sari] 'flow'
/vv/ /laoi/       ['laoi]   'good'
/CV/ /toru/       ['tɔɾu]   'three'
/CVV/ /maroa/     ['maɾoa] 'bachelor'

3.2. Distribution of phonemes into the syllable

Any consonant may occur in the onset slot of syllables. Any vowel may occur in the peak of syllables with all vowel combinations occurring in complex nuclei except combinations of like vowels.
4. PHONOLOGICAL WORD LEVEL

The phonological word is a stress group within which syllables are distributed and it is itself distributed within the phonological phrase. It is composed of an obligatory nucleus with optional preceding and/or following margins. Primary stress ('') occurs once in each phonological word, predictably on the penultimate syllable of each morpheme occupying the nuclear position. Reduplicated words behave as two separate words in this respect. Primary stress is phonetically defined by slightly higher pitch, intensity and length.

Any syllable type may occur as a monosyllabic phonological word. There is no restriction of distribution of the syllable types /V/, /VV/, /CV/ or /CVV/ in the phonological word.

/V/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/VV/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/CV/ and /CVV/ occur in nuclear and margin

5. PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE LEVEL

5.1. Phonological phrase

The phonological phrase or pause group is the unit consisting of words and is itself distributed within the phonological sentence or final pause.

The nucleus of the phonological phrase is the nuclear syllable of the first phonological word. That nuclear syllable contains the loudest and longest vowel, and the one highest in pitch.

5.2. Contrastive phonological phrase types

There are three emic phonological phrase types /./, /,/ and /?/ which contrast as to melody and meaning.
5.2.1. Statement phrases

/./ and // contrast by the relative rise or fall of pitch on the last syllable before pause. A rising pitch signals more information to come before final pause which is indicated by a falling pitch on the last syllable. There is no limit to the phonological sentence but the norm observed is two non-final preceeding the final phrase.

'tera 'koke e'masi ma'matu, 'marie 'mua, 'penia 'mau 'kafa

that you should think slow first think we do

5.2.2. Interrogative phrases

/??/ question intonation contrasts with the above in melody and meaning. It consists of a rising from a midpitch on the first stressed syllable to a high pitch then falling to a low on the last syllable of the phrase.

'sea? what

'kuai na i'goa? who his name

6. MORPHOPHONEMICS

6.1. Elision

Elision occurs between root and minor morphemes within the phonological word. Vowels of the same quality in close transition are never rearticulated, the two adjacent vowels of the same quality become a single vowel of normal length in normal speech.

/kau/ ['ka'aou] 'come, future'
/arara/ ['a'ra'a'ra] 'make story'

6.2. Vowel loss

Vowel loss occurs in rapid speech, most often in reduplicated forms when a stop is preceeded by a front vowel.

/po'ipo'oi/ ['po'ip'o'i] 'morning'
/pesepese/ ['pes'pes] 'sing'

7. ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESES

7.1. Stress and vowel length

Stress occurs on the nucleus of each phonological word with the effect of rising pitch, intensity and adding slightly to the length of the vowel.

Vowel length does not occur in my phonetic data but has been recorded in the language as follows:
Rev. W.J. Durrad recorded length twice, from fieldwork May and June 1910;

\[(\text{ma'tea}) \quad \text{'great, many, vary'}\]

\[(\text{ma'etua}) \quad \text{'husband'}\] note also \((\text{matua}) \quad \text{'wife'}\)

and from Raymond Firth, fieldwork 1928-9 and 1952, recorded length contrastive once. (Firth 1963)

\[(\text{la'la'}) \quad \text{'plenty'}\]

\[(\text{lala}) \quad \text{'hymen, small vulva'}\]

Firth states "long vowels occur in some other words also but are not marked because they are not contrasted with similar words with short vowels".

I have checked the examples from Durrad and found that the word \((\text{ma'tea}) \quad \text{'much'}\) when occurring in normal speech has no vowel length and normal stress. However, the word when occurring in isolation, especially at a time of excitement, could be said to have length on the first syllable. I prefer to regard this as stress which may be intensified in exclamations.

The second example \([\text{ma'etua}] \quad \text{'husband'}\) is now pronounced consistently as \([\text{ma'tua}] \quad \text{'spouse'}\).

The example from Firth which shows contrast may have been a loan word, or length as a contrastive feature may have become obsolete. At present there is no \((\text{la'la'}) \quad \text{'plenty'}\) and the \((\text{lala}) \quad \text{'small vulva'}\) is used only as profanity.

Vowel length also occurs when an isolated vowel is functioning as a word, especially in reply. This is also predictable.

\[/a/ \quad [a] \text{ or } [a'] \quad \text{'yes, I told you so'}\]

\[/e/ \quad [e] \text{ or } [e'] \quad \text{'you don't say, wow'}\]

In the literature it is best not to double vowels to show exclamations although one informant insisted on using double letters instead of using the ((icon) exclamation mark.

One other variation not included is the \([\text{A}] \quad \text{'yes'}, [\text{A}] \quad \text{voiceless low open central unrounded vocoid with ingressive lung air. This is used as a synonym of } /a/ \quad \text{'yes'} \text{ when close to a speaker.}"

7.2. Vowel allophones

It is likely the vowel allophones are restricted to certain environments. Because little transcription was made in the first three months, when the author began transcribing he was 'semi-emic' and only recorded very obvious variations. An environment of high or fronted sounds seems to pull \([a] \text{ to } [\alpha], [o] \text{ goes to } [\partial] \text{ with backed sounds and } [r], [e] \text{ seems to go to } [\epsilon] \text{ contiguous with phonemes where the midpart of the tongue is neutral, and other vowels seem to influence } [e].

8. ORTHOGRAPHY

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<td>/ʔ/</td>
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<td>?</td>
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</table>

9. SAMPLE TEXT

**Phonetic**
'tanea 'etau 'faga 'tsasi 'kefai, 'kafe 'siei. 'sea na'tamai

**Orthographic**
an ea et au f a ga ta s i ki f ai , ka p e s i ei . s e a n a t ama i

**Word meaning**
things should do or no what reason

**Translation**
Things that I should do or not do. What motives

'kuou 'ka'ai 'ko'a 'nea 'faka 'pe'fa, 'kafe 'siei. 'tera 'koke e'masi ma'na'hu,
kuou ka fai ko a nea fakapera, kape siei. tera koke emasi manatu,
I do name the thing thus or no. that you should think
I have for decisions. That you should think about

'penia 'mau 'kai. 'koke ka'vaga, 'kafe 'siei? ma'na'hu 'ma'rie. ma'na'hu 'koke
penia mau kai. koke kavanga, kape siei? manatu marie. manatu koke
things we do. you marry or not. think slow think you
your actions. Should you marry or not? Think slowly. You must think

'kai, 'te ta'qata e'masi 'pena 'pena 'faka 'laoi. 'penia 'mana 'kai 'keau 'laoi.
ka fai, te tangata emasi penapena fakala o i. penia ma na kai keau laoi.
do the man should prepare very good. things and he do come good.
because the man must be well prepared. Then everything will work out.
'sea na tamai 'khuou 'kapoi ki 'take 'nofo 'raqa, 'sea 'tea 'laoi, 'khuou 'kaono
sea na tamai kuou kapoi ki raoke noforanga, sea te a laoi, kuou kaono
what reason I go to other place what the good I see
What if I want to go to another country, what reason I have to

'kiei. 'khuou ka'sepoi, 'ania 'kau 'ravea 'sea 'te pa'fiki 'kau. 'tepa 'koke
ki ei. kuou ka se poi, ania kau ravea sea te pariki kau. tera koke
to it. I will not go things come see what the bad come now you
go see it. I do not know what comes next, maybe something bad happens. Therefore

emasi ma'na'thu, 'ma'fie 'mua, 'penia 'mua 'kafai.
emasi manatu, marie mua, penia mua kafai.
should think slow first things we do.
you should think carefully before acting.

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