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I A I GRAMMAR

by

Darrell T. Tryon



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## PREFACE

*This monograph is based on linguistic material collected during fieldwork in the Loyalty Islands, under the auspices of the Australian National University, during the period May to December 1965, and in July 1966.*

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*Canberra 1968.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The Loyalty Group consists of three main islands which are parallel to the axis of New Caledonia and situated approximately eighty miles to the east of it. These islands lie from N.W. to S.E. between 21°10' and 21°41' S. lat. and between 166°20' and 168°20' E. long. The group consists of three main islands, from north to south: Ouvéa, Lifou and Maré.

This study examines the Iai language, spoken on Ouvéa, the northernmost island of the group. It has approximately 1000 speakers who live in the southern half of the island; the northern half and the tiny island of Mouli, which is situated at the southern tip of Ouvéa, are inhabited by a Polynesian population of some 1000 who speak Uvea.

The earliest studies of these languages include:

- |                |                       |  |
|----------------|-----------------------|--|
| 1847           | Rev. G. Turner        | Word List in <i>Samoan Reporter</i>  |
| 1850           | Rev. J. Inglis        | Word List in <i>Report</i>   |
| 1852           | A. Cheyne             | Word List in <i>Description of the islands in the Western Pacific</i>                    |
| 1860<br>& 1873 | H.C. von der Gablentz | <i>Die Melanesischen Sprachen</i><br>I & II  |
| 1882           | G. von der Gabelentz  | <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der melanesischen, mikronesischen und papuanischen Sprachen</i> |
| 1888           | G. Müller             | "Die Sprache von Nengone" in <i>Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft.</i>                    |



The Bible was translated into Iai in 1901 by the London Mission Society. Little else has been published in Iai except books of hymns and psalms.

More recent studies of Iai appear in:

- S.H. Ray            *The Melanesian Island Languages*, Cantab.,  
1926
- M. Leenhardt      *Langues et Dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie*,  
Paris, 1946.

Unfortunately, Ray's work is based solely on Bible translations, and although scholarly is far from comprehensive. Leenhardt's work is an excellent general compendium, but again one which lacks the detail required for a satisfactory description. It was because of this rather scanty information that fieldwork was undertaken by the author in order to present a more comprehensive description than those previously attempted.

This work represents a departure from the traditional presentation in that it makes use of a combined tagmemic and transformational approach. Tagmemics as developed by Pike<sup>1</sup> and Longacre<sup>2</sup> and tested on many different languages, especially by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is suitable for this work because it allows the presentation of a grammatical unit at any hierarchical level as slot plus filler class, and facilitates comparison with other languages. Some ideas from transformational grammar have also been adopted because they show concisely the generative relationships between different constructions on the clause, phrase and word levels.

Pike's<sup>3</sup> and Longacre's<sup>4</sup> grammatical matrix system also offers a clear and concise presentation of non-Verbal Clause Types, which are common in the Nengone language. This combination of tagmemics, transformational grammar and grammatical matrix system has been tested successfully by Nguyen Dang Liem<sup>5</sup>, whose model is here being tested with respect to Melanesian languages.

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<sup>1</sup>K.L. Pike, *Language*, Glendale, California, 1954, 1955, 1960.

<sup>2</sup>R.E. Longacre, *Grammar Discovery Procedures*, The Hague, 1964.

<sup>3</sup>K.L. Pike, "Discourse Analysis and Tagmemic Matrices".  
*Oceanic Linguistics III, i*, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>R.E. Longacre, "Transformational Parameters in Tagmemic Field Structures", Georgetown University Monograph No.18, 1965.

<sup>5</sup>Nguyen Dang Liem, *A Contrastive Phonological and Grammatical Study of English and Vietnamese*, Canberra, 1966. A.N.U.

### *List of Abbreviations*

[ ]	encloses phonetic transcriptions
/ /	encloses phonemes
#	pause with falling intonation
/	pause with gradually rising intonation
//	pause with sharply rising intonation
V	vowel phoneme
C	consonant phoneme
S	subject tagmeme
Pr	predicate tagmeme
Act	active voice
Pass	passive voice
Intr	intransitive
Tr	transitive
Acc	accompaniment tagmeme
Ap	apposition
Ben	benefactive tagmeme
C	cause tagmeme
Cl	clause
Co	complement
Dec	declarative
Dem	demonstrative
Dep	dependent
Det	determiner
DO	direct object tagmeme

Eq	equational
Freq	frequency tagmeme
H	head
Id	identificational
Imp	imperative
Inf	infinitive
Inst/Ag	instrumental/agentive tagmeme
Interr	interrogative
IO	indirect object tagmeme
L	location tagmeme
Mann	manner tagmeme
Mod	modifier
N	noun
Neg	negative
NS	non-subject
Num	numeral
P	purpose tagmeme
Phr	phrase
Pl	plural
Pn	pronoun
Poss	possession/possessor
Q	question
Rel	relative
RelAx	relator-axis
Sg	singular
St	stative
T	time tagmeme

Phonetic terminology and symbolisation  
follow Trager 1958.

## 1. PHONOLOGY

### Phonological Units:

A Iai utterance containing no pauses and not more than one syllable bearing primary stress is a *word*.

A *syllable* is a segment which may be stressed, together with the surrounding segments uttered on the same breath-pulse.

A *nucleus* is a syllable peak.

### 1. Stress

In Iai, stress is non-phonemic. It is conditioned by the syllable and nuclear structure of the word.

There are three degrees of stress in Iai: primary stress, secondary stress and unstress. These three degrees of stress occur as follows:

#### (a) Primary Stress

Primary stress always occurs on the first syllable of the word.

#### (b) Secondary Stress

Secondary stress occurs on the final syllable of all tri-syllabic words, while it occurs on the penultimate syllable in words of more than three syllables.

#### (c) Unstress

The syllable nuclei not covered by (a) and (b) are unstressed.

**Examples:**

Primary stress = [ˈ]; secondary stress = [ˑ]; unstress = unmarked.

Words of one syllable: /kɔ̃/ whale; /lú/ girl; /bán/ his head; /jón/ back.

Words of two syllables: /mómo/ woman; /hínat/ old man; /bárin/ his forehead; /únen/ skin.

Words of more than two syllables: /émakàn/ eye; /máhiñèn/ uncle; /húčučè/ lightning; /báarakòñen/ ear.

**2. Juncture and Pauses**

In the texts given at the end of the Grammar -

- # will represent a pause with sentence final intonation
- / will represent a pause with sentence-medial intonation
- // will represent a pause with rising interrogative intonation
- ... will represent a hesitation by the speaker.

**3. Intonation**

In Iai, the functional load of contrastive intonation is slight, being significant only in interrogative clauses, which are not often marked by segmental morphological features.

Thus three intonation patterns emerge:

**(a) Question Intonation**

Interrogation, whether marked or not by segmental features, has an intonation consisting of a sharp rise to a high pitch on the stressed syllable of the final word, the same pitch being maintained in any succeeding syllables.

**(b) Sentence Final Intonation**

The sentence final form is characterised by a fall in pitch of the stressed syllable of the final word. This fall may occur on a single syllable or be spread over the other secondary stressed or unstressed syllables.

## (c) Sentence Medial Intonation

In bipartite sentences, such as those expressing condition, a sentence medial intonation exists, consisting of a gradual rise in pitch marking the end of the first part of the statement.

## 4. Phonemics and Orthography

## Iai Phoneme Chart

## Consonant Phonemes:

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops:</b>									
Unaspirated	vl.	p			t	t̡		k	
	vd.	b b <sup>w</sup>			d	d̡		g	
Affricated	vl.						ʧ		
	vd.						ʤ		
Fricatives:	vl.	ɸ	f	θ	s			x	h
	vd.			ð					
<b>Resonants:</b>									
Lateral	vl.				l̥				
	vd.				l				
Nasals	vl.	m̥ m̥ <sup>w</sup>			ɲ̥		ɲ̥	ŋ̥	
	vd.	m m <sup>w</sup>			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Median	vl.	w̥							
	vd.	w			r				

**Vowel Phonemes:**

Front	Central	Back	
i    ü		u	
e    ø		o	+ length
ɛ    ö		ɔ	
æ	a		

**5. Allophonic Variations affecting Classes of Phonemes**

1. The voiced/voiceless contrast is neutralised with stops in the absolute final position. Only voiceless stops occur finally.
2. Word final phonemes /p t k ʈ/ become /b ð g r/ when followed by a word commencing with a vowel.

**Examples:** /lap/ family            /lab aŋ/ this family  
 /at/ man                        /að e/ that man  
 /hak/ fence                    /hag aŋ/ this fence  
 /mokuʈ/ to sleep            /mokur ele/ to sleep there

**5.1. Allophonic Variations of Consonants**

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
/p/	[p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop	in all occurrences	as noted above under 2.

**Examples:** /pučo/ [pučo] to speak; /karopæ/ [karopæ] boat;  
 /lap/ [lap] family; /op/ [op] hole.

/b/	[b] voiced unaspirated bilabial stop	in all occurrences	as noted above under 1.
-----	---	-----------------------	-------------------------------



Phoneme            has allophone            in environment            except

**Examples:** /bi/ [bi] to make; /haba/ [haba] then; /kiben/  
[kiben] grandfather.

/b<sup>w</sup>/            [b<sup>w</sup>] voiced            initially and  
                  unaspirated            intervocali-  
                  labialised            cally; does  
                  bilabial            not occur  
                  stop            finally

**Examples:** /b<sup>w</sup>i/ [b<sup>w</sup>i] to dream; /öb<sup>w</sup>e/ [öb<sup>w</sup>e] you two;  
/b<sup>w</sup>iḷañ/ [b<sup>w</sup>iḷañ] a gift of food.

/t/            [t] voiceless            in all            as noted  
                  unaspirated            occurrences            above  
                  alveolar            under 2.  
                  stop

**Examples:** /tehi/ [tehi] moon; /ñomakatu/ [ñomakatu] morning;  
/ot/ [ot] crayfish.

/d/            [d] voiced            in all            as noted  
                  unaspirated            occurrences            above  
                  alveolar            under 2.  
                  stop

**Examples:** /da/ [da] boy; /hidöu/ [hidöu] bachelor.

/t̚/            [t̚<sup>r</sup>] voiceless            in all            as noted  
                  unaspirated            occurrences            above  
                  retroflex            under 2.  
                  affricate

**Examples:** /t̚en/ [t̚<sup>r</sup>en] rich; /iwat̚eta/ [iwat̚<sup>r</sup>eta] argument;  
/xet̚/ [xet̚<sup>r</sup>] sermon; /θuṭ an/ [θur an] to fish here.

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
/d̥/	[d̥] voiced unaspirated retroflex stop	in all occurrences	as noted above under 1.
<b>Examples:</b>	/ɖa/ [ɖa] blood; /m̥ɖa/ [m̥ɖa] bone; /d̥in/ [d̥in] hawk.		
/k/	[k] voiceless unaspirated velar stop	in all occurrences but slightly labialised before /ɔ/	as noted above under 2.
<b>Examples:</b>	/kɔ/ [k <sup>w</sup> ɔ] whale; /kia/ [kia] to break; /ŋomakatu/ [ŋomakatu] morning; /walak/ [walak] game.		
/g/	[g] voiced unaspirated velar stop	in all occurrences	as noted above under 1.
<b>Examples:</b>	/gan/ [gan] big; /baga/ [baga] man; /ʃebigö/ [ʃebigö] noon; /wagöwe/ [wagöwe] a wave.		
/p̥/	[p̥] voiceless bilabial fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/p̥ö/ [p̥ö] on purpose; /p̥ata/ [p̥ata] to weed a field; /ü̥piö/ [ü̥piö] to joke.		
/f/	[f] voiceless labio-dental fricative	in all occurrences	

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
<b>Examples:</b>	/fɛč/ [fɛč]	to kick;	/fana/ [fana] a bow; /waʃileu-fat/ [waʃileufat] rainbow; /ofifič/ [ofifič] a trap.
/θ/	[θ] voiceless dental fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/θi/ [θi] false;	/θöt/ [θöt] a youth;	/ɳaθu/ [ɳaθu] true; /uθunöŋ/ [uθunöŋ] ear.
/ð/	[ð] voiced dental fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/ðö/ [ðö] imperative;	/geðen/ [geðen] road.	
/s/	[s] voiceless alveolar fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/soi/ [soi] shovel;	/sö/ [sö] to cut;	/wasatɔ/ [wasatɔ] oar; /wisa/ [wisa] well; /onas/ [onas] Onas (name of an island).
/č/	[č] voiceless alveopalatal affricate	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/čak/ [čak] my leg;	/neüčan/ [neüčan] sole of the foot;	/θeduoč/ [θeduoč] poor; /kɔŋhöč/ [kɔŋhöč] sorcerer.
/ʃ/	[ʃ] voiced alveopalatal affricate	in all occurrences	as note above under 1.

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
<b>Examples:</b>	/ʃö/ [ʃö] bone; /ʃü/ [ʃü] to whistle; /weʃiʃi/ [weʃiʃi] deaf; /ʃiʃinɔ/ [ʃiʃinɔ] to shake.		
/x/	[x] voiceless velar fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/xača/ [xača] one; /xata/ [xata] to know; /üxaü/ [üxaü] dress; /eoxulit/ [eoxulit] short.		
/h/	[h] voiceless glottal fricative	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/ham/ [ham] to give; /hom/ [hom] to take; /wahanič/ [wahanič] orange; /behelök/ [behelök] lizard.		
/l̥/	[l̥] voiceless alveolar lateral resonant	in all occurrences (sometimes fricated)	
<b>Examples:</b>	/l̥o/ [l̥o] to find; /wal̥o/ [wal̥o] trochus shell; /l̥it̥/ [l̥it̥ʰ] black.		
/l/	[l] voiced alveolar lateral resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/lo/ [lo] two; /leünen/ [leünen] feather; /čiluk/ [čiluk] trepang.		
/m̥/	[m̥] voiceless bilabial nasal resonant	in all occurrences	

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
<b>Examples:</b>	/m̥/ [m̥] reef; /m̥u/ [m̥u] club; /bo̥m̥ɛn/ [bo̥m̥ɛn] tongue; /hu̥ŋḁm̥i/ [hu̥ŋḁm̥i] tribe, village; /walele̥m̥æ/ [walele̥m̥æ] spider.		
/m/	[m] voiced bilabial nasal resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/me/ [me] with; /mun/ [mun] owl; /omanapo/ [omanapo] paw-paw fruit; /omæküñi/ [omæküñi] mushroom; /ɛm/ [ɛm] yes; /m̥olom/ [m̥olom] central house post.		
/m̥ <sup>w</sup> /	[m̥ <sup>w</sup> ] voiceless labialised bilabial nasal resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/m̥ <sup>w</sup> ɛlɛn/ [m̥ <sup>w</sup> ɛlɛn] underneath; /som̥ <sup>w</sup> eča/ [som̥ <sup>w</sup> eča] old woman.		
/m <sup>w</sup> /	[m <sup>w</sup> ] voiced labialised bilabial nasal resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/m <sup>w</sup> i/ [m <sup>w</sup> i] to have been to; /im <sup>w</sup> iñ/ [im <sup>w</sup> iñ] difference, problem. Compare: oüñkümiñ (heart)		
/ŋ/	[ŋ] voiceless alveolar nasal resonant	in all occurrences	

Phoneme            has allophones            in environment            except

**Examples:** /ᵛa/ [ᵛa] to leave; /ᵛaθu/ [ᵛaθu] true; /huᵛaᵛi/ [huᵛaᵛi] village; /εseᵛeᵛ/ [εseᵛeᵛ] sweet.

/n/            [n] voiced            in all  
                                alveolar            occurrences  
                                nasal  
                                resonant

**Examples:** /na/ [na] a little; /nu/ [nu] coconut tree; /mεᵛo/ [mεᵛo] bird; /mano/ [mano] cloth; /dᵛn/ [dᵛn] sap; /gan/ [gan] big.

/ᵛ̃/            [ᵛ̃] voiceless            in all  
                                alveopalatal            occurrences  
                                nasal  
                                resonant

**Examples:** /ᵛ̃i/ [ᵛ̃i] in; /ᵛ̃imen/ [ᵛ̃imen] mouth; /seᵛ̃in/ [seᵛ̃in] happy; /üᵛ̃ikᵛ̃n/ [üᵛ̃ikᵛ̃n] small.

/ᵛ̃̃/            [ᵛ̃̃] voiced            in all  
                                alveopalatal            occurrences  
                                nasal  
                                resonant

**Examples:** /ᵛ̃̃i/ [ᵛ̃̃i] tomorrow; /ᵛ̃̃in/ [ᵛ̃̃in] neck; /hiᵛ̃̃en/ [hiᵛ̃̃en] his mother; /labeᵛ̃̃in/ [labeᵛ̃̃in] shoulder; /ᵛ̃̃aᵛ̃̃/ [ᵛ̃̃aᵛ̃̃] sky; /liameᵛ̃̃eiᵛ̃̃/ [liameᵛ̃̃eiᵛ̃̃] brother.

/ᵛ̃̃̃/            [ᵛ̃̃̃] voiceless            in all  
                                velar            occurrences  
                                nasal  
                                resonant

**Examples:** /ᵛ̃̃̃iᵛ̃̃̃/ [ᵛ̃̃̃iᵛ̃̃̃] to sneeze; /ᵛ̃̃̃iᵛ̃̃̃eᵛ̃̃̃/ [ᵛ̃̃̃iᵛ̃̃̃eᵛ̃̃̃] night.

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
/ŋ/	[ŋ] voiced velar nasal resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/ŋenu/ [ŋenu] to walk; /tɛŋe/ [tɛŋe] to cry; /böŋöč/ [böŋöč] black sea snake; /d̥iŋ/ [d̥iŋ] hawk; /kɔŋ/ [kɔŋ] God.		
/w̥/	[w̥] voiceless bilabial median resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/w̥a/ [w̥a] to build; /w̥öge/ [w̥öge] strong; /kawa/ [kawa] hot.		
/w/	[w] voiced bilabial median resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/wa/ [wa] person class particle; /wahanič/ [wahanič] orange; /iwaɾ/ [iwaɾ <sup>r</sup> ] pandanus; /wagöwe/ [wagöwe] river.		
/r/	[r] voiced alveolar median resonant	in all occurrences	
<b>Examples:</b>	/čiron/ [čiron] to cook; /örin/ [örin] they; /sɛr/ [sɛr] to shut oven door.		

## 5.2. Allophonic Variations of Vowels

Allophonic variation in Iai (Ouvéa) is slight because of the relatively high number of vowel phonemes.

Phoneme	has allophone	in environment	except
/i/	[i] high	in all	
	front	occurrences	
	unrounded	except before	velars
	vocoid		
	[i̠] high	when followed	
	middle	by a vowel	
	unrounded		
	semi-vocoid		
	[i̡] higher	before	
	middle	velars	
	unrounded		
	vocoid		

Note: the contrast [i̠in] to envelop  
[i̡in] to ask

does exist; but as it is the only example of this contrast, for purposes of orthography the vowels of these words will be treated as [i] and [i̡].

**Examples:** /iñɔ/ [iñɔ] oven; /kibɛn/ [kibɛn] grandfather; /bi/ [bi] to make; /elɪn/ [elɪn] then; /dɪn/ [dɪn] hawk; /kɔiö/ [kɔiö] water.

/e/	[e] higher mid	in all	
	front	occurrences	
	unrounded		
	vocoid		

**Examples:** /ebe/ [ebe] to wish; /señin/ [señin] happy; /sēñin/ [sēñin] tired; /mɛ/ [mɛ] a reef; /ele/ [ele] there.



Phoneme            has allophone            in environment            except

/ɛ/            [ɛ] lower mid            in all  
                 front            occurrences  
                 unrounded  
                 vocoid

Examples: /ɛt/ [ɛt] yesterday; /ēt [ēt] a fish net; /kiben/  
[kiben] grandfather; /æč/ [æč] shark.

/æ/            [æ] higher low            in all  
                 front            occurrences  
                 unrounded  
                 vocoid

Examples: /mæk/ [mæk] to wake; /māk/ [māk] heavy; /omægeðen/  
[omægeðen] track; /mæ/ [mæ] skin; /ebæ/ [ebæ] no;  
/ütæküköu/ [ütæküköu] to cross one's legs.

/a/            [a] low            in all  
                 central            occurrences  
                 unrounded  
                 vocoid

Examples: /at/ [at] man; /āt/ [āt] wound; /hiŋat/ [hiŋat] old  
man; /emakan/ [emakan] eye; /ɖa/ [ɖa] blood.

/ɔ/            [ɔ] lower mid            in all  
                 back            occurrences  
                 rounded            except before  
                 vocoid            velars

[ɔ̃] lower mid            before velars  
                 back  
                 rounded  
                 nasal  
                 vocoid

Phoneme has allophone in environment except

Examples: /wɔ/ [wɔ] to see; /wɔ̄/ [wɔ̄] fish; /ɔk/ [ɔk] raft;  
/gɔgɔ/ [gɔgɔ] to jump with surprise; /kɔŋ/ [kɔŋ]  
God.

/o/ [o] higher mid in all  
back occurrences  
rounded  
vocal

Examples: /omono/ [omono] fine; /omonō/ [omonō] ridicule;  
/omakiñ/ [omakiñ] testicles; /boɱen/ [boɱen] tongue;  
/xop/ [xop] man.

/u/ [u] high in all  
back occurrences  
rounded  
vocal

Examples: /luma/ [luma] to laugh; /lūma/ [lūma] to thatch;  
/utö/ [utö] wood; /hučuče/ [hučuče] lightning;  
/hanu/ [hanu] a spirit; /ñomakatu/ [ñomakatu] morn-  
ing.

/ü/ [ü] high in all  
front occurrences  
rounded  
vocal

Examples: /ülain/ [ülain] male breast; /üeto/ [üeto] stone;  
/leün/ [leün] hair; /ṇahüṇjö/ [ṇahüṇjö] wrist; /oxü/  
[oxü] star; /uoü/ [uoü] high tide.

/ö/ [ö] lower mid in all  
front occurrences  
rounded  
vocal

Phoneme                has allophone                in environment                except

**Examples:** /ötin/ [ötin] we plural inclusive; /seünö/ [seünö] sun; /hidöu/ [hidöu] bachelor; /göwe/ [göwe] ditch; /ʃö/ [ʃö] bone.

/ø/                    [ø] higher mid                    in all  
                          front                                 occurrences  
                          rounded  
                          vocalic

**Examples:** /møk/ [møk] death, illness.

This is a rare phone in Iai, but as it contrasts with words such as /bökö/ my head, it has been set up as a phoneme.

## 6. Syllable and Phrase Structure

Syllable Structure:

The syllable in Iai is a significant unit only for the prediction of stress.

The syllabic N is always V, as semi-vowels do not exist in Iai with the exception of [ɲ] as an allophone of /i/. Any N may be preceded or followed by any C, or may be both preceded and followed by C.

Examples of Syllable Nuclei:

V:                    /a/ he (Past Tense); /u/ you (Object).  
(C)V:                /ðö/ Imperative marker; /lö/ leaf; /kɔ/ whale;  
                          /mɔ/ very; /ɭu/ girl.  
V(C):                /at/ man; /iɕ/ to drink; /ot/ fear; /em/ yes.  
(C)V(C):            /θöt/ youth; /dɔn/ sap; /ñin/ neck; /ɕan/ his  
                          leg; /θan/ Chief.

## 7. Morpheme Structure

In Iai, a CVCV pattern is the most common. No clusters of CC may occur, although WV or VVV are often in evidence.

Examples of Iai morpheme structure of not more than four phonemes from shortest to longest are as follows:

V:	/a/ he (Past Tense); /u/ you (Object)
CV:	/kɔ/ whale; /ŋa/ to leave
VC:	/at/ man; /iɕ/ to drink
VV	/io/ again
CVC:	/θöt/ youth; /ŋot/ forest
VCV:	/atö/ elder (sister); /oge/ I (Past Tense)
CVV:	/ŋei/ country; /xöü/ to hit
VVC:	/aεɕ/ shark; /üen/ time
VVV:	/uoü/ high tide; /eɔu/ soon
CVCV:	/momo/ woman
CVVC:	/leün/ hair
VCVC:	/unen/ skin
CVVV:	/köiö/ water
VVCV:	/üeto/ stone
VCVV:	/üxaü/ garment

The most common morpheme structures with more than four constituents are as follows:

CVCVC:	/kiben/ grandfather
CVCVV:	/wasaü/ passage
CVVCV:	/seünö/ sun
VCVVC:	/iwain/ beard
CVVVC:	/ʃeüæn/ buttocks

## 8. Restrictions on Phoneme Occurrence

Phonemes /ŋ r æ/ do not occur word initially.

In the word final position, only vowels, or the consonants /p t ɕ k c m n ŋ ñ r/ may occur; that is to say that words end in a vowel, an unvoiced stop, an affricate or a nasal.

The sequence CC may occur across a word boundary, but not otherwise.

Sequences of identical consonants do not occur within the word.

## 2. CLAUSE LEVEL ANALYSIS

### 1. Clause Classes

#### 1.0. Introductory

There are eleven classes of Iai Clause Types, determined by some common identificational-contrastive features of internal structure and distribution of the Classes in the larger matrix:

1. Independent Declarative Clause Class
2. Independent Imperative Clause Class
3. Independent Yes-No Interrogative Clause Class
4. Independent Interrogative Subject Clause Class
5. Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Class
6. Independent Extra Interrogative Clause Class
7. Dependent Subject Clause Class
8. Dependent Non-Subject Clause Class
9. Extra Dependent Clause Class
10. Dependent Relative Clause Class
11. Defective Clause Class.

These eleven Clause Classes are grouped into larger Clause Classes according to identificational-contrastive features as follows:

- I. There are two larger Clause Classes: *Complete Clause Types* having a minimum of an obligatory Predicate tagmeme, sometimes optionally verbal, and usually an obligatory Subject tagmeme. *Defective Clause Types* have no obligatory Predicate tagmeme of any kind.

- II. The Class *Complete Clause Types* is divided into Independent and Dependent Types. Independent Types are potentially complete sentences. Dependent Types are included within or dependent on another Clause and sometimes contain a Dependent Introducer.
- III. *Independent Clause Types* are divided into Classes with and without an Interrogative, and *Dependent Clause Types* are divided into Classes with and without an Extra Dependent tagmeme.
- IV. (a) *Independent Clause Types without* an Interrogative tagmeme are divided into two classes:  
 Independent Declarative Clause Class, and  
 Independent Imperative Clause Class.
- (b) *Independent Clause Types with* an Interrogative tagmeme are divided into four classes:  
 Independent Yes-No Interrogative Class,  
 Independent Interrogative Subject Class,  
 Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Class, and  
 Independent Extra Interrogative Class.
- (c) *Dependent Clause Types without* an Extra Dependent tagmeme are divided into two classes:  
 Dependent Subject Class, and  
 Dependent Non-Subject Class.
- (d) *Dependent Clause Types with* Extra Dependent tagmemes are divided into two classes:  
 Extra Dependent Class, and  
 Dependent Relative Class.

#### GENERAL REMARKS

The verbal Clause Classes are derived from the Kernel Declarative Clause Class when primary or secondary Transform rules are applied. In order to show the basic differences and relationships among the Complete Clause Classes, each Clause Class will be stated in terms of its identificational-contrastive

TABLE NO. 1  
Iai (Ouvéa) Clause Classes

1	2	3	4	
Complete	Independent	Without an Interrogative Tagmeme	Declarative	1
			Imperative	2
		With an Interrogative Tagmeme	Yes-No Interrogative	3
			Interrogative Subject	4
			Interrogative Non-Subject	5
			Extra Interrogative	6
	Dependent	Without an Extra Dependent Tagmeme	Dependent Subject	7
			Dependent Non-Subject	8
		With an Extra Dependent Tagmeme	Extra Dependent	9
			Dependent Relative	10
Defective				11

features, Transform rules where necessary and Clause level tagmemes pertinent to the structure formulae.

Summary tables of nucleus formulae and examples are given. Non-essential Clause level tagmemes will be treated in the Phrase Level Analysis.

### 1.1. Independent Declarative Clause Class (Table No. 2)

The Class of Declarative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

DecCl: +S +Pr

The structure of the Declarative Clause Type consists of a minimum nucleus of an obligatory nucleus Subject tagmeme (except where the Subject becomes a Complement in Clause Types 3 and 5) and an obligatory nucleus Predicate tagmeme which may be verbal or non-verbal. Normally the Subject tagmeme precedes the Predicate tagmeme in verbal Clause Types, with only the exceptions treated in Part 2 of the Clause Level Analysis. With non-verbal Clause Types, the Subject or Complement tagmeme usually follows the Predicate tagmeme.

#### INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE CLAUSES - MAXIMUM FORMULAE

##### 1. INTRANSITIVE

###### Examples:

(a) öbune he but ñi obiñ bomene  
You go to the end of the island.

(b) ame he wisa but ñi  
Religion goes well.

(c) ademe oumo dö ge xumön  
One finishes with a song.

(d) a o but ñi kötin  
Religion has come to us.

Max: ±T ±S ±Pr ±Mann ±<sup>1</sup>  
          ↑                          ↑

---

<sup>1</sup>This construction is explained below, see page 41.



TABLE NO. 2

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clauses	
1	2	3		Declarative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+S +PrActIntrDec	ame musi He commands.
		Transitive	2	+S +PrActTrDec +DO	ogema ham gö I shall give an axe.
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3	+EqPr +EqCo	iñ kamom I am your father.
	Identificational		4	+IdPr +S	esehia ĩe na año The ways are many.
	Stative		5	+StPr +StCo	ehu ke at There is a man.

## 2. TRANSITIVE

**Examples:**

(a) ogema ɭɪŋɔ ke menɔ hobi kɔbun  
I shall kill a beast for you.

(b) ɔɸuna kɔnɔm ʃu ŋi  
We shall bury him tomorrow.

(c) ame omænɛnɔ kɔtin aŋin fana  
He shows us his bow.

(d) oge siŋa ge gɔ  
I cut myself with an axe.

**Max:** †T<sub>1</sub> †S †T<sub>2</sub> †Pr †IO †DO †Inst †Ben †Mann †L †P

## 3. EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

**Examples:**

(a) buaka eaŋ halɛŋ kamök  
This pig here is my father's one.

(b) iŋ kamɔm aŋin a θan a ha  
I am your father because the Chief said so.

**Max:** †T †EqPr †L †EqCo †P †C †Ben

## 4. IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSE

**Examples:**

(a) ekɔŋ kwɔu üŋa waköiö  
The waves are bad for him.

(b) eso walanan ɗañ  
The sky is now clear.

(c) eŋikɔnɔ ŋ̄ei  
The country is low.

**Max:** †IdPr †T †IO †Ben †S †C †P

TABLE NO. 3

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clause Class 2	
1	2	3		Imperative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+PrActIntr ±S	han dö! Eat!
		Transitive	2	+PrActTr ±S +DO	hom dö ke okumala añik. Take a sweet potato for me.
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3		
	Identificational		4		
	Stative		5		

## 5. STATIVE CLAUSE

**Examples:**

- (a) wale bonon ʃe lañitin ehač  
That is the way of our ancestors before.
- (b) ehu ke xumön nɔn he ka ühüne  
There is a song to finish.
- (c) ehu at baten uma  
There is a man beside the house.

**Max:** +StatPr ±L +StatCo ±T ±L ±Ben ±P ±C

**Note:** The order in which the optional Satellite tagmemes occur is quite flexible after the Predicate tagmeme. The order presented above represents the most common positioning. As lengthy clauses are not as common in Iai as in Dehu or Nengone, it has not been possible to list numerous optional Satellite tagmemes in a single clause.

## 1.2. Independent Imperative Clause Class (Table No. 3)

The Class of two Imperative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

**Kernel structure:** DecCl

$T_{Imp}$

---

**ImpCl:** +ImpPr

The Imperative Clause Type, ImpCl, is an Imperative Transform,  $T_{Imp}$ , of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum nucleus structure consists of an obligatory nucleus Imperative Predicate which is not conjugated.

Maximum formulae are not set out here as they are the same as those presented for the Declarative Clauses.

A rather weaker Imperative can be formed by the simple use of the future tense, as in Dehu and Nengone.

e.g. ama han!  
Let him eat!

TABLE NO. 4

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clause Class 3	
1	2	3		Yes-No Interrogative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>1</sub>	həlɔke ötine bwɪ? Do we dream?
		Transitive	2	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>2</sub>	həlɔke örine ham tusi? Do they give the book?
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>3</sub>	həlɔke iñ kamöbun? Am I your father?
	Identificational		4	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>4</sub>	həlɔke ekɔn θan? Is the Chief bad?
	Stative		5	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>5</sub>	həlɔke ehu ke ʝe ñar? Are there some men?

This is used to translate an indirect, rather than a direct, command and is different from the normal Imperative in that it is always accompanied by a Subject tagmeme.

### 1.3. Independent Yes-No Interrogative Clause Class (Table No. 4)

The Class of five Yes-No Interrogative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure:  $\text{IndepDecCl}$

$\text{T}_{\text{Yes-No}}$

---

Yes-No InterrCl:  $+\text{Yes-No InterrPart} +\text{IndepDecCl} +\text{Rising Intonation}$

Yes-No Transform involves the addition of two features:

- (a) Interrogative Particle
- (b) Rising Intonation.

A Yes-No Interrogative Clause Type is a Yes-No Transform,  $\text{T}_{\text{Yes-No}}$ , of a Declarative Clause. Its minimum structure consists of an Independent Declarative Clause, a Yes-No Interrogative particle and a rising intonation. The Interrogative particle may be placed after the Declarative Clause. Reference will be made to this in Part 2 of the Clause Analysis. Often the Interrogative is communicated solely by a rising intonation.

For maximum formulae, see Declarative Clause Types above.

### 1.4. Independent Interrogative Subject Clause Class (Table No. 5)

The Class of four Interrogative Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure:  $\text{DecCl}$

$\text{T}_{\text{SInterr}}$

---

InterrScl:  $+\text{InterrS} +\text{DecPr}$

TABLE NO. 5

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clause Class 4	
1	2	3		Subject Interrogative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+InterrS +ActIntrPr	ie üö a u? Which tree fell down?
		Transitive	2	+InterrS +ActTrPr	ie momo a penapena je Which woman prepared the okumala? potatoes?
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3	+InterrS +EqCo	ia örin? Who are they?
	Identificational		4	+InterrS +IdCo	ie köiö aeso? Which water is good?
	Stative		5		

An Interrogative Subject Clause Type,  $\text{InterrSCL}$ , is an Interrogative Subject Transform,  $T_{\text{SInterr}}$ , of a Declarative Clause. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory Interrogative Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Declarative Predicate tagmeme.

With Clause Types 3 and 4, however, the Interrogative Subject tagmeme replaces the non-verbal Predicate.

$T_{\text{SInterr}}$ , the Interrogative Subject Transform, consists of filling the obligatory Subject slot with an Interrogative Subject filler class.

$+InterrS \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{InterrSPn} \\ \text{InterrNPhr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the obligatory Interrogative Subject tagmeme.

**Fillers:** The obligatory Interrogative Subject slot is filled by a composite filler class including the distribution subclasses: Interrogative Subject Pronoun <ia> and an Interrogative Noun Phrase composed of an Interrogative Article <ie> plus obligatory Noun Head.

#### 1.5. Independent Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Class (Table No. 6)

The Class of three Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure: DecCl

$T_{\text{NonSInterr}}$

$\text{InterrNonSCL: } +InterrNS \ +[+IndepDecCl-NS]$

The Interrogative Non-Subject Clause Type,  $\text{InterrNonSCL}$ , is a Non-Subject Interrogative Transform,  $T_{\text{NonSInterr}}$ , of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory Non-Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause minus the portion which has been replaced.



TABLE NO. 6

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clause Class 5	
1	2	3		Non-Subject Interrogative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+InterrDO +S +ActTrPr  +InterrNS +EqCo  +InterrNS +StatCo	ia öbune wɔ ele? Whom do you see there?  ieü ücto aŋ? What is this stone?  üe üseiñ falawa eaŋ? How much bread is here?
		Transitive	2		
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3		
	Identificational		4		
	Stative		5		

**T<sub>NonSInterr</sub>**, the Non-Subject Interrogative Transform.

It consists of the filling of a Non-Subject obligatory nucleus tagmeme slot with an Interrogative Non-Subject filler which consists of an Interrogative Noun Phrase. The replacing tagmeme is then placed before the Clause.

e.g. ötine hom köiö  
 We take water.  
 ia öbune wɔ?  
 Whom do you see?

In the Optional Verbal Clause Types, the Predicate tagmeme is filled by the Interrogative Non-Subject tagmeme.

e.g. haba üö nu  
 The tree is a coconut tree.  
 ieü ücto an?  
 What is this stone?

#### 1.6. Independent Extra Interrogative Clause Class (Table No.7)

The Class of five Extra Interrogative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure: DecCl  
**T<sub>InterrAdd</sub>**  


---

**XInterrCl: +InterrIntrod +DecCl**

An Extra Interrogative Clause Type, **XInterrCl**, is an Interrogative Addition Transform, **T<sub>InterrAdd</sub>**, of a Declarative Clause Type. Its minimum structure consists of an obligatory nucleus Interrogative Clause Introducer and an obligatory nucleus Declarative Clause Type.

**T<sub>InterrAdd</sub>**, the Interrogative Addition Transform, consists of the addition of an Interrogative Clause Introducer at the beginning of the Kernel Declarative Clause Type.

TABLE NO. 7

Clause Type Classes				Independent Clause Class 6	
1	2	3		Extra Interrogative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>1</sub>	ieü Œan örine mokuŒ? Why do they sleep?
		Transitive	2	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>2</sub>	ieü Œan örine ham tusi Why do they give the book?
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>3</sub>	ieü Œan örine kamömun? Why are they our fathers?
	Identificational		4	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>4</sub>	ieü Œan eköŒan? Why is the Chief bad?
	Stative		5	+InterrIntrod +DecCl <sub>5</sub>	ieü Œan ehu at an? Why is there this man?

Interrogative	Introducer:	ieü čan	why?
		üe üseiñ	how many?
		ua	where?
		ie üen	when?
		kɔmau	how?

It should be noted that the position of the Interrogative Introducer tagmeme is not rigid, but may be placed at the end of the Clause as well as at the beginning.

e.g. ame ŋen ua?  
 +DecCl +InterrIntr  
 Where does he live?

### 1.7. Dependent Subject Clause Class (Table No. 8)

The Class of two Dependent Subject Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure: DecCl

$T_{SDep}$

---

DepSCl: +DepS +PrDec

The Dependent Subject Clause Type, DepSCl, is a Dependent Subject Transform,  $T_{SDep}$ , of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Subject and an obligatory Declarative Predicate tagmeme.

$T_{SDep}$ , the Dependent Subject Transform, consists of filling the obligatory Subject slot with a Dependent Subject filler class which in  $IaI$  is the Direct Object or Complement of the preceding Independent Declarative Clause, the Object of the first Clause becoming the Subject of the second.

**Example:** ogeme lõŋ tep ame walak  
 I listen to the rat (which) plays.

**Note:** The form of the Subject tagmeme, the existence of a double Subject expression, will be discussed in the Phrase Level Analysis.

TABLE NO. 8

Clause Type Classes				Dependent Clause Class 1	
1	2	3		Dependent Subject	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+DepS +ActIntrPr ±IO	(wale ju e) obiñ a o That is the end which  kwou came to him.
		Transitive	2	+DepS +ActTrPr ±IO +DO	wale but an mi ame There is the religion  kü kötin geðen which shows us the way.
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3		
	Identificational		4		
	Stative		5		

### 1.8. Dependent Non-Subject Clause Class (Table No. 9)

The Class of Non-Subject Dependent Clause Types, which includes only one Dependent Non-Subject Clause Type, has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure: **IndepDecCl**  
 $T_{\text{NonSDep}}$   


---

**DepNonSCl: +DepNS +[+DecCl-NS]**  
↑ ↑

A Dependent Non-Subject Clause Type, **DepNonSCl**, is a Dependent Non-Subject Transform,  $T_{\text{NonSDep}}$ , of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Non-Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause Type minus its replaced tagmeme.

$T_{\text{NonSDep}}$ , the Non-Subject Dependent Transform, consists of taking the Non-Subject tagmeme from after the Predicate tagmeme of the Independent Declarative Clause and placing it at the beginning.

### 1.9. The Extra Dependent Clause Class (Table No. 10)

The Class of five Extra Dependent Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure: **IndepDecCl**  
 $T_{\text{DepAdd}}$   


---

**XDepCl: +DepIntrod +IndepDecCl**

The Extra Dependent Clause Type, **XDepCl**, is a Dependent Addition Transform,  $T_{\text{DepAdd}}$ , of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Dependent Introducer tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause.

TABLE NO. 9

Clause Type Classes				Dependent Clause Class 2	
1	2	3		Non-Subject Dependent	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+DepDO +S +ActTrPr	(ehu) ke ũñi areme ip There is something that  ñi hon. they put on top.
		Transitive	2		
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3		
	Identificational		4		
	Stative		5		

$T_{DepAdd}$ , the Dependent Addition Transform, consists of the addition of a Dependent Clause Introducer tagmeme at the beginning of the Independent Declarative Clause.

Dependent Clause Introducers:   ma           so that  
   čan         because  
   ka         in order to

#### 1.10. Dependent Relative Clause Class (Table No.11)

The Class of five Dependent Relative Clause Types has the following identificational-contrastive features and structure formula:

Kernel structure:   IndepDecCl

$T_{Rel}$

---

DepRelCl:   +RelIntrod +IndepDecCl

The Dependent Relative Clause Type, **DepRelCl**, is a Dependent Relative Transform,  $T_{Rel}$ , of an Independent Declarative Clause Type. It consists of a minimum of an obligatory Relative Introducer tagmeme and an obligatory Independent Declarative Clause.

$T_{Rel}$ , the Dependent Relative Transform, consists of the addition of a Dependent Relative Introducer tagmeme at the beginning of an Independent Declarative Clause.

Dependent Relative Introducer:   me         that.

The Dependent Relative Clause Class differs from the Extra Dependent Clause Class in that it has -

- (a) a fixed Introducer tagmeme
- (b) it may fill the Direct Object slot of an Independent Declarative Transitive Clause Type.

#### 1.11. Defective Clause Class

The Defective Clause Class, not analysed here, consists only of utterances such as one-word answers to questions.



TABLE NO. 10

Clause Type Classes			Dependent Clause Class 3	
1	2	3	Extra Dependent	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive 1	+DepIntrod +DecCl <sub>1</sub>	(oge ańɔ) ma ame he ka otilo I did it so that he marry  logot. fast.
		Transitive 2	+DepIntrod +DecCl <sub>2</sub>	(oge ańɔ) ma ame ham tusi. I did it so that he give the book.
Optional Verbal Predicate		Equational 3	+DepIntrod +DecCl <sub>3</sub>	(oge ańɔ) ʃan örin kamömun. I did it because they are our fathers.
		Identificational 4	+DepIntrod +DecCl <sub>4</sub>	(oge ańɔ) ańin a ekon ʃan. I did it because the Chief is bad.
		Stative 5	+DepIntrod +DecCl <sub>5</sub>	(oge ańɔ) ʃan ehu ʃe ńar an. I did it because there are men here.

TABLE NO. 11

Clause Type Classes				Dependent Clause Class 4	
1	2	3		Dependent Relative	Examples
Obligatory Verbal Predicate	Active	Intransitive	1	+RelIntrod(me) +DecCl <sub>1</sub>	(ötine wɔ hia) me örine We all see that they do  ča wɔ wisa. not see well.
		Transitive	2	+RelIntrod(me) +DecCl <sub>2</sub>	(ogema ha) me öbune he I say that you will  ka ham tusi. give a book.
Optional Verbal Predicate	Equational		3	+RelIntrod(me) +DecCl <sub>3</sub>	(ogeme ha) me iñ kamom. I say that I am your father.
	Identificational		4	+RelIntrod(me) +DecCl <sub>4</sub>	(ogeme ča ha) me ekon θan. I do not say that the Chief is bad.
	Stative		5	+RelIntrod(me) +DecCl <sub>5</sub>	(ogeme ča ha) me üña ke I do not say that it is  üñi aetiso. a good thing.

## 2. Independent Declarative Clause Types

The Independent Declarative Clause Class is the Kernel Clause Class from which all other Iai (Ouvéa) Clause Classes are derived. Thus a complete analysis of Iai Clause Types consists of a detailed analysis of all the Declarative Clause Types.

There are five Independent Declarative Clause Types which are grouped into larger and larger Clause Classes according to identificational-contrastive features as stated in Table No. 2, page 21, as follows:

- I. There are:
  - the Class of Obligatory Verbal Clause Types,*
  - the Class of Optional Verbal Clause Types.*
- II. The Class of Obligatory Verbal Clause Types includes:
  - the Active Clause Class.*
- III. The Class of Optional Verbal Clause Types includes:
  - the Equational Clause Type (No. 3),*
  - the Identificational Clause Type (No. 4),*
  - the Stative Clause Type (No. 5).*
- IV. The Active Clause Class includes:
  - the Active Intransitive Clause Type (No. 1),*
  - the Active Transitive Clause Class.*
- V. The Active Transitive Clause Class includes:
  - the Active Transitive Clause Type No. 2).*

### CLAUSE CLASSES AND GENERAL REMARKS

#### Selection of the Form of the Predicate

In Iai (Ouvéa), the Subject does not determine the form of the Predicate tagmeme as Predicates are invariable, tense being indicated by the Subject and the Obligatory accompanying tense-marking Pronoun. The analysis of this feature will be found below, Phrase Level Analysis.

e.g. ogeme löŋ     I listen  
       örine löŋ     they listen.

## 2.0. Independent Declarative Clause Types in Detail

Each of the five Independent Declarative Clause Types will be stated in terms of minimum nucleus and maximum expanded formulae. Clause Level tagmemes will be stated only in terms of slots, with examples. The full statement of the filler classes will be found in the Phrase Level Analysis of each tagmeme, obligatory nucleus and optional satellite.

The minimum nucleus formulae present only the nucleus Clause Level tagmemes of each Clause Type. Maximum expanded formulae present the nucleus Clause Level tagmemes and also the optional Satellite Clause Level tagmemes.

The optional Satellite Clause Level tagmemes and abbreviations are: T - time; L - location; Mann - manner; Freq - frequency; Inst - instrument; Ben - benefactive; P - purpose; C - cause; Acc - accompaniment; IO - indirect object.

An attempt has been made, in the maximum expanded formulae, to include the greatest number of optional Satellite tagmemes possible; but in some cases it has been necessary to take examples from several Clauses of the same Clause Type, to avoid artificial and cumbersome constructions.

### 2.1. Independent Declarative Clause Type 1: the Active Intransitive Declarative Clause

The Active Intransitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

1. It has a Special Subject construction.
2. Its minimum nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory tagmemes.

#### MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA:

+S[PersPn]	+Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr]
ame	musi
He (Present)	commands.

or: + +Pr[ActIntrDecV-Phr] +S  
 ↑—————↑  
 ame tene θan  
 He cries the Chief.

These two constructions are basically the same and will be explained in detail below in the analysis of the Subject tagmeme.

#### EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

+T +S +Pr ±Mann ± ±IO ±L ±Inst ±P ±C  
 ↑—————↑

**Example:** öbune he but ñi obiñ bomene  
 You go to the end of the island.

**Note:** Further examples of maximal expansions for Declarative Clause Types will be found above, pages 20, 22 and 24. It is significant that the Subject tagmeme is obligatory in all cases, unlike the Impersonal Clauses of Dehu and Nengone.

### 2.2. Independent Declarative Clause Type 2: the Active Transitive Declarative Clause Type

The Active Transitive Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

1. Its Subject position may not be divided as with the Intransitive Clause Type.
2. Its minimum nucleus structure is composed of three obligatory nucleus tagmemes.

#### MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

+S[CommN<sub>CN</sub>] + +Pr[ActTrDecV-Phr] +DO[NPhr]  
 ↑—————↑  
 θan ame ham tusi  
 The Chief he (Present) gives a letter.

**Note:** With this Clause Type both parts of the Subject tagmeme precede the Predicate. With the special Pronoun suffixed verbs listed in the analysis of the Predicate tagmeme the Subject follows the Predicate.

e.g. exatöña at  
 +Pr +S +DO  
 know I the man

As will be seen below, these verbs are not numerous.

The Direct Object tagmeme may be omitted in certain unusual cases where the Predicate already implies an Object, the statement of which would occasion redundancy.

e.g. ötine dɔ  
 We put the horizontal bars in position.

#### EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

$\pm T_1$  +S  $\pm T_2$  +Pr  $\pm IO$  +DO  $\pm Inst$   $\pm Ben$   $\pm Mann$   $\pm L$   $\pm P$

**Example:** ogema lɪɲɔ ke mɛɲɔ hɔbɪ köbun  
 +S +Pr +DO  $\pm Ben$   
 I shall kill a bird for you.

For further examples, see pages 20, 22 and 24.

### 2.3. Independent Declarative Clause Type 3: the Equational Declarative Clause Type

The Equational Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

1. Its minimum nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory nucleus tagmemes.
2. Neither of the tagmemes is verbal or may be verbal, both being substantival.

## MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

+EqPr	+EqCo
iñ	kamom
I am	your father.

## MAXIMUM EXPANDED FORMULA

±T	+EqPr	±L	+EqCo	±P	±C	±Ben
----	-------	----	-------	----	----	------

Example: iñ kamom añin a θan ame ha  
 +EqPr +EqCo ±C  
 I am your father because the Chief said so.

With the Equational Declarative Clause Type, maximal expansion is extremely rare. This applies also for the other optional Verbal Clause Types.

#### 2.4. Independent Declarative Clause Type 4: the Identificational Declarative Clause Type

The Identificational Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

1. Its minimum nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory nucleus tagmemes, non-verbal, and different from the Equational Clause in that its Predicate is adjectival.
2. The Predicate tagmeme may either precede or follow the Subject tagmeme.

## MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

+IdPr	+S
esehia	ʒe na ańo
Are numerous	the methods.

or:

+S	+IdPr
ʒe na ańo	aesehia

Note: When the second construction is used, the Adjective Introducer or Particle a/ae is obligatory. Otherwise the ordinary Introducer e is used.

EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA  
+IdPr ±T ±IO ±Ben +S ±C ±P

**Example:** ekɔŋ kwɔu üña waköiö  
+IdPr ±IO +S  
The waves are bad for him.

**2.5. Independent Declarative Clause Type 5: the Stative Declarative Clause Type**

The Stative Declarative Clause Type has the following identificational-contrastive features:

1. Its minimum nucleus structure is composed of two obligatory nucleus tagmemes.
2. The filler of the Stative Predicate slot has a different filler Class from either the Equational or Identificational Declarative Clauses.

MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

+StatPr      +StatCo  
wale          θan  
There is      the Chief.

The list of Special Stative Predicates is presented below, under Phrase Level Analysis.

EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA  
+StatPr ±L +StatCo ±T ±L ±Ben ±P ±C

**Example:** ehu      ke xumöŋ ŋɔn      he ka ühüne  
+StatCo +StatPr ±P  
There is a song      in order      to finish.

Full examples of expanded formula for Declarative Clause Types are given on pages 20, 22 and 24.



### 3. PHRASE LEVEL ANALYSIS

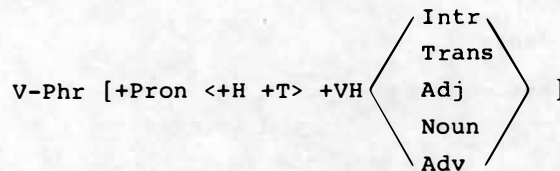
#### A. NUCLEUS CLAUSE LEVEL TAGMEMES

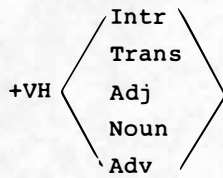
##### I. +Pr, THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS PREDICATE TAGMEME

Iai (Ouvéa) Predicate Hyperclass			
Verbal Hyperclass	Verb	Active	Intransitive
			Transitive
Non-Verbal or Optional Verbal	Noun Adjective Stative Predicate		

There are no modals in Iai, such ideas being translated by the normal conditional with ordinary tense markers.

##### 1. Close-knit Verb-Phrases





, the obligatory nucleus Verb Head slot, is filled by five alternate division-subclasses: (a) Intransitive Verb  
(b) Transitive Verb  
(c) Adjective  
(d) Noun  
(e) Adverb.

+Pron <+H +T> will be discussed immediately below.

Note: +VH <Adj> occurs in Identificational Clause Types,  
e.g. esehia Ĵe ñar  
Are numerous the men.

+VH <Noun> occurs in Equational Clauses,  
e.g. iñ kamom  
I am your father.

+VH <Adv> occurs in some Intransitive Clauses,  
e.g. ogeme he ka e  
I shall be there.

It should be pointed out that +T, the time marker in Iai, occurs as a suffix to the Pronoun which occurs obligatorily with all Verb Heads. Tense is indicated only by the Pronoun used, as Iai has different sets of Pronouns for Present, Future and Past Tense. Thus the Pronouns are enumerated in full here, rather than in the section concerning the obligatory nucleus Subject tagmeme.

### 1.1. Present Tense

Pronouns:	ogeme	I
	umwe	you (sing.)
	ame	he
	ötine	we (incl.)
	öṃune	we (excl.)
	öte	we all (numerous)

<b>Pronouns:</b>	öbune	you
<i>(cont.)</i>	örine	they
	areme )	they all (numerous)
	öreme )	
	ötumwe	we two (incl.)
	öṃwe	we two (excl.)
	öbwe	you two
	örumwe	they two.

**Note:** With Imperatives, the Dual Pronouns

ötu  
öṃu  
öbu  
öru

replace the longer forms given above.

**Examples:** ogeme            han        I eat  
                  ame            han        he eats  
                  öbune        han        you eat

+S <+Pn +T> +Pr <VH>

                  θan            ame            han  
+S<sub>1</sub>            +S<sub>2</sub> <+Pn +T> +Pr <VH>  
                  The Chief he            eats.

For notes on the double Subject expression and the optional position of the Subject tagmeme with Intransitive Clauses, see below in the analysis of the obligatory nucleus Subject tagmeme. For the sake of clarity, only pronominal Subjects, without which Verb Heads never occur, will be used in the analysis of the obligatory nucleus Predicate tagmeme.

No Impersonal Clauses, i.e. Clauses without a Subject tagmeme, occur in Iai, unlike Dehu and Nengone, because no Verb Head may exist without at least a Pronoun Subject.

Aspect is practically non-existent in Iai, although a Present Continuous form appears with the following construction:

+S <+Pn +T> +ti ka +VH  
 e.g. Ömune ti ka han  
 We are eating.  
 ame ti ka mokuṭ  
 He is sleeping.

When an Adjective fills the Verb Head slot, there are special Pronouns used in the Present Tense as follows:

iñ hum I am dumb  
 u hum you are dumb  
 e hum he is dumb.

These shortened forms of the regular Pronouns occur only under these conditions.

## 1.2. Future Tense

1. The obligatory Pronouns which convey Future Tense are as follows:

ogema	I
umwa	you
ama	he
ötina	we (incl.)
ömunu	we (excl.)
öta	we all (numerous)
öbuna	you
örina	they
arema)	
öra )	they all (numerous)
ötumwa	we two (incl.)
ömwu	we two (excl.)
öbwa	you two
örumwa	they two

Short forms of the Dual Pronouns occur as follows with the Imperative:

öma  
 öba  
 öra.

**Note:** The inclusive form of the First Person Dual does not occur in a short form.

**Examples:** oge ma han  
 +S <+Pn +T> +Pr <VH>  
 I shall eat.  
 ama mokuŋ  
 He will sleep.

2. It should be pointed out that a less immediate Future Tense exists, with the following construction:

ogeme he ka han  
 I am going to eat.

In this case the Present Tense introduces the Future, as in English or French; in Iai: *he* - go.

3. The more immediate Future, as explained in 1., may be used as a kind of weak imperative,

e.g. örina he  
 They must go.

### 1.3. Past Tense

1. The normal Past Tense is formed by the addition of the following Pronouns to the Verb Head:

oge	I
uŋe	you
a	he
ötine	we (incl.)
ömune	we (excl.)
öbune	you
örine	they
are }	they all (numerous)
öre )	
ötumwe	we two (incl.)
ömwe	we two (excl.)

öbwe            you two  
 örumwe        they two.

**Examples:**    oge            ham  
 +S <+Pn +T> +Pr <VH>  
 I                gave.  
  
 uŋe            ham  
 you             gave.  
  
 ötine          han eŋ  
 We             ate yesterday.

The Present/Past distinction is absent with all but Singular Subjects, the Past being indicated by Pronoun + Verb Stem + Time Phrase.

**Note:** (a) It would have been possible to consider the Pronouns listed above as Pronoun + Time Marker and to have separated them. However, since this would only have complicated the issue, because of irregular patterning, in the interests of clarity and simplicity they have been considered as single units containing both Subject and Time Marker.

It should also be mentioned that Impersonal Pronouns exist, approximating to the French *on*:

areme/ademe	Present
ara/ada	Future
are/ade	Past.

The forms with /d/ occur mostly in the coastal tribes, while those with /r/ occur mainly with the tribes which live a little inland. However, dialects do not exist in Iai.

(b) Another expression of the Past Tense which occurs less frequently and has the meaning of completed action is as follows:

örine um dö kɔnɔm xop  
 +S +Pr +DO  
 They finished bury the man.  
 They have buried the man.

This parallels the Dehu *ase hæ* and the Nengone *ha as*, both of which signify a completed action.

Normally Verbs in Iai are joined by *ka*.

e.g. ogeme he ka löŋ  
 I go to listen.

This corresponds to the English Infinitive *to*. However, *um dö* does not follow this rule as it is considered an integral part of the following verb.

In narrative style, *ka* may also appear between the Subject and the Verb Stem,

e.g. ogeme *ka* he ka löŋ  
 I go listen.  
 I shall listen.

In this case, *ka* is a directional, pushing the story or narrative forward to its conclusion.

A more typical example would be the following:

Ke ʒe ŋar örine *ka* üküč tö  
 Some people they fight.

- (c) The Present Tense is often used in Iai to translate a Past action or idea when a narrative style is employed. However, with Singular actors the Present/Past distinction is maintained even here as the use of these Persons often involves Direct, rather than Reported Speech.
- (d) A recent Past Tense is communicated by the use of the particle  $\theta\epsilon p$  between the Pronoun and the Verb Stem.

e.g. a θεp o kötın  
He has just come to us.

#### 1.4. Suffixing Verbs

A special group of Subject-suffixed verbs occurs in Iai which are listed below as they are frequently employed although not numerous.

1.	exatöña	I know, I can (Abilitative)
	exatöu	you know
	exata	he knows
	exatömun	we (excl.) know
	exatötın	we (incl.) know
	exatöbun	you know
	exatörin	they know
	exatömu	we two (excl.) know
	exatötu	we two (incl.) know
	exatöbu	you two know
	exatöru	they two know.

This verb consists of Stem + the shortened Object Pronoun. For an analysis of these Pronouns, see below in the analysis of the Obligatory Nucleus Object tagmeme.

2. This subdivision of verbs has the normal First Noun Class possessive suffixes. See below for an analysis of Noun Classes.

<b>Examples:</b>	üpek	I come from
	üpeᄁm	you come from
	üpeñ	he comes from
	üpetın	we (incl.) come from
	üpeᄁmun	we (excl.) come from
	üpeᄁbun	you come from
	üperin, etc.	they come from

Other verbs conjugated in the same way are:

hanik	I catch
ᄁök	I stay



ekuek	I am since a long time
üsakcüök	I am distant
haiñök	I think
hamök	I should (duty)
ṃöñik	I am angry
bilik	I come after
mak	I say (+ Direct Speech)
bök	I start

All of these verbs except two occupy the normal position in the Clause, without the Pronoun obligatory with the usual verbs. On the other hand, *bök* and *hamök* occur between the Pronoun and the normal Verb Stem, thus:

ogeme *bök*                    ka löñ  
 I        start first to listen.  
 First of all I listen.

ogeme *hamök* (ka) löñ  
 I        must    to listen.  
 It is my duty to listen.

However, the other verbs listed above behave in the same way as the normal unsuffixed verbs,

e.g. *üpek*                    Faḵawe  
 I come from Fayaoúe.

### 1.5. Desideratives

The Desiderative in Iai may take two forms, both involving suffixed verbs:

1.	ewek ka han	I wish to eat
	ewem	you
	ewẽñ	he
	ewetĩn	we (incl.)
	ewemũn	we (excl.)
	ewebun	you
	ewerĩn	they

ewetu	we two (incl.)
ewemu	we two (excl.)
ewebu	you two
eweru	they two wish to eat

**But:** a weru ka han they two wished to eat.

In the negative, this becomes:

ečawek ka han  
I do not wish to eat.

When the Subject is not Pronominal, the *e-* disappears, thus:

θan ame weñ ka han  
Chief he want to eat.  
The Chief wishes to eat.

When the Subject follows the Predicate (see below), the suffix *-ñ* drops if the Subject is a Proper Noun,

e.g. ame we pol  
He wishes Paul.  
Paul wishes.

2. (a) The Desiderative is softened if the particle *ebe* is placed before the Desiderative expression,

e.g. ebe wek ka han  
I would like to eat.

- (b) A kind of immediate Succession also makes use of *be*, thus:

*be* +VH    *be* +VH

Examples: be hip ču e ka be he öö ka han  
Just finished that and just goes then to eat.

### 1.6. Imperatives

The Imperative has two constructions, the first of which is the real Imperative and the second of which is the Exhortative.

1. Normally the Verb remains unconjugated and is followed by one of three particles:

(a) If the Verb Stem ends in a Consonant, the particle is *dö*,

e.g. han dö! - eat!

(b) If the Verb Stem ends in a Vowel, the particle is *ö*,

e.g. he ö! - go!

kuwa ö! - shoot!

(c) If an Adjective is made into an Imperative, the particle is *ju*, or *jem* if the Adjective ends in a Consonant,

e.g. wege ju! - be strong!

2. The Exhortative is translated by a suffixed verb similar to those listed above,

e.g. hōtin ka huliwa  
we must to work.

hōu ka hun  
you must to sweat.

3. There are only two series of directionals in Iai, as follows:

(a) *jem*, *ju*, *jut*<sup>1</sup> - towards the speaker

(b) *dö*, *ö*, *but* - away from the speaker.

### 1.7. Conditional

The Conditional in Iai has the following Construction:

Past Pronoun +ne +VH me +DecCl

e.g. uje ne hom je bubuñ an, me umwa möt  
You (Past) if take cures these you will be well.  
If you take these cures, you will be well.

---

<sup>1</sup>  
*jut* and *but* express great distance.

The Condition itself is always expressed by a Past Tense Pronoun, even if it should logically be expressed by a Present Tense Pronoun, plus the Conditional particle *ne*.

With irreal Condition, the Past is used for the Condition itself, while the Future is used for the result,

e.g. oge ne añɔ        ɛɛ        ke hag,    me    buaka  
I    if had made yesterday a    fence, then the pig

*ama*    ča    an                ik ñei        walaŋaŋ ñomakatu  
would not have eaten my garden this        morning.

**Note:** *ama* is the Future Pronoun, Third Person Singular.

### 1.8. Necessitatives

The Necessitative has the following construction:

*eso* +Fut.Pron. +Verb Stem  
eso    ogema        he  
good I (Future) go.  
I must go.

The Necessitative consists of *eso*, the Necessitative Introducer, a Future Pronoun, whether or not there is a Common Noun Subject, and a Verb Stem.

When *eso* is replaced by *eüčü*, then the compulsion is greatly lessened,

e.g. eüčü    umwa he  
Should you go.  
You should go.

### 1.9. Close-knit Negated Verb-Phrases

NegV-Phr: [+Pron +Neg +VH < TrVb / IntrVb > ]

1. A Negated Verb-Phrase is the Negative Transform of the Affirmative Close-knit Verb-Phrase. It consists of an obligatory Pronoun/Time Marker, a Negative particle *ča*, and an obliga-

tory nucleus Verb Head slot filled by a Composite filler Class, Transitive or Intransitive Verb Stem.

Examples:	ogeme	ča	lön	(Present)
	+S	+Neg	+Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]	
	I	do not	listen.	
	ama	ča	mokuṭ	(Future)
	+S	+Neg	+Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]	
	he	will not	sleep.	
	a	ča	mokuṭ	(Past)
	+S	+Neg	+Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]	
	he	has not	slept.	

2. There is a special Negation for Competence/Incompetence and Ability/Inability forms,

e.g. exatõña            I know  
 ečaxatõña            I do not know.

Here the Negative particle is still ča, inserted in exactly the same place as for the non-verbal Identificational Predicates which are discussed below.

The other Negative in Iai, ebæ, is reserved for cases where it is followed immediately by a Noun Phrase,

e.g. ebæ falawa  
 No bread.  
 There is no bread.

3. Negation of Imperatives.

- (a) The stronger form of the Negative Imperative is characterised by the use of ča before an unconjugated Verb,

e.g. ča he ka üat!  
 Not go to war.  
 Do not make war!

- (b) The weaker form is translated by the Future Negative,

e.g. öbuna ča han!  
 you not eat.  
 Do not eat!

This could also be translated as *do not eat it*, as Third Person Objects are normally not expressed in Iai, as in Dehu and Nengone.

#### 1.10. Close-knit Interrogative Verb-Phrases

Interrogative Verb-Phrases do not normally occur in Iai. Rather, the Interrogative takes the form of an Interrogative Particle, which usually precedes an Independent Declarative Clause, but which may follow it. It should be noted that, if the Particle precedes the Clause, it is *həɬɔke*, and if it follows the Clause it is *hawa*.

**Examples:** həɬɔke öbune he ka han?  
 question you go to eat.  
 +Question +IndepDecCl  
 Are you going to eat?

or: öbune he ka han, hawa?  
 you go to eat, question.  
 +IndepDecCl +Question  
 Are you going to eat?

More frequently, however, Interrogation is indicated simply by a rising intonation. More details of this will be found in the section concerning Intonation patterns,

e.g. öbune he ka han +Intonation //  
 Are you going to eat?

#### NEGATION OF THE INTERROGATIVE VERB-PHRASE

The negation of the Interrogative Verb-Phrase in Iai is performed by employing the Interrogative particle plus a normal negative Verb-Phrase,

e.g. .hɛlɔke      örine    ča      löŋ?  
 +Question +S      +Neg +Pr  
 Do            they    not    hear?

## 2. Adjectival Verb-Phrases

Verbalised Adjectives occur in Clause Class 4, the Identificational Clause. The Adjective here fills the role of the Predicate, while the obligatory nucleus Subject slot is always filled by a Noun Phrase.

The Identificational Verb-Phrase has the following formula:

IdV-Phr: [+IdPr <Adj>] +S  $\langle$ N-Phr $\rangle$

Examples: esehia    ʒe    ŋa    añɔ  
 numerous the ways.  
 The ways are numerous.

Optionally, the Adjectival Predicate may follow the Subject tagmeme. In such cases it is preceded by the particle *a*,

e.g. ʒe    ŋa    añɔ    aesehia  
 +S                    +Pr [Adj]  
 the ways    are numerous.

eso    ke    ʒe    ñar  
 good    some people.

or: ke    ʒe    ñar    aeso  
 some people are good.

It should be noted that the first method of forming the Identificational Predicate is the more normal, especially in longer sentences, with the second being used as modified Noun Phrases,

e.g. ke    ʒe    ñar    aeso    örine    mokuɕ  
 some men good they sleep.  
 Some good men sleep.

*ãa* is used to form the Negative of Adjectival Predicates, as with Verbal Predicates,

e.g. epason    ña añõ  
       ečapason ña añõ  
       is/is not difficult the way.

### 3. Stative Predicates

Stative Predicates, almost all non-verbal in nature, occur in the Stative Clause Type 5 and not elsewhere. They have no tense distinctions, with one exception, *ehu*, and even in this case the introduction of a change in tense is rather uncommon.

The Stative Clause has the following formula:

StatCl: [+StatPr +StatCo]

+StatPr  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} wale \\ ehu \\ üña \\ ebæ \end{array} \right\rangle$  , the Stative Predicate.

1. *wale* and *üña* are used more with a Demonstrative force than the others listed above,

e.g. wale    tulutiñ ña huliwan ito  
       This is the way to make    a house.

üña    wõ  
       It is a fish.

2. *ehu* and its negative *ebæ* state simply that the Complement exists without Demonstrative overtones,

e.g. ehu    at    batën uma  
       There is a man beside the house.

ebæ    at    batën uma  
       There is no man beside the house.



It should be noted that *ehu* may have a Past Tense, *ahu*,

e.g. *ahu at baten uma*  
There was a man beside the house.

#### 4. Equational Predicates

As was seen above, the Equational Clause Type 3 has the following structure formula:

**EqCo: [+EqPr +EqCo]**

**+EqPr**  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{N-Phr} \\ \text{Pn-Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$  , the Equational Predicate.

The fillers of this Class may be either a Noun Phrase or Pronoun Phrase,

e.g. *buaka ean haleñ kamök*  
**+EqPr <N-Phr> +EqCo**  
This pig is my father's.

*iñ kamom*  
**+EqPr <Pn-Phr> +EqCo**  
I am your father.

No Verbal Time Marker may be introduced in Equational Clauses, any variation in time being indicated by an Adverb of Time,

e.g. *iñ kamom eḥ*  
I am your father yesterday.  
I was your father.

## II. +S, THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS SUBJECT TAGMEME

The Subject tagmeme, obligatory and nucleus to the five Clause types does not determine the form of the Predicate tagmeme, but has more complex rules than those governing the Subject tagmeme in Dehu or Nengone. In non-verbal Clause types, the Subject tagmeme always follows the Predicate.

The position of the Subject tagmeme in verbal Clause types is more variable and will be discussed immediately, before the analysis of the constituents.

First, it is important to note that when the Subject is a Common Noun, it must always be accompanied by a tense marking Pronoun,

e.g. θan a añɔ ke wɔlun  
Chief he (Past) make a noise.  
The Chief made a noise.

This Clause would be nonsensical if the Pronoun *a* were omitted. Thus a kind of double Subject is required where the doer of the action is a Common Noun, but only a single Subject is found if the doer of the action is Pronominal,

e.g. a añɔ ke wɔlun  
He made a noise.

In Iai, the position of the Subject tagmeme depends largely on whether the Predicate consists of a Transitive or Intransitive Verb.

#### 1. INTRANSITIVE

(a) With Pronominal Subjects, the Subject always precedes the Predicate,

e.g. ogeme lõŋ  
I listen.

(b) With Common Noun Subjects, the obligatory Pronominal Tense Marker occurs before the Predicate, while the Common Noun itself follows the Predicate tagmeme,

e.g. ame tene θan  
He (Present) cry Chief.  
The Chief cries.

Even with Plural Common Noun Subjects, the Pronominal Tense Marker remains in the Singular,

e.g. *ame*                    *laba ean lakuk*  
 He (Present) stay here my children  
 My children stay here.

## 2. TRANSITIVE

- (a) With Pronominal Subjects, the Subject always precedes the Predicate,

e.g. *ogeme ham tusi*  
 I            give the book.

- (b) With Common Noun Subjects, the Common Noun and the Pronominal Time Marker both normally precede the Predicate tagmeme, the Common Noun preceding the Pronoun which agrees with it for Number,

e.g. *θan            a ańo ke ʷalun*  
 The Chief he made a noise.

or: *ʷe θan            örine            ańo ke ʷalun*  
 The Chiefs they (Present) make a noise.

This agreement of Common Noun and Pronoun is in direct contrast to the lack of agreement with Intransitive Clause types.

It should be noted that when a question of emphasis is involved, the Common Noun Subject may follow the Predicate tagmeme as for Intransitive Verbs, with the Direct Object tagmeme following the Common Noun,

e.g. *a            hom ke xop uteḡu*  
 +            +Pr +S            +DO  
 †            †  
 He            take man            club.  
 The man took the club.

In this case the emphasis is placed on the Direct Object tagmeme, as opposed to the normal unemphasised:

ke xop a hom utemu  
 +S + +Pr +DO  
 ↑                    ↑

The man he took the club.

In the analysis of the Subject tagmeme which follows, the obligatory Pronominal Time Marker will be referred to only when the Pronoun Phrase alone constitutes the Subject, and not as an obligatory adjunct of Common or Proper Noun Subjects.

In all Iai Clause Types the Subject tagmeme has the function of performer of the action, as all Iai Clause Types are active.

## 1. Subject Filler Classes

The obligatory nucleus Subject slots in the different Clause Types are filled by a composite filler class. The following is the formula showing the possible distribution sub-classes:

Formula: +S  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{N-Phr} \\ \text{Pn-Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$

Fillers: The obligatory nucleus Subject slot is filled by either a Noun Phrase or a Pronoun Phrase.

### 1.1. N-Phr $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{Nn-Phr} \\ \text{Nv-Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the Noun-Phrase distribution-subclass

The Noun-Phrase distribution-subclass includes two division-subclasses: Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase and Nominalised Verb Phrase.

#### 1.1.1. N<sub>n</sub>-Phr $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{CommN}_n\text{Phr} \\ \text{PropN}_n\text{Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase division

The Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase division includes two smaller divisions, Common Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase and Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase.

1.1.1.1.  $\text{CommN}_{\text{N}}\text{Phr} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{CommN}_{\text{C}}\text{Phr} \\ \text{CommN}_{\text{M}}\text{Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle ,$

the Common Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase division

The Common Noun<sub>Noun</sub> Phrase includes two divisions, Common Noun<sub>Count Noun</sub> Phrase and Common Noun<sub>Mass Noun</sub> Phrase.

1.1.1.1.1.  $\text{CommN}_{\text{C}}\text{Phr} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{CommN}_{\text{CSg}}\text{Phr} \\ \text{CommN}_{\text{CPl}}\text{Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle ,$

the Common Noun<sub>Count Noun</sub> Phrase division

The Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Singular</sub> Phrase has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximum formulae:

1.1.1.1.1.1.  $\text{CommN}_{\text{CSg}}\text{Phr}: [+NH <\text{CommN}_{\text{CSg}}>]$

**Filler:** The Common Noun Count Noun Singular Phrase has a minimum nucleus structure of an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by a Common Noun Count Noun Singular. The maximum expanded formula will be stated in conjunction with the examination of the optional Satellite tagmemes.

**Examples** of Common Noun Count Noun Singular Phrases:

$\text{CommN}_{\text{CNSg}}\text{Phr} [+NH (\text{CommN}_{\text{CNSg}})]$

θan → the Chief

seünö → the sun.

Before continuing with the Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Plural</sub> Phrase, the structure of the language would be made clearer by a full statement and analysis of the optional Satellite tagmemes, plus examples of maximum expanded formulae.

#### MAXIMUM EXPANDED FORMULA

$\text{CommN}_{\text{C}}\text{Phr}: [\pm\text{Poss} \pm\text{Num} \pm\text{Det} +\text{NH} <\text{CommN}_{\text{C}}> \pm\text{PostDet} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{Dem} \\ \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\rangle ]$

## 2. Optional Satellite Tagmemes

### 2.1. ±Det, the Determiner tagmemes

The Noun Head in Iai may be determined by one of several indefinite Articles, none of which is obligatory.

The Articles are as follows:

Singular: ke e.g. ke θan a Chief

Plural: ʃe e.g. ʃe θan the Chiefs  
 ke ʃe e.g. ke ʃe θan some Chiefs  
 ta ʃe e.g. ta ʃe üñi the things.

This last Article is used normally in enumerations, or with numerals greater than two, where *ta* is obligatory,

e.g. kun ta wɔ  
 three fish.

This parallels the use of *lae* in Dehu.

**Special Articles:** Three other Articles exist in Iai:

1. *o* is a collective Plural Article,  
 e.g. oxetɛp the posts  
 omomo the women.

2. *la* is used as a Plural for members of the family and relatives,  
 e.g. kamötin our father  
 la kamötin our fathers.

3. *wa* is used when a class of people is considered,  
 e.g. wa soṃweča the old women  
 wa lu the girls.

### 2.2. ±Num, the Optional Satellite Numeral Tagmeme

The Numeral in Iai always precedes both the Article and the Noun Head,

e.g. kun ta at three men.

With Numerals *one* and *two* no Article is employed,

e.g. xača at one man  
lo li at two men.

**Note:** With the Numeral *two* a double Numeral *lo li* is used.  
This occurs with none of the other Numerals.

The Numerals of Iai are as follows:

1	xača
2	lo
3	kun
4	üak
5	θabün or ba xača
6	θabün ke nua xača
7	θabün ke nua lo
8	θabün ke nua kun
9	θabün ke nua üak
10	li beñita or ba lo
11	li beñita ke nua xača
12	li beñita ke nua lo
13	li beñita ke nua kun
14	li beñita ke nua üak
15	bakun
16	bakun ke nua xača
17	bakun ke nua lo
18	bakun ke nua kun
19	bakun ke nua üak
20	xača at or ba üak
21	ba üak ke nua xača
30	xača at ke li beñita
40	lo li at
60	kun ta at
80	üak ta at
100	θabün ta at

Ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of *-iñ* to the Numeral. It should be pointed out that apart from the Special

Articles *la-* and *o-*, *ta* is the only regular Article that may occur with a Numeral.

### 2.3. ±Poss, Possession

For purposes of Possession, Nouns in Iai are classified into six groups, each showing possession in a different way.

1. With living things, especially animals, the Possessive system is the following:

halek kuli	my dog
halem kuli	your dog
haleñ kuli	his dog
haletin kuli	our dog (incl.)
halemun kuli	our dog (excl.)
halebun kuli	your dog
halerin kuli	their dog
haletu kuli	our two dog (incl.)
halemu kuli	our two dog (excl.)
halebu kuli	your two dog
haleru kuli	their two dog.

In the Plural: halek ðe kuli my dogs.

halek	kun	ta	kuli
±Poss	±Num	±Art	+NH
My	three		dogs.

Proper Noun Possessor: kuli hale pɔl Paul's dog.

2. Objects and dead animals have the following Possessive System:

añik wɔ	my fish (dead)
añom wɔ	your fish
añin wɔ	his fish
añitin wɔ	our fish (incl.)
añimun wɔ	our fish (excl.)
añibun wɔ	your fish



añirin wɔ	their fish
añitu wɔ	our two fish (incl.)
añimu wɔ	our two fish (excl.)
añibu wɔ	your two fish
añiru wɔ	their two fish.

In the Plural: añik ʒe wɔ my fish (dead).

Proper Noun Possessor: wɔ añi pɔl Paul's fish.

3. With a short list of items, Possession is indicated in the following way:

umwök uma	my house
umɔm uma	your house
umwen uma	his house
umwötin uma	our house (incl.)
umwömun uma	our house (excl.)
umwöbun uma	your house
umwörin uma	their house
umwötu uma	your two house (incl.)
umwömu uma	our two house (excl.)
umwöbu uma	your two house
umwöru uma	their two house.

In the Plural: umwök ʒe uma my houses.

Proper Noun Possessor: uma umwö pɔl Paul's house.

Other Nouns in the same class are:

hagik hak	my fence
tañök tañ	my bag
honök hok	my burden
manik man	my strength

Possession in this class is indicated by suffixed Possessive Markers, plus the repetition of the Common Noun without Possessive Markers at all.

4. A fourth class has the following system (as the list is brief it is given in full):

ik ̣̣̣ei	my country
em ̣̣̣ei	your country
iñ ̣̣̣ei	his country
itin ̣̣̣ei	our country (incl.)
iṃun ̣̣̣ei	our country (excl.)
ibun ̣̣̣ei	your country
irin ̣̣̣ei	their country
itu ̣̣̣ei	our two country (incl.)
iṃu ̣̣̣ei	our two country (excl.)
ibu ̣̣̣ei	your two country
iru ̣̣̣ei	their two country.

The only other member of this class seems to be:

kubö	mat
thus: ik kubö	my mat.

5. There is a special series of words in Iai composed of Nominaliser plus verb,

e.g. ha	to say
̣̣̣a ha	a word (a thing having been said)
̣̣̣ök ̣̣̣a ha	my word (by me it was said).

This construction corresponds with the Passive verbal construction in Dehu and Nengone. In Iai, however, it is fully substantival. Possession for all nouns formed in this way is indicated as follows:

̣̣̣ök ̣̣̣a ha	my word
̣̣̣om ̣̣̣a ha	your word
̣̣̣en ̣̣̣a ha	his word
̣̣̣ötin ̣̣̣a ha	our word (incl.)
̣̣̣öṃun ̣̣̣a ha	our word (excl.)
̣̣̣öbun ̣̣̣a ha	your word
̣̣̣örin ̣̣̣a ha	their word
̣̣̣ötu ̣̣̣a ha	our two word (incl.)
̣̣̣öṃu ̣̣̣a ha	our two word (excl.)

ɲöbu ɲa ha            your two word  
 ɲöru ɲa ha            their two word.

There are numerous words belonging to this class,

e.g. ɲök ɲa üñküme        my thought  
      ɲök ɲa hič                my happiness

but: ɲö pɔl ɲa hič        Paul's happiness.

6. The last class of Nouns includes kinship terms, parts of the body and abstract concepts. With this class, Possession is indicated by a series of suffixes whose preceding vowel sometimes undergoes morphophonemic change. The class should be considered under the heading Post-Determiners, but for purposes of continuity they are presented immediately.

Because of the morphophonemic changes, the Possessed Nouns are subdivided according to the vowel preceding the possessive suffix:

(a) Singular	1.	čak (my leg)	gak (my place)
	2.	čam	gam
	3.	čan	gan
Plural	1a.	čatin	gatin
	1b.	čaṃun	gaṃun
	2.	čabun	gabun
	3.	čarin	garin
Dual	1a.	čatu	gatu
	1b.	čaṃu	gaṃu
	2.	čabu	gabu
	3.	čaru	garu
(b) Singular	1.	katuk (my cousin)	nökuk (my child)
	2.	katɔm	nökɔm
	3.	katɔn	nökɔn

<b>Plural</b>	1a.	katutin	nökutin
	1b.	katuḡun	nökumuḡun
	2.	katubun	nökubun
	3.	katurin	nökurin
<b>Dual</b>	1a.	katutu	nökutu
	1b.	katumu	nökumu
	2.	katubu	nökubu
	3.	katuru	nökuru
(c) <b>Singular</b>	1.	hanik (my sister)	keik (my brother)
	2.	hanom	kēm
	3.	haniñ	keiñ
<b>Plural</b>	1a.	hanitin	keitin
	1b.	haniḡun	keiḡun
	2.	hanibun	keibun
	3.	hanirin	keirin
<b>Dual</b>	1a.	hanitu	keitu
	1b.	haniḡu	keiḡu
	2.	hanibu	keibu
	3.	haniru	keiru
<b>but:</b>	1.	kibik (my grand-father)	
	2.	kibom	
	3.	kiben (the Plural and Dual are always regular)	
(d) <b>Singular</b>	1.	kamök (my father)	hiñök (my mother)
	2.	kamom	hiñom
	3.	kamen	hiñen
<b>Plural</b>	1a.	kamötin	hiñötin
	1b.	kamöḡun	hiñöḡun
	2.	kamöbun	hiñöbun
	3.	kamörin	hiñörin

Dual	1a	kamötu	hiñötu
	1b	kamömu	hiñömu
	2.	kamöbu	hiñöbu
	3.	kamöru	hiñöru
also:	1.	ḡök (my place)	haiḡök (my word)
	2.	ḡom	haiḡom
	3.	ḡen	haiḡen
but:	1.	emakök (my eye)	bök (my head)
	2.	emakom	bom
	3.	emakan	ban
and:	1.	ök (my food)	
	2.	om	
	3.	an	
also:	1.	wök (my action +Verb)	
	2.	wom	
	3.	won	

Plurals and Duals have not been listed in full as the vowel always remains the same as that of the First Person Singular.

In the Plural: ḡe lakamötin      our fathers  
ḡe čak                              my legs.

Note: *la* forms the Plural of kinship terms as indicated previously.

Proper Noun Possessor: nöku pöl      Paul's child.

With Noun Classes 1., 2., 4. and 5., Possessive Pronouns exist,

e.g. 1. ehu halek      there is mine (animal)  
2. ehu añik      there is mine (dead object)  
4. ehu ik      there is mine (countries, etc.)  
5. ehu ḡök      there is mine (nominalised things).

When the Possessor is a Common Noun, Possession is indicated in two ways:

- (a) If the Possessor ends in a Vowel, *-iñ* is added,  
 e.g. huliwaiñ obaga the work of the men.
- (b) If the Possessor ends in a Consonant, *-in* is added,  
 e.g. üeč̣in menexolom the troubles of darkness.  
 huliwa work; üeč̣ trouble.

#### 2.4. ±Dem, the Demonstrative Tagmeme

The Demonstrative article always follows the Noun Head, thus:

uñ an this turtle  
 kuli an this dog.

But when the Noun Head ends in *-a*, then a euphonic *e* is inserted to form *eañ*,

e.g. buaka eañ this pig.

#### 2.5. ±Mod $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{AdjPhr} \\ \text{Adj}_v\text{Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the optional Satellite Modifier Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Modifier slot is filled by a composite filler class including the subclasses Adjective Phrase and Adjective Verb Phrase.

1. The subclass Adjective Phrase has the following structure formula:

Adj-Phr [+Intr <ae> +Adj ±Mod  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{Comp} \\ \text{Super} \end{array} \right\rangle$  ]

**Fillers:** The alternate distribution subclass Adjective Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus Adjective Introducer, an Adjective and an optional Modifier slot filled by the Comparative or the Superlative,

e.g. CommN<sub>CNSg</sub> Phr [+NH ±Mod <+Intr +Adj>]

hinat	aeso
the old man	good.

The Superlative is formed in two ways:

(a) *-ti-* may be inserted after the *ae*,

e.g. hinat              aetiso  
the old man very good.

Note: *ti* may also intensify verbs,

e.g. ame ti kü      it very grows (it grows and grows).

(b) *ṁōṁin* may be placed after the Adjective,

e.g. hinat              aeso ṁōṁin  
the old man good very.

*ṁ* may replace *ṁōṁin*, and the resulting combination is even more emphatic, as it normally occurs with an Adjective already in the Superlative degree,

e.g. at      aetigan ṁ  
a man very big very

The Comparative consists of the normal Adjective followed by *hon* - than plus a Noun,

e.g. at      aegan hon θan  
a man big      than the Chief.

It should be observed that the Modifier normally follows the Noun Head, except where a special effect is sought. Otherwise an Identificational Clause is formed. In this case, the Introducer *e-* is used instead of *ae-*.

Adjectives never show agreement for number or kind with the Noun Head they qualify, with the exception of two,

e.g. beñik metök	my right hand
beñom metom	your right hand
beñin meton	his right hand

beñitin metötin	our right hand (incl.)
beñimun metömun	our right hand (excl.)
beñibun metöbun	your right hand
beñirin metörin	their right hand
beñitu metötu	our two right hands (incl.)
beñimu metömu	our two right hands (excl.)
beñibu metöbu	your two right hands
beñiru metöru	their two right hands
beñik mek	my left hand
beñom mem	your left hand
beñin meñ	his left hand
beñitin metin	our left hand (incl.)
etc.	

These Adjectives do not have the Adjective Introducer *ae* or *e*. There is one other Adjective where this feature is absent,

namely *tusi kap* book holy (The Bible).

Only one Adjective may precede the Noun Head,  
*on* - small, which may never follow the Noun,

e.g. *ke on bonon*  
 a little story.

## 2. Adj<sub>v</sub>Phr [(+NH) +Intr <ae> +V-Phr]

Fillers: The alternate distribution subclass Adjective Verb-Phrase is composed of a Modifier slot filled by an Adjective Introducer plus a Verb-Phrase.

The Verb Phrase may be any Verb-Phrase discussed above.

Example:

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub> Phr	[+NH	±Adj <sub>v</sub> Phr	<+Intr +VH>]
ogeme ha oxulito	θibi uñi	aexatöña	
I say briefly	only the thing	that I know.	



## 2.6. LAdv-Phr, the Location Adverb Phrase distribution subclass

The distribution subclass Location Adverb Phrase has the following structure formula:

Adv-Phr [+LAdv]

**Filler:** The distribution subclass Location Adverb Phrase slot is composed of an obligatory nucleus location Adverb.

**Location Adverb:** eðö        up there  
                         eʃi        down there.

**Example:**

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub>	Phr	[[+NH	±PostMod	[LAdv-Phr	<LAdv>]	]]
		kɔŋ		eðö		
		the God		up there.		

## 2.7. LRelAx-Phr, the Location Relator Axis Phrase distribution subclass

The distribution subclass Location Relator Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

LRelAx-Phr [+LPrep +H <O-X>]

**Fillers:** The distribution subclass Location Relator Axis Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus location Preposition and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Example:**

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub>	Phr	[[+NH	±PostMod	[LRelAx-Phr	<+Prep	+H(N-Phr)>]	]]
		mɛnɔ		ban	uma		
		the bird		on	the house.		
				m̥wɛlɛn	uma		
				under	the house.		

## 2.8. TimeN-Phr, the distribution subclass Time Noun-Phrase

The distribution subclass Time Noun-Phrase has the following structure formula:

N-PhrTime [[+Prep +NH [TimeNoun] ]]

**Fillers:** The distribution subclass Time Noun Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus preposition and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by a Time Noun.

**Time Noun:** ṅomakatu      morning  
sahač                  evening.

**Example:**

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub>	Phr	[±TimeN-Phr	<+Prep	+NH>	+NH]
			ṅi	ṅomakatu	θan
			in	the morning	the Chief...

## 2.9. Ap-Phr, the Appositive distribution subclass

The distribution subclass Appositive Phrase has the following structure formula:

Ap-Phr [+Introd <a> +N-Phr]

**Fillers:** The distribution subclass Appositive Phrase slot is filled by an Appositive Introducer and a Noun Phrase which has the same referent as the modified Noun Head.

**Example:**

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub>	Phr	[±Det	+NH	<CommN <sub>CNSg</sub>	>	±ModAp-Phr	<+Intr	+N-Phr>]
		ke	at			a	θan	
		the	man			the	Chief...	

2.10. DepCl  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{DepSCl} \\ \text{DepNonSCl} \\ \text{XDepCl} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the distribution subclass  
 Dependent Clause

The distribution subclass Dependent Clause includes three division subclasses: Dependent Subject Clause, Dependent Non-Subject Clause and Extra Dependent Clause.

For an analysis of these Clauses, see above, Clause Level Analysis.

Examples:

CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr [+NH        ±PostMod <DepSCl>]  
                                   at                             ame musi  
                                   the man                        who rules...

CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr [+NH        ±PostMod <DepNonSCl>]  
                                   at                             örine üñküme  
                                   the man                        they think of...

CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr [+NH        ±PostMod <XDepCl>]  
                                   ke üen                             ame laba  
                                   the time                         when he stays...

Since all the tagmemes, obligatory and optional, have now been examined in detail, by way of summary, minimum and expanded maximum formulae and examples will be given for Common Noun<sub>Count Noun</sub> Phrases, both Singular and Plural, as well as examples of the Common Noun<sub>Mass Noun</sub> Phrase.

1.1.1.1.1.a. CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr,  
                                   the Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Singular</sub>Phrase

The Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Singular</sub>Phrase has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximum structure formulae:

MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr [+NH]

Fillers: . The Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Singular</sub>Phrase has a minimum nucleus structure of a Head slot filled by a Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Singular</sub>.

Example: +S [CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr <+NH>]  
                   θan  
                   the Chief.

## EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

CommN <sub>CNSg</sub> Phr	[±Poss	±Num/Art	+NH	±Dem	±Mod]
	halek	xača	kuli	aη	aeso
	My	one	dog	here	good.

1.1.1.1.1.a. CommN<sub>CNP1</sub>Phr,  
                   the Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Plural</sub>Phrase

The Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Plural</sub>Phrase has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximum structure formulae:

## MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

CommN<sub>CNP1</sub>Phr [+Det +NH <CommN<sub>CNP1</sub>>]

Fillers: The Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Plural</sub>Phrase has a minimum nucleus structure of an obligatory Determiner slot filled by an Article, plus an obligatory Head slot filled by a Common Noun<sub>Count Noun Plural</sub>.

Example: +S [CommN<sub>CNP1</sub> <+Det +NH>]  
                   je θan  
                   the Chiefs.

## EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

CommN <sub>CNP1</sub> Phr	[±Poss	±Num	±Art	+NH	±Dem	±Mod]
	halek	kun	ta	kuli	aη	aeso
	My	three	the	dogs	here	good.

1.1.1.1.a.  $\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}^{\text{Phrase}}$ , the Common Noun $_{\text{Mass Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$

The Common Noun $_{\text{Mass Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximum structure formulae:

MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

$\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}^{\text{Phr}} \quad [+NH]$

Fillers: The Common Noun $_{\text{Mass Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  has a minimum nucleus structure of a Head slot filled by a Common Noun Mass Noun.

Example:  $+S \quad [\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}^{\text{Phr}} \quad <+NH>]$

köiö

the water.

EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

$\text{CommN}_{\text{MassN}}^{\text{Phr}} \quad [ \pm \text{Poss} \quad +NH \quad \pm \text{Dem} \quad \pm \text{Mod} ]$   
 ańik köiö ań aeso  
 My water here good.

1.1.1.1.a.  $\text{PropN}_n^{\text{Phr}} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{PersPropN}_n^{\text{Phr}} \\ \text{NonPersPropN}_n^{\text{Phr}} \end{array} \right\rangle$

the Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$

The Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  division subclass includes two co-occurrence subclasses: Personal Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  and Non-Personal Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$ .

(a)  $\text{PersPropN}_n^{\text{Phr}}$ , the Personal Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  subclass

The Personal Proper Noun $_{\text{Noun}}^{\text{Phrase}}$  has the following minimum nucleus and maximum expanded formulae:

MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

$\text{PersPropN}_n^{\text{Phr}} \quad [ \pm \text{Title} \quad +\text{PersPropN}_n ]$

**Fillers:** The Personal Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub>Phrase has the minimum nucleus structure composed of an optional nucleus title and an obligatory nucleus Personal Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub>Stem.

**Titles:** hiŋat      elder  
              θan        Chief.

**Example:** +S [[PersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phr [+Title      +PersPropN]]]  
    hiŋat                   maksimẽ  
    the elder Maximin...

#### EXPANDED MAXIMUM FORMULA

PersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phr [+NH    +Dem +Mod]  
    hiŋat                   maksimẽ ean      aeso  
    the elder Maximin this good.

#### (b) NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phr, the Non-Personal Proper Noun subclass

The Non-Personal Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub>Phrase has the following minimum nucleus and expanded maximum formulae:

#### MINIMUM NUCLEUS FORMULA

NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phrase [+NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>]

**Fillers:** The Non-Personal Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub>Phrase has a minimum nucleus structure composed of an obligatory nucleus Non-Personal Proper Noun<sub>Noun</sub>Stem.

NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>: Duök                   Lifou  
    Iai                   Ouvéa  
    Menõni                  Maré

**Example:** +S [[NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phr [+NonPersPropN<sub>n</sub>]]  
    Iai (Ouvéa).

Maximum expansions of this Phrase type do not occur in current speech and so cannot be admitted.

1.1.a.  $N_V$ Phr, the Nominalised Verb-Phrase subclass

- (a) The Nominalised Verb-Phrase subclass has very limited occurrence, since it appears only in Identificational Clauses. It has the following structure formula:

$N_V$ Phr: [[(+IdPr) +H [Inf <he ka> +V-Phr]]]

Fillers: The subclass Nominalised Verb-Phrase, occurring only after an Adjectival Identificational Predicate, is composed of an obligatory nucleus Infinitive and an obligatory nucleus Noun Head slot filled by a Verb-Phrase introduced by the Infinitive.

Example:  $N_V$ Phr            [[+NH [+Inf +V-Phr]]]

(eso)	he ka	wɔ
(it is good)	to	see.

- (b) Another type of Nominalised Verb-Phrase occurs in all other environments and has the following structure formula:

$N_V$ Phr: [[+NounHead [+Nomin +V-Phr]]]

Fillers: The second type of Nominalised Verb-Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus Noun Head slot filled by a Nominaliser <ɲa> plus any Verb Stem.

Examples:  $N_V$ Phr: [[+NH [+Nomin +VH]]]

	ɲa	wɔ
	the	view
	ɲa	mokuɬ
	the	bed.
mokuɬ	to sleep	
wɔ	to see.	

1.a. Pn-Phr  $\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{PersSPn-Phr} \\ \text{PossPn-Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$  ,

the distribution subclass Pronoun-Phrase

The distribution subclass Pronoun-Phrase includes two alternate division subclasses: the Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase and the Possessed Pronoun Phrase.

(a) *PersSPn-Phr*, the division subclass Personal Subject Pronoun-Phrase

The division subclass Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

*PersSPn-Phr* [*PersSPn*]

Filler: The Personal Subject Pronoun Phrase is composed of a Personal Subject Pronoun Stem.

Personal Pronoun Subject

With the exception of a few, Personal Pronouns have already been enumerated during the analysis of the obligatory Predicate tagmeme. However, with First and Second Person Singular, there are a few special forms not linked inseparately with the Predicate tagmeme.

1. *iña* may replace *ogeme* (First Person Singular) as an emphatic form,

e.g. *haba iña me ogeme ha*  
 well I I say

2. *iña* becomes *iñe* if Condition is expressed.

3. *iña* becomes shortened to *iñ* in Equational Clauses,

e.g. *iñ kamom*  
 I am your father.

4. In the same way, *umwe* becomes shortened to *u* in the same circumstances,

e.g. *u kamök*  
 You are my father.



The emphatic form of all Personal Pronouns is indicated by the presence of *θibi* immediately after the Pronoun,

e.g. *iña θibi* I myself.

(b) **PossPn-Phr**, the Subclass Possessive Pronoun-Phrase

The division subclass Possessive Pronoun-Phrase has the following structure formula:

**PossPn-Phr [+PossPn]**

**Filler:** The Possessive-Pronoun Phrase is composed of a Head slot filled by a Possessive Pronoun referring only to Noun Classes 1, 2, 4 and 5. With Classes 3 and 6, Possessive Pronouns do not exist.

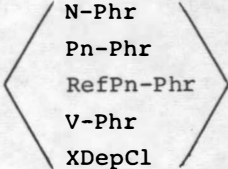
**Examples:** **PossPn-Phr [+PossPn]**

<i>halek</i>	mine	(Class 1)
<i>añik</i>	mine	(Class 2)
<i>ik</i>	mine	(Class 4)
<i>ñök</i>	mine	(Class 5)

### III. THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS DIRECT OBJECT TAGMEME

The Direct Object tagmeme, obligatory and nucleus to the Active Transitive Clause Type 2, has the functional meaning of undergoer of the action of the Transitive Predicate.

In the Clause Type in question, the obligatory nucleus Direct Object slot is filled by a composite filler class, whose components are as follows:

Formula: +DO  , the Direct Object tagmeme

**Fillers:** The obligatory nucleus Direct Object slot is filled by a Composite filler class with a maximum of five: Noun Phrase, Personal Pronoun Phrase, Reflexive Pronoun Phrase, Verb Phrase and Extra Dependent Clause.

### 1. N-Phr, the distribution subclass Noun-Phrase

For an analysis of the Noun-Phrase, see above, in the analysis of the Subject tagmeme.

**Examples:**

<b>+S [PersPn]</b>	<b>+Pr [ActTrSgDecV-Phr]</b>	<b>+DO [CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr]</b>
a	año	ke wəluŋ
He (Past)	made	a noise.
		<b>+DO [CommN<sub>CNP1</sub>Phr]</b>
ame	ha	ʔe θoi
He (Present)	tells	lies.
		<b>+DO [CommN<sub>MassN</sub>Phr]</b>
ame	hom	köiö
He (Present)	takes	water.

### 2. Pn-Phr, the Personal Pronoun-Phrase

The Personal Object Pronoun Phrase has the following structure formula:

**PersObjPersPn [+PersObjPn]**

The Personal Object Pronoun Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus Personal Object Pronoun.

The Object Pronouns in Iai are as follows:

- Singular 1. ña  
 2. u  
 3. -

**Plural**

1a.	ötin, öta	(numerous)
1b.	öḡun, öḡæ	(numerous)
2.	öbun, öbæ	(numerous)
3.	örin, öra	(numerous)

**Dual**

1a.	ötu
1b.	öḡu
2.	öbu
3.	öru

**Examples:**

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActTrVPhr]	+DO [PersPnObj]
ame	o	ña
He	sees	me.
uḡe	kuč	ötin
You	hit	us.

### 3. RefPn-Phr, the Reflexive Pronoun-Phrase

The Reflexive Pronoun-Phrase is identical to the Personal Pronoun-Phrase illustrated above,

e.g. ogeme xöü ña  
I slap myself.

Here again there is a zero Third Person Singular Reflexive Pronoun.

### 4. V-Phr, the distribution subclass Verb-Phrase

The Verb-Phrase Object has the following structure formula:

+DO [V-Phr <+Inf +VH>]

**Fillers:** The division subclass Verb-Phrase is composed of an Introducer slot filled by an Infinitive and an obligatory nucleus Verb Head slot filled by a Transitive or Intransitive Verb.

Example: +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] +S [PersPn]  
 exatö ña  
 Know I

+DO [V-Phr <+Inf +VH>]  
 ka ölö ñi üö e  
 to climb in tree that.

Note: The Subject here follows the Predicate, following the rule for the group of suffixed verbs.

#### 5. XDepCl [DepDecCl], the distribution subclass Dependent Clause

For an analysis of Dependent Clauses, see above, Clause Level Analysis.

Examples:

+S [PersPnS] +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] +DO [XDepCl]  
 ogame sumato ieü čan ame löŋ  
 I ask why he listens.

Note: With Verbs of Saying, *ga habe* - that is to say, normally precedes the quotation, although it may occur even with Reported Speech,

e.g. ame ha ga habe örine he ka he  
 He says they shall go.

#### IV. +EqCo, THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS EQUATIONAL COMPLEMENT

The Equational Complement, obligatory and nucleus to the Equational Clause Type 3, has the meaning of *characteristics of equation or identification*.

The obligatory nucleus Equational Complement has the following formula:

+EqCo  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{N-Phr} \\ \text{Loc-Phr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the Equational Complement

**Fillers:** The obligatory nucleus Complement slot is filled by a composite filler class including Noun-Phrase and Location-Phrase.

1. N-Phr, the distribution subclass Noun-Phrase

For the analysis of the Noun-Phrase, see above, Analysis of Subject tagmeme.

**Example:** +S [PersPn] +EqCo [CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr]  
           iñ                  kamom  
           I am                  your father.

2. Loc-Phr  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{LocAdv} \\ \text{LocRelAxPhr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the division subclass Location Phrase

(a) LocAdv, the Location Adverb-Phrase

**Example:** +S [PersPn] +EqCo [LocAdv]  
           ömun                  an  
           We are                  here.

(b) LocRelAx-Phr, the Location Relator Axis Phrase

LocRelAx-Phr: [+LPrep +N-Phr]

The Location Relator Axis-Phrase consists of a minimum of a Location Preposition and an obligatory nucleus Noun-Phrase.

**Example:**

+S [PersPnS] +EqCo [LRelAx-Phr <+LPrep +NPhr>]  
           ömun                  ñi ñot  
           We are                  in the bush.

V. +StCo, THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS STATIVE COMPLEMENT TAGMEME

The Stative Complement tagmeme, nucleus and obligatory to the Stative Clause Type 5, occupies the slot immediately following the Predicate.

The Stative Complement has the functional meaning of *that which is stated or enumerated*, and has the following formula:

$$+StatCo \left\langle \begin{array}{l} N-Phr \\ Pn-Phr \end{array} \right\rangle , \text{ the Stative Complement slot}$$

**Fillers:** The obligatory nucleus Stative Complement slot is filled by a composite filler class including two subclasses: Noun Phrase and Pronoun Phrase.

### 1. N-Phr, the distribution class Noun-Phrase

See above, obligatory nucleus Subject tagmeme, for analysis of the Noun-Phrase.

**Examples:** +StatPr      +StatCo [CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr]

ehu                  at  
There is            a man.

+StatCo [CommN<sub>Mass</sub>Phr]

köiö  
water.

+StatCo [PersPropN<sub>n</sub>Phr]

maksimě  
Maximin (name).

### 2. Pn-Phr $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} PersPn \\ PossPn \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the distribution subclass Pronoun Phrase

For analysis, see above, page 84.

**Examples:** +StatPr      +StatCo [PersPn]

wale                  ömun  
There is            us.

+StatPr      +StatCo [PossPn]

ehu                  aňik  
There is            mine.

## VI. +IdS, THE OBLIGATORY NUCLEUS IDENTIFICATIONAL SUBJECT TAGMEME

The Identificational Subject tagmeme, nucleus and obligatory to the Identificational Clause Type 4, may precede or follow the Predicate, depending on which of the two Clause constructions is used.

The Identificational Subject tagmeme has the functional meaning of that which is identified. It has the following formula:

$$+IdS \left\langle \begin{array}{l} N-Phr \\ V-Phr \end{array} \right\rangle, \text{ the Identificational Subject tagmeme}$$

Both the Noun- and the Verb-Phrase have been analysed above in connection with the ordinary Subject tagmeme for Verbal Clause types.

### Examples:

(a) +IdPr            +IdS [CommN<sub>CNSg</sub>Phr]  
       eso            čak  
       Good is    my leg.

Or (rarely):

+IdS            +IdPr  
       čak            aeso  
       My leg        is good.

(b) +IdPr                            +IdS [V-Phr]  
       ekap                            ka kɔlɔ    üö    e  
       It is forbidden    to touch tree that.

For analysis of the Identificational Clause, see above, Clause Level Analysis, Section 2.

## B. OPTIONAL SATELLITE CLAUSE LEVEL TAGMEMES

The maximum expansion of the basic nucleus of the five Clause Types includes ten optional Satellite Clause Level tagmemes. These tagmemes may be divided into two classes:

- (a) The Class of optional Satellite Complementary tagmemes: Indirect Object, Accompaniment, Benefactor and Instrument/Agent.
- (b) The Class of optional Satellite Circumstantial tagmemes: Time, Frequency, Location-Direction, Purpose, Cause, Manner.

### 1. ±IO, the optional Satellite Indirect Object Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Indirect Object tagmeme may occur with any of the five Iai Clause types, and has the functional meaning of *that to or for which the action is performed*. It has the following structure formula:

$$\pm IO \quad [[IORelAx-Phr \ [+Prep \ \langle \begin{matrix} k\ddot{o} \\ ka \end{matrix} \rangle \ +H \ <O-X>]]]$$

**Fillers:** The optional Satellite Indirect Object slot is filled by an Indirect Object Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory nucleus preposition *kö* or *ka*, and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Indirect Object tagmeme is found normally after the Predicate tagmeme, but before the Direct Object tagmeme.

The Preposition used before the Object expression varies depending on the status of the Object.

- (a) *kö* is used where the Object is either a Personal Pronoun or a Proper Noun,



e.g. kö (ö)tin           to us  
 kö ña                   to me  
 kö maksimē           to Maximin.

**Note:** With the Third Person Singular Pronoun Object *kö*  
 becomes *k<sup>w</sup>ɔu*,

thus: kö ña               to me  
 kö u                     to you  
 k<sup>w</sup>ɔu                    to him

(b) *ka* is used with all Common Nouns,

e.g. ka θan               to the Chief  
 ka momo                 to the woman.

Examples of ±IO within the Clause:

+S [PersPn] +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] ±IO [RelAx-Phr]  
 ame                    ha                    körin  
 He                     tells                 them.

+DO [N-Phr]  
 bonon tusi Kap  
 the story of the Bible.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] ±IO [RelAx-Phr] +DO [N-Phr]  
 ame                    ha                    ka θan                Je θoi  
 He                     tells                 to the Chief        lies.

## 2. ±Acc, the Optional Satellite Accompaniment Tagmeme

The Optional Satellite Accompaniment tagmeme occurs with all Clause types, but occurs most frequently with Active Intransitive Clauses. It has the following structure formula:

$$\pm\text{Acc} \left[ [\text{AccRelAx-Phr} \left[ +\text{Prep} \left\langle \begin{array}{c} me \\ mö \end{array} \right\rangle +\text{H} \langle \text{O-X} \rangle \right] \right]$$

**Fillers:** The optional Satellite Accompaniment slot is filled by an Accompaniment Relator Axis Phrase composed of

an obligatory nucleus Preposition, *me* or *mö*, and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Accompaniment tagmeme occurs normally after the Subject tagmeme.

The Preposition used before the Object expression depends on whether the Object is a Common Noun or a Pronoun.

(a) *me* is used where the Object is either a Common Noun or a Proper Noun,

e.g.	me θan	with the Chief
	me maksimě	with Maximin.

(b) *mö* is used where the Object is a Pronoun,

e.g.	mö ña	with me
	mö u	with you,
but:	me	with him
		(zero Third Person Object).

Examples of  $\pm$ Acc within the Clause:

+  $\uparrow$  +Pr [ActIntrV-Phr] +S [PropN]  $\pm$ Acc [RelAx-Phr]  $\uparrow$

a	o ʃu	wenegei me lakeiñ
He	came	Hwenegei with his Subjects.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]  $\pm$ Acc [RelAx-Phr]

a	he but	mö ña
He (Past)	went	with me.

### 3. $\pm$ Ben, the Optional Satellite Benefactive Tagmeme

The Optional Satellite Benefactive tagmeme may occur with any Clause Type, but occurs most frequently with the Transitive Clause Type 2. It has the following structure formula:

±Ben [[BenRelAx-Phr [+Prep  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} hobi\ k\ddot{o} \\ hobi\ k^w\ddot{u} \end{array} \right\rangle$  +H <O-X>]]

**Fillers:** The optional Satellite Benefactive slot is filled by a Benefactive Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory nucleus Preposition, *hobi kö* or *hobi k<sup>w</sup>u*, and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Benefactive tagmeme occurs normally after the Direct Object tagmeme.

The Preposition used before the Object expression depends on whether the Object is a Pronoun, a Proper Noun or a Common Noun.

(a) *hobi kö* is used when the Object expression is either a Pronoun or a Proper Noun,

e.g. <i>hobi kö ña</i>	for me
<i>hobi kö aleksi</i>	for Alexis.

(b) *hobi k<sup>w</sup>u* is used when the Object expression is a Common Noun,

e.g. <i>hobi k<sup>w</sup>u kuli</i>	for the dog
<i>hobi k<sup>w</sup>u θan</i>	for the Chief.

**Examples of ±Ben within the Clause:**

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr]	+DO [N-Phr]	±Ben [RelAx-Phr]
oge I (Past)	ḷḷḥḥ killed	ke tɛp a rat	hobi k <sup>w</sup> u kuli for the dog
a He (Past)	ḷḷḥḥ killed	ke tɛp a rat	hobi kö ña for me.
a He (Past)	ḷḷḥḥ killed	ke uñ a turtle	hobi kö david for David.

Another kind of Benefactive exists in Iai, rather less common than that discussed above. This consists of the Possessive Pronoun preceded by the conjunction *me*,

e.g. oge añɔ fana me añɔm  
 I made a bow, and yours.  
 I made a bow for you.

This is, however, a Possessive form, rather than a Benefactive, although it does sometimes serve as a Benefactive.

#### 4. ±Inst, the Optional Satellite Instrument Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Instrument tagmeme, which occurs most frequently with the verbal Clause Types has the following structure formula:

$$\pm\text{Inst} \left[ \left[ \text{InstRelAx-Phr} \left[ +\text{Prep} \left\langle \begin{matrix} ge \\ \eta\epsilon n \end{matrix} \right\rangle +\text{H} \langle \text{O-X} \rangle \right] \right] \right]$$

**Fillers:** The optional Satellite Instrument slot is filled by an Instrumental Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory nucleus Preposition, *ge* or *ηεn*, and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Instrument tagmeme occurs normally after the Direct Object tagmeme in Transitive Clauses and after the Predicate tagmeme in Intransitive Clauses.

The Preposition that occurs before the Object expression depends on whether the Instrument is a Person or an Object.

(a) *ge* is used when the Instrument or Agent is an Object,

e.g. ge gō            by/with an axe  
       ge hele        by/with a knife.

(b) *ηεn* is used when the Instrument or Agent is a Person,

e.g. ηεn θan        by the Chief  
       ηεn kɔŋ        by the God.

Examples of  $\pm$ Inst within the Clause:

+S [PersPn] +Pr [ActTrDecV-Phr] +DO [N-Phr]  $\pm$ Inst [RelAx-Phr]  
 ogeme            subɔ                            utö            ge gö  
 I                    cut    the tree        with an axe.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]  $\pm$ Inst [RelAx-Phr]  
 a                    mök ču    ɲen θan  
 He (Past)        died    by the Chief.

Note: *ge* has another meaning apart from its function of Instrument Introducer. It translates the English *about, concerning,*

e.g. ogeme ha        eʃa        *ge*        bonon        hɪnat  
 I            spoke before about the story of the old man.

#### 5. $\pm$ T, the Optional Satellite Time Tagmeme

The Optional Satellite Time tagmeme, occurring with all Clause types, has the following structure formula:

$$\pm T \left\langle \begin{array}{l} TAdvPhr \\ TLocPhr \\ XDepCl \end{array} \right\rangle, \text{ the Optional Satellite tagmeme.}$$

Fillers: The optional Satellite Time slot is filled by a composite filler class including the distribution subclasses: Time Adverb Phrase, Time Locution Phrase and Extra Dependent Time Clause.

##### (a) TAdvPhr, the Time Adverb Phrase

Place: The Time Adverb Phrase is normally situated after the Predicate tagmeme,

e.g. ame löŋ        ɲiña  
 He listens still.

##### (b) TLocPhr, the Time Locution Phrase

**Place:** The Time Locution Phrase (εῤ - yesterday, walaṇaṇ - today) occurs normally before the Subject tagmeme with Transitive Clauses and after the Predicate tagmeme with Intransitive Clauses,

e.g. oge han εῤ  
I ate yesterday.

walaṇaṇ umwe aṅo kö ña tulut e  
Today you play on me this trick.

(c) XDepTC1, the Extra Dependent Time Clause

The Extra Dependent Time Clause has the following structure formula:

XDepTC1 [+DepIntrod (ṅi üen) +IndepDecCl]

The analysis of the Extra Dependent Clause has been made above, in the Clause Level Analysis,

e.g. +S [PersPn] +Pr [ActIntrV-Phr] ±T [TXDepCl]  
oge mokuṭ ṅi üen a o ṅin  
I slept when he came.

6. ±Freq, the Optional Satellite Frequency Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Frequency tagmeme may occur with any of the five Clause Types. It has the following structure formula:

±Freq [[FreqRelAx-Phr [+Prep <ṅi> +H <Time Noun>]]

**Fillers:** The optional Satellite Frequency slot is filled by a Frequency Relator Axis Phrase composed of an obligatory nucleus Preposition, ṅi - in, and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by a Time Noun.

**Place:** The optional Satellite Frequency tagmeme occurs after the Predicate tagmeme or the Direct Object tagmeme in Transitive Clauses.

**Example:**

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActIntrV-Phr]	±Freq [RelAx-Phr]
ogeme	mokuṭ	ñi ʒe bon əsehla
I	sleep	many days.

Simple Frequentatives exist in Iai, e.g. *olo* - twice, *orača* - once, but these are normally used only in single word replies to questions.

7. ±L  $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{LAdvPhr} \\ \text{RelAxPhr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the Optional Satellite Location-Direction Tagmemes

The optional Satellite Location-Direction slot is filled by a composite filler class including two distribution subclasses: Location Adverb Phrase and Location Relator Axis Phrase.

(a) LAdvPhr, the distribution subclass Location Adverb Phrase

<b>LAdvPhr:</b>	wadö	to the east
	ele	to the west
	eü	to the north
	eö	to the south

The complex series of Directionals present in Nengone, and to a lesser extent in Dehu, is absent in Iai.

**Place:** The Location Adverb Phrase is normally placed after the Predicate, or in Transitive Clauses after the Direct Object tagmeme.

**Examples:**

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActIntrVPhr]	±L [LAdvPhr]
ame	he	eü
He	goes	there (north).

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActTrVPhr]	+DO [NPhr]	±L [LAdvPhr]
öṃune	helom	ke ʒe utö	eü banut
We	look for	some wood	there at Banut.

**Note:** There is a special Directional employed when motion towards a place is expressed,

e.g. Faɟawe - Fayaoué (village)  
 Faɟawe ai - to Fayaoué  
 ogeme he Faɟawe ai - I am going to Fayaoué.

(b) **LRelAxPhr**, the distribution subclass Location Relator Axis Phrase

The optional Location Relator Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

$$\text{LRelAxPhr: } [+L\text{Prep} \left\langle \begin{array}{c} k\ddot{o} \\ ka \\ \tilde{n}i \end{array} \right\rangle +H <O-X>]$$

**Fillers:** The Location Relator Axis Phrase consists of an obligatory nucleus Location Preposition (*kö*, *ka*, *ñi*) and an obligatory nucleus Head slot filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Location Relator Axis Phrase occurs normally immediately after the Predicate tagmeme.

The Preposition employed depends on the Object expression it precedes.

(i) When the Object expression is a Pronoun or Proper Noun, *kö* is used,

e.g. umwe he köña  
 You go to me.

umwe he kö alɛksi  
 You go to Alexis.

(ii) When the Object expression is a Personal Common Noun, *ka* is used,

e.g. umwe he ka ie momo  
 You go to which woman?



(iii) When the Object expression is a Non-Person Common Noun,  $\tilde{n}i$  or  $ka \tilde{n}i$  is required,

e.g. ogeme he ka  $\tilde{n}i$  uma  
I go to the house.

8.  $\pm\text{Mann} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{MAdvPhr} \\ \text{MRelAxPhr} \end{array} \right\rangle$ , the Optional Satellite Manner Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Manner slot is filled by a composite filler class including two distribution subclasses: Manner Adverb Phrase and Manner Relator Axis Phrase.

(a) MAdvPhr, the Manner Adverb Phrase

**Place:** The distribution subclass Manner Adverb Phrase always occurs after the Predicate tagmeme, whether the Predicate is a Transitive or Intransitive Verb.

**Manner Adverb Phrases:** beüᵛ at length  
oxulitᵛ shortly

**Example:** +S [PersPn] +Pr [ActIntrVPhr]  $\pm\text{Mann}$  [MAAdv]  
ogeme ha beüᵛ  
I speak at length.

(b) MRelAxPhr, the distribution subclass Manner Relator Axis Phrase

The optional Manner Relator Axis Phrase has the following structure formula:

**MannRelAxPhr:** [+Prep +H <O-X>]

**Fillers:** The Manner Relator Axis Phrase is composed of an obligatory nucleus Introducer Preposition and an obligatory nucleus Head filled by an Object expression.

**Place:** The Manner Relator Axis Phrase occurs after the Predicate tagmeme.

**Example:**

+S [PersPn]	+Pr [ActIntrVPhr]	±Mann [MRelAxPhr]
öğüne	he	hon karopæ
We (Present)	go	by boat.

**9. ±P, the Optional Satellite Purpose Tagmeme**

The optional Satellite Purpose tagmeme may occur with any of the five Clause Types and has the following structure formula:

+P [VPhr [+Intr +IndepDecCl]]

**Fillers:** The Purpose Verb Phrase is composed of a Purpose Introducer (*ma*, *ḡon*) and an obligatory nucleus Transitive or Intransitive Predicate (Independent Declarative Clause).

**Place:** The Purpose Verb-Phrase always follows the Predicate tagmeme.

The Introducers are of two kinds:

(a) *ma* introduces the normal Purpose Phrase,

e.g. *ma* (a)me he ka mokuḡ  
so that he sleeps

*mörine* he ka mokuḡ  
so that they may sleep.

(b) *ḡon* introduces a Purpose Verb Phrase only when it is Impersonal, that is to say, when the Subject tagmeme of the Clause is absent,

e.g. *ḡon* he ka ḡuma  
in order to cover the house.

The English *so that he might cover the house* is:

*ma* (a)me he ka ḡuma.

A weaker and less explicit Purpose Introducer is the Infinitive *ka*,

e.g. ame weñ ka he ka mokuṭ  
He wishes to go to sleep.

#### 10. ±C, the Optional Satellite Cause Tagmeme

The optional Satellite Cause slot is filled by a Cause Extra Dependent Clause composed of an obligatory nucleus Cause Introducer (*čan*, *añin a*) and an obligatory nucleus Independent Declarative Clause.

**Place:** The distribution subclass Extra Dependent Cause Clause occurs always after the Predicate tagmeme.

The Cause Introducers are of two kinds:

(a) *čan* is the normal Cause Introducer,

e.g. čan oge ča ta .lö  
Because I did not plant the leaves

(oge ɭiñɔ) čan a kia hagik hak  
I killed it because it broke my fence.

(b) *añin* or *añin a* is used as a Cause Introducer with the idea of successivity in contrast with *čan* which demonstrates and explains the reason,

e.g. añin a ogeme mök  
Because I am alive.

*añin* alone is used when the following word begins with /a/,

e.g. añin ame mokuṭ  
Because he sleeps.

#### Summary of Tagmeme Ordering

In the maximum formulae given above, the ordering of tagmemes was not absolutely rigid as no fixed order exists. However with certain tagmemes, especially those following the Predicate, a more rigid order exists than in either Dehu or Nengone.

A brief Summary Statement of the ordering of tagmemes for all Clause Classes is as follows:

(a) Before the Predicate:

±T ±L +S

(b) After the Predicate:

±Mann ±IO +DO ±Acc ±Inst ±Ben ±Freq ±P ±C

The first four tagmemes after the Predicate in nearly all cases follow the order outlined. With the remaining tagmemes, however, a linear representation is inadequate as at this point the order follows the will of the speaker.

#### 4. WORD LEVEL ANALYSIS

##### 1. Verb Formation

Numerous parts of speech may become Verbs without any change in form. The only change of form occurs when an Adjective becomes a Verb. Normally, the only pre-requisite for a part of speech to become a Verb is that it fill the Verb Head slot.

##### 1. NOUN ACTING AS VERB:

+S [PersPn] +Pr [CommN<sub>CN</sub>]

ogeme            he ka θan  
I                shall Chief.  
I shall be the Chief.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [CommN<sub>CN</sub>]

ame            ča            ñot  
It                does not weeds.  
There are no weeds.

##### 2. ADVERB ACTING AS VERB:

+S [PersPn] +Pr [MannAdv]

ama            wisa  
He will        well.  
He will do it well.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [MannAdv]

ame            logot  
He (Present) quickly.  
He hastens.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [MannAdv]  
 ama ka hɛlɔe  
 He (Future) thus.  
 He will do it thus.

+S [PersPn] +Pr [LocAdv]  
 ame hakeñjut ka he  
 He near to go.  
 He is about to go.

3. NUMERAL ACTING AS VERB:

+ +Pr [Num] +S [CommN<sub>CN</sub>]  
 ↑—————↑  
 ame lo but li mi  
 It two the two religions.  
 There will be two religions.

4. ARTICLE ACTING AS VERB:

The Article *ke*, which signifies *alone* may occasionally become a Verb. The normal construction with *ke* is as follows:

ame ke hebut θibut aiök  
 She alone goes always my wife.  
 My wife always goes alone.

However, *ke* serves as a Verb thus:

+S [PersPn] +Pr [Art] ±L  
 ame ke ñin  
 He alones inside.  
 He is the only one inside.

5. ADJECTIVE BECOMING A VERB:

Adjectives may become verbalised in the following way:

**Kernel Structure: AdjStem**

$T_V$

---

**Verb Stem: +Prefix (o) +AdjStem +Suffix (ɔ)**

The Verbalised Adjective is the Verbal Transform,  $T_V$ , of an Adjective Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix o-, an obligatory Adjective Stem, and an obligatory suffix -ɔ.

**Examples:**    gan - big                    ogɔno - to honour  
                   koŋ - bad                        okɔno - to do evil  
                   hao - white                    ohawɔ - to whiten.

Rarely, however, an Adjective may serve as a Verb without any formal change,

e.g.    +S [PersPn]    +Pr [Adj]    +T  
           a                    so            eʃa  
           He (Past)        good        before.  
           He did well before.

## 2. Noun Formation

### 1. VERBS BECOMING NOMINALISED

Verbs may become nominalised in the following manner:

**Kernel Structure: VerbStem**

$T_S$

---

**Noun Phrase: +Prefix (ü) +VerbStem +Suffix (ik)**

The Nominalised Verb is the Substantive Transform,  $T_S$ , of a Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix ü-, an obligatory Verb Stem and an ordinary suffix. The suffix is any of these which applies to Class 6 of Nouns, that is, the Nouns formed from Verb Stems must always remain possessed.

**Example:**    ülabaik            my position  
                   laba                to stay.

## 2. ADJECTIVES BECOMING NOMINALISED:

Adjectives may be nominalised in two ways:

## (a) Kernel Structure: AdjStem

$$T_S$$


---

Noun Phrase: +Prefix (*i*) +AdjStem +Suffix ( $\epsilon n$ )

The nominalised Adjective is the Substantive Transform,  $T_S$ , of an Adjective Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix *i*-, an obligatory Adjective Stem and an obligatory suffix  $-\epsilon n$ .

Example: beü            long  
          ibeüen        length.

## (b) Kernel Structure: AdjStem

$$T_S$$


---

Noun Phrase: +AdjStem +Suffix ( $-iñ$ )

The nominalised Adjective is the Substantival Transform,  $T_S$ , of an Adjective Stem. It consists of an obligatory Adjective Stem and an obligatory suffix ( $-iñ$ ).

Example: hɔhɔ            easy  
          hɔhɔiñ        facility  
          mæk            difficult  
          mækkiñ        difficulty.

## Adjective Formation

The Post Modifier in Iai is normally an Adjective, but it may also consist of the Post Modifier Marker, an Adjective Introducer, plus other parts of speech. The Post Modifier can be represented thus:

+NH ±PostMod [+PostModMark <ae> +H  $\left\langle \begin{array}{c} N \\ \text{Adj} \\ \text{Prep} \end{array} \right\rangle$  ]



The fillers of the Post Modifier Head slot may be either a Noun, an Adjective or a Preposition, although the Preposition is much rarer than the other two.

**Examples:**

+NH                    †PostMod [+PostModMark <ae> +H <N>]  
 ñ̄ei                    aem̄enexol̄om  
 The country    unenlightened (darkened).

+NH                    †PostMod [+PostModMark <ae> +H <Adj>]  
 ñ̄ei                    aeso  
 The country    good.

+NH                    †PostMod [+PostModMark <ae> +H <Prep>]  
 d̄ok                    aeñ̄in            at e  
 The place        having in that man.

### 3. Adverb Formation

Adverbs may be formed from Adjectives in the following manner:

Kernel Structure: AdjStem  
 $T_{Adv}$   


---

 Adverb: +AdjStem +Suffix (-ɔ)

The Adverbialised Adjective is an Adverbial Transform,  $T_{Adv}$ , of an Adjective Stem. It consists of an obligatory Adjective Stem and an obligatory suffix (-ɔ).

**Example:** beü - long            beüɔ - at length.

### 4. Verb Classes

Verbs in Iai can be classed as follows:

1. Intransitive and always Intransitive
2. Intransitive but capable of Transitive Transform
3. Intrinsically Transitive.

1. Intransitive and always Intransitive Verbs have no terminal affixes.

**Examples:** he - to go  
 mokuṭ - to sleep  
 wɔn - to begin  
 wadiŋ - to run.

2. Intransitive Verbs are capable of two Transitive Transforms:

- (a) With a non-Personal Object, the Transform is as follows:

**Kernel Structure: IntrVerb**  
 $T_{OO}$   


---

 $V_{OO}$ : +IntrVerb +Suffix (-ɔ)

The Object Verb is an Object Transform,  $T_{OO}$ , of an Intransitive Verb Stem. It consists of an Intransitive Verb Stem and an obligatory suffix (-ɔ).

**Examples:** sumat to ask  
 sumatɔ to ask something.

- (b) With a Person Object, the Transform is as follows:

**Kernel Structure: IntrVerb**  
 $T_{PO}$   


---

 $V_{PO}$ : +IntrVerb +Suffix (-ö)

The Person Object Verb is a Person Object Transform,  $T_{PO}$ , of an Intransitive Verb Stem. It consists of an Intransitive Verb Stem and an obligatory suffix (-ö).

**Examples:** sumat to ask  
 sumatö to ask someone.

Transitive Verbs formed from Intransitive bases may be divided into three classes:

## (i) Verbs with both -ɔ (OO) and -ö (PO)

<b>Examples:</b>	sumat	to ask
	sumatɔ	to ask something
	sumatö	to ask someone.

**Note:** This is the only known example of an Intransitive based Verb taking both suffixes.

## (ii) Verbs with -ɔ (OO) but NOT -ö (PO)

<b>Examples:</b>	pučo	to say
	pučoɔ	to say something
	tulut	to measure
	tulutɔ	to measure something.

## (iii) Verbs with -ö (PO) but NOT -ɔ (OO)

<b>Examples:</b>	halubahinen	to wait
	halubahinö	to await something.
	üñeñamo	to recount
	üñeñamö	to talk of something.

### 3. Intrinsically Transitive Verbs may also be divided into three classes:

#### (a) Verbs with both -ɔ (OO), the regular Transitive Marker, and -ö (PO).

<b>Examples:</b>	ixöünɔ	ixöünö	to collect
	öliɔ	öliö	to disembark
	ɭɪɔ	ɭɪö	to kill
	otilɔ	otilö	to lift
	nɔ	nö	to learn
	luɔ	luö	to stone
	kunɔ	kunö	to send.

Within this class some verbs are slightly irregular:

If the Verb Stem ends in a consonant, the changes take place in the vowels,

e.g.            kɔt            köt            to hold  
                   elɔm            elöm           to seek.

Irregular:    sō            si            to cut  
                   wɔ            o            to see.

(b) Verbs with -ɔ (OO) but NOT -ö (PO)

(i)            omænɛɔ        to show  
                   aňɔ            to do  
                   oküɔ           to cause  
                   subɔ           to cut  
                   hɔtɔ           to wear

(ii) There are several verbs within this class which do not have the -ɔ Transitive suffix:

                  xön            to assemble  
                   han            to eat  
                   xöp            to receive  
                   xa            to shake  
                   xota           to leave  
                   kap            to receive  
                   penapena     to prepare  
                   üküč          to fight  
                   kɔnɔm        to bury  
                   üčü           to buy  
                   oloü          to break  
                   üxöt          to agitate  
                   ham            to give.

(c) Verbs with -ö (PO) and NOT -ɔ (OO)

Example:    löň            lɪň            to listen.

Note: If the OO form already contains ö, the PO forms become i,

e.g.    musi            musö            to command.

## 5. Causatives

The Causative form of the Verb in Iai has the following structure:

Kernel Structure: VerbStem

$T_{\text{Caus}}$

---

Causative Verb: +Prefix (o) +VerbStem +Suffix (o)

The Causative Verb is the Causative Transform,  $T_{\text{Caus}}$ , of a Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix (o-), an obligatory Verb Stem, and an obligatory suffix (-o).

Examples:     $\text{m}^{\circ}\text{æk}$             to wake  
                   $\text{o}\text{m}^{\circ}\text{æk}\text{o}$         to wake someone.

## 6. Reciprocals

The Reciprocal form of the Verb has the following structure formula:

Kernel Structure: VerbStem

$T_{\text{Rec}}$

---

Reciprocal Verb: +Prefix (ü) +VerbStem +Suffix (köu)

The Reciprocal Verb is the Reciprocal Transform,  $T_{\text{Rec}}$ , of a Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix (ü-), an obligatory Verb Stem and an obligatory suffix (-köu).

Examples:    ham            to give  
                  ühamköu        to give one another  
                  ha            to say  
                  ühaköu        to talk to one another.

It should be observed that a Restricted Reciprocal exists in Iai, involving only two people. This consists of the prefix *i-* plus Verb,

e.g.     $\text{beten}^{\circ}\text{iö}$             to be kind  
           $\text{ibeten}^{\circ}\text{iö}$         to be kind to each other.

## 7. Accompaniment

The Accompanying form of the Verb has the following structure formula:

Kernel Structure: VerbStem

$T_{Acc}$

---

Accompanying Verb: +Prefix ( $\theta a-$ ) +VerbStem

The Accompanying Verb is the Accompanying Transform,  $T_{Acc}$ , of a Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix ( $\theta a-$ ) and an obligatory Verb Stem.

**Examples:**

$\theta ur$	to fish
$\theta a\theta ur$	to fish together with
$w\grave{o}$	to see
$\theta aw\grave{o}$	to see together with

$\theta a-$  may also be used in Noun Phrases thus:

$\theta ai\tilde{n}a$	me	ke	at	kañua
Me together with a stranger.				

## 8. Repetitives

The Repetitive form of the Verb has the following structure formula:

Kernel Structure: VerbStem

$T_{Rep}$

---

Repetitive Verb: +Prefix ( $io-$ ) +VerbStem

The Repetitive Verb is a Repetitive Transform,  $T_{Rep}$ , of a Verb Stem. It consists of an obligatory prefix ( $io-$ ) and an obligatory Verb Stem.

**Examples:**

$h\acute{e}l\grave{o}m$	to seek
$io\ h\acute{e}l\grave{o}m$	to seek again
$a\tilde{n}\grave{o}$	to do
$io\ a\tilde{n}\grave{o}$	to do again.

## 9. Reduplicatives

Full and partial reduplicatives exist in Iai, but not as frequently as in Dehu and Nengone. They serve to intensify the simple base form,

e.g.	ut	to jump
	ututut	to gallop
	gɔ	to jump up
	gɔgɔ	to jump in surprise
	fuč	to talk
	fufuč	to chatter
	monu	to be evil
	monumonu	to argue violently.

## 10. Miscellany

### 1. VARIABLE PREPOSITIONS

In Iai there are four Prepositions which are declined in the same way as Class 6 Nouns,

e.g.	huk	on me
	hɔm	on you
	hɔn	on him
	hutun	on us (incl.)
	humun	on us (excl.)
	hubun	on you
	hurin	on them
	hu	+PropN
	hotuk	behind me
	hotɔm	behind you
	hoton	behind him
	hotutin	behind us (incl.)
	hotu	+PropN

dək geðen	through my road
dəm geðen	through your road
dətin geðen	through our road
ñimakuk	in front of me.

## 2. GENERAL NOUN PREFIXES

General prefixes may appear with some root morphemes as follows:

- (a) *ü* +Noun; *ü-* indicates that the Object is composed of many parts,

e.g. *üxaü* a garment.

- (b) *ut* +Noun; *ut-* indicates a piece,

e.g. *kɔɔ* ground  
*utkɔɔ* a piece of ground.

- (c) *εč* +Noun; *εč-* indicates a piece detached from the whole,

e.g. *mano* cloth  
*εčmano* a piece of cloth.

## 3. PARTICLES

- (a) *üe* placed between the Article and the Noun Head signifies difference or separation,

e.g. *li üe huliwa*  
 two different and separate works.

- (b) *na* placed before the Verb indicates that the action is performed only on a small scale,'

e.g. *ogeme na ñi huliwa*  
 I a bit work.



Appendix

TEXTS

Ke on bonon miña #

A small story again

haba ŋi huna 1939 / wale ke huna aekon ean iai #

then in year 1939, there a year bad here Ouvéa.

Üña ke weneü aetigan möñin #

It is a cyclone very big indeed.

A üküc ŋi ŋei wɔn ŋi ŋiban jimeü ka o

It struck in country from in the end down there to arrive

ŋi ŋiban eü #

in end up there.

Ke haba je üñi aekon / etigan mo je üñi

But then the things bad, very big indeed the things

a kon ŋi üen e #

it hurt in time that.

ame u je uma kap / mouča ke ne o but köña #

it falls the houses holy, broken until arrive to me.

Iña walañan / iña / ogeme üñenamö #

I now I I recount.

ogeme laba bi ju ŋi ŋebuba #

I remain then in void.

haba umvök uma / me a ŋi kot weneü #

then my house house, then it in hit cyclone.

ke ne ame tɔt θiʃu walanən wɛʃin #  
 then it remains only today base.

ke haba ban / me hia but #  
 and then its roof then disappears.

ogeme ha hɛlɔe gak iña #  
 I speak like that at home I.

kesobi ʃa hake iña #  
 however not alone me.

ɛtigan miña ʃe lahanök me ʃe liamkeiñ mōña a  
 very many also the my friends and the brothers with me it  
 ñi kɔn ʃe ñabarin / a okɔno nɛn weneü e  
 in hurt the their homes, it hurt by cyclone that  
 aɛtigan ɱɔ #  
 very big indeed.

waban dö weneü / me o dö ɱiɔ waban #  
 after that cyclone and comes famine after.

ɱiɔ aegan #  
 famine very big.

ebæ but nu #  
 no coconut-palms.

a u hia but #  
 is fallen all then.

ebæ but han #  
 no food.

a okono hia but nõmõmun ʒe na belök uña weneü e #  
has hurt all then our the fields that cyclone there.

õmune he nõot ka weč han / weč metu ʒe möt añin  
we go forest to seek food seek again the lives of  
ʒe lakibiḡun helome üao me wader #  
the our grandfathers such as husks and lianas.

wale ʒe üñi õmune helom metu / ñi üen a o  
there the things we seek again, in time he came  
ñin kõmun kɔn #  
in to us evil.

ebæ metu #  
no again.

ke õmune sumato ʒe θan aegan ean ñi ñei ka sumato  
but me ask the Chiefs big here in country to ask  
ke ühædüö kõmun ka ñi tulutiñ popale / mame ücü  
an aid to us towards in manner of whites, so that able  
kõmun ka möt ñi ke on bon / tuö metu #  
to us to live in a small day, help again.

õmune he ka añɔ wia metu nõmõmun ʒe na belök #  
we go to do well again our the fields.

ke haba nõomun na ñinɔ elin / me a ka o dö  
and then our demands then, and was come then  
ge betene añin ñaḡ haumakan kõmun ñaḡ #  
by the charity of men white men to us people.

õmune laba geʒu örin #  
we stay faith them.

ömune laba ñi m<sup>w</sup>elən añirin bođila #  
 we stay in beneath their flag.  
 wale ke ʒe üñi ame o kömun / me ke ʒe on  
 there the things it comes to us, and the little  
 üeč ame o kömun ñi ke ʒe üen #  
 troubles it comes to us in the times.  
 esobi ča θibut #  
 however not always.  
 haba imun ñei / me eñikəno ñei #  
 then our country, and low country.  
 ame ka he ka o ʒe üen aekəŋ me katikəŋ mōñin hoton #  
 it goes to come the times bad and very bad indeed after.  
 ame he ka o ʒe üñi e / me ka logot kəŋ #  
 it goes to come the times there, and it fast harms.  
 ie he ka ohia aŋ me seünö / wale ʒe üñi ame  
 what go to stop wind and sun? there the things it  
 okəno ömun eaŋ #  
 harms us here.

### Translation

Here is another small story. In the year 1939, this was a bad year here on Ouvéa. There was a very big cyclone indeed which struck the country from one end to the other. The evil effect was that very many things were damaged during this period. The temples were fallen to the ground; things were smashed even down to my own. Now I am telling the story. I remain in the void. My house, it was hit by the cyclone.

Today there remains only the foundation. As for the roof, it disappeared. I speak in this manner at my house. However I was not alone. Very many of my friends and brothers had their homes damaged. They were damaged by that very big cyclone. After the cyclone followed famine. It was a great famine. There were no coconut-palms. They had all fallen down. There was no food. That cyclone had ruined all of our fields. We went to the forest to look for food, to seek the subsistence of our forefathers such as husks and lianas. These are the things that we seek again, during the time that misfortune came upon us. But this has not happened again. And we asked our Chiefs here in the country to ask for help for us from the whites, so that we could live again for a short time. We ask them to help again. We shall cultivate our fields well once more. And our request, it came to our people through the charity of the whites. We have faith in them. We remain under their flag. These are the things that happen to us and the little problems which confront us from time to time. However it is not always. Our country is low-lying. When bad seasons come, it is very bad afterwards. When these seasons come, damage is quickly done. What can stop the wind and the sun? These are the things that damage us here.

## 2.

ogeme he ka be üneṇamö metu kötin walaṇan / wɔn

I go to wish recount again to us now from  
dö ṇi ʒe üen a hebut ka o walaṇan #  
in the times it gone to arrive now.

ogeme he ka üneṇamö ge bonon añitin ʒe faipoipo #

I go to recount about story of our marriages.  
haba ṇi añitin ʒe faipoipo abɔn / me e ɔet /  
then in our the marriages before, and it is difficult,  
ke etigan mɔ mɔkiṇ #  
but very big indeed the problem.

haba ɔeliṇ abɔn / ame bɔn kamen me hiṇen li at  
then problem before, they first father and mother of two people  
e ɔrumwe he ka tot ka be böru ka penapena  
there they who go to marry to wish first to prepare  
ʒe üṇi aehia ʒe huna me ʒe huna / nɔn he ka  
the things all the years and the years, to go to  
penapena θibi nɔn xača laṇ #  
prepare only for one day.

ke egan ɔet ṇi ʒe üen e / üen ʒe lañitin  
and big problem in the times then, time of the our ancestors  
abɔn #  
before.

üxöna mani / üxöna omens / belök #

collect money, collect cattle, provisions.

wale ʒe ɔet e aetigan mɔ mɔṇin #

there the problems there very big very indeed.

wɔn dö ñi ʒe üen e / me a hebut / kame o ɱetu  
 from in the times then, and it has gone, it comes again

ke ʒe üen walanan #  
 the times now.

haba walanan / me haba ʒe toɟ me ücü me üñi  
 then now and then the marriages and the same as thing  
 baü #

nothing.

ke li at ame wɛru ka toɟ / me bæ ke ɱækɪñ #  
 and two people he they want to marry, and no a problem.

taüat hia 016ö / areme ühamköu añirin ühaɟuö ka  
 men all then, they give their aid to

haduɔ kamen бага ane kamen momo #  
 help parent man or parent woman.

ke bæ ke ɱeliñ #

and no a difficulty.

ke hu ke üñi baten / li amakeiñ me #  
 and there is a thing beside, brother with.

ehu ke at ñi baten ɱɔn he ka haduɔ #  
 there is a man in beside to go to help.

ogeme üneɱamö helbe ñi tulutiñ bon an aeɟaüü

I recount thus in way of day this not like  
 but me ʒe üen abɔn #

then with the times before.

a hebut üen elɪn / ke but ñi üen an / a  
 has gone time then, and then in time this, it is

ötin dut ñi melam #

us then in light.

mötin ühamköu, añitin Ĵe ühaduö #

we give our the helps.

me ka walötin hia ean #

and there is us all here.

wale ke huliwa actiso mōñin / ke bæ ke mækiñ #  
there is a work very good indeed, and no a trouble.

ke ötine huliwa ñi xača #

and we work in one.

ame o Ĵe meno / ga habe obuaka / oxto

it comes the beasts, to say pigs, fowls

hobi kwou Ĵe huliwa e #

for the works there.

a hebut Ĵe üen abn / me a ka ðahebut me üat

has gone the times before, and it has gone with the men

e are ip #

there they put.

ötine ücü me xača/ Ĵe ñat me lakeiñ / a ötín

we same as one, the people and brothers, it is us

dut ñi bonon mi #

then in way of religion.



TRANSLATION

I wish to recount once more to us about the times which have passed up until the present. I am going to talk about the story of our marriages. In previous times, our weddings were difficult. There were very many problems. The problem previously was that the mother and father of the two people about to marry had to first prepare the trappings for years and years, in order to prepare for only one day. The difficulty was very considerable at that time, the time of our ancestors before, that is to say they had to collect money, cattle and provisions. These were the very great problems. Since that time, this has disappeared and the present time has come. However, today, weddings are no trouble at all. If two people wish to marry, there is no problem. Everyone gives a hand to assist the male and female parent. And there is no problem. There is something else, that is to say his brothers. There is someone there at hand to assist. I speak like this for the present day manner which is unlike that of former times. That time has gone. Today then we are enlightened, and we give one another assistance. We are all at this stage. This is a good work indeed. There is no problem. We work as one. Livestock comes in for this task, pigs and fowls. The former times have gone and with them have gone the men who imposed them. We are the same as one family, people and brothers. We follow the way of Christianity.

