

A grammar of Anejoñ

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A grammar of Anejoñ

John Lynch



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Table of contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 History, geography and demography of Aneityum	1
1.2 History of the Anejoŋ language	4
1.3 Previous research and publications	7
1.4 The present study	8
1.4.1 Overview of Anejoŋ grammar	8
1.4.1.1 Phonology and orthography	8
1.4.1.2 Major word classes	9
1.4.1.3 Phrase types	10
1.4.2 Conventions and abbreviations	11
2 Phonology	13
2.1 Overview	13
2.2 Consonants	14
2.2.1 Stops and the affricate	14
2.2.2 Fricatives	15
2.2.3 Nasals	16
2.2.4 Liquids	16
2.2.5 Semivowels	16
2.3 Vowels	17
2.3.1 Behaviour of the high vowels	18
2.3.2 Behaviour of the mid vowels	18
2.3.3 Behaviour of the front vowels	19
2.3.4 Behaviour of the low vowel	19
2.4 Phonotactics	19
2.4.1 Syllable and word structure	19
2.4.2 Distribution of vowels	21

2.4.3	Distribution of consonants	21
2.4.4	Gemination	23
2.4.5	A note on /f/	24
2.5	Stress	24
2.6	Orthography	27
2.7	Morphophonemics	28
2.7.1	Prothesis of /i/	28
2.7.2	Epenthesis of /r/	29
2.7.3	Consonant-cluster simplification	29
2.7.4	Vowel harmony	31
2.8	The history of the Anejoñ phonemes	31
2.8.1	Consonants	31
2.8.2	Vowels	33
3	Nominal morphology and the noun phrase	36
3.1	Pronouns	36
3.1.1	Personal pronouns	36
3.1.1.1	Focal pronouns	36
3.1.1.2	Object pronouns	38
3.1.2	Interrogative pronouns	39
3.1.3	Demonstrative pronouns	40
3.2	Classes of nouns	42
3.2.1	Temporal nouns	42
3.2.2	Locative nouns	43
3.2.3	Personal nouns	43
3.2.4	Obligatorily possessed nouns	44
3.2.5	Optionally possessed nouns	44
3.2.6	Animate and inanimate nouns	45
3.3	Nominal derivation and inflection	46
3.3.1	Derivational morphology	46
3.3.2	The prefix <i>n-/in-</i>	48
3.3.3	Prefixes marking number	50
3.3.3.1	Plurality	50
3.3.3.2	Collectivity	51
3.3.4	Other nominal prefixes	52
3.3.5	Morphophonemics of nominal prefixes	52
3.3.6	The suffix <i>-mii</i>	53
3.4	The noun phrase	53
3.4.1	Overview of NP structure	53
3.4.2	Nominal pre-modification	54
3.4.3	Nominal post-modification	54

3.4.4	The coordinate noun phrase	57
3.5	Noun phrases with possessive constituents	57
3.5.1	Direct possession	57
3.5.2	Indirect possession	59
3.5.2.1	Food possession	59
3.5.2.2	Drink possession	60
3.5.2.3	Juice possession	60
3.5.2.4	Customary possession	61
3.5.2.5	Passive/subordinate possession	61
3.5.2.6	General possession	63
3.6	Nominalisation	63
3.7	A note on placenames	64
4	Verb morphology and the verb phrase	66
4.1	Subclasses of verbs	66
4.1.1	Major subclasses based on transitivity	67
4.1.2	Subclasses of intransitive verbs	69
4.1.2.1	Quantifiers	69
4.1.2.2	Pseudo-transitive verbs	70
4.1.3	Subclasses of transitive verbs	70
4.1.3.1	Reflexive verbs	71
4.1.3.2	Possessive verbs	71
4.1.3.3	Ditransitive verbs	72
4.1.3.4	Impersonal verbs	73
4.1.4	Two unusual verbs	73
4.1.4.1	The existential verb <i>yek</i>	73
4.1.4.2	The reflexive/reciprocal verb <i>is̥pa-</i>	75
4.2	Verb morphology	76
4.2.1	Derivational morphology	76
4.2.1.1	Initial vowels	76
4.2.1.2	Other derivational prefixes	79
4.2.2	Inflectional prefixes	80
4.2.3	Reduplication	82
4.2.4	Transitive and object suffixes	84
4.2.5	Directional/locational suffixes	85
4.2.6	Plurality	88
4.3	Subject-tense-aspect marking	89
4.3.1	The Nineteenth-century system	91
4.3.2	The modern system	92
4.3.2.1	Singular forms	93
4.3.2.2	Non-singular forms	94
4.3.2.3	Vowel assimilation	94

4.3.3	Trends	95
4.3.4	The echo-subject enclitic <i>m-</i>	96
4.4	Other Preverbal particles	96
4.4.1	Aspect-mood markers	97
4.4.2	Adverbials ₁	101
4.4.3	Negative	101
4.4.4	Adverbials ₂	102
4.4.5	Morphophonemics of preverbal particles	103
4.5	Postverbal particles	103
5	Compounding	105
5.1	Nominal compounds	106
5.1.1	Structure	106
5.1.2	Morphophonemics	109
5.2	Verbal compounds	110
5.2.1	Structure	110
5.2.2	Morphophonemics	111
5.3	Fossilised compounds	112
6	Simple sentences	114
6.1	Basic clause structure: core arguments	114
6.1.1	Verbal clauses	114
6.1.2	Topicalisation	116
6.1.3	Other variations in phrase order	117
6.1.4	Verbless clauses	118
6.2	Structure of peripheral phrases	119
6.2.1	Case markers	119
6.2.2	Time and place phrases	121
6.2.2.1	Unmarked time and place phrases	121
6.2.2.2	Marked time and place phrases	123
6.2.3	Goal phrases	125
6.2.4	Beneficiaries and recipients	127
6.2.4.1	Unmarked indirect object	127
6.2.4.2	Marking of dative	128
6.2.4.3	Marking of benefactive	129
6.2.5	Other peripheral phrases	130
6.2.6	Case-markers: summary	131
6.3	The syntax of peripheral phrases	132
6.4	Interrogative clauses	133
6.4.1	Polar questions	133
6.4.2	Content questions	134

6.5	Imperative clauses	136
6.6	<i>Alañ</i> clauses	138
7	Coordination and verb serialisation	140
7.1	Simple clause chaining	141
7.2	Conjunctions	143
7.2.1	The alternative conjunction <i>ka</i>	143
7.2.2	The adversative conjunctions <i>jai</i> and <i>jam</i>	144
7.3	The conjunctive aspect markers <i>añ</i> and <i>par</i>	145
7.4	The echo-subject proclitic <i>m-</i>	148
7.4.1	Same-subject marking	148
7.4.2	<i>Amen</i> + <i>m-</i> : continuous aspect	150
7.5	Verb serialisation	150
7.6	Choice of conjoining strategies	152
7.6.1	Different subjects	152
7.6.2	Same subject	153
8	Subordination	155
8.1	Relative clauses	155
8.2	Locative clauses	156
8.3	Temporal clauses	157
8.4	Conditional clauses	159
8.5	Complements and quotative clauses	161
8.5.1	The quotative verb <i>ika</i>	161
8.5.2	Object complements	163
8.5.3	Subject complements	164
8.6	Other adverbial clauses	164
8.6.1	Purpose clauses	164
8.6.2	Reason clauses	165
9	Illustrative texts	166
9.1	Nismocoṽ and Prawn	166
9.2	The early Aneityumese Christians	169
9.3	Laws about sharing fruit	176
	<i>References</i>	178

Maps, tables and figures

Maps

Map 1: Vanuatu	2
Map 2: Aneityum	4

Tables

1.1 Aneityum population	3
2.1 Anejoŋ phonemes	13
2.2 Combinations of vowels	21
2.3 Permissible consonant clusters	22
2.4 Anejoŋ orthography (consonants)	27
3.1 Personal pronouns	37
3.2 Demonstrative pronouns	41
3.3 Cross-cutting noun subclasses	46
3.4 Demonstrative modifiers	56
3.5 Suffixed forms of the general possessive marker	63
4.1 Initial segments of Anejoŋ verbs	76
4.2 Directional/location suffixes	86
4.3 Nineteenth-century subject-tense markers	91
4.4 Modern subject-tense markers	92
4.5 Underlying non-singular subject-tense markers and directions of change	95
6.1 Formal variation in case markers	119
6.2 Locative demonstratives	121
6.3 Case roles and markers	132

Figures

1.1 Anejoŋ's genetic position	5
3.1 Subclassification of nouns	42

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in glossing Anejoñ morphemes:

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
AN	anaphoric
AR	aorist
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	cause
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional
CS	construct suffix
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative modifier
DEM1,2,3	proximate, intermediate and distant demonstrative modifiers
DIST	distant
DL	dual
DONT	prohibitive
ES	echo subject
EXC	exclusive
FUT	(definite) future
GOAL	goal
HORT	hortative/indefinite future
INC	inclusive
INCP	inceptive
INDEF	indefinite
INDIC	indicated
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis, unreal (condition)
LD	base for one subclass of locative demonstratives
LOC	locative marker
MULT	multiplicative
MUT	mutual/multiple action
N	nominaliser

NEG	negative
NONPL	non-plural
NONSG	non-singular
O	object
P	past
PF	perfect
PL	plural
POL	politeness
POSS	possessive
POSS.C	customary possessive
POSS.D	drink possessive
POSS.F	food possessive
POSS.G	general possessive
POSS.J	juice possessive
POSS.P	passive/subordinate possessive
PURP	purposive
Q	interrogative
R	realis, real (condition)
REDUP	reduplication
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
SEQ	sequential aspect
SG	singular
T	temporal marker
T.F	temporal conjunction, future
T.P	temporal conjunction, past/present
TL	trial
TR	transitive

Other abbreviations are:

k.o.	kind of
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
sp.	species
w.	with

1 *Introduction*

This chapter briefly outlines the history, geography and demography of Aneityum and the Anejoŋ language.¹ It discusses previous studies on the language, and gives an overview of the grammar of Anejoŋ. (Following local practice, throughout this book I will refer to the island as Aneityum, the people as Aneityumese, and the language as Anejoŋ.)

1.1 History, geography and demography of Aneityum

The Anejoŋ language is the only indigenous language of Aneityum, the southernmost inhabited island in the Republic of Vanuatu and one of five inhabited islands in the Tafea Province (see Map 1). Aneityum may have been settled around 3000 to 3500 years ago – Spriggs (1986:9) mentions a date of 2890 ± 60 BP – with southern Tanna being the geographically most likely place of origin. Original settlements were probably on the hillsides near the coast, allowing for exploitation of both the land and the sea. Swamp-cultivation of taro was practised early, but a combination of erosion and population pressure saw populations move onto the valley flats, with subsequent terracing and the development of a system of canals for purposes of irrigation, possibly within the last thousand years (Spriggs 1986:9–11).

According to oral tradition, the island was initially divided into two *nelcau* (dominions or chiefdoms), but these subsequently split. Spriggs (1986:12) notes that:

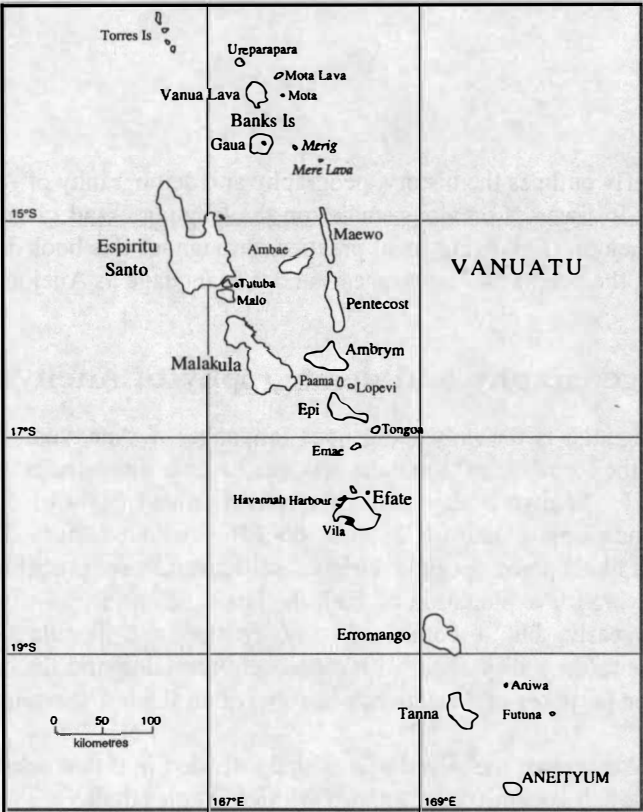
at contact the island was divided into seven dominions (or ‘chiefdoms’), each further divided into a number of districts between fifty and sixty in number...All early accounts agree as to the presence on the island of patrilineal hereditary chieftainship. It is often stressed in the missionary accounts that the ‘civil’ role of chiefs was inextricably bound up with their ‘sacred’ role.

As far as inter-dominion relationships are concerned, Spriggs (1986:13–15) says that:

continuously fluid and shifting alliances seem to have been the pattern of relations between dominions. Pressure on resources does not appear to have been the reason for warfare, territorial conquest was not the aim, and few men appear to have been killed in these engagements. The idea that traditional warfare was in some sense a ritualized form of competitive exchange...may well be valid for Aneityum...

¹ The symbol *m̃* is used to represent the labial-velar nasal phoneme /m̃/; see Chapter 2.

Archaeologically the dominion or chiefdom level of political organization is shown most clearly by the long canal irrigation systems, some crossing major watersheds and over four kilometres in length...Long canals are, however, vulnerable to any interference, and so political control above the district level was necessary to ensure the continuation of water supply...[S]uch supra-district organization was provided by the dominions. These canals never cross dominion boundaries as we know them from this period.



Map 1: Vanuatu

So pre-contact Aneityum society was based on a number of regional chieftainships, in which the *natimarid* (chief) held political and religious power. Each dominion focused around one or more river systems, and organised labour to build irrigation canals and to practise agriculture. Agricultural work was done mainly by women, despite the fact that the common practice of female infanticide reduced the female population considerably.

European contact began with a visit by sandalwooders in the brig *Alpha* in 1830 (Bennett 1831:189). The first Samoan Presbyterian catechists arrived in 1841, and the first European Presbyterian missionaries established themselves in 1848. (A short-lived Catholic mission had arrived a couple of months earlier in 1848.) In between, the sandalwooder James Paddon had set up shop on the small offshore island of Iñec in January 1844, and his business expanded into a number of areas (Shineberg 1967). Spriggs (1985:25) notes that missionisation and education proceeded apace:

By 1858 there was a school in every district and major churches at every *natimarid*'s settlement, chiefly power had been first broken and then re-established under missionary tuition...Aneityum was the first successfully missionized island in Melanesia and was the headquarters of the Presbyterian Mission to the New Hebrides for many years.

Education was mainly conducted in Anejoŋ, though numeracy teaching was conducted in English (Inglis 1887:83-84).

Aneityum was probably quite a populous island up until the early years of the nineteenth century. Spriggs (1986:15) notes that:

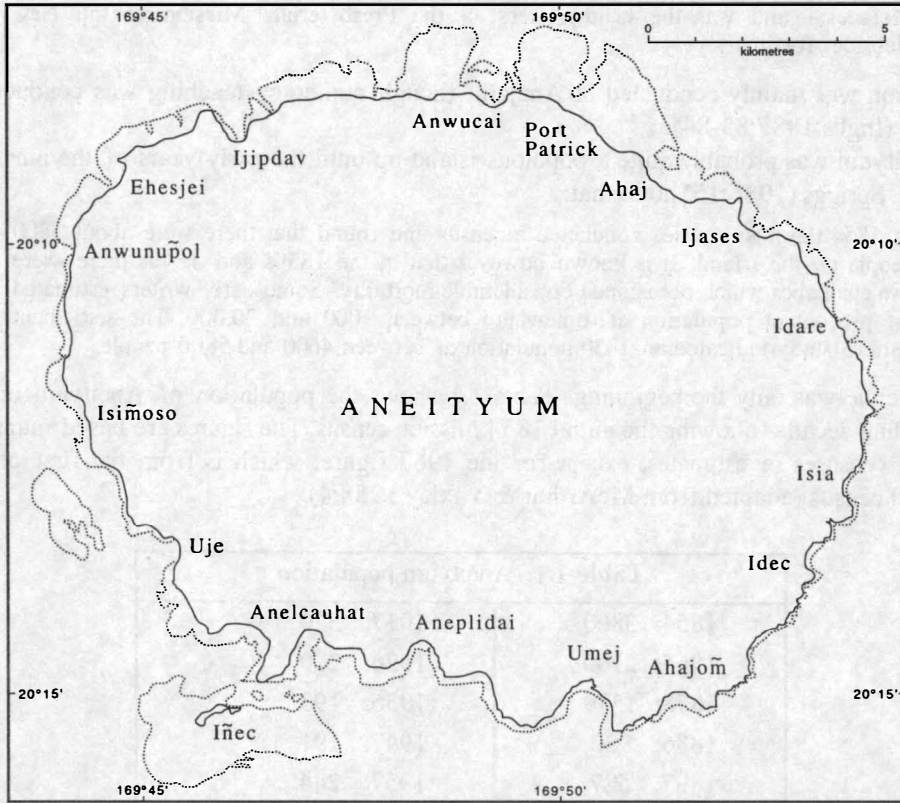
In 1854 the missionaries conducted a census and found that there were about 3800 people on the island. It is known however that in the 1830s and 1840s there were two epidemics which occasioned considerable mortality. Some early writers estimated the precontact population at somewhere between 9000 and 20,000. The settlement pattern study indicated an 1830 population of between 4600 and 5800 people.

This decline was only the beginning. Table 1.1 shows the population of Aneityum in each succeeding decade following the initial 1854 mission census: The figures are based mainly on mission censuses or estimates, except for the 1967 figure, which is from the first official national census (adapted from McArthur & Yaxley 1968:4).

Table 1.1: Aneityum population	
1854: 3800	1917: 320
1865: 2100	1926: 220
1878: 1279	1936: 193
1886: 930	1947: 191
1897: 527	1957: 244
1905: 435	1967: 313

The nadir seems to have been reached in 1930, when the population fell to 182. Since the first official census in 1967, there has been a modest increase, with the 1979 census showing a population of 512, and the 1989 census giving a figure of 543. Some of these people, of course, are not Aneityumese; but counterbalancing this would be a (probably larger) number of Aneityumese people living elsewhere in Vanuatu. The language community, therefore, probably numbers between 800 and 900.

Modern settlement is still almost exclusively coastal. There are a few small villages, and a number of hamlets occupied by just one or two families. The village of Anelcauhat on the south-west coast is the *de facto* capital, housing the few government agencies which are represented on the island, as well as being the closest village to the airport on Iñec island (see Map 2).



Map 2: Aneityum

1.2 History of the Anejoñ language

Anejoñ belongs to the large Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family. As Figure 1 shows, it is a member of the Southern Vanuatu branch of the Southern Oceanic linkage. It *may* be more closely related to the languages of Tanna, and slightly more distantly related to the languages of Erromango (Lynch 1978a, in press, forthcoming), though this has not yet been fully established. Its other, less close, relatives are shown in Figure 1.1.²

² The name Erakor-Kwēnyii is used to refer to a subgroup consisting of the South Efate language, the Southern Vanuatu family and the New Caledonian family; it derives from the names of languages/villages at the extreme ends of the subgroup – Erakor is the largest South Efate-speaking village, and Kwēnyii is the name of the language spoken on the Isle of Pines south of the New Caledonian mainland.

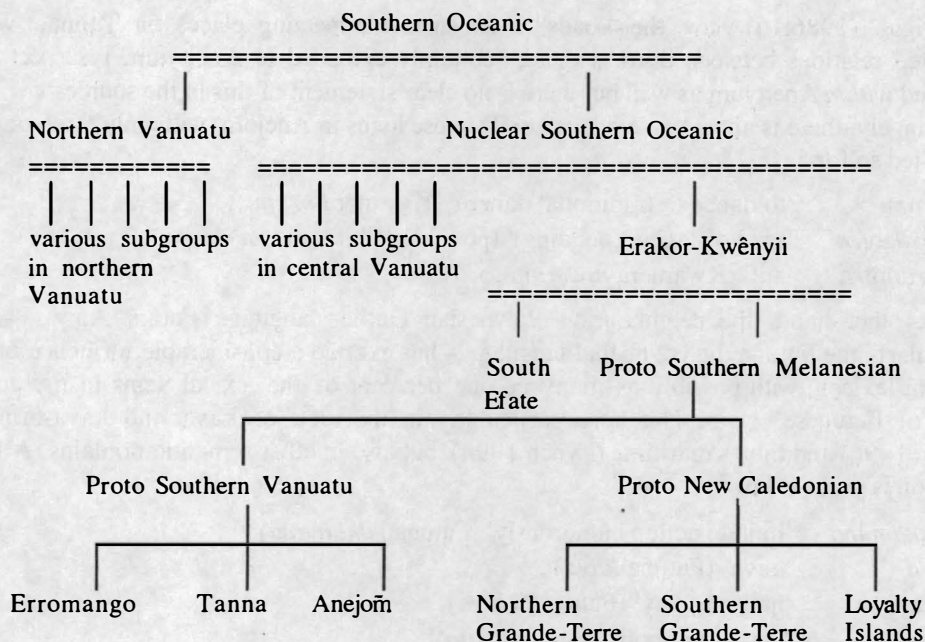


Figure 1.1: Anejoŋ's genetic position

As mentioned above, Anejoŋ's closest relatives are with its immediate neighbours to the north. There are no very clear links between Anejoŋ and any particular language in the rest of the Southern Vanuatu subgroup, though lexicostatistical figures given by Tryon (1976) and Lynch (1978a) would ever so slightly favour the languages of south and west Tanna (Kwamera, South-West Tanna and Lenakel) as being closer to Anejoŋ than any other member of the subgroup, and there are one or two other possible lexical innovations suggesting a link with Kwamera in south Tanna. On geographical grounds, this would make sense, as this area is the closest to Aneityum. Nevertheless, it appears that the language developed in considerable isolation from its nearest relatives for close to three millennia.

But Aneityumese were by no means totally isolated from the rest of the world: they were in fairly frequent contact with outsiders well before the first European intrusion. Spriggs (1986:14) outlines various kinds of pre-European contact, including trade and intermarriage, between Aneityum and neighbouring islands:

Certain dominions had links to the nearby islands of Futuna and Aniwa and to particular parts of Tanna. These links involved intermarriage, exchange and reciprocal feasting...If a visiting canoe missed anchorage and landed in a different dominion its crew would be killed and eaten.

Spriggs (p.16) continues:

Two Aneityumese products were much in demand on Tanna – red ochre and hawks' feathers [for decoration]...*Kava* and pigs, both important in ritual life, were given in return. Tannese (and Aniwan and Futunese) also sailed to certain of the dominions on Aneityum to take part in feasts and dances which presumably were reciprocated on Tanna.

In Spriggs' (1986:16) view, the "roads" between men's meeting places on Tanna,³ which mediated relations between districts there, "certainly extended to Aneityum. I suspect they operated *within* Aneityum as well but there is no clear statement of this in the sources".

Strangely, there is almost no evidence of Tannese loans in Anejoŋ, with only three or four identified so far:⁴

<i>aurupu</i>	'to dance (a traditional dance)' (Kwamera <i>orupu</i>)
<i>nowanagen</i>	'kind of laplap (pudding)' (possibly Whitesands <i>nanagan</i>)
<i>ṁaramara</i>	'ant' (Kwamera <i>mwaramwara</i>).

On the other hand, the neighbouring Polynesian Outlier language Futuna-Aniwa – and particularly the Futuna dialect of that language – has exerted a considerable influence on the Anejoŋ lexicon, with possibly as many as one per cent of the lexical items in my corpus being of Futunese origin. This is so particularly in the area of kava and kava-drinking (Lynch 1996) and things maritime (Lynch 1994), but also in other semantic domains. A brief selection is given below:⁵

<i>afakamana</i>	'imitate action humorously' (Futuna <i>fakamana</i>)
<i>kava</i>	'kava' (Futuna <i>kava</i>)
<i>nafayava</i>	'harbour, bay' (Futuna <i>feiava</i>)
<i>nakiato</i>	'outrigger boom' (Futuna <i>kiato</i>)
<i>narutu</i>	'north wind' (Futuna <i>ruetu</i>)
<i>natokorau</i>	'west-north-west wind' (Futuna <i>tokorau</i> 'south-west wind')
<i>nepeau</i>	'wave in open sea' (Futuna <i>peau</i>)
<i>nokoro</i>	'enclosed residence' (Futuna <i>koro</i>)
<i>ofono</i>	'eat food after kava' (Futuna <i>fono</i>)

There is no dialect differentiation of any significance in modern Anejoŋ. However, there is some evidence that there may have been two languages, or at least two markedly different dialects, spoken on the island around the time of European contact (Lynch & Tepahae 1999), but that, as a result of the drastic depopulation of the last 150 years, these dialect or language differences have been levelled. This evidence is based partly on internal variation in the accretion of articles to nouns and of prefixes to verbs, on variation in compounding patterns, and on toponymic data.

The depopulation of Aneityum was probably also at least partly responsible for some fairly rapid and drastic changes in the grammar of the language, including the breakdown of the system of subject-tense markers, as well as causing a considerable amount of lexical replacement; the replacement of numerals above three, however, is more likely due to missionaries teaching numeracy in English (see Lynch 1991, 1995, 1999; Lynch & Spriggs 1995).

³ A "road" (e.g. Lenakel *suatu*) refers here to a traditional link between descent-groups which involved the exchange of women, pigs and kava. Such roads sometimes corresponded with actual paths but often did not. The link itself, rather than its physical manifestation, is the crucial concept.

⁴ Anejoŋ orthography is explained briefly in §1.4.1 below, and in more detail in §2.6. Kwamera data are from Lindstrom (1986).

⁵ The Futuna form and/or gloss is given only where it differs from that of Anejoŋ. Note that Anejoŋ has accreted certain initial phonological material onto most roots of Futuna origin, which will be explained in the discussions of nominal and verbal morphology below (Chapters 3 and 4). Futuna data are from Dougherty (1983).

The language has been written for well over a century; many Aneityumese write letters in the language, and there are a number of religious publications in Anejoñ, but almost no secular literature. The New Testament (*Intas etipup mat...*) appeared in 1863, and a translation of Pilgrim's Progress (*Intas va natga o Kristian...*) in 1868. The second half of the Old Testament (*Intas itap, nikavaig, nahaijin sekunt...*) was published in 1878, and the first half (*Intas itap, nikavaig, nahaijin first...*) the following year.

Mission education helped to introduce some English to Anejoñ speakers: Inglis (1887:84), for example, states that "as far as arithmetic was concerned, we taught them to speak English". In addition, sandalwooders, traders, whalers and loggers set up operation in Aneityum at various times, often bringing workers from other islands in Vanuatu to work alongside Aneityumese. Some form of Bislama (the English-lexifier pidgin/creole which is now the national language of Vanuatu) would have at least initially been the sole means of communication between Aneityumese and outsiders, and thus Anejoñ-speakers have been exposed to this language for 150 years.

Today, while all Aneityumese resident on the island speak Anejoñ fluently as their language of choice, nearly all those of school age and above are also fluent in Bislama, and it too has had its effects on the language. Most words to do with 'modern' things – like boats, planes and engines; rice, kerosene and other household goods; and government, political parties and voting – come into the language through Bislama (though they ultimately originate from English or French).

One other language which has had a small effect on Anejoñ is Samoan. Samoan pastors played an important role in the early Church, and a few lexical items have come in from Samoan, including:

<i>atua</i>	'god, deity' (Samoan <i>atua</i>)
<i>maasoa</i>	'arrowroot' (Samoan <i>māsoā</i>)
<i>naora</i>	'kind of coconut-leaf basket with a woven base' (Samoan <i>ola</i> 'basket used for carrying fish')

The Anejoñ word *naifi* 'knife' is ultimately of English origin, but its final vowel suggests that it entered the language from Samoan (cf. Samoan *naifi*).

More recently, a sizeable number of Futunese have settled on the island, especially in the north. However, this recent settlement has not had anything like the influence that earlier contact with Futunese had.

1.3 Previous research and publications

As in most other Oceanic languages, the first notes on vocabulary were made by early explorers and missionaries (Bennett 1831; Turner 1861), and the first descriptive work was undertaken by the early missionaries. The earliest Bible translations formed the basis of von der Gabelentz's (1861:65-124) description of the language.⁶ A good dictionary, with a brief grammatical sketch, was published by Inglis (1882), and notes on the language were also

⁶ Note that although the full New Testament was not published until 1863, and the full Old Testament not till 1878-79, individual books were published much earlier – Mark in 1853, Matthew, Luke and John about 1857, Acts of the Apostles in 1858 and Genesis in 1860 – and were thus available to von der Gabelentz.

published by Codrington (1885:477) and Lawrie (1892). These descriptive sketches, along with the Bible translations, were used by Kern in his 1906 comparative study of Anejoñ, which was commented on by Ray (1926:137-139). But that was the end of descriptive work on the language for quite some time.

The only major publication over the next fifty years was Hewitt's (1966) detailed discussion of Anejoñ phonology, which also included a word list of about 1000 items. At about the same time, Capell (n.d.) wrote, but never published, a grammatical sketch of the language, based mainly on the Bible translations and on previous work on the language, though it also includes elicited material.

These last two works were the source of Anejoñ data used in my original comparative study on the Southern Vanuatu subgroup (Lynch 1978a) and, together with a small amount of my own data, the sketch grammar published shortly afterwards (Lynch 1982). Since then, I have been able to undertake rather more fieldwork on the language (see §1.4 below), and a number of publications of a descriptive (Lynch 1995), sociolinguistic (Tepahae and Lynch forthcoming) and historical nature (Lynch 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999, in press; Lynch & Tepahae 1999; Lynch & Spriggs 1995) have appeared. A dictionary of the language (Lynch & Tepahae forthcoming) is in press.

1.4 The present study

This present study is based on a small amount of fieldwork conducted with Anejoñ-speakers on Tanna and in Port Moresby in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and on about six years' work (on and off) in both Aneityum (mainly in Uje village) and with the Anejoñ-speaking community in Vila.

1.4.1 Overview of Anejoñ grammar

The aim of this study is to produce a readable description of the grammar of Anejoñ. By 'readable', I mean that I hope this description will be intelligible to descriptive linguists and linguistic theoreticians (whatever model they subscribe to), to historical-comparative linguists, to sociolinguists, and even (dare one hope!) to the occasional interested person who is not a professional linguist, although there is inevitably going to be a certain amount of technical vocabulary in the description. In order for the reader to be able to put material discussed in earlier chapters into the wider context, a very brief overview of Anejoñ grammar is presented below.

1.4.1.1 Phonology and orthography

Anejoñ has five vowel phonemes, /i e a o u/, and vowel length is phonemic. Short vowels are written as *i e a o u*, and long vowels are written by doubling the letter.

The consonant phonemes are as listed on the left below; the orthographic representation of consonants which I use in this grammar, and also in the dictionary which is currently in preparation, is given on the right:

p ^w	p	t	k	\bar{p}	p	t	k		
		tʃ				j			
	f	θ	s	h	f	d	s	h	
	v		ɣ		v		c		
m ^w	m	n	\bar{n}	ŋ	\bar{m}	m	n	\bar{n}	g
		l					l		
		r					r		
w		y			w		y		

This orthography generally conforms with the one devised by the early missionaries, who followed the pattern of early orthographies developed elsewhere in the Pacific which used a single letter to represent a single phoneme (thus *c* is used for /ɣ/, *d* for /θ/ and *g* for /ŋ/). That orthography was reasonably accurate, though it missed a couple of important phonemic distinctions (i.e. \bar{p} versus *p*, \bar{m} versus *m*, and \bar{n} versus *n* or *g*).

Two-consonant clusters may occur word-medially, but not initially or finally (except in fairly recent borrowings). Stress normally occurs on the final syllable if its vowel is long, otherwise on the penultimate syllable, though there are certain phonological contexts in which antepenultimate stress occurs.

The phonology and orthography of Anejoñ is described in detail in Chapter 2. There is a considerable amount of morphophonemic alternation, both within a word (when affixes are added to a head), and also across word boundaries within a phrase. This is also discussed in Chapter 2, while the morphophonemics of compounds receives some attention also in Chapter 5.

1.4.1.2 Major word classes

PRONOUNS and NOUNS belong to a 'super-class' of NOMINALS, since both may occur alone as head of a noun phrase (NP). The distinction between pronouns and nouns is both functional and formal. Functionally, pronouns normally occur alone as a NP head, whereas nouns may be accompanied by one or more pre- or post-modifiers. Formally, pronouns generally distinguish person and number (singular, dual, trial and plural), and personal pronouns also distinguish case. Nouns do not index case, and while some show a singular/non-singular distinction, none show the four-way number distinction exhibited by pronouns. Chapter 3 examines in some detail the sub-classification of nouns and pronouns, and also deals with their derivational and inflectional morphology.

VERBS form a class of words which may act as head of a verb phrase (VP), where they are marked for tense/aspect, transitivity, and other typically verbal features. There are quite a few subclasses of verbs, and many verbs may act as post-modifiers to nouns in noun phrases (and thus function adjectivally, although there is no class of true adjectives in Anejoñ). The classification and morphological structure of verbs is dealt with in Chapter 4.

MODIFIERS are words which may normally not act as head of either NP or VP, but which precede or follow the head noun or verb in such phrases. The behaviour of modifiers will be dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4. Lexical compounding is quite productive, and the nature of these compounds is discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4.1.3 Phrase types

VERB PHRASES consist minimally of a verb in an imperative clause and a verb preceded by a subject-tense particle in a non-imperative clause, although this particle may be deleted in certain contexts in multi-clausal sentences. A number of other types of particles may occur pre- or post-verbally in the VP. Some examples follow; the VP is enclosed in square brackets (as are all other phrases specifically focused on throughout this section):

- (1) [Apam] aak!
come you.SG
'Come!'
- (2) [Et amjeg] a Naiyag.
3SG.AR sleep S Naiyag
'Naiyag is sleeping.'
- (3) [Et ñan ada-ñ pan] itac a-ncehe-n aan.
3SG.AR PF pass-TR thither behind LOC-back-his (s)he
'He passed it behind him.'

The internal structure of verb phrases is covered in detail in Chapter 4.

NOUN PHRASES consist minimally of a noun or pronoun head. Subject and object pronouns vary formally (e.g. *akaja* 'we inclusive plural', *caja* 'us inclusive plural'). Human and higher animate subject NPs whose heads are nouns are marked as subject by a preposed particle *a*, but lower animate and inanimate subjects are unmarked:

- (4) Is etjuu-se [a intaketha].
3SG.P fall-down S woman
'The woman fell (down).'
- (5) Is etjuu-se [(*)a neañ].
3SG.P fall-down (*)S coconut
'The coconut fell (down).'

Any noun phrase whose head is a noun may also contain one or more modifiers; some subclasses of modifiers precede the noun, others follow it, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3. For example:

- (6) Ek meret [hal moñol alpas] añak.
1SG.AR want some spear big I
'I want some big spears.'

Noun phrases functioning in oblique case roles are marked as such by a preceding CASE MARKER. There are a number of such case markers, whose functions and behaviour are discussed in Chapter 6. Some examples:

- (7) Et ñan apan a risi-k [a naworitai].
3SG.AR PF go S mother-my LOC garden
'My mother has gone to the garden.'
- (8) Is atec a di [ehele-i nataheñ era-ñ]?
3SG.P sit S who DAT-CS sister POSS.P-your.SG
'Who was that sitting near/next to your sister?'

TEMPORAL and LOCATIVE PHRASES may consist of a case-marked NP, or they may simply consist of a temporal or locative noun with no formal marking:

- (9) *Ek itiyi hag añaak [a nuyaleg].*
 1SG.AR NEG eat I LOC morning
 'I didn't eat in the morning/this morning.'
- (10) *Ek itiyi hag añaak [iyenev].*
 1SG.AR NEG eat I yesterday
 'I didn't eat yesterday.'

1.4.1.4 Clause and sentence structure

Anejoñ basic clause structure is VERB + (OBJECT) + SUBJECT:

- (11) *Et asalgei intapnes.*
 3SG.AR open door
 'The door's open.'
- (12) *Et asalgei intapnes a natimarid.*
 3SG.AR open door S chief
 'The chief opened the door.'

Chapter 6 will deal with the basic structure of clauses and simple sentences, Chapter 7 with coordination and verb serialisation, and Chapter 8 with subordination.

1.4.2 Conventions and abbreviations

Glossing conventions used in phrase and sentence examples follow common practice: the gloss of a monomorphemic Anejoñ word comes immediately underneath that word, while multimorphemic words are separated by hyphens in both the Anejoñ example and the gloss; in both cases, where the gloss of a morpheme involves more than one word or abbreviation, a full stop is used to separate them.

Glossing conventions for forms indexing person and number will be as follows. Focal, object and possessive pronouns will be glossed in 'normal English' (thus 'I', 'me', 'my'), with an indication of case, person and number only where this is necessary because of the ambiguity of the English gloss (thus 'you.SG'⁷ as opposed to 'you.DL' or 'you.SG.O'; 'we.INC.PL' as opposed to 'we.EXC.PL' or 'we.INC.DL'; etc.). Preverbal subject-tense markers will, however, be glossed with person, number and tense (thus 1SG.P).

Glosses of individual lexical items in lists or running text are often given with typical subjects, objects or possessors (roughly following Geraghty 1983). These are enclosed between angled brackets, and a + sign within the brackets indicates 'other similar entities'; thus:

⁷ In order not to clutter interlinear glosses too much, I will treat 'you' as subject unless it is overtly marked for some other case.

'<sun> set'	means	'to set, only permitted subject NP is the sun'
'catch <ball+>'	means	'to catch (a ball and similar things)', but obviously not to catch a fish or an illness
'<pig+> tail'	means	'tail (of a pig and similar animals)', but not (necessarily) of animates with different kinds of tails, like fish and birds

Some glosses involve the use of Bislama terms, most commonly *nakamal* 'meeting-place in a village' and *laplap* 'pudding made from grated tuber'.

Nouns from which the initial *n-* or *in-* has been deleted to form the indefinite plural (see §3.3.2) are glossed as plural: i.e. *inhat* is glossed as 'stone', *hat* as 'stones'. A full list of abbreviations used in glosses and elsewhere may be found at the front of this book.

Examples are numbered serially within a chapter, but numbering starts again at the beginning of each chapter. Lists, however, are not numbered.

2 Phonology

2.1 Overview

Anejoñ has five vowel and twenty consonant phonemes (plus the marginally phonemic glottal stop), as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Anejoñ phonemes

Vowels							
	Front	Central		Back			
High	<i>i</i>			<i>u</i>			
Mid	<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>			
Low		<i>a</i>					
Consonants							
	labial- velar	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	<i>p^w</i>	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>(?)</i>
Affricate					<i>tʃ</i>		
Voiceless fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Voiced fricatives		<i>v</i>				<i>ɣ</i>	
Nasals	<i>m^w</i>	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Lateral				<i>l</i>			
Tap				<i>r</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Syllable onsets and codas may consist of no more than one consonant, resulting in a prohibition on initial and final clusters and on medial clusters of more than two consonants in non-borrowed words. Geminate consonants occur on the surface, and geminate vowels occur

in underlying forms (surfacing as long vowels). Primary stress is normally on the penultimate syllable, but occurs on the final syllable if it contains a geminate vowel cluster, and on the antepenult in certain phonological environments.

2.2 Consonants

2.2.1 Stops and the affricate

Stops contrast at bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation, though there is a further contrast between simple and co-articulated labial-velar stops. The stops also contrast with the palatal affricate (one of whose allophones is a stop). Stops are slightly aspirated word-initially before a vowel, while stop + /h/ clusters coalesce as a clearly aspirated stop. All stops are variably voiced between other voiced segments (this variable voicing being represented here as [b̥] [d̥], etc.). Between vowels, the labial stops are fully voiced, while the other stops are only partly voiced. In other medial positions, including their occurrence as geminates, they are relatively voiceless and lenis, as they are initially and finally. The examples in (1) below show these voicing patterns in relation to /t/:¹

(1)	<i>tinau</i>	/tinau/	[tʰɪnoʊ]	'stop crying'
	<i>natimi</i>	/natimi/	[naˈɖimi]	'person'
	<i>natmas</i>	/natmas/	[ˈnaɖmas]	'spirit'
	<i>intaketha</i>	/intaketha/	[ˈʔɪndaˈgɛtʰa]	'woman'
	<i>aptistis</i>	/aptistis/	[ˈʔapˈtistis]	'tangled'
	<i>nattu</i>	/natu/	[ˈnatu]	'k.o. banana'

The palatal affricate /tʃ/ occurs as a voiceless palatal stop [c] before a nasal and in final position (in the latter case in free variation with [tʃ]). It occurs as an affricate in other environments, and is often more voiced than the other stops in initial position. For example:

(2)	<i>nijman</i>	/nitʃman/	[ˈɲɪcman]	'his hand'
	<i>ajgañ</i>	/atʃgañ/	[ˈʔaˈcɲaˈɲ]	'wait for'
	<i>jim</i>	/tʃim/	[tʃɪm ~ ɖʒɪm]	'don't!'
	<i>najaj</i>	/natʃatʃ/	[ˈnaˈɖʒaˈtʃ ~ ˈnaˈɖʒaˈc]	'flatfish'
	<i>amjeg</i>	/amtʃɛŋ/	[ˈʔamɖʒɛŋ]	'sleep'

These voicing patterns are summarised in example (3):

(3)		/pʷ/	/p/	/t/	/k/	/tʃ/
	Between vowels	[bʷ]	[b]	[ɖ]	[g]	[ɖʒ]
	Between voiced segments	[bʷ]	[b̥]	[ɖ̥]	[g̥]	[ɖʒ], [c] / ____ [+nasal]
	Initially	[pʷʰ]	[pʰ]	[tʰ]	[kʰ]	[tʃ ~ ɖʒ]
	Medially elsewhere	[pʷ]	[p]	[t]	[k]	[tʃ]
	Finally	[pʷ]	[p]	[t]	[k]	[tʃ ~ c]

¹ The first column in these and all subsequent examples gives the words in the standard orthography which was briefly outlined in §1.4.1.1 and which will be discussed in more detail in §2.6. Primary stress is marked by ' preceding the stressed syllable, secondary stress by ''.

The glottal stop occurs phonemically only in /aʔo ~ oʔo/ 'no' and /yaʔ/ 'hesitation marker' (though a non-phonemic glottal stop occurs predictably before an utterance-initial vowel, and [ʔ] also occurs as an allophone of /h/ before a consonant).

Contrast between the stops and the affricate is shown in example (4) below; note that contrast between /p/ and /pʷ/ in pre-consonantal position may be neutralised after any vowel except /a/ (see §2.3.4).

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>in̄pa</i> | /inpʷa/ | [ʔɪnɸʷa ~ ɪnɸʷɔ] | 'k.o. fish' |
| | <i>inpa</i> | /inpa/ | [ʔɪnɸa] | 'k.o. tree, <i>Euodia hortensis</i> ' |
| | <i>inta</i> | /inta/ | [ʔɪnɸa] | 'ridge pole' |
| | <i>inka</i> | /inka/ | [ʔɪŋga] | 'here' |
| | <i>inja</i> | /intʃa/ | [ʔɪnɸʒa] | 'blood' |

2.2.2 Fricatives

The fricative phonemes are /f v θ s ɣ h/. Apart from /h/, each of these has as its phonetic form the sound corresponding to the IPA symbol used to represent the phoneme. Thus /f/ and /v/ are labio-dentals, /θ/ is dental, /s/ is alveolar and /ɣ/ is velar; /f/, /θ/ and /s/ are voiceless, /v/ and /ɣ/ are voiced. The fricative /h/ is phonetically [h] or [ʔ] before a consonant (as in /nahtau/ [ˈnahtɔɯ ~ ˈnaʔtɔɯ] 'k.o. sugarcane'), and [h] in all other environments (but see §2.4.4 below).

Contrast between phonetically similar fricatives, and between fricatives and phonetically similar stops, is illustrated below.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| (5) | Between /f v p/: | | | |
| | <i>nefe-cat</i> | /nefɛyat/ | [ˈnefɛɣat] | 'big basket' |
| | <i>neve-cat</i> | /neveɣat/ | [ˈneveɣat] | 'which basket?' |
| | <i>nepec</i> | /nepeɣ/ | [ˈnebeɣ] | 'k.o. tree' |

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|----------|-------------|------------|
| | Between /θ s t ʃ/: | | | |
| | <i>adga</i> | /aθɲa/ | [ˈʔaθɲa] | 'join' |
| | <i>asga</i> | /asɲa/ | [ˈʔasɲa] | 'all' |
| | <i>atga</i> | /atɲa/ | [ˈʔaɸɲa] | 'walk' |
| | <i>ajgañ</i> | /atʃɲaɲ/ | [ˈʔacɲa ˈɲ] | 'wait for' |

- | | | | | |
|--|------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|
| | Between /ɣ h k/: | | | |
| | <i>acuṁ</i> | /aɣumʷ/ | [ˈaɣumʷ] | 'carry on back' |
| | <i>ahumpek</i> | /ahumpek/ | [aˈhumɸek] | 'make a face at' |
| | <i>akuṁ</i> | /akumʷ/ | [ˈaɣumʷ] | 'hold in mouth' |

Between /h/ and absence of consonant:

- | | | | | |
|--|-------------|--------|---------|-----------|
| | <i>nahe</i> | /nahe/ | [ˈnahe] | 'compost' |
| | <i>nae</i> | /nae/ | [ˈnae] | 'flight' |

2.2.3 Nasals

The nasals /m^w m n ñ ŋ/ show no allophonic variation, except that /ñ/ may be pronounced as either [ñ] or [ɲ] after a high vowel (which is itself nasalised in this environment – see §2.3.1 below). Contrast between the nasals is illustrated in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------------------|---|-----------------|
| (6) | <i>aña</i> | /am ^w a/ | [ʔam ^w a ~ ʔom ^w ɔ] | ‘stare’ |
| | <i>ama</i> | /ama/ | [ʔama] | ‘snore’ |
| | <i>anah</i> | /anah/ | [ʔanah] | ‘fish with net’ |
| | <i>añak</i> | /añak/ | [ʔa ^h ñak] | ‘I’ |
| | <i>aga</i> | /aŋa/ | [ʔaŋa] | ‘boil, bubble’ |

The semivowel allophone of /ñ/ after a high vowel is illustrated below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>niña</i> | /niña/ | [niña ~ niɲa] | ‘spider shell, <i>Lambis lambis</i> ’ |
| | <i>uñak</i> | /uñak/ | [u ^h ñak ~ ʔu ^h ɲak] | ‘my, mine’ |

2.2.4 Liquids

The lateral /l/ has a single allophone, dento-alveolar [l], while /r/ is usually an alveolar tap [ɾ] but is often slightly trilled [r] in slow speech.

Examples of contrast between /l/ and /r/ (and between them and phonetically similar /t/ and /n/) are:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------|---------|------------------------|
| (8) | <i>ala-k</i> | /alak/ | [ʔalak] | ‘feed me’ |
| | <i>anah</i> | /anah/ | [ʔanah] | ‘fish with net’ |
| | <i>arac</i> | /araɾ/ | [ʔaraɾ] | ‘<fish> wriggle, flap’ |
| | <i>ata</i> | /ata/ | [ʔaɖa] | ‘<light+> spread’ |

2.2.5 Semivowels

The semivowels /y/ and /w/ are established as phonemes (and not, say, as allophones of the high vowels /i/ and /u/), although there are not many examples of contrast between semivowels and corresponding high vowels due to the nature of the phonotactics of Anejoñ. Pairs of words like the following tend to support this view:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------|
| (9) | <i>neduo-n</i> | /neθuon/ | [nεθuɔn] | ‘its bone’ |
| | <i>incedwojoñ</i> | /inɣeθwotʃom ^w / | [^h nɣinɣeθ ^h wɔɖʒɔm ^w] | ‘indigenous rat’ |
| | <i>ias</i> | /ias/ | [ʔias] | ‘watch out for’ |
| | <i>yat</i> | /yat/ | [yat] | ‘<water> flood’ |

The palatal nasal /ñ/ contrasts with the combination of /n/ + /y/ (note the characteristic nasalisation and tensing of /i/ before /ñ/, discussed respectively in §2.2.3 and §2.3.1, as opposed to its laxness and lack of nasalisation before /ny/):

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>niña</i> | /niña/ | [niña ~ niɲa] | ‘spider shell, <i>Lambis lambis</i> ’ |
| | <i>inya</i> | /inya/ | [ʔinya] | ‘casuarina’ |
| | <i>añak</i> | /añak/ | [ʔa ^h ñak] | ‘I’ |
| | <i>asjan-ya</i> | /astfanya/ | [ʔast ^h fanya] | ‘go fishing’ |

2.3 Vowels

All vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop in utterance-initial position:

- (11)
- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>aek</i> | /aek/ | ['ʔaek] | 'you (SG)' |
| <i>apam aek</i> | /apam aek/ | ['ʔabam'aek] | 'come (SG)!' |
| <i>et apam aen</i> | /et apam aen/ | ['ʔɛdʰabam'aen] | 'he came' |

The five vowel phonemes are treated as being underlyingly lax: i.e. the phonetic norms of /i e a o u/ are [ɪ ɛ ʌ ɔ ʊ]. However, they all (except the low vowel /a/) occur more or less tense when followed by another vowel, and the high vowels /i/ and /u/ also occur tense word-finally; thus:

- (12)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>niñañ</i> | /nimʷaɳ/ | ['nimʷaɳ] | 'k.o. sea-urchin' |
| <i>numag</i> | /numaŋ/ | ['numaŋ] | 'pimple' |
| <i>nemnem</i> | /nemnem/ | ['nɛmnɛm] | 'village' |
| <i>nohok</i> | /nohok/ | ['nohɔk] | 'rubbish' |

but:

<i>nioñ</i>	/niomʷ/	['niomʷ]	'house'
<i>inti</i>	/inti/	['ʔɪndi]	'excrement'
<i>nuai</i>	/nuai/	['nuæi]	'k.o. vine'
<i>namu</i>	/namu/	['namu]	'argonaut shell'
<i>nei</i>	/nei/	['neʰi]	'cricket'
<i>nousal</i>	/nousal/	['noʰʊsal]	'mud'

All vowels may occur short or long (though long vowels are much less frequent than short vowels). Long vowels, which all derive from underlying geminate clusters (see §2.4.4), occur phonetically tense rather than lax:

- (13)
- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>atirii</i> | /atiri:/ | ['ʔaɖi'ri:] | 'conceal truth' |
| <i>atitiri</i> | /atitiri/ | ['ʔaɖi'ɖiri] | '<fire> crackle' |
| <i>teledve</i> | /tele:θve/ | ['ʔʰɛ'le:θvɛ] | 'k.o. shellfish, <i>Trochus laciniatus</i> ' |
| <i>eled</i> | /eleθ/ | ['ʔɛlɛθ] | 'be left over' |
| <i>aara</i> | /ara:/ | ['ʔa:ra] | 'they (PL)' |
| <i>ara</i> | /ara/ | ['ʔara] | 'start to dig taro swamp' |
| <i>oopjijec</i> | /o:ptʃitʃey/ | ['ʔo:pʰtʃiɖʒɛɣ] | 'head-to-tail' |
| <i>opsei-cai</i> | /opsei-ɣai/ | ['ʔɔp'seʰiɣæi] | 'have erection' |
| <i>aheluu</i> | /ahelu:/ | ['ʔahɛ'lu:] | 'echo' |
| <i>talulu</i> | /talulu/ | ['ʔa'lu:lu] | '<sun> set' |

All vowels except /i/ take a palatal off-glide before a palatal consonant, and all non-low vowels (including /i/) occur tense in this environment:

- (14)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>ijiñis</i> | /itʃiñis/ | ['ʔiɖʒiñis] | 'above' |
| <i>esej</i> | /esetʃ/ | ['ʔɛse'tʃ] | 'three' |
| <i>ñaya</i> | /mʷaya/ | ['mʷo'ya] | 'yes' |
| <i>nahoj</i> | /nahotʃ/ | ['naho'tʃ] | 'k.o. palm (<i>Fagraea</i> sp.?)' |
| <i>uñak</i> | /uñak/ | ['ʔu'ñak] | 'my, mine' |

2.3.1 Behaviour of the high vowels

The high vowels are nasalised before /ñ/, and in this environment /ñ/ is often lenited to [ɲ]; see example (7) above. They become non-syllabic ([ɿ ʊ]) when they occur adjacent to other vowels, with three exceptions to be noted below. Examples are:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| (15) | <i>nadiat</i> | /naθiat/ | ['naθɿat] | 'day(time)' |
| | <i>nesei</i> | /nesei/ | ['nese^i] | 'bush, forest' |
| | <i>neduo-n</i> | /neθuon/ | ['neθʊɔn] | 'its leg' |
| | <i>erou</i> | /erou/ | ['ʔɛro^u] | 'two' |

The exceptions referred to above are as follows. First, as noted above, geminate clusters are realised as long vowels (see also §2.4.4 below). Second, desyllabification does not take place when a high vowel occurs word-initially or immediately after a word-initial consonant:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| (16) | <i>ias</i> | /ias/ | ['ʔias] | 'watch out for' |
| | <i>nioṁ</i> | /niom^w/ | ['niom^w] | 'house' |
| | <i>nuai</i> | /nuai/ | ['nuai] | 'k.o. vine' |

And third, in a sequence of high vowels in any environment except that described immediately above, only the first becomes a glide:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|
| (17) | <i>inheliu</i> | /inheliu/ | ['ɪn'heliu] | 'k.o. spider' |
| | <i>aheluii</i> | /aheluii/ | ['ʔahɛ'lui:] | 'carry on shoulder' |

The desyllabification rule is (18). This rule precedes the rules of stress assignment ((39)–(41)) and also rule (42), which forms long vowels from geminate clusters. It converts a high vowel into a glide adjacent to another vowel except when that other vowel is identical (i.e. clusters of identical high vowels become long vowels, not vowel + glide or glide + vowel).

- $$(18) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{front} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [-\text{syl}] \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{XVC} ______ \text{v}^* \\ \text{v}^* ______ \end{array} \right\}$$

where X is any segment, and V* is either [-high] or [+high, -αfront].

2.3.2 Behaviour of the mid vowels

We have seen that the mid vowels are usually lax [ɛ ɔ], but are tense when long and when they occur before another vowel. When they occur before a high vowel of the same frontness/roundness, they are slightly raised. Thus while /eu/ and /oi/ are phonetically [eʊ] and [oi], /ei/ and /ou/ are phonetically [e^i] and [o^u]. For example:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| (19) | <i>inpei</i> | /inpei/ | ['ɪnɸe^i] | 'sea-eel' |
| | <i>inceu</i> | /inyeu/ | ['ɪnɸeʊ] | 'k.o. tree' |
| | <i>ohp̄oi</i> | /ohp^woi/ | ['ʔɔhp^woi] | 'wash <clothes>' |
| | <i>erou</i> | /erou/ | ['ʔɛro^u] | 'two' |

2.3.3 Behaviour of the front vowels

Both front vowels occur somewhat centralised (/i/ as [i̠] and /e/ as [ə̠]) before and occasionally after /ɣ/, while the mid front vowel occurs somewhat backed and rounded (as [ɔ̠]) before /mʷ/:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (20) | <i>ici</i> | /iɣi/ | [ʔi̠ɣi ~ ʔi̠ɣi̠] | 'be thus, be so' |
| | <i>ecet</i> | /eɣet/ | [ʔə̠ɣet ~ ʔə̠ɣet] | 'see' |
| | <i>ehele-m̃</i> | /ehelemʷ/ | [ʔə̠hələ̠mʷ] | 'to/for you (SG)' |

2.3.4 Behaviour of the low vowel

The low vowel very frequently assimilates to a following high vowel, becoming [æ] or sometimes even [ɛ] before /i/, and [ɒ] or even [ɔ̠] before /u/; for example:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| (21) | <i>inwai</i> | /inwai/ | [ʔinwæ̠ ~ ʔinwɛ̠] | 'water' |
| | <i>inwau</i> | /inwau/ | [ʔinwɒ̠ ~ ʔinwɔ̠] | 'vine' |

Nevertheless, there is still a clear contrast between the low vowel and the mid vowels, since the mid vowels occur tense and slightly raised in this environment:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------|----------------|
| (22) | <i>inraimu</i> | /inraimu/ | [ʔin'ræ̠imu ~ ʔin're̠imu] | 'sibling' |
| | <i>inreimu</i> | /inreimu/ | [ʔinre̠'imu] | 'k.o. seaweed' |
| | <i>alau</i> | /alau/ | [ʔalɒ̠ ~ ʔalɔ̠] | 'hairy' |
| | <i>alou</i> | /alou/ | [ʔalo̠'u] | 'vomit' |

The low vowel /a/ is frequently slightly backed and rounded [ɒ] when adjacent to the labial-velars /pʷ/ and /mʷ/:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|
| (23) | <i>aṗaṗa</i> | /apʷapʷa/ | [ʔɒ'bʷɒbʷɒ ~ ʔa'bʷabʷa] | 'same' |
| | <i>naṃau</i> | /namʷau/ | [ʔnɒmʷɒ̠ ~ ʔnamʷa̠] | 'k.o. vine' |

2.4 Phonotactics

I begin this section by examining the structure of Anejoṃ syllables and the general distribution and combinatorial possibilities of vowels and consonants. Geminate clusters of both vowels and consonants will be treated separately, in §2.4.4, while some comments will be made on the history of the phoneme /f/ in §2.4.5.

2.4.1 Syllable and word structure

A syllable in Anejoṃ may be open or closed. The nucleus of a syllable may consist of a single vowel (V), or of a vowel preceded and/or followed by a glide (G) which results from the desyllabification of a high vowel by rule (18). Thus syllable nuclei are of the form V, GV, VG or GVG.

The following statements regarding syllable structure apply to monomorphemic non-borrowed forms. A syllable may be closed by no more than a single consonant. Any syllable may have, but does not require, a single consonant onset. A single word-medial

consonant is the onset of the following syllable; a medial two-consonant cluster is syllabified as C.C. It follows from this, and from rule (18) above, that G-initial syllables do not occur: in word-initial position, high vowels rather than glides occur before another vowel; while medially, a sequence of VCGV will always be syllabified as V.CGV (and never as VC.GV). In addition, syllables ending in VGC are not permitted (the cluster of syllable-final glide + consonant presumably being treated in this environment as a consonant cluster, which is disallowed).

Thus Anejoñ syllables may be of the following forms, as exemplified by the underlined syllables in the examples. (The only exceptions to these rules are some borrowed words, about which more below.)²

(24)	V	<i>ae</i>	/a.ɛ/	'to fly'
	VG	<i>auru</i>	/au.ru/	'hurry'
	CV	<i>natimi</i>	/na.ti.mi/	'person'
	CGV	<i>adia</i>	/a.θia/	'leave'
	CVG	<i>inhau</i>	/in.hau/	'burao, cottonwood, <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '
	CGVG	<i>inhua</i>	/in.huaw/	'a boil'
	VC	<i>æk</i>	/a.ɛk/	'you (SG)'
	CVC	<i>nijvañ</i>	/nitʃ.vañ/	'lobster, prawn'
	CGVC	<i>inhuoc</i>	/in.huoy/	'cardinal honeyeater, <i>Myzomela cardinalis</i> '

Words consist of one or more syllables of the allowable types noted above. It follows, therefore, that a word may begin with a vowel or a single consonant, and may end with a vowel or a single consonant, while word-medially two-consonant clusters may occur: so in indigenous words, no word-initial or word-final consonant clusters are permitted, nor are there any word-medial three-consonant clusters.

The only exceptions to these general statements are some words which have been taken into the language from other languages (usually Bislama). While some borrowed words have been adapted into Anejoñ phonological patterns (e.g. *tarauses* 'trousers'), others have not, and are pronounced, as in their source language, with initial clusters (*troka* 'trochus shell', *plen* 'plane'), or medial three-consonant clusters (*pasenfrut* 'passionfruit', *ekomplen* 'complain').³ Loanwords also allow syllables ending in VGC, like *nain* 'nine' or *fail* 'file'.

This is the place to perhaps briefly justify the treatment of /p^w/, /m^w/ and /tʃ/ as unit phonemes rather than as clusters (/p/ + /w/, /m/ + /w/, /t/ + some fricative – note that [ʃ] does not occur alone). All three may occur word-initially and word-finally, a position normally occupied only by single consonants. For example:

(25)	<i>mãpmãp</i>	/m ^w ap ^w m ^w ap ^w /	'puff, be short of breath'
	<i>Anejoñ</i>	/anetʃom ^w /	'Aneityum'
	<i>pãp</i>	/p ^w ap ^w /	'dumb'
	<i>jeknaa</i>	/tʃekna:/	'these ones'
	<i>esej</i>	/esetʃ/	'three'

² In the rest of this chapter, phonetic transcription will not be given in examples unless a particular phonetic (rather than phonological) point is being made.

³ Final clusters, however, seem not to occur even in loanwords. For example, English *six*, Bislama *siks* is borrowed into Anejoñ as *sikis*.

In addition, /a/ has backed allophones adjacent to /p^w/ and /m^w/ but not when adjacent to /p/, /m/ or /w/, and vowels take the palatal off-glide before /tʃ/ but not before /t/ – see §2.3 above. It thus seems logical to treat these as unit phonemes rather than as clusters.

2.4.2 Distribution of vowels

All vowels may occur initially, medially and finally in the word, as illustrated below:

- (26) *inmithi* /inmithi/ ‘fibres of sennit or from coconut husk’
ehvele /ehvele/ ‘how to take?’
ajama /atʃama/ ‘we (EXC.PL)’
ofono /ofono/ ‘eat after drinking kava’
uruwu /uruwu/ ‘become dry’

All possible combinations of (like and unlike) vowels occur in monomorphemic forms except for clusters of unlike mid vowels (i.e. /eo/ and /oe/), as shown in Table 2.2, where geminate vowels are written as VV and not as V:. However, the following combinations are fairly rare: /ie/, /io/, /iu/, /ea/, /eu/, /ae/, /ao/, /oa/ and /ue/.

Table 2.2: Combinations of vowels

First vowel	Second vowel				
	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/
/i/	/nawiitin/ ‘its guts’	/elduptieto/ ‘chip wood for canoe’	/nepia/ ‘k.o. tree’	/inrettʃio/ ‘k.o. plant’	/inheliu/ ‘k.o. spider’
/e/	/alɣei/ ‘plait’	/alee/ ‘make garden magic’	/neañ/ ‘coconut’		/inyeu/ ‘k.o. tree’
/a/	/netokai/ ‘high cloud’	/ae/ ‘to fly’	/naaʔas/ ‘phosphorescence’	/ao/ ‘<whale> spout’	/nelyau/ ‘canoe’
/o/	/alm ^w oi/ ‘look at’		/neroa/ ‘gardenia’	/ɣoo/ ‘loosen soil’	/noup ^w an/ ‘time’
/u/	/atlaθuii/ ‘pour’	/ruei/ ‘gather in a mob’	/inpuruan/ ‘k.o. insect’	/asuol/ ‘go down’	/intuum/ ‘charcoal-and-ashes’

2.4.3 Distribution of consonants

All consonants may occur initially, medially and finally, with the following exceptions:

- (a) /ñ/ occurs initially only in the first person object pronoun *ñak* and the onomatopoeic verb *ñau* ‘<cat> miaow’;

(b) /f/, /w/ and /y/ do not occur finally.⁴

Table 2.3. below shows the patterns of combinations of consonants in two-consonant medial clusters in monomorphemic forms: + marks a permissible cluster within a morpheme, M indicates that the cluster has been observed only across an apparent morpheme boundary (including real or apparent reduplication), L marks a cluster as occurring only in loanwords (with ML indicating both of these occurrences), and 0 indicates that the cluster has not been observed in any environment.

Table 2.3: Permissible consonant clusters																						
		Second consonant																				
		p ^w	p	t	k	tʃ	f	v	θ	s	ɣ	h	m ^w	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	l	r	w	y	
First	consonant																					
p ^w		+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	+
p		0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	
t		+	+	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	
k		0	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	L	M	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	
tʃ		0	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	0	M	0
f		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	L	0	0	
v		0	0	0	0	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	ML	0	0	0	M	M	0	0	
θ		+	M	M	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	
s		+	+	ML	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	M	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	
ɣ		+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	M	+	
h		+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	
m ^w		0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	+	
m		+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	
n		+	+	+	+	+	L	+	0	ML	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	
ɲ		+	+	+	+	+	0	0	M	M	M	+	+	M	M	0	0	0	+	M	M	
ŋ		0	M	M	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	0	0	M	0	0	+	M	M	
l		+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	ML	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	
r		0	0	0	M	0	ML	0	0	0	0	0	0	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
w		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
y		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

The following patterns emerge from an analysis of the allowable intra-morphemic patterns by which consonants may cluster (those marked + in Table 2.3):

- (a) /f/ almost never occurs in a consonant cluster.
- (b) /v/, /r/, /w/ and /y/ never occur as the first consonant in a cluster.

⁴ /f/ does occur finally in the loanword /openkof/ 'whooping-cough'. See §2.4.5 below for further comments on the behaviour of /f/.

- (c) Fricatives generally do not cooccur with 'homorganic' stops or nasals.⁵ Thus the following are not permitted clusters (remembering that /f/ almost never occurs in a cluster and /v/ never occurs as the first member):

stop + fricative: /p^wv/, /pv/, /tθ/, /ts/, /kɣ/

fricative + stop: /θt/, /st/, /ɣk/

nasal + fricative: /m^wv/, /mv/, /nθ/, /ns/, /ñθ/, /ñs/, /ŋɣ/

fricative + nasal: /θñ/, /sn/, /sñ/, /ɣŋ/

The only exception to this statement is that the 'homorganic' cluster /θn/ does occur, although its occurrence is extremely rare.

2.4.4 Gemination

Surface long vowels are treated here as underlying geminate clusters. Perhaps the simplest way to exemplify this is by looking first at bi-morphemic forms.

Many verbs take the transitive suffix *-i/*. This suffix does not occur when the suffixed allomorphs of the 2SG and 3SG object pronouns are used, but does occur with a NP object.

- (27) *alṗa-n* /'alp^wan/ 'give it to him/her'
atge-i kuri /'atɣei 'kuri/ 'kill a dog'

With verbs whose roots end in /i/, a short /i/ precedes the object suffix but /i/ is long when the transitive suffix *-i/* is added:

- (28) *acni-n* /'aɣnin/ 'tire him/her out'
acni-i etma-k /aɣⁿni: 'etmak/ 'tire my father out'

Similarly, combinations of other vowels across morpheme boundaries may also produce geminate clusters: e.g. /mo'nava/ 'k.o. sugarcane' + /'aɣeθ/ 'write, mark' produces /mo'nava:ɣeθ/ 'k.o. *monava* with marks on skin', with a geminate /a/.

In view of this, therefore, I treat all long vowels as being underlying geminate clusters. Gemination occurs most frequently with /i/, simply because of the frequency of the transitive suffix; it is perhaps least frequent with the back vowels /o/ and /u/.

The only geminate consonants which occur are the stops. Some examples of contrast between simple and geminate stops are shown below:

- (29) *inhopān* /inhop^wan/ 'whimbrel'
noṗṗa /nop^w:a/ 'ashes'
apeñ /apeñ/ 'black'
appei /ap:ei/ 'scrape <taro+>'
ated /ateθ/ 'teach'
atted /at:eθ/ 'chipped'
aketo /aketo/ 'repeat'
akke /ak:e/ 'poke about in reef'

⁵ For purposes of consonant combination rules, I treat as 'homorganic' (i) bilabials and labio-dentals and (ii) dentals, alveolars and palatals.

There is some evidence that geminate stop clusters may derive from a cluster of /h/ + stop. Synchronically, /hp/, for example, is heard as [hp], as [ʔp], and sometimes as [p:]. Diachronically, there is evidence that many /h/ + stop clusters have been replaced by geminate stops, as the following comparisons with words recorded by Inglis (1882) shows:

(30)	Inglis (1882)	Modern form		
	<i>ahtaij</i>	<i>aattaj</i>	/a:t:atf/	'they (trial)'
	<i>nohpa</i>	<i>noṗṗa</i>	/nop ^w :a/	'ashes'
	<i>ahpei</i>	<i>appei</i>	/ap:ei/	'scrape <taro+>'
	<i>ahtag</i>	<i>attag</i>	/at:an/	'come together'
	<i>ehped</i>	<i>epped</i>	/ep:eθ/	'castrate'

Geminate /tʃ/ also occurs, with the stop onset, but not the fricative release, being lengthened – thus [t:ʃ]. This is recognised in the orthography, with geminate /tʃ/ being written as *tj*.

(31)	<i>atjag</i>	/atʃ:an/	[ʔat:ʃan]	'sneeze'
	<i>nitjan</i>	/nitʃ:an/	[ʔnit:ʃan]	's.t. sharp or pointed'

2.4.5 A note on /f/

Of the five thousand or so entries in my lexical corpus, only about sixty contain /f/. Of these, about half a dozen involve place names (like /kava-fiji/ 'Fijian kava'), ten or so are borrowings from Bislama, English or French (like /futpol/ 'football'), and a further fifteen are borrowings from Futuna (like /nafayava/ 'harbour, bay'). Of the remaining thirty or so, a number are suspiciously Polynesian in form (i.e. no closed syllables), though I have not yet identified the source.

All other Anejoṃ consonants may occur word-finally, but /f/ does so only in the loanword /openkof/ 'whooping-cough'. All other Anejoṃ consonants have numerous clustering possibilities with other consonants, but /f/ does so only in obvious loanwords (like /pasenfrut/ 'passionfruit') or suspected loans (like /farfaroa/ 'manta ray, *Manta* sp.').

Thus although /f/ is now clearly a phoneme in Anejoṃ, it appears that it may have been recently introduced.

2.5 Stress

Stress is manifested as a slight increase in the loudness and a slight raising in the pitch of the stressed syllable in comparison with neighbouring unstressed syllables. For some speakers, or in some styles of speech, either the vowel and/or the consonantal coda of the stressed syllable may be slightly longer than in unstressed syllables (though not as long as geminate clusters). Thus:

(32)	<i>et amjeg</i>	/et 'amtʃen/	'he/she is sleeping'
	[ʔeḍ 'amḍʒeŋ ~ ʔeḍ 'a:mḍʒeŋ ~ ʔeḍ 'am:ḍʒeŋ ~ ʔeḍ 'a-m:ḍʒeŋ]		

The basic word stress pattern in Anejoṃ assigns primary stress to the penultimate syllable, and weaker stress to each alternate syllable to the left – that is, the stress system is based on right-aligned syllabic trochees. The stress rules follow the high vowel desyllabification rule

(18), since glides which derive from underlying high vowels are non-syllabic, and therefore unstressed (and are thus subsumed under the category C in all statements and rules below). Other clusters of unlike vowels are treated as two syllables. Thus:

- (33)
- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>ciñ</i> | /ʔiñ/ | 'eat it' |
| <i>inman</i> | /'inman/ | 'bird' |
| <i>au-pag-kou</i> | /au'paŋkou/ | 'over there' |
| <i>naora</i> | /na'ora/ | 'k.o. basket' |
| <i>nalamerai</i> | /'nala'merai/ | 'boiling, food being boiled' |
| <i>ejhapesirac</i> | /e'tʃhape'siray/ | '<weave> be pulled too tight' |

Geminate vowels are treated as two-vowel clusters, and thus as two underlying syllables. Thus primary stress occurs on the final syllable if this contains a geminate vowel cluster, and secondary stress occurs two syllables to the left of this.

- (34)
- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>anlii-n</i> | /an'li:n/ | 'inside it' |
| <i>algauñii</i> | /'alɣau'ñi:/ | 'cross over' |
| <i>duuk-duuk</i> | /'θu:k'θu:k/ | '<rat> squeak' |
| <i>monava-aged</i> | /mo'na'va:ŋeθ/ | 'k.o. sugarcane w. marks on skin' |

The last two examples in (34) above show different aspects of the stress rule as it relates to gemination. With *duuk-duuk*, we have two successive geminate clusters: the second receives primary stress, the first secondary. The case of *monava-aged* shows in fact that stress assignment precedes vowel lengthening:

- (35)
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| Underlying form: | /monavaaŋeθ/ |
| Primary stress assignment: | /monava'aŋeθ/ |
| Secondary stress assignment: | /mo'nava'aŋeθ/ |
| Gemination: | /mo'na'va:ŋeθ/ |

Though the basic stress pattern is one of penultimate syllable primary stress, there is a regular pattern by which primary stress is assigned to the antepenultimate syllable. This applies in two contexts, to words ending in VCVCV(C)#:

- (a) when the vowel of the antepenult and penult are identical, and when one and only one consonant separates both the antepenult and the penult, and also the penult and the vowel in the final syllable;
- (b) when the antepenult and the penult are not necessarily identical, when only one consonant separates each of the last three vowels, and when one of these consonants is /h/.

- (36) Sub-rule (a):
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>immunuka</i> | /in'munuka/ | 'thunder' |
| <i>narase-n</i> | /'narasen/ | 'its skin' |
| <i>nofo-wai</i> | /'nofowai/ | 'river' |
- Sub-rule (a):
- | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>ahodañ</i> | /'ahoθañ/ | 'ask' |
| <i>naheled</i> | /'naheleθ/ | 'k.o. crab' |
| <i>itohou</i> | /'itohou/ | 'far inland' |
| <i>nataheñ</i> | /'nataheñ/ | 'girl' |

The examples in (37) below show, for both sub-rules (a) and (b) above, that the antepenultimate stress rule is blocked if two consonants (which category includes desyllabified high vowels) intervene either between the antepenultimate vowel and the penultimate vowel, or between the penultimate vowel and the vowel of the final syllable:

(37) Sub-rule (a):

<i>esjeled</i>	/es'tʃeleθ/	'best'
<i>emelmat</i>	/e'melmat/	'green, blue'

Sub-rule (b):

<i>inmehei</i>	/in'mehei/	' <i>Heliconia</i> leaf'
<i>ahomyañ</i>	/a'homyañ/	'level <ground>'

The basic rule of primary stress assignment is:

$$(38) \quad V \rightarrow [+stress] / _ (C)V(C)\#$$

The rule assigning antepenultimate stress basically shifts stress one syllable to the left:

$$(39) \quad \begin{array}{l} V_i \ C_1 \ 'V_i \ C_1 \ V \ (C)\# \\ V_i \ h \ 'V_{ij} \ C_1 \ V \ (C)\# \\ V_i \ C_1 \ 'V_{ij} \ h \ V \ (C)\# \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \\ 1 \rightarrow [+stress] \\ 3 \rightarrow [-stress] \end{array}$$

And the rule assigning secondary stress can be formulated as follows:

$$(40) \quad V \rightarrow [2stress] / _ (C) V (C) \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +stress \end{array} \right]$$

This is in turn followed by a rule which forms long vowels from geminate clusters. In such cases, one of the vowels in the cluster must, by the stress rules given above, have already been assigned some degree of stress. The long vowel thus takes on that degree of stress.

$$(41) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \left[\begin{array}{c} V_i \\ +stress \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} V_i \\ -stress \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} V_i \\ -stress \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} V_i \\ +stress \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} V_i \\ +long \\ +stress \end{array} \right]$$

Phrase-level stress works on the same principles, and I will deal with this only briefly here. Once stresses have been assigned at the word level, the rightmost primary stress in the phrase retains primary stress, while those to the left to it are weakened to secondary stress (and

word-level secondary stresses are further weakened to tertiary stress, unmarked here). For example (with phrase boundaries marked by |):

- (42) /et 'eθeθ | a in"halav e'naa/
'That baby is suckling.'

2.6 Orthography

The original mission orthography (see e.g. Inglis 1882) was quite a good one compared with other orthographies of the period, in that it represented most phonemic distinctions, and used single letters for single phonemes – thus *c* was used for /ɣ/, *d* for /θ/, *g* for /ŋ/ and *j* for /tʃ/. There are a few problems with that orthography, however, and there are some differences between it and the one used here, which has come, or is coming, to be accepted and used by speakers of Anejoŋ. These problems and differences are mentioned briefly below.

- (i) The mission orthography did not recognise the distinction between the simple bilabial and the labial-velar stops and nasals. I write *p̃* and *m̃* (following common practice in a number of other Vanuatu languages) to represent the labial-velars /pʷ/ and /mʷ/, contrasting with the simple bilabials *p* and *m* (= /p/ and /m/).
- (ii) The mission orthography did not consistently distinguish /ñ/ from other nasals. The palatal nasal was usually written as *ni* or *ny* non-finally and as *n* or *ig* finally. I write /ñ/ as *ñ*.
- (iii) In the mission orthography, the centralised [ə] allophone of /e/ was written as *eu*. I write this, and all other allophones of /e/, as *e*.
- (iv) The non-phonemic palatal off-glide before a palatal consonant was usually written as *i* (as in *eseij* for /esetʃ/ [ʔese'tʃ] 'three'). I do not write it here (thus *esej* 'three').
- (v) The mission orthography did not consistently distinguish vowel or consonant length.

Thus the orthography is as follows. Vowel phonemes are written as *i e a o u*. Consonant phonemes are as outlined in Table 2.4. Long vowels and long consonants are written by doubling the letter (*ii*, *p̃p̃*, etc.), except that the long version of the affricate is written as *tj*. This orthography will be used consistently throughout the rest of this description of Anejoŋ, with phonemic or phonetic transcription being used only when necessary.

Table 2.4: Anejoŋ orthography (consonants)

	labial- velar	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	<i>p̃</i>	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	(')
Affricate					<i>j</i>		
Voiceless fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Voiced fricatives		<i>v</i>				<i>c</i>	
Nasals	<i>m̃</i>	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Lateral				<i>l</i>			
Tap				<i>r</i>			
Semivowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

2.7 Morphophonemics

A number of idiosyncratic morphophonemic rules pertaining to individual morphemes will be dealt with when the functions of those morphemes are discussed in the grammar chapters. Thus the general possessive marker *u*, for example, is manifested as *uwu-*, *uñā-* and *uñu-* in various environments (see §3.5.2.6). The rule, however, applies only to this morpheme, and has no place in this more general discussion.

2.7.1 Prothesis of /i/

Prothesis of /i/ occurs when a word-initial nasal consonant is followed by another consonant. There are two main grammatical contexts in which this occurs. First, one strategy for encoding coordinate clauses which have the same subjects is to affix the echo-subject proclitic *m-* to the first word in the verb phrase of a non-initial clause (see §4.3.4 and §7.4 below). Thus:

- (43) *Apanajourau m-ago nuṣut.*
 go you.DL ES-make k.o.laplap
 'You two go and make *nuṣut*.'

This enclitic takes the form *m-* before a vowel but *im-* before a consonant:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (44) | <i>m-ecjecjai</i> | 'and ram it' | <i>im-tañ</i> | 'and cry' |
| | <i>m-isjii</i> | 'and carry it' | <i>im-lav</i> | 'and make a noise' |
| | <i>m-ohṣoi</i> | 'and wash it' | <i>im-yet-pan</i> | 'and arrive there' |
| | <i>m-uhuṣ</i> | 'and lead' | <i>im-lep aketo</i> | 'and do it again' |

A second context concerns the noun-initial formative *n-* (see §3.3.2). Most nouns in their citation forms have either initial *n-* or initial *in-*, *n-* always being followed by a vowel and *in-* always by a consonant. However, when an *in-*initial noun is preceded by a vowel final prefix, the *i* is lost, suggesting that it is a prothetic and not an underlying *i*. Let us take just one set of examples. First, here are some *n-*initial nouns with the oblique case marker *a* (which usually cliticises to the first word in the noun phrase):

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (45) | <i>nioṃ</i> | 'house' | <i>a-nioṃ</i> | 'to the house' |
| | <i>neloṣ</i> | 'club' | <i>a-neloṣ</i> | 'with the club' |
| | <i>nalañaheni</i> | 'church' | <i>a-nalañaheni</i> | 'about the church' |

Now some *in-*initial nouns in the same environment:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (46) | <i>inworen</i> | 'place' | <i>a-nworen</i> | 'to the place' |
| | <i>inpas</i> | 'axe' | <i>a-npas</i> | 'with an axe' |
| | <i>inpeke</i> | 'island' | <i>a-npeke</i> | 'about the island' |

There is no motivation for a general rule of *i* deletion after *a*. For example, transitive verbs whose roots end in *a* and which take the transitive suffix *-i* do not delete *i* in this environment:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (47) | <i>alpā-i</i> | /alp ^w ai/ | 'give' |
| | <i>atha-i</i> | /athai/ | 'tie' |
| | <i>opolola-i</i> | /opololai/ | 'rub <leaf>' |

It seems more logical to propose that the nouns in (46) have underlying initial *n* – so *nworen* ‘place’, *npas* ‘axe’ and *r eke* ‘island’ – and that *i* is inserted word-initially by the following rule:

- (48) $\emptyset \rightarrow i \text{ . / \# ___ NC}$
 (where N represents a nasal consonant).

2.7.2 Epenthesis of /r/

An epenthetic /r/ is inserted between vowels in two different environments. The first of these is in compounds, when a morpheme ending in a back vowel is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme:

- (49) *awo-upni* → *aworupni* ‘do well’
 do-good
awo-itai → *aworitai* ‘to garden’
 do-things
umu-umu → *umurumu* ‘to grow well again’
 REDUP-live

The second case of *r* insertion occurs when a vowel-final word is followed by an *a* initial word in the same phrase. (This appears to be a variable or infrequent rule, and is not well understood at this stage of research). Example:

- (50) *ir eke Anejoñ* → *inpeke r Anejoñ* ‘the island of Aneityum’
 island Aneityum

2.7.3 Consonant-cluster simplification

Although almost all (non-borrowed) morphemes in Anejoñ are either V- or CV-initial, there is a small number which appear to be underlyingly CC-initial.⁶ Interestingly, only one such morpheme-initial consonant cluster seems to be permitted, and that is the cluster /stʃ/, orthographic *sj*. This cluster occurs morpheme-initially in *sjek*, the plural form of the existential verb (see §4.1.4.1), and in the following suffixes:

- (51) *-sjipe* ‘random motion/back and forth (proximate)’
-sjepe ‘random motion/back and forth (distant)’
-sjak ‘politeness’

For example:

- (52) *Hal taketha sjek era amjeg.*
 some women exist.PL 3PL.AR sleep
 ‘There are some women sleeping there.’

⁶ The examples of underlying *nC*-initial nouns discussed in the previous section are a case in point, though they are not actually historically monomorphemic. As I shall show in §3.3.2, the initial *n* may be treated as a prefix.

- (53) *Atge-sjak aak!*
 taste-POL you.SG
 'Why don't you have a taste?'

When these forms are preceded by a non-vowel – either a consonant or a non-syllabic high vowel (see §2.3.1) – then the /s/ is deleted:

- (54) *Hal halav jek era amjeg.*
 some children exist.PL 3PL.AOR sleep
 'There are some kids sleeping there.'

**Hal halav sjek era amjeg.*
 some children exist.PL 3PL.AR sleep

- (55) *Atga-i-jak aak!*
 kill-TR-POL you.SG
 'Please kill it!'

**Atga-i-sjak aak!*
 kill-TR-POL you.SG

and the same rule applies utterance initially:

- (56) *Jek aara era amjeg.*
 exist.PL they.PL 3PL.AR sleep
 'There they are sleeping.'

**Sjek aara era amjeg.*
 exist.PL they.PL 3PL.AR sleep

Of interest here is the relationship between this cluster simplification rule and the rule of /i/-prothesis. A number of nouns whose citation forms begin with *inj-* (/intʃ/) actually appear to be underlying /nsj/-initial. The examples below show the citation and collective forms for three of these nouns (the collective being marked by the prefixes *iji-* and *niji-* and the deletion of noun-initial *n-*):

- (57) *injupki* /intʃupki/ 'afternoon' *iji-sjupki* /itʃistʃupki/ 'every afternoon'
injupura /intʃupura/ 'evening' *iji-sjupura* /itʃistʃupura/ 'every evening'
injaa /intʃa:/ 'fowl' *niji-sjaa* /nitʃistʃa:/ 'a group of fowls'

It would appear that the underlying forms of these nouns are:

- (57) *nsjupki* /nstʃupki/ 'afternoon'
nsjupura /nstʃupura/ 'evening'
nsjaa /nstʃa:/ 'fowl'

and that both the /i/-prothesis and cluster simplification rules apply (in either order).

2.7.4 Vowel harmony

A rule of vowel harmony applies optionally when nouns containing mid vowels are suffixed with the construct suffix *-i*.⁷ The rule requires that the phoneme immediately preceding the suffix be /e/. The rule raises this /e/ to /i/, which then coalesces with the construct suffix as a single short /i/; and it also raises mid vowels in preceding syllables to high vowels. For example, the underlying forms of the words for 'seed' and 'mouth' are /nopse-/ and /necse-/ respectively, as can be seen from the following examples where they are affixed with a consonant-initial suffix:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|-----------------|-----------|
| (59) | <i>nopse-n</i> | /nopsen/ | <i>necse-ra</i> | /neysera/ |
| | seed-3SG | | mouth-3PL | |
| | 'its seed' | | 'their mouths' | |

When they take the construct suffix, however, root-final /e/ may be raised to /i/, and the mid vowel in the preceding syllable is also raised:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|
| (60) | <i>nopse-i cai</i> | /nupsi ɣai/ | <i>necse-i di</i> | /niysi θi/ |
| | seed-CS tree | | mouth-CS who | |
| | 'seed of the tree' | | 'whose mouth?' | |

2.8 The history of the Anejoñ phonemes

In this section I will briefly outline the development of the Anejoñ phonemes from Proto Oceanic. Further details will be found in Lynch (forthcoming).

2.8.1 Consonants

I will deal with the consonants in roughly the order that they were dealt with in §2.2.

The Anejoñ stops and the affricate have the following origins:

- \bar{p} derives from the merger of POc $*b^w$ and $*p^w$, and also from $*b$ when it occurred before $*u$;
- p derives from POc $*b$ when not before $*u$;
- t derives from non-final $*t$ when not followed by a front vowel;
- k derives from POc $*g$ (and possibly from fortis $*k$); and
- j derives from $*d$, as well as from $*l$ when followed by $*i$, $*e$ or $*o$.

Examples are:⁸

⁷ By 'optionally' I mean that it almost always applies in fast speech, but applies much less frequently in slower or more deliberate speech. I am not clear at this stage how widespread this rule is. There is some evidence that it applies to verbs taking the transitive suffix *-i* as well, though the number of verbs fitting the structural description of this rule is small.

⁸ Most verbs (and adjectives) occur with an accreted initial vowel, while most nouns occur with an accreted initial $n(V)$ or *in*. These and other non-cognate material are marked off with a slash.

(61)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*lab^wat</i>	<i>a/l̥pas</i>	'big'
	<i>*kup^wena</i>	<i>no/uḡon</i>	'fishing net'
	<i>*bulut</i>	<i>a/p̥ol</i>	'sticky, stick to'
b.	<i>*bakiwa</i>	<i>ne/pcev</i>	'banyan'
	<i>*boñi</i>	<i>ne/peñ</i>	'night'
c.	<i>*tama-</i>	<i>e/tma-</i>	'father'
	<i>*mataq</i>	<i>mat</i>	'new, raw'
d.	<i>*baga</i>	<i>in/pak</i>	'banyan'
	<i>*bokasi</i>	<i>pikad</i>	'pig'
e.	<i>*pañoda</i>	<i>a/hagej</i>	'forage on reef'
	<i>*kali, *keli</i>	<i>a/cjii</i>	'dig'
	<i>*quloc</i>	<i>n/ija</i>	'maggot'

Of the fricatives, I mentioned above (§2.4.5) that *f* is probably an introduced phoneme into Anejoñ. The other fricatives have the following origins:

- (a) *v* derives from some occurrences of POc **w*;
- (b) *d* derives from a merger of POc **s* and **c*;
- (c) *s* derives from (i) POc **j*, (ii) POc final **t*, and (iii) POc **t* and **d* when they occurred before a front vowel; and
- (d) *h* derives from POc (lenis) **p*.

Examples:

(62)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*tawan</i>	<i>ne/tva</i>	'lychee'
	<i>*lawaq</i>	<i>ni/lva</i>	'spider(web)'
b.	<i>*qanusu</i>	<i>agdei</i>	'spit'
	<i>*susu</i>	<i>e/ded</i>	'suck'
	<i>*paluca</i>	<i>a/heled</i>	'to paddle'
c.	<i>*paliji</i>	<i>na/pjes</i>	'grass'
	<i>*kurat</i>	<i>no/uras</i>	'k.o. tree, <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
	<i>*mate</i>	<i>mas</i>	'die'
	<i>*tina-</i>	<i>ri/si-</i>	'mother'
	<i>*pudi</i>	<i>no/hos</i>	'banana'
d.	<i>*punuq</i>	<i>i/hnii</i>	'finish'
	<i>*paqan-</i>	<i>in/ha-</i>	'thigh'
	<i>*lipon-</i>	<i>ne/jhe-</i>	'tooth'

The nasals derive from Proto Oceanic as follows:

- (a) *m̃* derives from **m^w*, and also from **m* when before **u*;
- (b) *m* derives from **m* in other environments;

- (c) \tilde{n} derives from $*n$ and $*\eta$ when they occurred before a POc front vowel; and
 (d) n and g derive respectively from $*n$ and $*\eta$ when not before a POc front vowel.

Examples:

(63)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	$*m^walo$	<i>in/ñoje</i>	'reef'
	$*\tilde{n}amuk$	<i>in/yañ</i>	'mosquito'
b.	$*manuk$	<i>in/man</i>	'bird'
	$*tanum$	<i>a/tenom</i>	'bury'
c.	$*kani$	<i>ciñ</i>	'eat (TR)'
	$*ta-m^wagane$	<i>na/tañañ</i>	'man'
	$*tañis$	<i>tañ</i>	'cry'
d.	$*tanoq$	<i>in/tan</i>	'land'
	$*taliña-$	<i>in/tijga-</i>	'ear'

The remaining consonants are the liquids l and r and the semivowels w and y . Their origins are as follows:

- (a) l derives from POc $*l$ when it occurred before $*a$ or $*u$;
 (b) r derives from $*r$, and also from $*R$ in those words in which it was retained;
 (c) w derives from some occurrences of POc $*w$, and occasionally also from $*u$;
 (d) y derives from the merger of POc $*\tilde{n}$ and $*y$.

Examples:

(64)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	$*laño$	<i>in/lag</i>	'a fly'
	$*bulut$	<i>a/pol</i>	'sticky, stick to'
b.	$*rua$	<i>e/rou</i>	'two'
	$*maRi$	<i>in/mar-</i>	'breadfruit (in compounds)'
c.	$*waiR$	<i>in/wai</i>	'water'
	$*luaq$	<i>e/lw/aged</i>	'spit'
d.	$*\tilde{n}atuq$	<i>in/yat</i>	'k.o. tree, <i>Burckella</i> sp.'
	$*yaRu$	<i>in/ya</i>	'k.o. tree, <i>Casuarina</i> sp.'

2.8.2 Vowels

The POc vowels undergo a number of conditioned changes in Anejoñ, including loss in various environments. The regular unconditioned reflexes of the POc vowels are:

(65)	POc	$*i$	$*e$	$*a$	$*o$	$*u$
	Anejoñ	<i>e</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>

As will be obvious from example (65), the Anejoñ high vowels *i* and *u* are not the regular reflexes of any POc vowel, but occur only as conditioned reflexes. Both POc high vowels have undergone lowering in Anejoñ.

The most common sources of Anejoñ *i* are:

- (a) POc **i* when followed immediately by a suffix;
- (b) POc **i* when it occurred in **ai* sequences; and
- (c) POc **a* when followed by a palatal consonant in the modern language.

(66)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*(sj)uli(q)</i>	<i>ni/sji-</i>	'taro stem'
	<i>*kali, *keli</i>	<i>a/cji-i</i>	'dig'
b.	<i>*waiR</i>	<i>in/wai</i>	'water'
	<i>*waRisa</i>	<i>in/vid</i>	'two days from today'
c.	<i>*taliŋa-</i>	<i>in/tijga-</i>	'ear'
	<i>*kani</i>	<i>ciñ</i>	'eat (TR)'

Anejoñ *u* developed as follows:

- (a) POc **u* tends to be retained as *u* when it occurred immediately preceded or followed by **a*, though **ua* > *ou*; and
- (b) POc **u* is also retained as *u* when it was morpheme-initial in POc (after the loss of **q*, **k* or **R*).

(67)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*qauR</i>	<i>n/au</i>	'bamboo'
	<i>*rua</i>	<i>e/rou</i>	'two'
b.	<i>*qumun</i>	<i>inña-n/um</i>	'earth oven'
	<i>*Ruqa-</i>	<i>nawu-n/ua-</i>	'neck'

The mid front vowel *e* has a variety of sources:

- (a) *e* is the unconditioned reflex of **i*;
- (b) it is also the unconditioned reflex of *o*;
- (c) *e* derives from **u* when adjacent to modern *d* or *c*;
- (d) *e* is also a conditioned reflex of **a*, usually occurring when the vowel in the next syllable was **i* or **u*.

(68)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*kita</i>	<i>e/cet</i>	'see'
	<i>*pican</i>	<i>e/hed</i>	'how many?'
b.	<i>*boni</i>	<i>e/peñ-</i>	'smell'
	<i>*mono</i>	<i>a/men</i>	'stay'
c.	<i>*susu</i>	<i>e/ded</i>	'suck'
	<i>*kutu</i>	<i>ne/cet</i>	'louse'

- d. **tajim* *a/tes* 'sharpen'
 **kasupe* *in/cedo* 'rat'

The mid back vowel *o* developed as follows:

- (a) as the regular unconditioned reflex of POc **u*;
 (b) as one reflex of **a* when adjacent to a labial consonant.

- (69) POc Anejoñ
 a. **tubuq* *a/toḗ* 'swell up'
 **pudi* *no/hos* 'banana'
 b. **kawil* *in/cowoj* 'fish hook'
 **tapuRi* *in/tohou* 'conch shell'

Finally, Anejoñ *a* is the unconditioned reflex of **a*, and also derives from some occurrences of **o* and **e*:

- (70) POc Anejoñ
 **mapo* *mah* 'heal'
 **taRaq-i* *a/tai* 'cut'
 **tama-* *e/tma-* 'father'
 **quloc* *n/ija* 'maggot'
 **qebal* *n/ap* 'pandanus mat'

3

Nominal morphology and the noun phrase

Anejoñ nominals include pronouns and nouns. This chapter looks at various subclasses of both of these word classes, and describes their morphological structure (though I leave a discussion of compounding until Chapter 5). It also describes the structure of simple noun phrases, including those which contain a possessive constituent; the marking of oblique cases will be discussed in Chapter 6.

3.1 Pronouns

Anejoñ pronouns are of three different types: personal, demonstrative and interrogative.

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish (a) three persons, with a further distinction between inclusive and exclusive in first person non-singular; (b) four numbers (singular, dual, trial¹ and plural); and (c) three cases (focal, object and possessive). A full list of Anejoñ personal pronouns is given in Table 3.1.

3.1.1.1 Focal pronouns

Focal pronouns are used both as noun phrase subjects and as disjuncts. In example (1) below, *añak* ‘I’ is functioning as a disjunct, while *ajama* ‘we.EXC.PL’ is the subject NP. These are underlined here (as are any other words/phrases focused on in this and succeeding chapters).

¹ The trial is strictly a trial – referring to three and only three – and not a paucal or limited plural as in some other Oceanic languages.

- (1) *Añak im elpu-hal uña-k, ekris ahe-i incai iyiiki*
 I and PL-child POSS.G-my 1EXC.PL.P climb-TR tree DEM.AN.SG
ajama.
 we.EXC.PL
 'I and my children, we climbed the tree.'

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

	Focal	Object	Possessive
Singular			
1	<i>añak</i>	<i>ñak</i>	<i>-k</i>
2	<i>aek, aak</i>	<i>yic, -c</i>	<i>-m̃</i>
3	<i>aen, aan</i>	<i>yin, -n</i>	<i>-n</i>
Dual			
1INC	<i>akajau</i>	<i>cajau</i>	<i>-jau</i>
1EXC	<i>ajamrau</i>	<i>camrau</i>	<i>-mrau</i>
2	<i>ajourau</i>	<i>courau</i>	<i>-mirau</i>
3	<i>aarau</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>-rau</i>
Trial			
1INC	<i>akataj</i>	<i>cataj</i>	<i>-taj</i>
1EXC	<i>ajamtaj</i>	<i>camtaj</i>	<i>-mtaj</i>
2	<i>ajoutaj</i>	<i>coutaj</i>	<i>-mitaj</i>
3	<i>aattaj</i>	<i>ettaj</i>	<i>-ttaj</i>
Plural			
1INC	<i>akaja</i>	<i>caja</i>	<i>-ja</i>
1EXC	<i>ajama</i>	<i>cama</i>	<i>-ma</i>
2	<i>ajowa</i>	<i>cowa</i>	<i>-mia</i>
3	<i>aara</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>-ra</i>

Of the focal pronouns listed in Table 3.1, *aek* 'you.SG' and *aen* 'he, she' are older and/or more formal forms; they are the forms normally used in writing, and in slow speech (as to an enquiring linguist trying to transcribe a text from a tape-recorder). The forms *aak* and *aan* are the variants heard most frequently in the normal spoken language, and these are often pronounced with a short vowel.

The focal pronouns are all *a*-initial. These most commonly occur as subjects, and all animate subject NPs in Anejoñ are marked with a preposed marker *a* (see also §3.4, §6.1.1):

- (2) *Et amjeg a kuri.*
 3SG.AR sleep S dog
 'The dog is sleeping.'
- (3) *Era amñii kava a elpu-tooga.*
 3PL.AR drink kava S PL.person.of-foreign
 'The foreigners are drinking kava.'

Pronoun subjects, however, are not marked in this way; compare examples (4) and (5) with examples (2) and (3) above:

- (4) *Et amjeg aan.*
 3SG.AR sleep (s)he
 'He/she/it is sleeping.'
- **Et amjeg a aan.*
 3SG.AR sleep S (s)he
- (5) *Era aṁñii kava aara.*
 3PL.AR drink kava they.PL
 'He/she is drinking kava.'
- **Era aṁñii kava a aara.*
 3PL.AR drink kava S they.PL

It thus appears that the initial *a* in focal pronouns is historically the subject marking particle *a*, though this is no longer separable from the root.²

3.1.1.2 Object pronouns

Object pronouns are free forms following verbs and some case-marking prepositions. For example:

- (6) *Wut ika aṇak ki ude-i coutaj ka cowa...*
 TF want I 1SG.INCP leave-TR you.TLO or you.PLO
 'When I want to leave you three or all of you...'
- (7) *Arodei ra aak!*
 whip them.PL you.SG
 'Whip them!'

The 2SG and 3SG free forms *yic* and *yin* normally occur as suffixes *-c* and *-n* after a preceding vowel in normal speech, and they replace the transitive suffix in this context:

- (8) *Et emita-i yic aan.* > *Et emita-ḡ aan.*
 3SG.AR fear-TR you.SG.O (s)he 3SG.AR fear-2SG.O (s)he
 'He's frightened of you.'

However, this reduction never occurs when they are preceded by a consonant:

- (9) *Et awod yic aan.* > **Et awod-ḡ aan.*
 3SG.AR hit you.SG.O (s)he 3SG.AR hit-2SG.O (s)he
 'He hit you.'

² Comparative evidence supports this. The pronouns *æk* 2SG and *akaja* 1INC.PL derive from Proto Oceanic **iko(e)* and **ki(td)a*. It is clear from this that the *a* is an accretion of some sort. Note also that the object forms show lenition of *k* or *j* to *c*, and have no initial *a*.

3.1.1.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are suffixes which are attached to directly possessed nouns and possessive markers (see §3.5), to some case-markers (§6.2), and to members of one sub-class of verbs (§4.1.3, §4.2.4):

- (10) *Et eri-atga a etma-k im kuri uwu-n*
 3SG.AR MUT-walk S father-my and dog POSS.G-his
 'My father is walking with his dog.'
- (11) *Et yiṗal era-k imta-m̃ a Lui ka a'o?*
 3SG.AR story REF-my DAT-your.SG S Lui or no
 'Did Lui tell you a story about me?'
- (12) *Aluṃa-k ti aak.*
 give.to.drink-my tea you.SG
 'Give me some tea (to drink).'

3.1.1.4 Form of the non-singular pronouns

An examination of the non-singular pronouns in Table 3.1 shows that:

- (a) the first and second person non-singular object pronouns are formally similar to their focal equivalents (minus initial *a*), except that where the focal form has *k* or *j* the object form has *c*; and
- (b) that, for all three grammatical cases, there has apparently been compounding of a pronominal root plus a suffix marking number, along the lines as shown below. (Note that there has also been phonological reduction as root + number-marker have combined: $j + r > j$, $r + r > r$, $j + t > t$, $r + t > t$).

(13)	Pronominal root			+ Number
	Focal	Object	Possessive	
1INC	<i>a/kaj-</i>	<i>caj-</i>	<i>-j-</i>	Dual: <i>-rau</i>
1EXC	<i>a/jam-</i>	<i>cam-</i>	<i>-m-</i>	Trial: <i>-taj</i>
2	<i>a/jou-</i>	<i>cou-</i>	<i>-mi-</i>	Plural: <i>-a</i>
3	<i>a/ar-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	

This may reflect an earlier situation in which a free root combined with a (free or bound) numeral or number marker: note the form of the numerals *erou* 'two' and *esej* 'three'. However, this does not represent synchronic reality: neither a non-singular pronominal root (in the sense of the roots given in (13)) nor a pronominal number marker may occur alone.

3.1.2 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *di* 'who?', which is used as subject (with preceding *a*), object and possessive, and *panid* ~ *panida* 'which? which one?'. *Di* is classified as a pronoun because, although it doesn't vary formally for number and case, it may not occur with modifiers. It is inherently singular:

- (14) *Et adel a di?*
3SG.AR fart S who
'Who farted?'
- (15) *Na awod di aek?*
2SG.AR hit who you.SG
'Whom did you hit?'
- (16) *Nioñ enaanai u di?*
house DEM2.SG POSS.G who?
'Whose house is that?'

When the question concerns a group of people, *di* has to be used in a coordinate phrase with *im* 'and' to express plurality, as in:

- (17) *Era apam di im di?*
3PL.AR come who and who
'Who (PL) came?'
- (18) *Nioñ enaa u di im naa?*
house DEM2.SG POSS.G who and this2.SG
'Whose (PL) house is that?'

There is also a form *diñoj* 'who again?' which seems to be quite rare.

Panid, which has a less frequent variant *panida*, refers to inanimate nouns, as in the following conversation:

- (19) *'Le naifi enai aak!'*
take.SG knife DEM2.SG you.SG
'*Panid?*'
which.one
'*Naa-sak enai!*'
this2.SG-INDIC DEM2.SG
'Get me that knife!'
'Which one?'
'That one there (which I'm pointing at)!'

3.1.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, which may also function as heads of noun phrases, distinguish the same four numbers as do personal pronouns (though there seems to be only one trial form, and its use seems to be fairly rare). They also distinguish between anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference and, within non-anaphoric forms, distinguish proximate, intermediate and distant spatial orientation, roughly paralleling the distinction between first, second and third person in the personal pronouns. (For this reason, I gloss them as 'this1', 'this2', and 'that', followed by an indication of number.)

A full list of demonstrative pronouns is given in Table 3.2. In many cases, more than one form is given for the same meaning/function. With the exception of the two plural anaphoric pronouns, which distinguish time reference, all other pronouns seem to have a basic or 'long'

form (which is given on the top line) and a number of alternate forms, which are usually phonologically reduced in comparison with the base form (these being given on the second line). Though these forms seem to be synchronically monomorphemic, certain components can be recognised, which suggest that they may have been bimorphemic or multimorphemic in some earlier stage of the language. In the non-anaphoric pronouns, singular forms contain *n*, dual *r* and plural *j*. Proximate and anaphoric demonstratives end in *-ki*, distant demonstratives in *-kou* (see §4.2.5, §6.2.2.1).

Table 3.2: Demonstrative pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Proximate	<i>niñki</i> <i>nii, niñ</i>	<i>rañki</i> <i>raaki, raa</i>	<i>tijiraaki</i>	<i>jiñki</i> <i>jüjjiñ, jii</i>
Intermediate	<i>naanai</i> <i>naa</i>	<i>rañka</i>		<i>jeknaa</i>
Distant	<i>naikou</i> <i>nai</i>	<i>rañkou</i>		<i>jeknaikou</i>
Anaphoric	<i>yüiki</i> <i>yii</i>	<i>raaki</i>		<i>jüiki</i> [recent] <i>jekeñ</i> [distant]

Some examples of the use of these pronouns follow.

- (20) *Al̥pa-i ñak jeknaa aak.*
give-TR me this2.PL you.SG
'Give me those ones.'
- (21) *Inyi̯pal upni yüiki.*
story good that.AN.SG
'That was a good story (which you told).'
- (22) *Nuhu̯pan nüi?*
what.time this1.SG
'What's the time (at this moment)?'
- (23) *Naikou u di?*
that.SG POSS.G who
'Whose is that one (over there)?'

A demonstrative pronoun may occur with the suffix *-sak*, implying that the speaker is pointing at or in some other way indicating the location of the thing referred to. An example was given in (19); for further illustration, contrast (24) below with (20) above:

- (24) *Al̥pa-i ñak jeknaa-sak aak.*
give-TR me this2.PL-INDIC you.SG
'Give me those ones there (that I'm pointing at).'

3.2 Classes of nouns

Nouns also function as heads of NPs, but differ from pronouns in that (a) they are not inflected for person or deictic reference, and (b) they may be accompanied by one or more of a whole range of pre- and post-modifiers within the NP. The subclassification of nouns shown in Figure 3.1 will be explained in some detail in this section.

NOUNS	Temporal	
	Locative	
	Personal	
	Obligatorily possessed	Animate
		Inanimate
	Optionally possessed	Animate
		Inanimate

Figure 3.1: Subclassification of nouns

3.2.1 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns may stand alone as the head of a temporal phrase without the oblique case marker *a*. For example, a temporal noun like *iyenev* ‘yesterday’ may never occur with *a*, as shown in example (25); whereas a non-temporal noun like *nuyaleg* ‘morning’ must always be marked with *a* if it is the head of a temporal phrase, as in (26).

- (25) *Is itiyi apan aan a naworitai iyenev.*
 3SG.P NEG go (s)he S garden yesterday
 ‘He/she didn’t go to the garden yesterday.’
- (26) *Is itiyi apan aan a naworitai a nuyaleg.*
 3SG.P NEG go (s)he S garden LOC morning
 ‘He/she didn’t go to the garden in the morning.’

The class of temporal nouns includes the following:

- kou* ‘now’
ituwu ‘long ago’
nuhuṗan ‘what time?’
inpiñ ‘today’
imrañ ‘tomorrow’
iyenev ‘yesterday’
invid ‘two days from today (past or future)’
hovid ‘three days from today (past or future)’

Although *nuhuṗan* ‘what time?’, like other temporal nouns, can occur without any case marker, as in example (22) above, it may also occur preceded by the oblique marker *a*, as in:

- (27) *A nuhuḗan et pu apam plen?*
 T what.time 3SG.AR FUT come plane
 'At what time will the plane come?'

The conditions under which it may and may not take a preceding *a* are not clear at this stage.

3.2.2 Locative nouns

Locative nouns are the names of specific places and, unlike other nouns which occur as the head of a locative phrase, they are not preceded by the case marker *a*.³ Example (28) below includes the placename *Isia*, while (29) includes the non-locative noun *nemnem* 'home' which has to be marked as head of a locative phrase by the case marker *a*:

- (28) *Et ṁan apan aan Isia.*
 3SG.AR PF go (s)he Isia
 'He went to Isia.'
- (29) *Et ṁan apan aan a nemnem.*
 3SG.AR PF go (s)he LOC home
 'He went home.'

In addition to names of specific places, the following are also classified as locative nouns:

- ijiñis* 'above'
ijhou 'outside'
itohou 'far inland'
itac 'behind'
uḗos 'on land, in a clear place'

3.2.3 Personal nouns

Personal nouns are similar to pronouns, in that they refer to specific individuals and rarely occur with modifiers. However, they differ from personal pronouns in that they are not inflected for person and number.

The subclass of personal nouns includes names of specific individuals (like *Simo*, *Tagipe*, *Naiyag* and *Naulita*), and also a number of address terms, like:

- puaa* 'Grandpa, Grandma'
negav 'nephew, niece, in-law'
tata 'Dad'
mama 'Mum'

³ However, a significant proportion of placenames in Anejoñ are *a*-initial, which suggests that the locative marker has been incorporated into them. See §3.7 below for further discussion.

3.2.4 Obligatorily possessed nouns

Of the remaining nouns in Anejoñ, there is one subclass which consists of those which cannot occur alone but which must be marked as being possessed by some other noun or pronoun (see §3.5 below for detailed discussion).

The majority of nouns in this category require direct suffixation, either of a possessive pronoun (if the possessor is a personal pronoun) or of the construct suffix *-i* (if the possessor is not a personal pronoun). Thus the obligatorily possessed noun *etma-* ‘father’ can never occur alone in this form, but must occur in constructions like:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| (30) | <i>etma-n</i> | <i>etma-i</i> | <i>Natu</i> |
| | father-his/her | father-CS | Natu |
| | ‘his/her father’ | ‘Natu’s father’ | |
| | <i>etma-ra</i> | <i>etma-i elpu-ataheñ</i> | <i>ijiiki</i> |
| | father-their.PL | father-CS PL-girl | DEM.AN.PL |
| | ‘their father’ | ‘those girls’ father’ | |

As in many Oceanic languages, the nouns in this class are typically kin terms, terms referring to parts of wholes (including most body parts), and other terms which involve a close association between the referent and some other entity. For example:

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| <i>etpo-</i> | ‘grandparent’ |
| <i>ega-</i> | ‘wife’ |
| <i>nijma-</i> | ‘hand’ |
| <i>neduo-</i> | ‘leg’ |
| <i>nohowa-</i> | ‘fruit of’ |
| <i>inra-</i> | ‘branch of’ |
| <i>intuṗu-</i> | ‘magic stone to be used on <a crop or animal>’ |

However, there is a small group of nouns which are obligatorily possessed, but which take one of the possessive markers rather than direct suffixation. These are almost exclusively kin terms, like:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (31) | <i>inhal</i> | ‘child’ | <i>inhal uña-k</i> | ‘my child’ |
| | <i>nega</i> | ‘nephew, niece, in-law’ | <i>nega uña-k</i> | ‘my nephew, niece, in-law’ |
| | <i>nataheñ</i> | ‘<man> sister’ | <i>nataheñ era-k</i> | ‘my sister’ |
| | <i>natañmañ</i> | ‘<woman> brother’ | <i>natañmañ era-k</i> | ‘my brother’ |

The nouns *nataheñ* and *natañmañ* are obligatorily possessed when they refer to siblings; these two nouns also have another, related, meaning – *nataheñ* ‘girl, female’, *natañmañ* ‘man, male’ – and with these meanings they are not obligatorily possessed.

There is also a noun *nataññ* ‘husband’ (obviously related to *natañmañ* ‘man’) which is obligatorily possessed but by the general indirect possessive marker, the two forming a single phonological word: thus *nataññ-uñak* ‘my husband’.

3.2.5 Optionally possessed nouns

The remaining nouns in the language are either unpossessable or do not have to be possessed. If and when they are possessed, they take one of the small number of possessive markers to which possessive pronouns or the construct suffix are added. For example:

- (32) *Et acen kava.*
3SG.AR bitter kava
'The kava is (unusually) bitter.'
- (33) *Kava luña-k naa ka?*
kava POSS.D-my this2.SG or
'Is that my kava (to drink)?'
- (34) *Ek aviñ intal añaak.*
1SG.AR want.to.eat taro I
'I want to eat taro.'
- (35) *Alpa nak intal inca-k aak.*
give me taro POSS.F-my you.SG
'Give me my taro (to eat).'

3.2.6 Animate and inanimate nouns

Cross-cutting the distinction between obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns is a distinction between animate and inanimate nouns. The term ANIMATE is used here in a grammatical rather than a strictly biological sense, and includes nouns whose referents are human beings and the higher animates; while lower animates and inanimate things are classified as INANIMATE.⁴ The borderline between animate and inanimate is a little fuzzy: human beings and pigs are always animate, and insects and trees are always inanimate; but large fish, for example, are sometimes treated as grammatically animate and sometimes as grammatically inanimate.

The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is marked in a number of ways. Animate subjects are preceded by the subject marker *a*, whereas inanimate subjects are unmarked for this role:

- (36) *Et alpas a pikad uñu-m.*
3SG.AR big S pig POSS.G-your.SG
'Your pig is (getting) big.'
- (37) *Et alpas nioñ uñu-m.*
3SG.AR big house POSS.G-your.SG
'Your house is big.'
- *Et alpas a nioñ uñu-m.*
3SG.AR big S house POSS.G-your.SG

Animate nouns form the non-singular by prefixing *elpu-* (and deleting initial *n* or *in* if there is one):

⁴ In traditional stories, of course, fish and animals which are anthropomorphised are treated as grammatically animate.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| (38) | Singular | | Non-singular | |
| | <i>natañañ</i> | 'man' | <i>elpu-atañañ</i> | 'men' |
| | <i>intaketha</i> | 'woman' | <i>elpu-taketha</i> | 'women' |
| | <i>pikad</i> | 'pig' | <i>elpu-pikad</i> | 'pigs' |

Inanimate nouns, on the other hand, take no such prefix:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| (39) | Singular | | Non-singular | |
| | <i>neañ</i> | 'coconut' | <i>eañ</i> (* <i>elpu-eañ</i>) | 'coconuts' |
| | <i>inhat</i> | 'stone' | <i>hat</i> (* <i>elpu-hat</i>) | 'stones' |
| | <i>dia</i> | 'angelfish' | <i>dia</i> (* <i>elpu-dia</i>) | 'angelfishes' |

The 'fuzziness' referred to above is particularly evident in the case of plural marking. The noun *nepcev* 'shark', for example, is sometimes pluralised as *elpu-epcev*, other times as *epcev*.

The marking of transitivity on one subclass of transitive verbs also differs according to whether the object is animate or inanimate. If the object is an animate noun phrase, then the transitive suffix is *-i*; if the object is inanimate, then the transitive suffix *-ñ* is used instead (see §4.2.4 below). For example:

- (40) *Et aiya-i numu aan.*
 3SG.AR pull-TR fish (s)he.
 'He/she pulled in a fish.'
- (41) *Et aiya-ñ inwau aan.*
 3SG.AR pull-TR rope/vine (s)he.
 'He/she pulled on a rope (or vine).'

Table 3.3 gives some examples which illustrate the cross-cutting nature of the possessive and animacy categories.

Table 3.3: Cross-cutting noun subclasses				
	Obligatorily possessed		Optionally possessed	
Animate	<i>etma-</i>	'father'	<i>pikad</i>	'pig'
	<i>inhal</i>	'child'	<i>natimarid</i>	'chief'
Inanimate	<i>nañu-</i>	'scab'	<i>nioñ</i>	'house'
	<i>nijhinti-</i>	'roof'	<i>nohos</i>	'banana'

3.3 Nominal derivation and inflection

This section looks briefly at the way in which nouns are derived from other word classes, and at inflectional affixes on nouns. (Note that compounding is discussed in Chapter 5 below.)

3.3.1 Derivational morphology

Nouns may be derived from verbs by prefixing *n-*. This *n-* becomes *in-* before a consonant (see §2.7.1 above); but although the underlying forms of all of these nominalisations are *n*-initial, I continue to write citation forms with preconsonantal initial *in-*, since this is they

way they are written in the normal written language. This process is quite productive in Anejoñ. For example, the prefixation of *n-* produces nominalised verbs in object complement clauses, such as:

- (42) *Nai meret aek n-apan va-ñ Vila ka a'o?*
 2SG.AR want you.SG N-go PURP-TR Vila or no
 'Do you want to go to Vila?'

However, prefixation of *n-* also produces a vast range of forms which function as nouns rather than as nominalisations – i.e. they may be pluralised, they may enter into compounds, and so on. Some of these are:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (43) | <i>omrag</i> | 'be old' | <i>n-omrag</i> | 'old person' |
| | <i>isec</i> | 'walk with a stick' | <i>n-isec</i> | 'walking-stick' |
| | <i>ja</i> | 'bleed' | <i>in-ja</i> | 'blood' |
| | <i>mas</i> | 'be low tide' | <i>in-mas</i> | 'low tide' |
| | <i>adia</i> | 'throw' | <i>n-adia</i> | 'sling for a spear' |
| | <i>agesga</i> | 'shine' | <i>n-agesga</i> | 'sun' |

For ease of reading, I will write these nouns in example sentences as if they were monomorphemic (i.e. *nomrag*, *inja* rather than *n-omrag*, *in-ja*) unless the discussion is focusing particularly on the derivational morphology.

There are a few other prefixes which derive nouns from other word classes or which change the subclass membership of nouns. Although these prefixes resemble the first elements of compounds in some ways, I will treat them as derivational prefixes here, partly because they do not occur alone (i.e. they must occur affixed to some other form), and partly because they change the class or subclass membership of the morpheme to which they are attached (compounding generally does not have this effect). These derivational prefixes are:

- inta-* derives instrumental nouns from verbs
- nupu-* derives human nouns from locative nouns or from certain other locationally-oriented forms
- elpu-* plural of *nupu-*⁵

The form *inta-* is not highly productive, though its use can be seen in the following:

- (44) *ahrei* 'sweep' *inta-ahrei* 'broom'
aññii 'drink' *inta-aññii* 'cup, glass'

A much greater number of instrumental nouns are true compounds whose first element is *nitai* 'thing' (and from which *inta-* is presumably historically derived).

The prefix *nupu-* converts placenames and other words with a locative sense into human nouns meaning 'a person from that place', and has the form *elpu-* in the plural; a vowel-initial root usually loses this initial vowel when prefixed with *nupu-* or *elpu-*. For example:

⁵ *Elpu-* is in fact the general human plural prefix, as shown in §3.3.3.1 below.

(45)	<i>Samoa</i>	'Samoa'	<i>nupu-Samoa</i>	'a Samoan'
			<i>elpu-Samoa</i>	'Samoans'
	<i>Umej</i>	'Umej (village)'	<i>nupu-mej</i>	'someone from Umej'
	<i>itooga</i>	'foreign'	<i>nupu-tooga</i>	'foreigner'
	<i>eda</i>	'where?'	<i>nupu-da</i>	'someone from where?'

There are a couple of fossilised expressions involving *nupu-*, in which the second element does not occur elsewhere in the language: *nupu-wiwi* 'French person' (presumably modelled on Old Bislama *man wiwi* < French *oui, oui* 'yes, yes'); and *nupu-paalagi* 'English person' (< Samoan (*pa*)*pāl*agi 'European, white person').

3.3.2 The prefix *n-/in-*

Slightly over 85 per cent of Anejoñ nouns begin with *n-* or *in-*.⁶ I showed in §2.7.1 above that noun-initial *in-* is underlying *n-*, and in the remainder of this discussion I will refer to the prefix as *n-*, though some examples will actually have the form *in-*.

I said above that *n-* is a productive nominalising prefix, and it derives from the Proto Oceanic common article **na*. Generally speaking, (a) the vowel of the original article was retained (though not always as *a*) if the first vowel of the root was not *a*, but (b) the *a* of the article was deleted (resulting in the modern form *in*) if the first vowel of the root was *a*. Anejoñ has partially fused this article with the following noun. For example:

(46)	POc	Anejoñ	
a.	<i>*kutu</i>	<i>ne/cet</i>	'louse'
	<i>*siko</i>	<i>ne/dec</i>	'kingfisher'
	<i>*pudi</i>	<i>no/hos</i>	'banana'
	<i>*lima-</i>	<i>ni/jma-</i>	'hand'
b.	<i>*patu</i>	<i>in/hat</i>	'stone'
	<i>*talos</i>	<i>in/tal</i>	'taro'
	<i>*ñamuk</i>	<i>in/yañ</i>	'mosquito'
	<i>*baga</i>	<i>in/pak</i>	'banyan'

In modern Anejoñ, however, noun-initial *n-* is not an article *per se*. It is inseparable from the noun, except in certain definable grammatical circumstances: in the non-initial member of a compound (see Chapter 5), in the indefinite non-singular (see §3.3.3.1), and when preceded by derivational or inflectional prefixes (§3.3.3.2, §3.3.4). I will treat it here as a marker of singularity and/or definiteness, and this decision will be justified in the discussion below.

What of the other 15 per cent or so of Anejoñ nouns which are not *n-*initial? They appear to fall into a number of fairly well-defined groups (with an unexplained residue):

⁶ This figure is based on forms listed as headwords in the Anejoñ dictionary currently in press: i.e. it excludes formally transparent compounds (though it does not exclude compounds which have undergone reduction and other morphophonemic changes, and whose status as compounds may not be immediately apparent to speakers of the language).

(a) Kin terms which are obligatorily possessed by direct suffixation, for example:⁷

<i>etpo-</i>	'grandparent'
<i>etma-</i>	'father'
<i>risi-</i>	'mother'
<i>ega-</i>	'wife'
<i>mata-</i>	'mother's brother'
<i>maṗo-</i>	'grandchild'

(b) Certain locational and temporal nouns, many of which have an apparently fused prefix *i-* (or, in the case of some locative nouns, *u-*):

<i>imrañ</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>iyenev</i>	'yesterday'
<i>itohou</i>	'far inland'
<i>uṗos</i>	'on land, in open space'

(c) Some flora and fauna terms, including:

<i>pikad</i>	'pig'
<i>ledcei</i>	'coconut-crab, <i>Birgus latro</i> '
<i>katamal</i>	'white-breasted wood-swallow, <i>Artamus leucorhynchus</i> '
<i>leyei</i>	'k.o. taro'
<i>vaa</i>	' <i>Canna</i> sp.'

(d) Borrowed nouns, from various sources, like the following:

<i>futpol</i>	'football'	< Bislama <i>futbol</i>	< English <i>football</i>
<i>kapini</i>	'toilet'	< Bislama <i>kabine</i>	< French <i>cabinet</i>
<i>kapou</i>	'rifle'	< English <i>ka-pow?</i>	
<i>kava</i>	'kava'	< Futuna <i>kava</i>	
<i>maasoa</i>	'arrowroot'	< Samoan <i>māsoā</i>	

Note, however, that not all borrowed nouns fall into this category; some have incorporated initial *n-*:

<i>inraimu</i>	'sibling'	< Futuna <i>raimutu</i>	
<i>intaanes</i>	'dance'	< Bislama <i>danis</i>	< English <i>dance</i>
<i>nagako</i>	'soft internal fat'	< Futuna <i>gako</i>	
<i>nicijhen</i>	'kitchen, cooking-house'	< Bislama <i>kijin</i>	< English <i>kitchen</i>
<i>nokoro</i>	'courtyard'	< Futuna <i>koro</i>	

⁷ Crowley (1985) shows the absence of reflexes of **na* before kin terms to be a common feature of a number of Melanesian languages which reflect **na* with other nouns.

Three kin terms show apparent accretion of initial *e*, which may derive from Ross's (1988:99-100) reconstructed personal article **e*: *etpo-* 'grandparent', *etma-* 'father' and *etwa-* 'same sex sibling', from Proto Oceanic **tubu-*, **tama-* and **t(ou)ka-* respectively. Whether *ega-* 'wife, marriageable female relative' also includes this fossilised *e* is open to question. In any case, there is no personal article in modern Anejoñ.

3.3.3 Prefixes marking number

There is a set of prefixes to nouns which mark number – either plurality or collectivity.

3.3.3.1 Plurality

The prefix *elpu-* (often *ilpu-*) has already been mentioned. It marks a grammatically animate noun as definite non-singular; if the noun is *n*-initial, that *n* is deleted. Thus:

- (47) *Et awod etwa-m̃ a Nalmunai.*
3SG.AR hit brother-your.SG S Nalmunai
'Nalmunai hit your brother.'
- (48) *Et awod elpu-etwa-m̃ a Nalmunai.*
3SG.AR hit PL-brother-your.SG S Nalmunai
'Nalmunai hit your brothers.'
- (49) *Is apam a natañañ iyii.*
3SG.P come S man DEM.AN.SG
'That man (we were talking about) came.'
- (50) *Eris apam a elpu-atañañ ijiiki.*
3PL.P come S PL-man DEM.AN.PL
'Those men (we were talking about) came.'

The reference of *elpu-* is to general plurality, without specifying an exact number of individuals. If the number is specified by a numeral, then the definite/singular form of the noun is used, and the use of *elpu-* here is ungrammatical.

- (51) *Eris apam a natañañ ijiiki is esej.*
3PL.P come S man DEM.AN.PL P three
'Those three men (we were talking about) came.'
- *Eris apam a elpu-atañañ ijiiki is esej.*
3PL.P come S PL-man DEM.AN.PL P three
- *Eris apam a atañañ ijiiki is esej.*
3PL.P come S men DEM.AN.PL P three

The inanimate correlate of *elpu-* may be analysed either as a zero-prefix or as a subtractive morpheme (or indeed as a combination of both). *N*-initial nouns simply delete the *n* in the indefinite plural:

- (52) *Et ciñ nohos inca-k a di?*
3SG.AR eat banana POSS.F-my S who
'Who ate my banana?'
- (53) *Et ciñ ohos inca-k a di?*
3SG.AR eat bananas POSS.F-my S who
'Who ate my bananas?'

And, as with animate nouns, the indefinite plural form is not used when there is other specification of plurality:

- (54) *Et ciñ nohos inca-k et esej a di?*
 3SG.AR eat banana POSS.F-my 3SG.AR three S who
 'Who ate my three bananas?'

**Et ciñ ohos inca-k et esej a di?*
 3SG.AR eat bananas POSS.F-my 3SG.AR three S who

Interestingly, what is deleted is simply *n-*, not the original article. Thus *nohos* 'banana' derives from POC **na pudi*, with the first *o* deriving from the *a* of the article. But the indefinite plural form is *ohos*, which incorporates the vowel of the article. Even *n*-initial borrowed words undergo this process, though the *n* in these words does not derive from an historical article. The Samoan loan *naifi* 'knife', for example, has the indefinite plural form *aifi*.

With inanimate nouns which are not *n*-initial, the form of the noun does not indicate number, and unless there is some other indication of number in the sentence, such forms are ambiguous:

- (55) *Et ciñ ledcei inca-k a di?*
 3SG.AR eat coconut.crab POSS.F-my S who
 'Who ate my coconut-crab(s)?'

- (56) *Et ciñ ledcei inca-k et esej a di?*
 3SG.AR eat coconut.crab POSS.F-my 3SG.AR three S who
 'Who ate my three coconut-crabs?'

There is also a dual prefix *o-*, which seems to be restricted to kinship terms: compare the following:

- (57) *maṗo-k* 'my grandchild'
elpu-maṗo-k 'my grandchildren'
o-maṗo-k 'my two grandchildren'

3.3.3.2 Collectivity

There is another set of prefixes to nouns which mark a collective plural, generally referring to 'every' or 'a large group' of the noun so prefixed:

- niji-* general collective prefix, used with a wide variety of nouns
nupu- collective prefix for humans and higher animates⁸
inlel- collective prefix for inanimates (probably things occurring in nature)
inmal- collective prefix for inanimates (probably artefacts)

As with other nominal prefixes, initial *n-* is deleted when these prefixes are added. Some examples are:

- (58) *nemnem* 'village' *niji-emnem* 'a group of villages'
intaketha 'woman' *niji-taketha* 'a lot of women'
kuri 'dog' *nupu-kuri* 'a mob of dogs'

⁸ This prefix is homophonous with, but clearly functionally and semantically distinct from, the prefix *nupu-* 'person of (a place)' discussed in §3.3.1.

<i>tagateau</i>	'devil'	<i>nupu-tagateau</i>	'lots of devils'
<i>neañ</i>	'coconut'	<i>inlel-eañ</i>	'coconut plantation'
<i>inhat</i>	'stone'	<i>inlel-hat</i>	'a pile of rocks'
<i>nioñ</i>	'house'	<i>inmal-ioñ</i>	'a group of houses'
<i>nelcau</i>	'canoe'	<i>inmal-elcau</i>	'a group of canoes'

I have recorded also deletion of initial *n* on *niji*-, with the connotation 'every single one, every last one':

(59)	<i>nemnem</i>	'village'	<i>niji-emnem</i>	'a group of villages'
			<i>iji-emnem</i>	'every single village'

3.3.4 Other nominal prefixes

Other prefixes to nouns include the following, of which the first two are quite productive, though the last two are less frequently used.

<i>nef(e)-</i>	indicates size or importance
<i>nev(e)-</i>	interrogative: 'which?'
<i>intoñ-</i>	not a 'real' or 'true' example of the noun to which it is prefixed
<i>nalve-</i>	diminutive

Once again, noun-initial *n-* is deleted when these prefixes are added. In the case of *nef(e)-* and *nev(e)-*, the final *e* occurs before a consonant but not before a vowel. Some examples:

(60)	<i>natimi</i>	'person'	<i>nef-atimi</i>	'an important person'
	<i>incat</i>	'pandanus basket'	<i>nefe-cat</i>	'large pandanus basket'
	<i>nelcau</i>	'canoe'	<i>nev-elcau</i>	'which canoe?'
	<i>inhat</i>	'stone'	<i>neve-hat</i>	'which stone?'
	<i>incai</i>	'tree'	<i>intoñ-cai</i>	'something tree-like, but not an actual tree'
	<i>neañ</i>	'coconut'	<i>nalve-eañ</i>	'k.o. coconut with small fruit'

3.3.5 Morphophonemics of nominal prefixes

The major morphophonemic rule relating to nominal prefixes is one which shortens a geminate cluster across a morpheme boundary. (This rule applies after the rule of *n*-deletion.) For example:

(61)	Underlying	<i>nupu-Uje</i>	<i>niji-nioñ</i>
		person-Uje	COL-house
		/nupu-utʃe/	/nitʃi-niom ^w /
	/n/-Deletion	—	/nitʃi-iom ^w /
	Degemination	/nuputʃe/	/nitʃiom ^w /
		'Uje people'	'collection of houses'

3.3.6 The suffix -mii

The only nominal suffix so far recorded (apart from the possessive suffixes) appears to be the not very productive form -mii 'good, proper':

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (62) | <i>incet-mii</i>
pandanus-proper
'pandanus leaf suitable for weaving
(as opposed to other pandanus leaves)' | <i>inhet-mii</i>
stone-proper
'k.o. stone used in earth-ovens (as
opposed to other kinds of stones)' |
|------|--|---|

3.4 The noun phrase

In this section, I examine the structure of the noun phrase. The first three subsections look at noun phrases with a single nominal head, and with no case marking or no possessive constituents, while §3.4.4 will look briefly at coordinate noun phrases. (Relative clauses are discussed in §8.1.)

3.4.1 Overview of NP structure

When the head of a noun phrase is a pronominal form, it almost always occurs alone. Pronominal forms include independent and object pronouns (like *aarau* and *ñak* in example (63) below) as well as demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (in examples (64) and (65) respectively). NPs illustrating particular points are bracketed in examples in this section.

- (63) *Erau emtita-i [ñak] [aarau.]*
3DL.AR fear-TR me they.DL
'The two of them are frightened of me.'
- (64) *Nioñ upni [yüiki.]*
house good that.AN.SG
'That was a nice house.'
- (65) *Na ecta-i [di] aek?*
2SG.AR see-TR who you.SG
'Who did you see?'

Also included in this category are possessive constituents (i.e. possessive marker + suffix) used without a head noun (*uñi-mirau* in the example below) in a similar way to possessive pronouns like 'mine, yours' in English:

- (66) *Lecsei [uñi-mirau] ajourau añ imy-asuol...*
take.PL POSS.G-your.PL you.PL and COM-go.down
'You two, take yours down...'

Very rarely, a modifier may occur with a pronoun, as at the beginning of the following sentence:

- (67) *[Aattaj achei,] eris esej achei aattaj m-amen Anejoñ.*
they.TL only 3PLP three only they.TL ES-stay Aneityum
'Those three only, just the three of them lived in Aneityum.'

All noun phrases with noun heads may consist simply of a noun (though an animate subject is marked as such by a preceding *a*). Both subject and object NPs in (68) and (69) illustrate this pattern:

- (68) *Et alaṃod [nadiat] [injaa].*
 3SG.AR break day fowl
 'The rooster has broken the day (by crowing).'
- (69) *Et atid [nioṃ] [a Tagipe].*
 3SG.AR finish house S Tagipe
 'Tagipe finished (building) the house.'

However, noun phrases with noun heads may also contain one or more other words. The general structure of noun phrases (excluding possessive modification and relative clauses) is:

(INDEFINITE) + NOUN + (DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE) + (DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIER)

The various categories of pre- and post-modifiers will be discussed below.

3.4.2 Nominal premodification

The only premodifiers in a noun phrase are a number of INDEFINITE markers. Members of this category are:

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>tah, intah</i> | non-plural indefinite: 'a, one, a few' |
| <i>hal</i> | plural indefinite: 'some' |
| <i>ohowat</i> | dual definite animate: 'both' |
| <i>tak, intak</i> | alternative indefinite: 'the other, another' |

Examples:

- (70) [*Tah* nitai enaa] et iji m-ared-ji-pam.
 NONPL.INDEF thing this2.SG 3SG.AR stand ES-go-up-here
 'That's something standing there and coming up.'
- (71) Is ago [*hal* itai] aan is upni.
 3SG.P do PL.INDEF things (s)he P good
 'He did some things which were good.'
- (72) Era apan [aan] im [*ohowat* o-ṃaṃo-n]
 3PL.AR go (s)he and both DL-grandchild-his
 'He/she and both of his/her grandchildren went.'
- (73) An le era-n u [*intak* atimi] aak, pu mas aak.
 2SG.INCP take.SG LOC-its POSS.G other people you.SG FUT die you.SG
 'If you took it [fruit] from someone else's [tree], you would die.'

3.4.3 Nominal postmodification

The head noun may be followed by a descriptive phrase and a demonstrative modifier. A DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE may consist of a (non-demonstrative) modifier, a verb used adjectivally, a noun, or a verb or noun + modifier.

MODIFIERS form a class of words which can never occur as heads of noun or verb phrases: some occur as postmodifiers to nouns and verbs, while others occur only postnominally or only postverbally. Among the fairly small class of modifiers which occur in noun phrases are the following:

- asga* 'all'
achei 'only, just'
echim 'alone'
itooga 'foreign'
tintin 'smallish'

Examples:

- (74) *Ki apan a [nioñ tintin.]*
 1SG.INCP go LOC house smallish
 'I'm going to the toilet.'
- (75) *Era mas [a pikad asga.]*
 3PL.AR die S pig all
 'All the pigs died.'

The following examples show a stative verb used as a postmodifier to the head noun:

- (76) *Et ñan apam [a intaketha omrag.]*
 3SG.AR PF come S woman old
 'The old woman has come.'
- (77) *Alpa-i ñak [nelop mat.]*
 give-TR me club new
 'Give me a/the new club.'

There is one exceptional stative verb: *haklin* 'small'. It functions verbally in the normal way:

- (78) *Et haklin a kuri.*
 3SG.AR small S dog
 'The dog is small.'
- (79) *Is itiyi haklin nioñ.*
 3SG.P NEG small house
 'The house wasn't small.'

However, when used attributively, it does not occur in a descriptive phrase; rather, it is nominalised (by the normal process of nominalisation), deletes the final *n*, and forms the first element of a compound, the second being the noun which it describes:

- (80) *in-hakli-kuri* **kuri haklin*
 N-small-dog dog small
 'a small dog, a puppy'
- (81) *in-haklin-ioñ* **nioñ haklin*
 N-small-house house small
 'a small house'

The most frequent nominal modifiers are placenames, with most other cases of nominal modification being expressed by compounds rather than by free modifiers.

- (82) *inyiṗal* *Anejoṃ*
 story Aneityum
 ‘an Aneityumese story’

Verbs or nouns which modify a preceding noun may themselves take a following modifier:

- (83) *inpeke* *Anejoṃ* *asga*
 island Aneityum all
 ‘the whole island of Aneityum’
- (84) *intaketha* *omrag* *achei*
 woman old just
 ‘just an old woman’

DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIERS are formed by prefixing *e-* to demonstrative pronouns. This *e-* becomes *i-* either when immediately followed by a palatal consonant or when the vowel in the next syllable is *i*. The demonstrative modifiers which have been recorded are listed in Table 3.4.9 In morpheme glosses, proximate, intermediate and distant demonstrative modifiers are glossed as DEM1, DEM2 and DEM3 respectively.

Table 3.4: Demonstrative modifiers			
	Singular	Dual	Plural
Proximate	<i>iniṅki</i> <i>inii, iniñ</i>	<i>eraṅki</i> <i>eraaki, eraa</i>	<i>ijiṅki</i> <i>ijii, ijiñ</i>
Intermediate	<i>enaanai</i> <i>enaa, enai</i>		<i>ijeknaa</i>
Distant	<i>enaikou</i>	<i>eraṅkou</i> <i>erañ</i>	<i>ijeknaikou</i>
Anaphoric	<i>iyiiki</i> <i>iyii</i>	<i>eraaki</i>	<i>ijiiki</i> [recent] <i>ijekeñ</i> [distant]

Examples (with demonstratives underlined) are:

- (85) *intas* *alep* *iniñ*
 talk keep DEM1.SG
 ‘this law’
- (86) *ohowat* *o-māṗo-n* *eraaki*
 both DL-grandchild-his DEM.ANDL
 ‘both those grandchildren of his’

⁹ Note that the dual intermediate and all trial demonstrative modifiers are missing from the table. Although I have recorded (some of) the demonstrative pronouns in these categories, I have not observed the corresponding modifiers.

- (87) *nomrag iyii*
old.man DEM.AN.SG
'that old man'
- (88) *nioñ asga ijeknaikou*
house all DEM3.PL
'all those houses over there'

3.4.4 The coordinate noun phrase

Two noun phrases may be coordinated by either of the conjunctions *im* 'and' or *ka* 'or':

- (89) [*aan*] *im* [*ohowat o-māpō-n*]
(s)he and both DL-grandchild-his
'he/she and both of his/her grandchildren'
- (90) [*nagesga*] *ka* [*incopda*]
sun or rain
'sun or rain'

When more than two noun phrases are coordinated, the coordinating conjunction usually occurs only before the last. Example (91) is from a text where the original founders of Aneityum are loading goods onto a canoe before a flood comes:

- (91) *intal, nohos, inhau, nasiaj, hal itai et edevañ,*
taro banana cottonwood island.cabbage some things 3SG.AR like.this
nitai-awañ, im nahaji edou-aḡat
thing-plant and other ways-dark
'taro, banana, cottonwood, island cabbage, that sort of thing, seedlings, and other sacred objects'

3.5 Noun phrases with possessive constituents

In §3.2 above, I discussed the categorisation of most nouns into obligatorily and optionally possessed subclasses, and pointed out that most of the members of the obligatorily possessed subclass are possessed by a direct construction, while other nouns are possessed by indirect constructions. I will now discuss the grammar of possession in more detail.

3.5.1 Direct possession

DIRECT POSSESSION involves a suffix directly on to the possessed noun. When the possessor is a personal pronoun, this suffix is the appropriate possessive suffix from the list given in Table 3.1. For example:

- | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
| (92) | <i>nijma-k</i> | <i>nijma-ra</i> |
| | hand-my | hand-their.PL |
| | 'my hand' | 'their hands' |

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (93) | <i>etma-m̃</i>
father-your.SG
'your (SG) father' | <i>etma-mirau</i>
father-your.DL
'the father of you two' |
|------|--|--|

Obviously, since the pronominal suffix is phonologically bound to the possessed noun, all other post-modifiers follow it:

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (94) | <i>neri-n asga</i>
leaf-its all
'all its leaves' | <i>ohowat o-m̃aṗo-n eraaki</i>
both DL-grandchild-his DEM.AN.DL
'both of those grandchildren of his' |
|------|--|--|

When the possessor is not a personal pronoun, the possessed noun takes the CONSTRUCT SUFFIX *-i*, and the possessor follows this:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (95) | <i>etma-i di?</i>
father-CS who
'whose father?' | <i>nida-i nat enaa</i>
name-CS fellow DEM2.SG
'that fellow's name' |
|------|---|--|

The construct suffix coalesces with an immediately preceding short *i* as a single short *i*, and with an immediately preceding long *i* as a long *i*:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (96) | <i>risi-i di?</i> = /ri'si θi/
mother-CS who
'whose mother?' | <i>inlii-i nioṃ</i> /in"li: 'niom"/
inside-CS house
'the inside of the house' |
|------|--|---|

When the construct suffix is immediately followed by two consonants it is often completely deleted; in example (97), orthographic *inṗoded* is given in its underlying form, *nṗoded*:

- | | |
|------|--|
| (97) | <i>nida-i nṗoded</i> = /ni" θain'p"oθeθ/ or /"niθan'p"oθeθ/
name-CS bush.spirit
'the bush spirit's name' |
|------|--|

A postmodifier cannot follow the construct suffix. Thus *asga* 'all' in the following noun phrase can only modify *cai* 'trees', not *eri-i* 'leaves of':

- | | |
|------|---|
| (98) | <i>eri-i cai asga</i>
leaves-CS trees all
'the leaves of all the trees' |
| | <i>*eri-i asga cai</i>
leaves-CS all trees |

For a postmodifier to refer to noun with a construct suffix, the noun must be repeated in a following appositive phrase, with a pronominal suffix:

- | | |
|------|---|
| (99) | <i>eri-i cai, eri-ra asga</i>
leaves-CS trees leaves-their.PL all
'all the leaves of the trees' |
|------|---|

3.5.2 Indirect possession

With other nouns, a possessive or construct suffix is added to a POSSESSIVE MARKER rather than directly to the possessed noun, and this constituent follows the possessed noun phrase:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| (100) | <i>intal</i> | <i>inca-k</i> | <i>intal</i> | <i>inca-i</i> | <i>di?</i> |
| | taro | POSS.F-my | taro | POSS.F-CS | who |
| | | 'my taro' | | | 'whose taro?' |

In these constructions, post-modifiers to the possessed noun normally precede the possessive constituent:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| (101) | <i>pikad</i> | <i>alp̃as</i> | <i>iyiiki</i> | <i>uña-k</i> |
| | pig | big | DEM.AN.SG | POSS.G-my |
| | | | | 'that big pig of mine' |

The possessive markers are:

<i>inca-</i>	possession of food
<i>luña-</i>	possession of something to drink
<i>lida-</i>	possession of something to suck the juice from
<i>uña-</i>	possession of a customarily owned area of land or sea
<i>a, era-</i>	passive or subordinate possession
<i>u, uwu-</i>	general possession.

The semantics and morphophonemics of each of these is discussed below.

3.5.2.1 Food possession

The marker *inca-* is used when the possessed item is considered as food. Many such items, of course, can also be viewed as non-food, and this contrast is encoded by using a different possessive marker.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (102) | <i>intal</i> | <i>inca-k</i> | <i>intal</i> | <i>inca-i</i> | <i>Wanipi</i> |
| | taro | POSS.F-my | taro | POSS.F-CS | Wanipi |
| | | 'my taro (as food)' | | | 'Wanipi's taro (as food)' |
| (103) | <i>intal</i> | <i>uña-k</i> | <i>intal</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>Wanipi</i> |
| | taro | POSS.G-my | taro | POSS.G | Wanipi |
| | | 'my taro (as non-food)' | | | 'Wanipi's taro (as non-food)' |

In example (102), either the taro is cooked and the possessor is going to eat it, or else the reference is to uncooked taro which nevertheless the possessor has the intention of eating. In (103), on the other hand, the reference could be to a taro corm that the possessor is going to plant, or the taro that is growing in the possessor's taro-swamp, or taro that the possessor is taking to give to someone else – but it is not being looked at as something that the possessor is eating or is intending to eat in the immediate future.

3.5.2.2 *Drink possession*

In the same way, the marker *luña-* is used when the possessed item is considered as something to be drunk, as in examples (104) and (105), though nouns possessed in this way may also be possessed in other ways if the intention of drinking is not present, as in (106) and (107).

- (104) *neañ luña-ñ*
coconut POSS.D-your.SG
'your coconut (to drink)'
- (105) *inwai luña-i intaketha enaa*
water POSS.D-CS woman DEM2.SG
'that woman's water (to drink)'
- (106) *neañ inca-ñ*
coconut POSS.F-your.SG
'your coconut (as food)'
- (107) *inwai u intaketha enaa*
water POSS.G woman DEM2.SG
'that woman's water (not to drink)'

In example (104), you drank or are drinking (or are going to drink, etc.) the coconut, whereas in (106) you ate or are eating it. In (105), that woman drank or is drinking the water, whereas in (107) she used it or is using it for washing or cooking or for some purpose other than drinking.

'Drinking' is culturally defined. As in many other Oceanic languages, drink possession is used not just with liquids, but also with non-liquids which are nevertheless sloppy or juicy – such as watermelons, citrus fruit, ice-cream, and mangoes (though not with sugarcane, for which see §3.5.2.3). A very common expression during mango season is *luña-k!* '(that's) mine!', shouted when one hears a ripe mango fall from a tree.

3.5.2.3 *Juice possession*

The possessive marker *lida-* is used with nouns whose referents are things one sucks the juice out of, but without consuming the flesh in any way:

- (108) *neto lida-n*
sugarcane POSSJ-his
'hi(s)her sugarcane'
- (109) *nade-n lida-i inhalav*
breast-her POSSJ-CS baby
'the baby's breast'

In example (108), the possessor sees the sugarcane as a source of juice to be sucked (and not as something to be planted – *neto uwu-n*). Example (109) is interesting in that the breast is possessed directly by the mother (*nade-n*), and then indirectly as a source of milk to be sucked by the baby.

The only other nouns which I have recorded in this construction are *neded* ‘breast’ (which is not directly possessed) and *incoḗou* ‘k.o. coconut with sweet edible husk’.

3.5.2.4 Customary possession

The possessive marker *uñā-* marks a possession as being an area of land or sea which is customarily owned by the possessor:

- (110) *naworitai uñā-ra*
garden POSS.C-their.PL
‘their traditional garden land’
- (111) *injaḗ uñā-i elpu-Uje*
sea POSS.C-CS PL-Uje
‘the Uje people’s sea – i.e., that part of the sea over which the Uje people have traditional fishing rights’

That *uñā-* marks *customary* ownership of land, and not just simple possession or occupancy, can be seen from the following:

- (112) *naworitai uñā-k im nemnem uñā-k*
garden POSS.C-my and village POSS.C-my
‘my garden land and my village/place’
- (113) *naworitai uñā-k im nemnem uñā-k*
garden POSS.G-my and village POSS.G-my
‘my garden and my village/place’

In example (112), the reference is to that area of land over which I have traditional rights to make gardens, and to the place where I come from and where my ‘home’ village is. In (113), however, the reference is to some garden of mine which I have made somewhere, and to the place where I am staying – in neither case is the garden or the village *necessarily* on my own traditional land.

3.5.2.5 Passive/subordinate possession

Passive or subordinate possession uses the oblique preposition *a*, which has the form *era-* before a pronominal or construct suffix. Before nouns which are not *n-/in-* initial (and this includes indefinite plural nouns from which the *n-/in-* has been deleted), the form of this marker is *era-i*.

This construction is used in three different but related contexts. First, it is used with four kin terms:

- nataheñ* ‘<man> sister, father’s brother’s daughter, wife’s brother’s wife’
natañañ ‘<woman> brother, father’s brother’s son, husband’s sister’s husband’

- numulai* 'relative who has become related in a different way through a customarily incorrect marriage'¹⁰
inrainmu '<person, animal> sibling'

Second, passive/subordinate possession is used with some part terms – often those which are 'removable' or 'transitory' in some way (see Crowley 1995; Lynch 1992a):

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (114) | <i>inja era-k</i>
blood POSS.P-my
'my blood' | <i>inja era-i pikad</i>
blood POSS.P-CS pig
'the pig's blood' |
| (115) | <i>nalau era-n</i>
body.hair POSS.P-his
'his body hair, its feathers' | <i>nalau a intijga-n</i>
body.hair POSS.P ear-his
'his ear hair, the hair in his ears' |
| (116) | <i>nago era-n</i>
rim POSS.P-its
'its rim' | <i>nago a nagesga</i>
rim POSS.P sun
'the rim of the sun (e.g. at sunrise)' |
| (117) | <i>inla era-n</i>
light POSS.P-its
'its light' | <i>inla a immohoc</i>
light POSS.P moon
'the light of the moon' |
| (118) | <i>intapnes era-n</i>
lid POSS.P-its
'its lid' | <i>intapnes a p̄aila</i>
lid POSS.P pot
'the lid of the pot' |

Other part terms which are possessed in this way include:

- ingitjiñhos* '<coconut branch> midrib'
inlegeñhap '<coconut> branch'
inregrag '<outrigger> stanchion'
inreruhut 'lungs'
intin̄p̄añ 'mole'
nakoyag 'palm (of hand)'
nalago '<pig> large upper tusk'
nasjoa 'dandruff'
neduata 'backbone'
nelegrei 'tropical ulcer'
nerinoñoj 'spleen'
nijmañ '<canoe> outrigger'¹¹
ninagai 'fingernail, toenail'
nohoyañ 'shoulder-blade'

¹⁰ Traditionally, marriage was with one's cross-cousins, and so the term for 'nephew', for example, is the same as that for 'son-in-law'. If, however, my classificatory grandson marries my daughter, he is at one and the same time *ñapo-k* 'my grandson' and *nohowanig uña-k* 'my son-in-law'. The resulting confusion is resolved by referring to that man by neither term, but instead using the term *numulai*.

¹¹ This form is clearly historically, but not synchronically, related to the directly possessed part term *nijma-* 'hand, arm'.

Third, passive/subordinate possession is used when the possessor is the experiencer or sufferer of the possession; contrast the following:

- (119) *inyiḗal uñu-ṁ*
 story POSS.G-your.SG
 ‘your story’

- (120) *inyiḗal era-ṁ*
 story POSS.P-your.SG
 ‘your story’

Example (119) refers to a story you told or wrote; (120), on the other hand, refers to a story told about you.

3.5.2.6 General possession

Possessions which do not fit any of the preceding categories are possessed by the general possessive marker. The underlying form of this marker is probably *u-*, but it is morphophonemically highly irregular. When used with possessive suffixes, the commonest forms are as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Suffixed forms of the general possessive marker				
	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1INC		<i>u-jau</i>	<i>u-taj</i>	<i>u-ja</i>
1EXC	<i>uñá-k</i>	<i>uñi-mrau</i>	<i>uñi-mtaj</i>	<i>uñi-ma</i>
2	<i>uñu-ṁ</i>	<i>uñi-mirau</i>	<i>uñi-mitaj</i>	<i>uñi-mia</i>
3	<i>uwu-n</i>	<i>u-rau</i>	<i>uwu-ttaj</i>	<i>u-ra</i>

When used with nouns, the form is normally *u-*, but it is *uwu-* before a consonant cluster; note that the construct suffix is not used with *u*.

- (121) *inhal u pikad*
 child POSS.G pig
 ‘the pig’s piglets’

- (122) *inhal uwu njaa*
 child POSS.G fowl
 ‘the hen’s chicks’

In addition to the variation so far described, (a) in the third person singular, *owu-n* is sometimes used instead of *uwu-n*, and (b) all non-singular forms sometimes have an initial *o* (thus *ou-rau* as well as *u-rau* for the 3DL, for example).

3.6 Nominalisation

Verbs are nominalised by prefixing *n-* (*in-* before a consonant) – see §3.3.1. I have no examples of a verb + prefixes being nominalised, so it appears that nominalisation applies to verb roots or roots + suffixes only.

The following sentence includes a number of nominalisations:

- (123) *A n-atuṭun n-amen u natimi, eris wat amen aara wat anag,*
 T N-begin N-live POSS.G person 3PL.P T.P live they.PL T.P many
jai n-amen u atimi is tii n-amen upni, aṃ tii
 but N-live POSS.G people 3SG.P not.be N-live good and not-be
n-atau-jepe imi atimi.
 N-help-REC DAT people
 ‘When people first started living [on Aneityum], when there were a lot of them,
 people’s lives weren’t good, and there was no cooperation between people.’

The last nominalised verb in (123) is an example of a verb with a suffix (*n-atau-jepe*). Two of the nominalisations are followed by a possessive phrase (e.g. *n-amen u atimi*) and one is followed by a stative verb functioning as a modifier (*n-amen upni*).

Transitive verbs with their objects may also be nominalised, as the following examples illustrate:

- (124) *Is p̄ar atid n-epe-i ingeje-n a Nismocoṗ p̄ar alau-jhou.*
 3SG.P SEQ finish N-shave-TR chin-3SG S Nismocoṗ SEQ go.out-outside
 ‘Nismocoṗ finished shaving (lit. shaving his chin) and went outside.’
- (125) *Ti ago inhe akaja p̄ar ago tah nitai iniñ et*
 1INC.PL.INCP do what we.INC.PL SEQ do INDEF thing DEM1.SG 3SG.AR
upni va-i n-amenjina-i atimi ijii?
 good CAUS N-look.after-TR people DEM1.PL
 ‘What are we going to do which would be good to help these people?’

Nominalisation is used in both object and subject complements (see §8.5.2 and §8.5.3 below).

3.7 A note on placenames

Locative nouns were discussed above in §3.2.2, where it was mentioned that placenames form one subset. Hills and mountains tend to be seen as ‘things’ rather than as ‘places’, and are similar to other optionally possessed nouns in their internal structure (e.g. most begin with *n*). Rivers and streams are normally compounds, the first element of which is *inwai* ‘river, water’.

However, names for human settlements and other similar locations are different. They almost invariably begin with *a*, *i*, or *u*. For example, of the names of 56 ‘passages’ on the island,¹² 31 begin with *a* (and all but two of these with *an*), 17 with *i* and six with *u*. Matthew Spriggs (pers. comm.) collected a rather larger sample of 634 placenames in three districts (Anawonjai, Anawonse and Anejo), and his analysis reveals that about 55 per cent of these names are *a*-initial and around 25 per cent are *i*-initial.

¹² The term ‘passage’ (cf. Bislama *pasis*) refers to an entry through the fringing reef leading to an anchorage, which is often the site of a settlement.

The forms which are *an*-initial are often fairly transparent compounds, consisting of a LOC + an *n*-initial noun root (sometimes followed by an additional noun or verb):

Anelcauhāt	<	<i>a-nelcau-hat</i>	'at the stone canoe'
Anel̥p̥unpeke	<	<i>a-nel̥p̥u-inpeke</i>	'at the end of the island'
Anwaniwa	<	<i>a-inwai-aniwa</i>	'at the water of Aniwa'
Anahajinpeke	<	<i>a-nahaji-inpeke</i>	'at the other side of the island'
Anekrai	<	<i>a-nekrai</i>	'(at) the place of flying foxes'

That this analysis is correct (at least historically) can be seen from the name of the island itself: Anejoṃ is probably historically *a-n-ejoṃ*, since the inhabitants of the island call themselves *elpu-ejoṃ* (PL-Aneityum) 'Aneityumese'. (However, the root *Ejoṃ* does not occur separately, and there is no known meaning of it.)

The *i*-initial forms, on the other hand, are not nearly so morphologically transparent. Placenames like Inap, Ippii, Isia, Igerei, Ijases, and so on, can not be segmented in the same way as the *a*-initial forms. However, *i* is a widespread locative prefix in Oceanic languages, and also occurs prefixed to many placenames on neighbouring Tanna. There seems to be no productive use of *i* in this fashion in Anejoṃ, though it does occur in some recent compounds when preceding a placename, like the following:

- (126) *nohos-i-futuna*
 banana-i-Futuna
 'k.o. banana, brought from Futuna'
- (127) *intal-i-mari-ahii*
 taro-i-Mare-white
 'k.o. taro, brought from Mare (Loyalty Islands)'
- (128) *nioṃ-i-samoa*
 house-i-Samoa
 'Samoan-style house'

The *u*-initial placenames – like Umej, Uje, Uniad, Umuna, and Uphulec – are similarly morphologically opaque. The initial *u* may be related to the general possessive marker, or to the marginal Sye (Erromango) locational prefix *un-* (Crowley 1998:49-50).

4 Verb morphology and the verb phrase

Verbs are words which occur as the head of a verb phrase, and which may also occur as post-modifiers to a noun in a noun phrase. The category VERB thus includes what in many other languages are classified as adjectives, but there is no formal or functional basis for making this classification in Anejoñ. One might be tempted, for example, to describe a word like *alp̄as* ‘(be) big’ as an adjective, since it can occur both as the head of a VP and as a postmodifier to a noun in an NP:

- (1) [Et alp̄as] a pikad uñu-ñ.
 3SG.AR big S pig POSS.G-your.SG
 ‘Your pig is (getting) big.’
- (2) Era ñan atge-i [pikad alp̄as iyii] aara.
 3PL.AR PF kill-TR pig big DEM.AN.SG they.PL
 ‘They killed that big pig.’

However, one would be less tempted to describe *esjetetva* ‘forget completely’ in this way, and yet it also can occur in the post-modifier position:

- (3) [Et esjetetva] era-k a Keitadi.
 3SG.AR forget.completely GOAL-my S Keitadi
 ‘Keitadi completely forgot about me.’
- (4) Et ñan etha-ñ naifi uña-k [a intaketha esjetetva
 3SG.AR PF lose-TR knife POSS.G-my S woman forget.completely
enaa.]
 DEM2.SG
 ‘That very forgetful woman has lost my knife.’

4.1 Subclasses of verbs

The major distinction between different subclasses of verbs in Anejoñ is made on the basis of transitivity. Verbs are either intransitive, transitive, or ambi-transitive. These are discussed here, along with two quite unusual verbs.

4.1.1 Major subclasses based on transitivity

An INTRANSITIVE VERB is one which, in its underived form, can never take a following pronominal or NP object. For example:

- (5) *Era aco a elpu-taketha.*
 3PL.AR forage.for.shellfish S PL-woman
 'The women are foraging for shellfish'
- **Era aco nesgaamu a elpu-taketha.*
 3PL.AR forage.for.shellfish shellfish S PL-woman

Examples of intransitive verbs are:

<i>aco</i>	'forage for shellfish'
<i>epehtau</i>	'stumble, trip'
<i>amjeg</i>	'sleep'
<i>hag</i>	'eat (INTR)'
<i>erou</i>	'two'
<i>al̥pas</i>	'big, large'
<i>yet</i>	'arrive <in a place>'
<i>tii</i>	'not be, not exist (SG)'

A TRANSITIVE verb is one which is always transitive. It requires an object, either overtly expressed or, if deleted in context, nevertheless recoverable from that context:

- (6) *Et m̥an ciñ intal inca-k a di?*
 3SG.AR PF eat taro POSS.F-my S who
 'Who ate my taro?'
- **Et m̥an ciñ a di?*
 3SG.AR PF eat S who

The second sentence in example (6) is grammatical in context: e.g. if it were preceded in conversation by (7), then it would be acceptable, but only because the object *nitai-ciñ inca-k* 'my food' has been deleted under identity with the subject of the immediately preceding sentence.

- (7) *Nitai-ciñ inca-k yi eda?*
 thing-eat POSS.F-my 3SG.INCP where
 'Where's my food?'

The subclass of transitive verbs includes:

<i>ciñ</i>	'eat (TR)'
<i>awod</i>	'hit'
<i>alcajira-ñ</i>	'tie up'
<i>etha-ñ</i>	'put, put down'
<i>asji-i</i>	'shoot, stone'
<i>etca-i</i>	'touch'

An AMBI-TRANSITIVE verb is one which may function both transitively and intransitively. In the examples below, (8) is transitive with VOS order, (9) is intransitive with VS order.

- (8) *Ek atapnes necsi-i nioṃ añak.*
 1SG.AR close mouth-CS house I
 'I closed the door.'

- (9) *Et atapnes necsi-i nioṃ.*
 3SG.AR close mouth-CS house
 'The door is closed.'

The subclass of ambi-transitive verbs is fairly small, with only about 5 per cent of the verbs in my corpus belonging to it.¹ The following are examples of ambi-transitive verbs:

<i>atapnes</i>	'shut, close'
<i>ataktai</i>	'think, think about'
<i>asalgei</i>	'open'
<i>cedyañ</i>	'happy, happy with'
<i>inehen</i>	'scale <fish>'
<i>apitac</i>	'go afterwards, follow'
<i>atou</i>	'know, understand'
<i>ehlou</i>	'shine (on)'

One of the reasons the class of ambi-transitive verbs is quite small is that there are a number of intransitive/transitive pairs of verbs, the members of each pair being formally different from each other. The reason that the second sentence in example (6) above is ungrammatical is that *ciñ* 'eat' can only be used transitively; it is 'paired' with the verb *hag* 'eat', which can only be used intransitively:

- (10) *Et ṃanhag a di?*
 3SG.AR PF eat S who
 'Who has eaten?'

**Et ṃan hag intal inca-k a di?*
 3SG.AR PF eat taro POSS.F-my S who

In some cases, there is an obvious formal relationship between the members of the pair, even though that relationship may not be derivable from any productive morphology. For example:

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>aṃoñ</i>	'drink'	<i>aṃñii</i>	'drink'
<i>atjem</i>	'dive'	<i>etjem</i>	'dive for'
<i>ehe</i>	'rain'	<i>ahe-se</i>	'rain on' (-se = 'down')
<i>ehdelyek</i>	'<water> run out'	<i>ahdelyek</i>	'make <water> run out'
<i>eluaged</i>	'spit'	<i>agdei</i>	'spit out/on'
<i>emtac</i>	'be afraid'	<i>emtita-ñ</i>	'be afraid of'

In many other cases, however, there is no formal resemblance or relationship at all between the members of the pair:

¹ About 52 per cent of verbs in the corpus (which includes over 1500 verbs) are intransitive, while the remaining 43 per cent are transitive.

Intransitive		Transitive	
<i>hag</i>	'eat'	<i>ciñ</i>	'eat'
<i>acil</i>	'tell lies'	<i>ayik</i>	'lie to'
<i>nasjei</i>	'wake up'	<i>ahucñii</i>	'wake s.o. up'
<i>atpu</i>	'hide, be hidden'	<i>adenañ</i>	'hide <s.o. or s.t.>'

4.1.2 Subclasses of intransitive verbs

Although the majority of intransitive verbs belong to a general, residual, subclass, there are some smaller classes which are well-defined, and which need brief discussion here.

4.1.2.1 Quantifiers

The class of QUANTIFIERS includes the numerals and a few other verbs, which alone may take the multiplicative prefix *ec-* (e.g. *ec-erou* 'twice', *ec-ehed* 'how many times?', *ec-anag* 'many times'). The numerals are:

<i>ithii</i>	1	<i>meled, sikis</i>	6
<i>erou</i>	2	<i>meled-erou, seven</i>	7
<i>esej</i>	3	<i>meled-esej, et</i>	8
<i>emanohowan, fo</i>	4	<i>meled-emanohowan, nain</i>	9
<i>nijman, faiv</i>	5	<i>nijman-(n)ijman, ten</i>	10

It will be seen that, for all numerals above three, two forms are given, the second of which is derived ultimately from English; whether these come more immediately from Bislama, or whether they are the result of numeracy teaching in English, is difficult to decide. There has been considerable erosion of the numeral system since European contact (see Lynch & Spriggs 1995), and the original numerals for four and above are only vaguely remembered by some old people (and then not consistently by different people), and they are almost never used in normal speech.

Quantifiers may never immediately precede or follow a noun in a noun phrase, but must always occur as the verb of a relative clause following the noun to which they refer (see §8.1). The subject-tense marker used with a quantifier is normally in the same tense as that of the clause in which the noun occurs, and is always in the **singular** number:

- (11) *Erau mas natimi et erou.*
 3DL.AR die person 3SG.AR two
 'Two people died.'

The following two sentences are ungrammatical: (12) because the numeral *erou* is not in a relative clause and is not preceded by a subject-tense marker, and (13) because the subject-tense marker (*erau*) is dual and not singular:

- (12) **Erau mas natimi erou.*
 3DL.AR die person two
- (13) **Erau mas natimi erau erou.*
 3DL.AR die person 3DL.AR two

Numerals borrowed from Bislama behave in exactly the same way as indigenous numerals:

- (14) *Era mas natimi et et.*
 3PL.AR die person 3SG.AR eight
 'Eight people died.'

There is no productive morphology generating ordinal numerals. The verb *uhuṽ* 'lead, go in front, go before' can be used with the meaning 'first', but other ordinals are Bislama loans, like *nampatu* 'second', *nampatri* 'third' (from Bislama *nambatu*, *nambatri*).

4.1.2.2 Pseudo-transitive verbs

There is another set of intransitive verbs which do permit a semantic goal to be expressed, but this is marked by a case marker and is thus not an object NP.

One subset of these pseudo-transitive verbs uses the oblique case marker *a*, whose most common function is to mark location or direction. (The marker *a* takes the forms *era-* and *era-i* in certain contexts which will be discussed in §6.2.1.) For example:

- (15) *Nai ahajeg a-ntas u-ma aak ka a'o?*
 2SG.AR understand GOAL-language POSS.G-our.EXC.PL you.SG or no
 'Do you understand our language?'

Some other examples are listed below, each with a typical goal:

<i>aña (a nataheñ)</i>	'stare at (a girl)'
<i>adia (a-nya)</i>	'throw (a fishing-line)'
<i>arehed (era-i kofi)</i>	'stir (the coffee)'
<i>akuñ (era-i kava)</i>	'put (kava) in one's mouth'
<i>eh-tag (era-n)</i>	'go round (it), encircle (it)'
<i>isitu (era-k)</i>	'help (me)'

A second set of such verbs marks the goal with the case marker *va*, whose most common function is to mark cause phrases:

- (16) *Is ohos va ñak a natimarid.*
 3SG.P angry GOAL me S chief
 'The chief was angry at me.'

Other verbs which mark the goal in this way include:

<i>adum (vai kuri)</i>	'call (a dog)'
<i>ahedej (va ra)</i>	'whistle at (them)'
<i>arapan (vai pensil)</i>	'hold (a pencil)'
<i>egrinwai (va intas uwu-n)</i>	'interrupt (his talk)'
<i>ias (va-n)</i>	'watch out for (him)'

4.1.3 Subclasses of transitive verbs

Once again, while there is a large residual class of transitive verbs, there are a few smaller classes which can be defined.

4.1.3.1 Reflexive verbs

There are two kinds of reflexive verbs.² The first are formally reflexive (i.e. the object is always coreferential with the subject): in some cases (as with *ecje-i* 'hang oneself') they are also semantically reflexive, though in others (as with *adejha-ñ* 'breathe' or *arinca-i* 'be short-tempered') they are semantically active or stative with no semantic goal or patient:

- (17) *Et ecje-i yin aan.*
3SG.AR hang-TR him/her (s)he
'He/she hanged him/herself.'

- (18) *Et adejha-i yin aan.*
3SG.AR breathe-TR him/her (s)he
'He/she is breathing.'

Verbs of bodily elimination form the other subclass. They are reflexive when the subject is performing the action and there is no semantic goal; i.e. there is an object pronoun coreferential with the subject who is eliminating bodily waste.

- (19) *Ek ami-i ñak añaak.*
1SG.AR urinate-TR me I
'I am pissing.'

- (20) *Et ayid yin a puua.*
3SG.AR defecate him/her S grandpa/grandma
'Grandpa/Grandma is having a shit.'

Note that examples (19) and (20) do not mean that I urinated on myself or that Grandpa or Grandma has lost bowel control. To express this notion, the part of the body so affected has to be included, as a locative phrase:

- (21) *Ek ami-i ñak añaak a neduo-k.*
1SG.AR urinate-TR me I LOC leg-my
'I pissed on my leg.'

However, these verbs can also function as normal non-reflexive transitive verbs when the goal is not coreferential with the subject:

- (22) *Et ayid ñak a inman et ithii.*
3SG.AR defecate me S bird 3SG.AR one
'A bird shat on me.'

4.1.3.2 Possessive verbs

There is another subclass of transitive verbs in which the object is marked by suffixing a possessive pronoun or construct suffix to the verb.³ For example:

² I exclude from this category the verb *ispa-*, which has both reflexive and reciprocal functions, but which cannot stand alone as the only verb in a clause (see §4.1.4.2 below).

³ See Crowley (1998:123-126) for a discussion of a similar small subclass of verbs in Erromangan.

- (23) *Et auhora-k aan.*
 3SG.AR play.joke.on-my (s)he
 'He/she played a joke on me.'
- **Et auhora(-i) ñak aan.*
 3SG.AR play.joke.on(-TR) me (s)he
- (24) *Aluñña-i nat enaa aak.*⁴
 give.to.drink-CS fellow DEM2.SG you.SG
 'Give that fellow a drink.'

This subclass of verbs includes the reflexive verb *ispa-* (for more details on which see §4.1.4.2 below) and also:

<i>aluñña-</i>	'give to drink'
<i>ala-</i>	'feed, give to eat'
<i>apeñimoño-</i>	'be determined'
<i>athamta-</i>	'give <a present to>'
<i>ati-netha-</i>	'lie on one side, walk side on'
<i>auhora-</i>	'play a joke on'
<i>imy-actanece-</i>	'jump for joy'
<i>lilejhe-</i>	'want to eat more'

In some cases at least, these verbs are (historical) compounds, the final element of which is a directly possessed noun or a possessive marker; for example:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (25) | <i>apeñimoño-</i> | 'be determined' | cf. <i>inmoño-</i> | 'liver' |
| | <i>lilejhe-</i> | 'want to eat more' | cf. <i>nejhe-</i> | 'tooth' |
| | <i>aluñña-</i> | 'give to drink' | cf. <i>luñña-</i> | drink possessive marker |

4.1.3.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs take two objects, neither of which is marked by a case marker. The prototypical ditransitive verb is *alpa-i* 'give':

- (26) *Alpa-i ñak neto enaa aak!*
 give-TR me sugarcane DEM2.SG you.SG
 'Give me that sugarcane!'
- (27) *Is alpa-i nat enaa naifi uñu-ñ a Nagaipen.*
 3SG.P give-TR fellow DEM2.SG knife POSS.G-your.SG S Nagaipen
 'Nagaipen gave that fellow your knife.'

Other members of this class include some of the possessive verbs discussed above, like *ala-* 'feed, give to eat':

⁴ There is a problem of homophony here between the construct suffix *-i* and the transitive suffix *-i*. However, when the object is a pronoun, the possessive-marking is clear: *aluñña-k* 'give me a drink', not **aluñña-i ñak*.

- (28) *Ala-k tah pisket aak!*
 give.to.eat-my INDEF biscuit you.SG
 'Give me a biscuit!'

Aluṃa- 'give to drink' and *lilejhe*- 'want to eat more' also belong to this class.

4.1.3.4 Impersonal verbs

There are a couple of transitive verbs which can be classed as impersonal. The following will illustrate this:

- (29) *Et etele ṇak.*
 3SG.AR be.hungry me
 'I'm hungry.'
- (30) *Et acni ṇak va naca.*
 3SG.AR tired me CAUS work
 'I'm tired out from working.'

With these verbs, the experiencer is the object, and there is no overt NP subject; the verb is indexed for 3SG.

4.1.4 Two unusual verbs

This section will examine the existential and reflexive/reciprocal verbs, whose behaviour is somewhat unusual. (A third 'unusual' verb, *alaṇ* 'go along', will be discussed in §6.6.)

4.1.4.1 The existential verb *yek*

The existential verb *yek* is highly unusual in a number of ways. Its root varies formally for number: *yek* is used in the singular, *rak* in the dual and trial, and *sjek* (becoming *jek* utterance-initially or after a consonant) in the plural. Subject-tense markers are not used with this verb, though some aspect-mood markers may precede *yek*. Pronoun subjects normally follow this verb. Noun phrase subjects, which regularly follow other verbs, normally precede *yek* but are not marked with the subject marker *a*.

When used as the sole verb in a sentence, *yek* refers to location in a place:

- (31) *Tah intaketha yek a-nlii-i nioṃ.*
 INDEF woman exist.SG LOC-inside-CS house
 'There's a woman in the house.'
- (32) *Rak aarau aaki ka a'o?*
 exist.DL they.DL there or no
 'Are the two of them there (or not)?'

Yek may also be followed by a second clause containing a 'normal' verb. In that case, the implication is that the subject is in a place performing the action or experiencing the state of the second verb. Contrast examples (33) and (34):

- (33) *Era tañ a hal taketha.*
 3PL.AR cry S some women
 'Some women are crying.'
- (34) *Hal taketha sjek era tañ.*
 some women exist.PL 3PL.AR cry
 'There are some women crying.'/'Some women are there crying.'

That *yek* may be used with at least some preverbal aspect-mood markers can be seen from the following:

- (35) *Injaṇ ṁan yek et ṁan apam.*
 sea PF exist.SG 3SG.AR PF come
 'There's the sea coming already.'
- (36) *Ṣar yek imrañ.*
 SEQ exist.SG tomorrow
 '[It] will still be there tomorrow.'

However, *yek* cannot be used with the negative preverbal marker *itiyi*. The fact that something is not in a place is encoded by the 'normal' intransitive verb *tii* 'not to be (SG)':

- (37) *Et tii a intaketha a-nlii-i nioñ.*
 3SG.AR not.be S woman LOC-inside-CS house
 'The woman is not in the house.'
- *Tah intaketha itiyi yek a-nlii-i nioñ.*
 INDEF woman NEG exist.SG LOC-inside-CS house

Similarly, conjoined clauses like (34) can not be negativised by preposing *itiyi* to *yek*, but follow the normal pattern of negation:

- (38) *Era itiyi tañ a elpu-taketha.*
 3PL.AR NEG cry S PL-women
 'The women aren't crying.'
- *Hal taketha itiyi sjek era tañ.*
 some women NEG exist.PL 3PL.AR cry

However, negative marking may occur in the second, regular, clause:

- (39) *Hal taketha sjek era itiyi tañ.*
 some women exist.PL 3PL.AR NEG cry
 'There were women there (but) they were not crying.'

The existential verb bears a strong formal resemblance to the anaphoric demonstrative pronouns, as shown below:

Existential verb		Anaphoric demonstrative	
<i>yek</i>	singular	<i>yiki</i>	singular
<i>rak</i>	dual	<i>raaki</i>	dual
<i>sjek</i>	plural	<i>jiiki, jeken</i>	plural

It may be that the existential verb is a verbalisation of the demonstratives, which might explain its irregularity.

It may also be that the system was once even more complex than I have described. In his manuscript grammar, Capell (n.d.:9), while not recording the dual and plural forms *rak* and *sjek*, did indicate some person variation: "...the particle *yek* marks the third singular equation, like *ap* and *ak* for first and 2nd persons respectively". He gives the following examples (transliterated into the orthography used in this grammar):

- (40) *Añak ap añki.*
I exist.1SG here2.AN
'Here I am.'

- (41) *Aek ak eda?*
you.SG exist.2SG where
'Where are you?'

I have not recorded either of these forms.

4.1.4.2 The reflexive/reciprocal verb *is̄pa-*

The reflexive is marked by the possessive verb *is̄pa-*, which takes a possessive suffix coreferential with the subject (and, of course, the object).⁵ This constituent is then immediately followed in a serial construction by the 'content' verb. Preverbal particles occur before *is̄pa-*, while the object (either pronominal or noun phrase) and the subject follow the second verb in the series.

- (42) *Is ñan is̄pa-ra atge-i ra aara.*
P PF REFL-their kill-TR them.PL they.PL
'They had already killed themselves.'
- (43) *Et is̄pa-n edel aan.*
3SG.AR REFL-its grow it
'It grew by itself (i.e. nobody planted it).'
- (44) *An is̄pa-ñ atge-c aak ka?*
2SG.INCP REFL-your.SG kill-you.O you.SG or
'Will you kill yourself?'

When the subject/object is non-singular, *is̄pa-* may also have a reciprocal function – in fact, this is the commonest reading in this situation, though a reflexive reading may be possible as well:

- (45) *Erau is̄pa-rau atge-i rau aarau.*
3DL.AR REFL-their.DL kill-TR them.DL they.DL
'The two of them killed each other.' (or, just possibly, 'Both of them committed suicide.')

⁵ With the first person singular, both the possessive and the object form have been observed: i.e. both *is̄pa-k* and *is̄pa ñak*. *Is̄pa-* is formally cognate and functionally similar to the Erromangan reflexive auxiliary verb *ehpe* (Crowley 1998:126-127).

- (46) *Erau itiyi lep ika eri lep ispa-rau atge-i*
 3DL.AR NEG again try 3DL.INCP again REFL-their.DL kill-TR
rau aarau.
 them.DL they.DL
 'They didn't try to kill each other again.'

A reciprocal rather than a reflexive sense can be ensured when the verb in such a construction also takes one of the random directional suffixes *-sjipe* or *-sjepe* (see §4.2.5 below):

- (47) *Erau ispa-rau aloñ-jepe rau aarau.*
 3DL.AR REFL-their.DL look-random them.DL they.DL
 'The two of them looked at each other.'

4.2 Verb morphology

4.2.1 Derivational morphology

4.2.1.1 Initial vowels

The vast majority of verbs in Anejoñ begin with a vowel, as the approximate figures in Table 4.1 based on entries in the dictionary in press show. Like noun-initial *n-*, this vowel is an historical accretion (see Lynch 1992b), which is now part of the citation form of the root:

Table 4.1: Initial segments of Anejoñ verbs	
Verb-initial phoneme	Percentage
all vowels	87%
<i>a</i>	52%
<i>e</i>	20%
<i>i</i>	9%
<i>o</i>	4%
<i>u</i>	2%
all consonants	13%

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (48) | Proto Oceanic | Anejoñ | |
| | <i>*kali</i> | <i>a/cjii</i> | 'dig' |
| | <i>*kaRaka</i> | <i>a/crac</i> | 'crawl' |
| | <i>*kona</i> | <i>i/cnii</i> | 'poison <fish>' |
| | <i>*maqurip</i> | <i>u/mu</i> | 'be alive' |
| | <i>*matakut</i> | <i>e/mtac</i> | 'be afraid' |
| | <i>*puaq</i> 'fruit' | <i>o/hou</i> | 'bear fruit' |
| | <i>*rua</i> | <i>e/rou</i> | 'two' |
| | <i>*toka</i> | <i>a/tec</i> | 'sit' |

Unlike noun-initial *n-*, this accreted vowel seems to have no synchronic function whatever: it is always part of the verb root, being deleted only in some compounds and formulaic expressions. It is possible (Lynch forthcoming) that the accreted vowel is the vowel of the POC article, and that verbs were reanalysed as being denominalisations. For example, POC

**matakut* 'be afraid' is nominalised in Anejoñ as *nemtac* 'fear'; the process of denominalisation, by which only the *n* of the original article was removed (cf. §3.3.2), would have yielded *emtac*. This may explain the presence of a vowel which has no obvious function (and also its absence in some verbs, like **mate* 'die', nominalised as *inmas* 'death', then denominalised as *mas* 'die').

There are some pairs of verbs which are semantically identical and differ only in the initial vowel:

(49)	<i>ajgañ</i>	<i>ejgañ</i>	'wait for'
	<i>asgiñ</i>	<i>esgiñ</i>	'lean against, trust'
	<i>asjii</i>	<i>isjii</i>	'shoot, stone'
	<i>atleg</i>	<i>etleg</i>	'swallow'
	<i>esjii</i>	<i>isjii</i>	'fish with net'

There is also a large number of pairs of verbs which are semantically very similar, though not identical, and which differ formally only in the presence or absence, or in the nature, of the initial vowel:⁶

(49)	<i>acsei</i>	'saw'	<i>ecsei</i>	'chip, chop'
	<i>ahcil</i>	'<SG> join roughly'	<i>ehcil</i>	'<PL> join roughly'
	<i>ihcilihcil</i>	'join wood w. rope'		
	<i>ahlek</i>	'seek, look for'	<i>ehlek</i>	'pick lice'
	<i>ahnii</i>	'extinguish'	<i>ihnii</i>	'finish completely'
	<i>ahtedelyek</i>	'make <water> run out'	<i>ehtedelyek</i>	'<water> run out'
	<i>ajcei</i>	'hang <s.t.> up'	<i>ejcei</i>	'hang <self>'
	<i>aji</i>	'<animate> stand'	<i>iji</i>	'<inanimate> stand'
	<i>alañ</i>	'call to'	<i>elañelañ</i>	'bark, crow'
	<i>alec</i>	'roll, wrap, coil'	<i>ilec</i>	'lasso'
	<i>alwa</i>	'be multi-coloured'	<i>elwa</i>	'flower, bloom'
	<i>asjec</i>	'lie down'	<i>esjec</i>	'sleep/stay at'
	<i>asvii</i>	'break by bending'	<i>isvii</i>	'break <s.t. small>'
	<i>ate</i>	'flow underground'	<i>ete</i>	'sink, drown (INTR)'
	<i>atec</i>	'sit'	<i>etec</i>	'be, stay'
	<i>atgiñ</i>	'put s.t. across s.t.'	<i>etgiñ</i>	'lie across s.t.'
	<i>athii</i>	'cut s.t. off s.t.'	<i>ithii</i>	'cut into strips'
	<i>athiiathii</i>	'one by one'	<i>ithii</i>	'one'
	<i>atiritu</i>	'block'	<i>etiritu</i>	'be blocked'
	<i>atjem</i>	'dive'	<i>etjem</i>	'dive for'
	<i>atjuu</i>	'go down'	<i>etjuu</i>	'fall'
	<i>atnii</i>	'light <lamp+>'	<i>itnii</i>	'shine a light on'
	<i>attit</i>	'tie in reef-knot'	<i>ettit</i>	'repair <net>'

⁶ This list is reasonably complete, in case other scholars want to try to solve the problem. I have included only verbs which are phonologically identical apart from the vowel in question (though I have also included cases where one form is reduplicated and the other is not). There are still other cases where there is a minor variation in form, like *ahlii* 'burn (tr)', *elili* 'burn <bush>', *ihlili* 'burn, singe'.

<i>cas</i>	'burn'	<i>acas</i>	'<s.t. sharp-tasting> bite'
<i>coho</i>	'difficult'	<i>acoho</i>	'be tentative'
<i>ecnii</i>	'<kava> make s.o. drunk'	<i>icnii</i>	'poison'
<i>edevañ</i>	'<s.t. distant> be like'	<i>idivañ</i>	'<s.t. near> be like'
<i>henhen</i>	'warm up'	<i>ahenhen</i>	'be too hot for'

There are also a couple of verbs which fit this pattern, except that the meanings are near-antonyms:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--|----------------|--|
| (51) | <i>adejhañ</i> | 'breathe' | <i>edejhañ</i> | '<wind> stop blowing' |
| | <i>anah</i> | '<spirit> leave place where its body died' | <i>enah</i> | '<spirit> remain in place where its body died' |

It is difficult, on the basis of the data above, to propose any phonological, semantic or grammatical fact which correlates with the presence or absence of a vowel, or with the presence of, say, *a* as opposed to *e*.

Verbs tend to be 'basic' in modern Anejoñ (despite my theory of historical denominationalisation referred to above). That is, while a large number of nouns, for example, are derived from verbs by prefixing *n*-, very few verbs are synchronically derived from lexical items belonging to other word classes. There are a few exceptions to this generalisation, like:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (52) | <i>luña-</i> | marker of drink possession | <i>aluña-</i> | 'give to drink' |
| | <i>nev-</i> | 'which?' | <i>anev</i> | 'identify, say which one' |
| | | | <i>anv-i</i> | 'name, identify, give a name to' |

and there is another group of motion verbs derived by prefixing *a* to certain directional particles, all of which are *p*- or *p̃*-initial:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (53) | <i>pahai</i> | 'inland' | <i>apahai</i> | 'go inland' |
| | <i>p̃ok</i> | 'seaward' | <i>ap̃ok</i> | 'go seaward' |
| | <i>pam</i> | 'towards speaker' | <i>apam</i> | 'come' |
| | <i>pan</i> | 'away from' | <i>apan</i> | 'go' |

Mention should be made here of the two pairs of verbs *ham* 'arrive here', *apam* 'come', and *han* 'arrive there', *apan* 'go'. These also show prefixation of *a*-, but as well there is a change from *h* to *p* (found also in the pair *hanid* 'go where?', *panid* 'which one?'). Note, however, that *h* derives from Proto Oceanic **p*, while *p* derives from **b* or **m* + *p*, so there is at least a historical connection between the members of each pair. Thus the verb *han* comes from Proto Oceanic **pano* 'go'; *apan* presumably derives from something like **a-m-pano*.

Verbs borrowed from Futuna have come in with a fused initial vowel, usually *a* but sometimes *e* or *o*:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---|--------------------------|
| (54) | <i>afakamana</i> | 'imitate action humorously' | < Futuna <i>fakamana</i> |
| | <i>afakateno</i> | 'use as a reference point in navigation' | < Futuna <i>fakatono</i> |
| | <i>aputu</i> | 'bring <pig+> to funeral or marriage feast' | < Futuna <i>putu</i> |
| | <i>arapakau</i> | 'skilful' | < Futuna <i>rapakau</i> |
| | <i>efaga</i> | 'crooked, bent as a bow' | < Futuna <i>faga</i> |
| | <i>ofono</i> | 'eat food after drinking kava' | < Futuna <i>fono</i> |

While the commonest form of this non-productive verb-formative seems to be *a-*, as we have seen, Bislama verbs borrowed into Anejoŋ either come in essentially unchanged (like *taanes* 'dance', *vot* 'vote' or *win* 'win', from Bislama *danis*, *vot* and *win*), or else take an initial *e-*:

- (55) *ekomplen* 'complain' < Bislama *komplen*
ekonfiusim 'confuse s.o.' < Bislama *konfiusim*
eplei 'play' < Bislama *plei*, *pleplei*
etrog 'be drunk' < Bislama *drong*

However, this process of vowel-prefixation is not productive in the same way as the formation of nouns by the prefixation of *n-*.

Compounding is also a productive derivational process. A discussion of the grammar and morphophonemics of compounding (of both nouns and verbs) can be found in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.2 Other derivational prefixes

There are two other derivational affixes:

- ehev(a)-* interrogative
awo- causative

Interrogative prefix *ehev(a)-*

This is a semi-productive prefix; it has the form *eheva-* before a consonant and *ehev-* (often further reduced to *ehv-*) before a vowel. It is used with a small number of verbs, and encodes the question 'how?' or 'how to?':

- (56) *Ek ehev-adena-ñ añak?*
 1SG.AR how-hide-TR I
 'How will I hide it?'

This prefix may be related to the interrogative verb *ehevan* 'be of what family?', 'be of what relationship?', illustrated in the following example:

- (57) *Nai ehevan aek im natimi enaa?*
 2SG.AR be.related.how you.SG and person DEM2.SG
 'How are you and that person related (to each other)?'

Causative prefix *awo-*

This prefix, which occurs as *awor-* before a vowel (see §2.7.2), is also only semi-productive. It occurs before some nouns, converting them to transitive verbs:

- (58) *Et awo-lele-k intakitai.*
 3SG.AR CAUS-heart-my spirit
 'A spirit made me mad.'
- (59) *Ki awo-nev-edou era-n añak?*
 1SG.INCP CAUS-Q-way GOAL-it.O I
 'In what way will I do it?' (i.e. 'I will cause it to be how?')

It is also used before some stative or intransitive verbs:

- (60) *Et awor-upni vai cja aan.*
 3SG.AR CAUS-good GOAL us.INC.PL he
 'He does good things for us.'

There appears to be a phonologically related fossilised prefix *awoty-* with a similar function:

- awoty-ataheñ* 'perform in the manner of a woman' (cf. *nataheñ* 'female')
awoty-imlimi 'make <s.t.> dirty' (cf. *imlimi* 'be dirty')
awotyemtaamtac 'show off'
awotyakaka 'make <s.o.> even more angry'

In the last two examples, the roots **emtaamtac* and **akaka* apparently do not occur (though the former bears some formal resemblance to the verb *emtac* 'fear').

Neither of these prefixes, as I said, is fully productive in the language. I mentioned above the POc causative prefix **paka-*, but its reflex in Anejoñ is only used in a multiplicative sense. The Southern Vanuatu languages generally have lost the morphological marking of causative, and instead use lexical or auxiliary verbs to encode this (see e.g. Crowley 1998:193 for Sye). Causativity in Anejoñ is most often encoded with the verb *ago* 'do, make'. The verb so causativised may immediately follow *ago* in a kind of serial construction:

- (61) *Ek ago cap napelmai enaa aña.*
 1SG.AR make red clothes DEM2.SG I
 'I dyed these clothes red.'

On the other hand, it may occur in its own fully specified complement clause:

- (62) *Ek ago napelmai enaa aña et cap.*
 1SG.AR make clothes DEM2.SG I 3SG.AR red
 'I dyed these clothes red.'

4.2.2 Inflectional prefixes

Inflectional prefixes are listed below; the vowel in parentheses is present before a consonant but is deleted before a following vowel.

- imy(i)-* comitative
er(i)- mutual action/multiple subject
ec- multiplicative

Each of these is discussed below.

Comitative prefix *imy(i)-*

The prefix *imy(i)-* has as its basic function the marking of comitative action. With non-motion verbs, it implies an action carried out together, by a group (though it does not have the function of marking *concerted* action, for which see the discussion on *eri-* below):

- (63) *Is man imyi-tas-tas aarau, m-ika...*
 P PF COM-REDUP-talk they.DL ES-say
 'They talked together (or to each other), saying...'

- (64) *Is ecohos pan aan ehele-n aĩm imy-ecej yin.*
 3SG.P appear away he COM-his and COM-invite.to.accompany him
 'He appeared in front of him and asked him to go with him.'

With motion verbs, *imy(i)-* conveys a sense of moving with something or someone:

- (65) *Is lep aktaktai a Paralelcai m-ika yu mu imy-aduñoj*
 3SG.P again think S Paralelcai ES-say 3SG.INCP HORT COM-return
Napeio a-nworen uwu-n.
 Napeio LOC-place POSS.G-his
 'Paralelcai again thought about whether Napeio should go back with him to his place.'

This usage is particularly common after verbs of holding or carrying, indicating the direction in which the thing is taken:

- (66) *Le inpas uña-k aak imy-apan.*
 take.SG axe POSS.G-my you.SG COM-come
 'Bring my axe.' (i.e. 'Take my axe and come with it.')

A fuller discussion of the syntax of *imy(i)-* + verb can be found in Chapter 7.

Mutual/multiple prefix *er(i)-*

The mutual or concerted action prefix *er(i)-* implies that the actors are performing the action as a group or in some concerted manner:

- (67) *Eris ñan lep er-atga aara ñan lep apan a nemnem.*
 3PL.P FF again MUT-walk they.PL FF again go LOC house
 'They all walked off together and went home.'
- (68) *Era eri-tas aara asga.*
 3PL.AR MUT-talk they.PL all
 'They all spoke as one.'/'They all spoke with one voice.'

The prefix *er(i)-* may occur on a singular verb when there is a coordinate NP subject consisting of a singular pronoun conjoined with a noun phrase:

- (69) *Ek er-aji anak im Lui.*
 1SG.AR MUT-stand I and Lui
 'Lui and I stood up together.'/'I stood up together with Lui.'

Earlier sources (Capell and Inglis, for example) gave this prefix as *ehr(i)-*. Since Anejom̃ *h* is the regular reflex of POc **p*, this prefix reflects the POc reciprocal or mutual action prefix **paRi-* with, however, the addition of an initial vowel (suggesting that it may possibly have been a verb at one stage?). However, there is no evidence of this *h* in the modern language.

Multiplicative prefix *ec-*

This prefix was mentioned above in §4.1.2 above. It occurs only with quantifiers, and indicates the number of times something was done:

- (70) *Is ec-anag ago narapakau iyiiki aan.*
 3SG.P MULT-many make fashion DEM.AN.SG (s)he
 'He behaved like this many times.'

This prefix was written as *ehc-* in earlier sources, suggesting that it derives from the POc causative prefix **paka-*, only one of whose functions was to mark multiplicatives; but as with *er(i)-*, there is no *h* in the modern form.

4.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is not highly productive in Anejoñ, but when it does occur it has the not unexpected functions of marking durative or repetitive action, intensity, diminution, or plurality; occasionally it brings about a change of transitivity. Complete reduplication is the commonest pattern.

- (71) *Eris erop̃ aara.*
 3PL.P slow they.PL
 'They were slow.'
- (72) *Eris erop̃-erop̃ aara.*
 3PL.P REDUP-slow they
 'They were too/very slow.'
- (73) *Et eded a inhalav enaa.*
 3SG.AR suck S baby DEM2.SG
 'That baby is sucking (at his/her mother's breast).'
- (74) *Et eded-eded a inhalav enaa.*
 3SG.AR REDUP-suck S baby DEM2.SG
 'That baby is always sucking (at his/her mother's breast).'

Some other examples include:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (75) | <i>acal</i> | 'be crooked' | <i>acal-acal</i> | 'twist' |
| | <i>adiat</i> | 'be daylight' | <i>adiat-adiat</i> | 'be midday, be bright and sunny' |
| | <i>aiyañ</i> | 'pull (up)' | <i>aiyañ-aiyañ</i> | 'jiggle <fish on line>' |
| | <i>alañ</i> | 'go along' | <i>alañ-alañ</i> | 'walk in single file' |
| | <i>arac</i> | '<fish> wriggle when hooked' | <i>arac-arac</i> | 'limp, hobble' |
| | <i>avak</i> | 'bend down' | <i>avak-avak</i> | 'walk in bent position' |
| | <i>elad</i> | 'look in certain direction' | <i>elad-elad</i> | 'look all around' |
| | <i>etec</i> | 'stay' | <i>etec-etec</i> | '<food> make s.o. want more' |
| | <i>ilmu</i> | '<cow> moo' | <i>ilmu-ilmu</i> | '<thunder> rumble' |
| | <i>ousal</i> | 'be muddy' | <i>ousal-ousal</i> | 'be extremely muddy' |

Some other forms can be considered as exhibiting complete reduplication except that, while the unduplicated form has an initial vowel, the reduplicated form loses this:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (76) | <i>aces</i> | 'bite' | <i>ces-ces</i> | 'taste, nibble' |
| | <i>aged</i> | 'write' | <i>ged-ged</i> | 'scribble, scrawl' |
| | <i>ahedej</i> | 'whistle shrilly' | <i>hedej-hedej</i> | 'whistle continuously' |
| | <i>ahen</i> | 'roast' | <i>hen-hen</i> | 'warm up' |

There are also, however, a number of cases of partial reduplication, like:

- (77) *Et elehel.*
3SG.AR blow
'The wind is blowing.'
- (78) *Et el-elehel.*
3SG.AR REDUP-blow
'The wind is blowing gently.'

In the data below which further illustrate this, it will be seen that there is a tendency to favour prefixed reduplication (the last example showing an interesting semantic change):

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| (79) | <i>ahuñau</i> | 'weak' | <i>ahuñ-huñau</i> | 'become weak' |
| | <i>alai</i> | 'swell up' | <i>al-alai</i> | 'fat, thick' |
| | <i>arehed</i> | 'go around' | <i>ar-arehed</i> | 'be round' |
| | <i>epev</i> | '<SG> stink' | <i>ep-epev</i> | '<PL> stink' |
| | <i>isjii</i> | 'stone' | <i>isj-isjii</i> | 'knock at door; <rain> spatter' |
| | <i>tinau</i> | 'stop crying' | <i>tin-tinai</i> | 'stop breathing' |

Some cases of partial reduplication involve loss of the verb-initial vowel in the second element:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| (80) | <i>ahen</i> | 'roast' | <i>ahen-hen</i> | '<fire> heat, be too hot for' |
| | <i>ateke</i> | 'jump around' | <i>ateke-teke</i> | '<boxer, dancer> weave all around' |
| | <i>ijiñis</i> | 'above, high' | <i>ijiñ-jñis</i> | 'shallow' |

There are some cases where a verb occurs in both unreduplicated and reduplicated forms, but where apparently any earlier semantic or syntactic distinction has been lost. For example:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|------------------------|--|
| (81) | <i>aces</i> | <i>aces-aces</i> | 'sing' |
| | <i>acsei</i> | <i>acsei-acsei</i> | 'saw' |
| | <i>adum</i> | <i>adum-adum</i> | 'call <a dog>' |
| | <i>han</i> | <i>han-han</i> | 'be enough for, fit inside' |
| | <i>ijimñiv</i> | <i>ijimñiv-ijimñiv</i> | '<whale+> cause water to drain off when surfacing' |
| | <i>redei</i> | <i>redei-redei</i> | 'cut <grass>' |

There are also numerous cases of fossilised reduplication, where a reduplicated form exists but where apparently there is no corresponding unreduplicated form (at least with a related meaning). Some of these fossilised forms involve complete reduplication, with examples given in (82a), while in others, exemplified in (82b), the fossilised reduplication is partial:⁷

⁷ Note that in a couple of cases here the reduplication seems to be suffixed rather than prefixed.

- (82)a. *achii-achii* 'rub against, cuddle' **achii*
adcen-adcen 'be clean' **adcen*
asji-asji '<pulse+> beat' **asji*
oplec-oplec 'shatter, disintegrate' **oplec*
- b. *aht-ahtii* 'drip' **ahtii*
ajid-jid 'inspect' **ajid*
ecr-ecrañ 'shake <tree to get fruit>' **ecrañ*
epjed-jed 'short' **epjed*
etj-etjei 'stare at' **etjei*
eyeked-ked 'unroll <mat>, slacken <net>' **eyeked*
isg-isgi '<sea> ripple when undertow
meets incoming wave' **isgi*

4.2.4 Transitive and object suffixes

Apart from the small subclass of verbs which take possessive suffixes, transitive verbs fall into three main classes as regards the marking of transitivity, as intimated in §4.1.3 above:

- (a) verbs which take no formal marking of transitivity;
(b) verbs which take the transitive suffix *-i* with all objects; and
(c) verbs which take the suffix *-i* with animate objects and the suffix *-ñ* with inanimate objects.

This is illustrated below.

	Transitive marking		
	<i>awod</i>	<i>ami-</i>	<i>atce-</i>
Animate object	Ø	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>
Inanimate object	Ø	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ñ</i>

These are exemplified below. *Awod* 'hit' illustrates class (a), with no overt marking of transitivity:

- (83) *Is awod etma-k aan.*
3SG.P hit father-my (s)he
'He/she hit my father.'
- (84) *Is awod inhat aan.*
3SG.P hit stone (s)he
'He/she hit the rock.'

Ami- 'urinate (on)' illustrates class (b), with the transitive marked by *-i* irrespective of the animacy of the object:

- (85) *Is ami-i etma-k aan.*
3SG.P urinate-TR father-my (s)he
'He/she pissed on my father.'
- (86) *Is ami-i inhat aan.*
3SG.P urinate-TR stone (s)he
'He/she pissed on the rock.'

Atce- 'punch' illustrates class (c), whose members take *-i* with animate objects but *-ñ* with inanimate objects:

- (87) *Is atce-i etma-k aan.*
3SG.P punch-TR father-my (s)he
'He/she punched my father.'

- (88) *Is atce-ñ inhat aan.*
3SG.P punch-TR stone (s)he
'He/she punched the rock.'

The suffix *-i* presumably derives from the Proto Oceanic 'close' transitive suffix **-i*, while *-ñ* probably derives from the last syllable of the Proto Oceanic 'remote' transitive suffix **-akini*.⁸ However, these functions are no longer reflected in Anejoñ, and the distinction between *-i* and *-ñ* appears to have become lexicalised. There are numerous pairs of almost synonymous verbs, one of which takes *-i* and the other *-ñ*, as illustrated in the following:

- (89) *Et ati-i-se napelñmai a nap aan.*
3SG.AR put-TR-down clothes LOC mat (s)he
'He/she put the clothes down on the mat.'

- (90) *Et etha-ñ-se napelñmai a inwai aan.*
3SG.AR put.to.soak-TR-down clothes LOC water (s)he
'He/she put the clothes down in the river.'

When the object is a second or third person singular pronoun, either the free forms *yic* and *yin* or the suffixes *-c* and *-n* may be used; when these suffixes are used, the transitive suffix is deleted:

- (91) *Adaño-i upni yin aak!*
cover-TR good him/her you.SG
'Cover him/her up well!'

- (92) *Adaño-n upni aak!*
cover-him/her good you.SG
'Cover him/her up well!'

4.2.5 Directional/locational suffixes

There are a number of verbal suffixes which mark direction or location, and which follow the transitive suffix if there is one. One set of these encodes random motion and reciprocity, and may not combine with any other directional suffix. The other set encodes specific motion or location, and members of this set may combine with each other in certain prescribed ways.

⁸ Anejoñ *ñ* derives from **n* (and also **ŋ*) when followed by a front vowel, as in **kani* > *ciñ* 'eat (tr)', **tañis* > *tañ* 'cry'. The close transitive apparently marked a direct object, while the remote transitive apparently marked a more oblique object (location as goal, instrument, etc.).

There are two directional suffixes which mark random motion or motion back and forth; these are:⁹

- sjipe* 'all over the place, back and forth (proximate)'
 -*sjepe* 'all over the place, back and forth (distant)'

For example:

- (93) *Erau arehed-jipe aarau m-aṗahni era-i*
 3DL.AR go.round-random they.DL ES-go.everywhere LOC-CS
iji-teptag asga.
 every-nakamal all
 'The two of them went all over the island, going to every last nakamal.'

These suffixes are also often used in a non-singular reflexive clause:

- (94) *Eris isṗa-ra atge-i-jepe ra aara.*
 3PL.AR REFL-their.PL kill-TR-random them.PL they.PL
 'They killed themselves.'

The remaining directional suffixes encode non-random motion of one kind or another. These suffixes can be divided into three groups, on the basis of their combinatorial possibilities, as illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Directional/locational suffixes			
Direction/location			Distance
Vertical	Horizontal		
- <i>jai</i> 'up, south, east'	- <i>pam</i> 'hither, towards speaker/focus'	- <i>ki</i>	'near'
- <i>se(h)</i> 'down, north, west'	- <i>pan</i> 'thither, away from speaker/focus'	- <i>kou</i>	'distant'
	- <i>ṗok</i> 'seawards'		
	- <i>pahai</i> 'landwards, inland'		

The suffixes marking distance may not occur alone; so if a verb takes only one directional suffix, that suffix marks either vertical or horizontal direction or location, as in:

- (95) *Elad-se ajourau!*
 look-down you.DL
 'Look down/north/west (you two)!'
**Elad-ki ajourau!*
 look-near you.DL
- (96) *Wat is ṁan yet-pan aan a nemnem...*
 T.P P PF arrive-thither (s)he LOC place
 'When he/she arrived there at home...'
**Wat is ṁan yet-kou aan a nemnem...*
 T.P P PF arrive-distant (s)he LOC place

⁹ Recall that the rule of consonant cluster simplification deletes the *s* in morpheme-initial *sj* clusters utterance-initially or after a consonant or glide (see §2.7.3 above).

These suffixes may also combine, one from each category, in the order shown. Thus if there are two directional suffixes after the verb, these may be:

VERTICAL + HORIZONTAL

VERTICAL + DISTANCE

HORIZONTAL + DISTANCE

and if three occur, the order is:

VERTICAL + HORIZONTAL + DISTANCE

Various idiosyncratic morphophonemic changes – some obligatory, others optional – occur when these suffixes combine:

Obligatory

- jai > -ji / ___ p e.g. -jai-pam > -ji-pam 'look up here'
 -se > -so / ___ Co e.g. -se-kou > -so-kou 'down a way'
 -p̃ok > -p̃o / ___ k e.g. -p̃ok-ki > -p̃o-ki 'seawards, nearby'

Optional

- pahai > -pai / ___ k e.g. -pahai-ki ~ -pai-ki 'landwards, nearby'
 -pan > -pag / ___ k e.g. -pan-kou ~ -pag-kou 'over there'

The following examples have been kept deliberately simple apart from the combinations of directionals.

- (97) *Ati-i-so-kou* aak!
 put-TR-down-distant you.SG
 'Put it down over there!'
- (98) *Is aduñoj-pam-ki aan.*
 3SG.P return-hither-near (s)he
 'He/she came right back here.'
- (99) *Is asuol-se-pan-kou aan.*
 3SG.P descend-down-thither-distant (s)he
 'He/she went down over there a long way'
- (100) *Elad-ji-pam-ki aak!*
 look-up-hither-near you.SG
 'Look up here/this way!'
- (101) *Is atec-so-p̃o-kou aara.*
 P sit-down-seawards-distant they.PL
 'They were sitting down way over there towards the sea.'

Excluded from Table 4.2 above is the suffix *-pujhou* 'outside', which apparently does not combine with any other suffix and appears to mark a direction of a somewhat different category from the others.¹⁰ This suffix is exemplified below:

¹⁰ This suffix appears as *-jhou* after the verb *alau-*, which itself apparently does not occur alone but only with directional suffixes: e.g. *alau-jai* 'go up', *alau-jhou* 'go outside'.

- (102) *Is amen aan a-nlii-i nioñ añ tas-pujhou...*
 3SG.P stay (s)he LOC-inside-its house and talk-outside
 'He/she stayed inside the house and talked (to s.o.) outside...'
- (103) *Et alañ-pujhou aan...*
 3SG.AR call-outside (s)he
 'He/she called outside...'

4.2.6 Plurality

There is a set of verbs – I have recorded about twenty – which have different singular and plural forms. Generally, the distinction relates to the subject of an intransitive verb and to the object of a transitive verb:¹¹

Singular intransitive subject		Plural intransitive subject	
<i>ehlikiris</i>	'be quarrelsome'	<i>ilikiris</i>	
<i>epev</i>	'stink'	<i>epepev</i>	
<i>etjuu-se</i>	'fall down'	<i>atitec</i>	(many at once)
<i>mas</i>	'die'	<i>emesmas</i>	
<i>rijae</i>	'land, come ashore'	<i>arijae</i>	
<i>tañ</i>	'cry'	<i>eteñtañ</i>	
<i>tii</i>	'not to be'	<i>atii</i>	
Singular object		Plural object	
<i>acj(-aktit)</i>	'spear accurately'	<i>acjapijgañ</i>	'spear more than one on one throw'
<i>ahosjii</i>	'peel, skin'	<i>hujis</i>	
<i>asjii</i>	'shoot, stone'	<i>athapijgañ</i>	'shoot more than one with one stone/bullet'
<i>atii</i>	'put'	<i>ijñii</i>	
<i>ciñ</i>	'eat <a normal meal>'	<i>hegai</i>	'eat a lot, feast on a variety of foods'
<i>ehcil</i>	'join roughly'	<i>ahcil</i>	
<i>isjipijgañ</i>	'collect, pile up'	<i>asjapijgañ</i>	
<i>le</i>	'get, take'	<i>lecsei</i>	
<i>nasjai</i>	'awaken <s.o.>'	<i>anasjai</i>	

There are, however, a couple of cases where a transitive verb has different forms depending on the number of the subject rather than the object:

Singular transitive subject		Plural transitive subject	
<i>aiyañ</i>	'pull'	<i>ahiyañ</i> ¹²	
<i>eiñpai</i>	'attract by trickery'	<i>eiñpalyek</i>	
<i>isitu</i>	'help <s.o. at s.t.>'	<i>asitu</i>	

¹¹ No gloss is given for the plural form unless it differs in some way, apart from basic singularity/plurality, from the gloss of the singular form.

¹² *Ahiyañ* also means 'pull very hard'.

And there is the following interesting pair:

<i>atiyapidañ</i>	'turn s.t. over once in order to inspect it'
<i>etyetyepidañ</i>	'turn s.t. over many times in order to inspect it'

In addition to many of the above, Capell (n.d.:37-39) also recorded the following pairs. A form in parentheses means that I have not recorded it; where I have recorded both forms in a pair, my data do not show a singular/plural distinction, but rather synonymous verbs:¹³

<i>apitac</i>	(<i>epitpitac</i>)	'follow'
<i>asvahtec</i>	<i>esvehtec</i>	'bend, bent'
<i>athunwai</i>	<i>athoi-wai</i>	'draw water'
<i>cas</i>	(<i>ecescas</i>)	'burn'
<i>ecohos</i>	(<i>acohos</i>)	'appear'
<i>erek</i>	(<i>erekrek</i>)	'thin'
<i>esjeled</i>	(<i>asjeled</i>)	'beat, excellent'
<i>ethañ</i>	<i>erekhañ</i>	'lose, throw away'
(<i>heliañ</i>)	(<i>eliañ</i>)	'feeble'
<i>tinau</i>	(<i>atinau</i>)	'stop crying'
<i>umu</i>	(<i>umumoh</i>)	'live'

A number of sub-patterns can be observed here; the first figure in parentheses indicates the number of cases in my data, the one following the plus sign is the number in Capell's list above.¹⁴

- (a) straightforward reduplication (1 + 1): e.g. *epev*, *epepev* 'stink';
- (b) prefixation of *e-* and irregular reduplication (2 + 2): e.g. *mas*, *emesmas* 'die';
- (c) prefixation of *a-* (3 + 1): e.g. *rijae*, *arijae* 'land';
- (d) change of initial vowel to *a* (3 + 2): e.g. *ehcil*, *ahcil* 'join roughly'.

There are, however, many cases where suppletion seems to be involved, like *ciñ*, *hegañ* 'eat', or *atii*, *ijñii* 'put'.

4.3 Subject-tense-aspect marking

Except in imperative clauses, in certain types of subordinate clauses and optionally in conjoined clauses, the first element in a verb phrase is a portmanteau morpheme which marks person and number of the subject as well as tense. (Anejoñ thus differs from its Southern Vanuatu relatives in which such functions are marked by prefixes). Examples are:

¹³ It is not clear from Capell's examples of transitive verbs whether the singular/plural distinction applies to the subject or the object. His list refers to words "which are modified to indicate plurality of goal", and to "plural object verbs". But some of the verbs on his list are intransitive; and, as we have seen, there are some transitive verbs which undergo this modification to index plural subject, although none of the pairs *aiyañ/ahiyañ*, *eiñai/eiñalyek* or *isitu/asitu* listed above is on Capell's list. (I have modified Capell's orthography to fit that being used in this description.)

¹⁴ In looking at these patterns, about one-third of the cases show prefixation of *a* (some of these involve *a* replacing the original vowel), which suggests one possible historical function for the initial accreted vowel – i.e. it may have been a plural marker.

- (104) *Ki apan aňak.*
 1SG.INCP go I
 'I'll be going.'
- (105) *Erau amjeg aarau.*
 3DL.AR sleep they.DL
 'The two of them are sleeping.'

However, the subject-tense marking system appears to be undergoing radical restructuring. This topic has been covered in Lynch (1995b), and I will not go into all the historical details here. I will, however, show what the system used to be, what it is now, and where it seems to be heading.

The underlying system indexes the person and number of the subject (and thus distinguishes three persons and four numbers). It also marks the verb as being in one of three tenses: aorist, past or inceptive.¹⁵

AORIST refers to the present, to the recent past, and to the habitual. It is also used:

- (a) with the following future aspect marker *pu* to mark a definite (though not immediate) future,
- (b) with the following hortative aspect marker *mu* to mark a vague future or to indicate politeness, and
- (c) with the following perfective aspect marker *man* to denote that the action was recently completed. (These and other combinations of preverbal particles will be illustrated in more detail in §4.4 below.)

PAST refers to a definite past, and usually not to an action which has just been completed. It is also used:

- (a) with future *pu* to denote future in the past, and
- (b) with perfective *man* to denote the fact that the action was completed some time ago, or its occurrence is anterior to that of some other action.

INCEPTIVE (called 'intentional' in Lynch 1995) is used to express the idea that the event is about to or likely to happen, and is also used in irrealis complements. When used with hortative *mu* it denotes a vague intention or a distant future.

The contrast between these three tenses when used alone can be seen in the following:

- (106) *Era aňňii kava aara.*
 3PL.AR drink kava they.PL
 'They drink kava.'/'They are drinking kava.'/'They (recently) drank kava.'
- (107) *Eris aňňii kava aara.*
 3PL.P drink kava they.PL
 'They drank kava (not all that recently).'
- (108) *Eri aňňii kava aara.*
 3PL.INCP drink kava they.PL
 'They're going to drink kava.'/'They're about to drink kava.'

¹⁵ These should strictly be referred to as tense-aspects. However, the particles which immediately follow these in a verb indicate various combinations of tense, aspect and mood. I will thus refer to this first set of particles as marking subject and tense, and the next set as aspect-mood particles.

4.3.1 The Nineteenth-century system

The subject-tense system as recorded by Inglis (1882) and as described in Capell's (n.d.) manuscript grammar is given below in Table 4.3; the only changes I have made are to the labels of the tense-aspects. Capell says that he generally followed what Inglis had written, but corrected a small number of errors on the basis of the data in the Bible translations and other religious literature. The data given here are thus Capell's corrections.

Table 4.3: Nineteenth-century subject-tense markers				
	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Aorist				
1INC		<i>intau</i>	<i>intaj</i>	<i>inta</i>
1EXC	<i>ek</i>	<i>ecrau</i>	<i>ektaj, ektij</i>	<i>ecra</i>
2	<i>na</i>	<i>ekau</i>	<i>ahtaj</i>	<i>eka</i>
3	<i>et</i>	<i>erau</i>	<i>ehtaj</i>	<i>era</i>
Past				
1INC		<i>intis</i>	<i>intijis</i>	<i>imjis</i>
1EXC	<i>kis</i>	<i>ecrus</i>	<i>ektijis</i>	<i>ecris</i>
2	<i>as</i>	<i>akis</i>	<i>ahtijis</i>	<i>akis</i>
3	<i>is</i>	<i>erus</i>	<i>ehtijis</i>	<i>eris</i>
Inceptive				
1INC		<i>tu</i>	<i>tiji</i>	<i>ti</i>
1EXC	<i>inki, ki</i>	<i>ecru</i>	<i>tiji</i>	<i>ecri</i>
2	<i>an</i>	<i>eru</i>	<i>tiji</i>	<i>aki</i>
3	<i>inyi, yi</i>	<i>eru</i>	<i>tiji</i>	<i>eri</i>

The following comments need to be made about this system.

- When an aorist marker was followed by either of the two future markers *pu* or *mu*, assimilation took place in some cases: the plural forms are given as *intu*, *ecru*, *aku* and *eru*, while second person dual *ekau* became *akau* before *pu* and *aru* before *mu*.
- There may be a couple of 'errors' in the data. First, both second and third person dual inceptive have the same form – *eru*; this may have been simply a typographical error on Inglis' part which went unnoticed by Capell, as an internal comparison of the data would suggest that it should be *aku*. Second, all persons in the trial intentional are marked by the same form, *tiji*: some modern speakers show person distinctions here, and presumably this was the case a hundred years ago as well.

Capell (n.d.:60) believes that tense-aspect was once marked by "originally independent particles" but that this has "now [been] disguised by various degrees of compounding with elements of a pronominal nature". An analysis of the data given in Table 4.3 would suggest the following:

Person			+ Number	+ Tense
Singular	Non-singular			
	<i>inta</i>	1INC	-Ø SG	-Ø aorist
<i>ek</i>	<i>ecra</i>	1EXC	-u DL	-is past
<i>(a)na</i>	<i>eka, aka</i>	2	-taj TL	-i inceptive
<i>et, Ø</i>	<i>era</i>	3	-Ø PL	

4.3.2 The modern system

The modern system of subject-tense marking is undergoing major restructuring, particularly in the non-singular, where there has been considerable levelling of person or number distinctions. Younger speakers show more levelling than do older speakers. Yet even older speakers use different forms for the same function on different occasions.

Table 4.4 below shows all subject-tense markers which I have recorded for each person-number-tense combination. The forms are arranged so that the leftmost is phonologically closest to the recorded 19th century forms; where the form is actually phonologically identical to the older form, it is underlined.¹⁶

Table 4.4: Modern subject-tense markers				
	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
Aorist				
1INC		<i>tau, ta, ekra, erau, era,</i> <i>rai-</i>	<i>taj, ta, ekra, era, rai-</i>	<i>ta, ekra, era, rai-</i>
1EXC	<u><i>ek</i></u> , <i>k-</i>	<i>ekrau, ekra, erau, era,</i> <i>rai-</i>	<i>ettaj, ekra, era, rai-</i>	<i>ekra, era, rai-</i>
2	<u><i>na</i></u> , <i>nai, n-</i>	<i>erau, ekra, era, rai-</i>	<i>ettaj, ekra, era, rai-</i>	<u><i>eka</i></u> , <i>ekra, era, eri, rai-</i>
3	<u><i>et</i></u> , <i>t-</i>	<u><i>erau</i></u> , <i>era, ekra, rai-</i>	<u><i>ettaj</i></u> , <i>ekra, era, rai-</i>	<u><i>era</i></u> , <i>eri, ekra, rai-</i>
Past				
1INC		<i>tus, tu, kis, is, s-</i>	<i>tijis, kis, is, s-</i>	<i>eris, kis, is, s-</i>
1EXC	<u><i>kis</i></u> , <i>is, s-</i>	<i>eris, is, s-</i>	<i>eris, is, s-</i>	<i>ekris, eris, is, s-</i>
2	<u><i>as</i></u> , <i>na, is, s-</i>	<i>ekris, ekrus, arus, is, s-</i>	<u><i>atijis</i></u> , <i>ekris, is, s-</i>	<u><i>akis</i></u> , <i>ekris, is, s-</i>
3	<u><i>is</i></u> , <i>s-</i>	<u><i>erus</i></u> , <i>eris, ekris, is, s-</i>	<u><i>etijis</i></u> , <i>ekris, eris, is, s-</i>	<u><i>eris</i></u> , <i>ekris, is, s-</i>
Inceptive				
1INC		<u><i>tu</i></u> , <i>ti, yi, ri</i>	<u><i>tiji</i></u> , <i>ti, ri</i>	<u><i>ti</i></u> , <i>ri</i>
1EXC	<u><i>ki</i></u>	<i>ekru, ri</i>	<i>etiji, ekri, ri</i>	<i>ekri, ri</i>
2	<u><i>an</i></u> , <i>ni</i>	<i>aru, ra, ri</i>	<i>atiji, ra, ri</i>	<u><i>aki</i></u> , <i>ra, ri</i>
3	<u><i>iñiyi</i></u> , <i>inyi, yi, y-</i>	<u><i>eru</i></u> , <i>ru, ra, ri</i>	<i>etiji, eri, ra, ri, yi</i>	<u><i>eri</i></u> , <i>ra, ri</i>

At this stage, I will give just one example from a text spoken by an elderly man which will illustrate the nature of the 'problem'. The subject markers are underlined and are glossed simply '3': all refer to a third person trial subject in past tense.

¹⁶ I have taken two liberties in assessing phonological identity. First, since Inglis did not write word-medial *n̄* differently from *n*, it is possible that his 3SG inceptive marker *inyi* could have been either *inyi* or *iñiyi*. Second, as noted in §2.4.4, /h/ plus stop clusters have been replaced by geminate stops (some of which may then have simplified). Thus I treat forms like older *ehtaj* 3TL.AR and *ehtijis* 3TL.P as being 'phonologically identical' with the modern forms *ettaj* and *etijis* respectively.

- (109) *Is wat atec-se aattaj aṁ lep atec-se atoh Anwaijipdav,*
 3 T.P sit-down they.TL and again sit-down straight Anwaijipdav
Anjinwai a-nworen inii etijis aret-jai a-nelcau. Wat atjuu-se
 Anjinwai LOC-place DEM1.SG 3 go-up LOC-canoe T.P descend-down
aattaj, ṁan asuol niji-itai ijekeñ eris ethañ-jai a-nelcau...
 they.TL PF go.down all-thing DEM.AN.PL 3 put-up LOC-canoe
 'When they three settled, they settled right at Anwaijipdav, at Anjinwai, the place
 where the three of them had got on the canoe. When they got off, and all the
 things which they had put on the canoe came down...'

Note that, in the space of two sentences, three different forms are used to mark the third person trial past: *is* (older 3SG), *etijis* (older 3TL) and *eris* (older 3PL). Other older speakers show similar variation in text. Some comments on this variation are now in order, as it is not (quite) as chaotic as it might first appear.

4.3.2.1 Singular forms

Two major points need to be made here. One concerns the development of prefixes. In normal conversation, the aorist particles *ek*, *na* and *et*, the 3SG past particle *is* and the 3SG inceptive particle *yi* are reduced to a single consonantal prefix preceding a vowel:¹⁷

- (110) *Ek itiyi atou.* > *K-ityi atou.*
 1SG.AR NEG know
 'I don't know.'
- (111) *Is apan aan.* > *S-apan aan.*
 3SG.P go (s)he
 'He/she went.'

It is not clear from earlier sources whether this was also a feature of older Anejoñ, since those sources are based on the standard written form of the language.

The other point is that, in the past tense, the 3SG form *is* is beginning to be used with first and second person subjects. Thus both of the following are used:

- (112) *Kis apan aṁak.*
 1SG.P go I
 'I went.'
- (113) *Is apan aṁak.*
 P go I
 'I went.'

As I will show below, *is* is also coming to be generalised to non-singular persons as well, and may end up as simply a past tense marker.

¹⁷ The 2SG past and inceptive forms *as* and *an* do not seem to undergo this reduction, however.

4.3.2.2 Non-singular forms

In analysing recorded texts, Capell (n.d:77) pointed to a number of “errors” [his quotation marks]. Among them were:

- (a) failure to make the agreement between the subject particle at the beginning of a clause and the subject itself at the end...These mistakes happen most frequently in the dual and trial forms...[and]...
- (d) Other texts taken from other speakers show still wider variation, e.g. *is*, 3rd. sing. person past supplement [= marker], used with a plural subject.

An examination of Table 4.4 shows that distinctions of person and number in the non-singular forms are undergoing a levelling process, but that this process is by no means complete, and that there is still a certain amount of ‘competition’ between forms.

First, in the aorist, the following three forms have been observed for all persons and numbers:

- ekra* < *ecra*, the older 1INC.PL form¹⁸
- era* < the older 3PL form
- rai-* possibly a reduction/modification of *era*

In addition, *erau*, the original 3DL marker, has been observed to index all persons in the dual.

Second, in the past, we find that the original 3SG form *is* can be used to index any person or number. In addition:

- kis* < older 1SG, is now used for 1INC in all numbers
- ekris* < older *ecris* 1EXC.PL, is now used for 2 and 3 in all numbers (note again *c* > *k*)
- eris* < older 3PL, is used for most person–number combinations

And third, in the inceptive, a form *ri* (< *eri* 3PL) has been observed for all person–number combinations. In addition:

- ti* < older 1INC.PL, is used for all numbers in 1INC
- ra* possibly from *era* 3PL.AR, is used in all non-first person categories

4.3.2.3 Vowel assimilation

There is a fairly general tendency whereby the final vowel of a vowel-final subject-tense particle becomes *u* if the first vowel of a following particle is *u*. So, for example:

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|---|---------------|
| <i>na</i> | <i>pu</i> | > | <i>nu pu</i> |
| 2SG.AR | FUT | | |
| <i>era</i> | <i>mu</i> | > | <i>eru mu</i> |
| 3PL.AR | HORT | | |

¹⁸ Note the change from *c* to *k* in this form, and also in *ecris* > *ekris* below. This is puzzling, since I am not aware of other items which have undergone this change. Nor does it seem to be a transcription error: unlike some early recorders of Melanesian languages, Inglis seems to have distinguished between /y/ (orthographic *c*) and /k/ quite accurately, although he described *c* phonetically as being “like *g* in *go*, or in *fig*” (Inglis 1882:31).

yi wut > yu wut
3SG.INCP T.F

4.3.3 Trends

In view of all of the above, it would be presumptuous to state (a) what is the underlying subject-tense marking system, and (b) in what directions is it going to change in the next generation or two. Nevertheless, I think it is worth making these presumptions. Table 4.5 sets out what seems to be the underlying form of the non-singular particles (to the left of the arrow), and what seems to be the direction of change (to the right); an entry of the form X > Y > Z means that underlying X is changing to Z through an intermediate stage Y.

Table 4.5: Underlying non-singular subject-tense markers and directions of change								
	Dual		Trial		Plural			
Aorist								
1INC	<i>tau</i>	> <i>ta</i>	> <i>era</i>	<i>taj</i>	> <i>ta</i>	> <i>era</i>	<i>ta</i>	> <i>era</i>
1EXC	<i>ekrau</i>	> <i>erau</i>	> <i>era</i>	<i>ettaj</i>	> <i>era</i>		<i>ekra</i>	> <i>era</i>
2	<i>erau</i>	> <i>era</i>		<i>ettaj</i>	> <i>era</i>		<i>eka</i>	> <i>era</i>
3	<i>erau</i>	> <i>era</i>		<i>ettaj</i>	> <i>era</i>		<i>era</i>	> <i>era</i>
Past								
1INC	<i>tus</i>	> <i>kis</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>tijis</i>	> <i>kis</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>eris</i>	> <i>kis</i> > <i>is</i>
1EXC	<i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>		<i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>		<i>ekris</i>	> <i>is</i>
2	<i>arus</i>	> <i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>atijis</i>	> <i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>akis</i>	> <i>eris</i> > <i>is</i>
3	<i>erus</i>	> <i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>etijis</i>	> <i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>	<i>eris</i>	> <i>is</i>
Inceptive								
1INC	<i>tu</i>	> <i>ti</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>tiji</i>	> <i>ti</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>ti</i>	> <i>ri</i>
1EXC	<i>ekru</i>	> <i>ri</i>		<i>etiji</i>	> <i>ekri</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>ekri</i>	> <i>ri</i>
2	<i>aru</i>	> <i>ra</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>atiji</i>	> <i>ra</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>aki</i>	> <i>ra</i> > <i>ri</i>
3	<i>eru</i>	> <i>ra</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>etiji</i>	> <i>ra</i>	> <i>ri</i>	<i>eri</i>	> <i>ri</i>

If this prediction is correct, the language is moving to get rid of *all* person-number distinctions in the non-singular. The system therefore seems to be heading in the following directions:

	Aorist	Past	Inceptive
1SG	ek	is	ki
2SG	na	is	ni
3SG	et	is	yi
non-SG	era	is	ri

Finally, a word about glossing conventions in the examples used in this description. Where a subject-tense marker corresponds to the forms on the left above and 'correctly' indexes the same person and number as the subject, it will be fully specified in the interlinear gloss. Where, however, a generalised form is used, then the interlinear gloss will be similarly generalised. So, for example, *era* will be glossed as 3PL.AR when the pronoun or noun subject

is indeed third person plural, but as NSG.AR when it is some other person and/or number; *is* is glossed as 3SG.P if the subject is third person singular, otherwise it is glossed simply as P.

4.3.4 The echo-subject proclitic *m-*

Like its other Southern Vanuatu relatives, Anejoŋ has an ECHO-SUBJECT marker, of the form *m-* (*im-* before a consonant). The syntax of *m-* will be discussed in more detail in §7.4; for our purposes here, it is enough to note that *m-* cliticisation is one form of clause-coordination. Generally, *m-* is used when the subject of the clause is the same as the subject of the previous clause:

- (114) *Eris akrou aara m-alpa-i cama.*
 3PL.P share they ES-give-TR us.EXC.PL
 'They shared it out and gave us some.'
- (115) *Is amen natimi m-almo-i m-almo-i intas-alep iniñ.*
 P stay person ES-watch-TR ES-watch-TR word-keep DEM1.SG
 'Someone stayed there and kept watch on it and watched to make sure this law was kept.'

The echo-subject marker may not be used with other subject-tense markers or with the aspect-mood markers to be discussed below: the implication here is that the verb not only has the same subject, but is also in the same tense, aspect and mood as the preceding verb. Thus *m-* prototypically occurs prefixed to a verb. However, it may occur prefixed to other preverbal elements, like the negative or an adverbial:

- (116) *Is itiyi ege-ktit nitiniñ is asañ aan, m-itiyi atou intas-aḗat*
 3SG.P NEG hear-well something P say he ES-NEG know word-dark
iniñ is asañ aan.
 DEM1.SG 3SG.P say he
 'He didn't hear clearly what he said, and so didn't know this secret word that he said.'
- (117) *Et amen aan im-lep tas-pujhou ehele-i etwa-n m-ika...*
 3SG.AR stay he ES-again talk-outside DAT-CS brother-his ES-say
 'He again talked to his brother outside and said...'

4.4 Other preverbal particles

Between the subject-tense marker and the verb a number of other particles with a variety of functions may occur. The general structure of the preverbal part of the verb phrase is as follows:

$$\text{SUBJ-TENSE} + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{TEMP} \\ \text{CONJ} \end{array} \right) + (\text{ASP-MOOD}) + (\text{ADV}_1) + (\text{REFLEXIVE}) + (\text{NEG}) + (\text{ADV}_2)$$

Among these are particles introducing temporal clauses (TEMP in the structure above), as well as conjunctive aspect markers (CONJ above); but I will leave them until the discussion of

coordination and subordination in Chapters 7 and 8. This section, then, discusses the aspect-mood, adverbial, reflexive and negative particles. That all except the subject-tense markers are optional can be seen from numerous examples above – e.g. (110)-(113).

4.4.1 Aspect-mood markers

I have called this set of markers ‘aspect-mood’ to distinguish them from the subject-tense markers. In fact, some members of this set mark tense, some aspect, some mood, and some various combinations of these categories. The markers are:

<i>pu</i>	definite future (abbreviated FUT)
<i>mu</i>	indefinite or polite future, hortative (HORT)
<i>ṣar</i>	subsequent or sequential action (SEQ)
<i>ṁan</i>	perfective/completive (PF)
<i>jim</i>	prohibitive (DONT)

Each of these is discussed in detail below, as is the distinction between the inceptive and the two future markers.

Definite future *pu*

When used with a preceding aorist marker, *pu* indicates that an action will take place in the future, even if that future time is a long way off. The following examples show increasing remoteness of the futurity signified by *pu*:

- (118) *Et* *pu* *apam plen imrañ.*
 3SG.AR FUT come plane tomorrow
 ‘The plane will come tomorrow.’
- (119) *Ek* *pu* *idim apan añak Vila a intah nouṣan.*
 1SG.AR FUT really go I Vila LOC INDEF time
 ‘I really must go to Vila some time.’
- (120) *Et* *pu* *tii-pan noṣohtan.*
 3SG.AR FUT not.be.SG-there world
 ‘The world will eventually come to an end.’

A future in the past sense is conveyed by *pu* when used with past subject-tense markers:

- (121) *Is ika aan is* *pu* *apam plen imrañ.*
 3SG.P say (s)he 3SG.P FUT come plane tomorrow
 ‘He said that the plane would come tomorrow.’

(Recall that subject-tense markers ending in a vowel other than *u* change this to *u* when followed by *pu* (and also *mu*): e.g. *era pu* (3PL.AR FUT) > *eru pu*.)

Hortative *mu*

The particle *mu* has a number of related functions. It can be used with a hortative sense, as in the following:

- (122) *Et mu hag aen.*
 3SG.AR HORT eat (s)he
 'Let him/her eat.'/'He/she really ought to eat.'
- (123) *Erau mu amjeg aarau.*
 3DL.AR HORT sleep they.DL
 'Let the two of them sleep.'

When used with the aorist subject-tense markers, as in the examples above, the exhortation encoded by *mu* refers to the present or immediate future.

Mu is also used to refer to a vaguer, more indefinite or more distant future – either hortative, as in example (124), or not, as in (125). I still gloss it as HORT whatever its interpretation.

- (124) *Tu mu ilmu-tai era-n akajau.*
 IINC.DL.INCP HORT watch-things GOAL-his we.DL.INC
 'Let's both keep a watch on him (when he goes there again).'
- (125) *Is *man* atou m-ika mu ude-i ra.*
 3SG.P PF know ES-say HORT leave-TR them.PL
 'He knew that he would be leaving them (some time).'

Related to this sense, *mu* also marks politeness:

- (126) *Ek mu apan aňak.*
 1SG.AR HORT go I
 'I think I should be going now.'
- (127) *Ek mu iitiy lep aňoň aňak.*
 1SG.AR HORT NEG again drink I
 'I'm afraid I won't be drinking (kava) any more.'

Definite future, hortative and inceptive

The difference between *pu* and *mu* should be clear from the preceding discussion. It is necessary, however, to clarify the difference between these two aspect-moods and the inceptive tense-aspect, since the following three sentences could all be translated into English as 'I will go to Iñec' or 'I'll be going to Iñec':

- (128) a. *Ek pu apan aňak Iñec.* DEFINITE FUTURE
 b. *Ek mu apan aňak Iñec.* HORTATIVE/INDEFINITE FUTURE
 c. *Ki apan aňak Iñec.* INCEPTIVE

The difference appears to be as follows:

- (a) The definite future with *pu* implies that I will definitely be going to Iñec. The time is unspecified, but is not in the next few minutes or so: it could be later on today, later on this week, or at some time even more remote than that.
- (b) The hortative or indefinite future with *mu* could imply a hortative ('Let me go to Iñec'), a fairly vague future ('I suppose one day I'll probably go to Iñec'), or a polite leave-taking ('Well, I think I'll be going to Iñec now').

- (c) The inceptive is probably closest to this last sense. It seems to be used when one is actually on the point of performing the action of the verb, and thus (128)c implies something like 'I'm off to Iñec now', which is not overtly marked for politeness in the same way as the polite reading of (128)b is.

Sequential *̄par*

The sequential marker *̄par* has as its main function to overtly mark an event or state as occurring after the previous event or state.¹⁹ With this function, it usually occurs in a non-initial coordinate clause, and this aspect of its behaviour is discussed in §7.3. For example:

- (129) *Eris awa-ñ aattaj, ̄par amen m-amenjina-ñ, ̄par ago aworítai*
 NSG.P plant-TR they.TL SEQ stay ES-look.after-TR SEQ make gardens

is *̄par al̄pas*.

P SEQ big

'They planted (crops) and stayed and looked after them, and then made gardens which then grew big.'

- (130) *Is wat upni intastas u-ra, is ̄par apan aara ̄par*
 3SG.P TP good talk POSS.G-their.PL P SEQ go they.PL SEQ

yet-pan ehele-n ̄par tas imta-n.

reach-there DAT-his SEQ talk DAT-his

'When their discussion was concluded satisfactorily, they went and got to where he was and talked to him.'

I have, however, recorded utterance-initial clauses with *̄par*, in which there is no overt contextualisation of a previous event. And, while I will show in §7.3 that *̄par* often occurs in the initial clause of a chain of *̄par*-marked clauses, like:

- (131) [*Et ̄par atūpun*] [*̄par ecohos tōp tah nago era-n*].
 3SG.AR SEQ begin SEQ start.rise just INDEF.SG rim POSS.P-its
 'It's starting, a bit of the rim (of the sun) is beginning to come up.'

there are a number of other examples in my data with *̄par* in *single*-clause sentences, with no preceding context. In these cases, it seems to have almost the opposite meaning of sequentiality – that of encoding an anterior event. Compare the following:

- (132) *Ek apan añak.*
 1SG.AR go I
 'I went (recently).'

- (133) *Ek ̄par apan añak.*
 1SG.AR SEQ go I
 'I went (not so recently).'

¹⁹ I use the term 'overtly' here since such sequences do not have to be marked with *̄par*, just as in English one can say 'He ate and slept' or 'He ate and then (he) slept'.

- (134) *Kis mān aṁñi-i aṇak.*
 1SG.P PF drink-TR I
 'I had already drunk (some time ago).'
- (135) *Kis p̄ar aṁñi-i aṇak.*
 1SG.P SEQ drink-TR I
 'I had drunk (even longer ago).'

In each of these cases, the sentences with *p̄ar* describe events taking place at a time earlier than those in the preceding sentence. I am unable at this stage to resolve this apparent contradiction.

Perfective *mān*

The perfective particle *mān* implies that the action is completed. Compare the following:

- (136) *Ek aṁñi-i kava aṇak.*
 1SG.AR drink-TR kava I
 'I'm drinking kava.'/'I drink/drank kava.'
- (137) *Ek mān aṁñi-i kava aṇak.*
 1SG.AR PF drink-TR kava I
 'I've already drunk (some) kava.'
- (138) *Kis aṁñi-i kava aṇak.*
 1SG.P drink-TR kava I
 'I drank (some) kava.'
- (139) *Kis mān aṁñi-i kava aṇak.*
 1SG.P PF drink-TR kava I
 'I had already drunk (some) kava.'

Prohibitive *jim*

The most common use of *jim* is as a negative imperative marker (see §6.5), in which environment it is used without any subject-tense marker:

- (140) *Jim lav ajowa!*
 DONT make.noise you.PL
 'Stop making noise!'/ 'Be quiet, all of you!'

When used with a preceding inceptive marker, it indicates a negative hortative sense:

- (141) *Apan ajourau jai yi jim le inpas uṇa-k.*
 go you.DL but 3SG.INCP DONT take.SG axe POSS.G-my
 'You two can go, but don't let him take my axe.'

Jim can occur with a preceding *mu* to encode a more polite negative hortative sense:

- (142) *Et mu jim apan a nat enaa.*
 3SG.AR HORT DONT go S fellow DEM2.SG
 'That fellow probably shouldn't go.'

4.4.2 Adverbials₁

There are two sets of adverbial particles in the Anejoñ verb phrase, and there is a reasonable amount of fluidity of ordering here. However, one set, which I refer to as ADVERBIAL₁, normally occurs before the markers of reflexiveness or negation, while the other set (ADVERBIAL₂) normally occurs after those markers. This first class of adverbials includes:

<i>idim</i>	'really, must'
<i>lep</i>	'again'
<i>toḗ</i>	'merely, just, only'

Some examples are:

- (143) *"Era wat hegañ uñi-mirau ajourau, et idim idii-jaḗ ka a'o?"*
 NSG.AR T.P eat POSS.G-your.DL you.DL 3SG really taste-salt or no
Is ika aarau, "Et toḗ idii-wai."
 P say they.DL 3SG.AR just taste-water
 "When you two ate yours, did it really taste salty?" But they said,
 "It just tasted watery".
- (144) *Is man lep ege-i yin aattaj.*
 P PF again hear-TR him they.TL
 'The three of them heard him again.'

Some combinations of these adverbials are possible. For example:

- (145) *Et man lep idim apan aan.*
 3SG.AR PF again really go (s)he
 'He/she really has gone again.'

The 'fluidity' referred to above can be seen in the following example, in which *lep* 'again' follows rather than precedes the negative *itiiyi*:

- (146) *Et itiiyi lep ika aan yi lep isḗa-n atge-n.*
 3SG.AR NEG again want (s)he 3SG.INCP again REFL-hi(s)her kill-him/her
 'He/she is not going to try to kill him/herself again.'

Some speakers are incorporating the particle *mas*, from Bislama *mas* 'must', into this slot, often in combination with *idim*:

- (147) *Et (idim) mas apan aan.*
 3SG.AR (really) must go (s)he
 'He/she (really) must go.'

4.4.3 Negative

The negative marker is *itiiyi*. There are apparently no restrictions on which subject-tense, aspect-mood or adverbials can occur with *itiiyi*. Some examples are:

- (148) *Is lep itiyi atou n-ago era-n aarau.*
 P again NEG know N-do GOAL-its they.DL
 'Once again, the two of them didn't know how to do it.'
- (149) *El ek itiyi apan añak imrañ, ãar itiyi le inpas*
 if 1SG.AR NEG go I tomorrow SEQ NEG take.SG axe
uñu-ñ.
 POSS.G-your.SG
 'If I don't go tomorrow, then I won't get your axe.'
- (150) *Kis ñan itiyi aññii kava añak.*
 1SG.P PF NEG drink.TR kava I
 'I have given up drinking kava.'/'I don't drink kava any more.'
- (151) *Et lep idim itiyi apan aan.*
 3SG.AR again really NEG go(s)he
 'He/she really didn't go again.'

4.4.4 Adverbials₂

The second set of adverbials follows the negative marker. Those which occur in this position are:

- fi* '(not) yet'
uþyici 'first(ly), previous(ly)'

The combination of negative *itiyi* plus the adverbial *fi* translates 'not yet':²⁰

- (152) *Et itiyi fi ecohos nagesga.*
 3SG.AR NEG yet appear sun
 'The sun hasn't appeared/risen yet.'

It appears that *fi* is incompatible with the perfective marker *ñan*; compare example (153) with (152):

- (153) **Et ñan itiyi fi ecohos nagesga.*
 3SG.AR PF NEG yet appear sun

The particle *uþyici* (often *uþci* or *uþcii* in fast speech) indicates that the event happened prior to the next event. It is not all that frequently used, since the sequential marker *ãar* when used in the second clause can encode the same idea of sequentiality.

- (154) *Is ñan uþyici apam aan jai is ãar amjeg añak.*
 3SG.P PF first come (s)he but P SEQ sleep I
 'After he came, then I slept.'

²⁰ There is also a particle *fi* which is used to intensify an imperative; compare *Apam aak!* 'Come!' with *Fi apam aak!* 'Come quickly! Get over here straight away!' (cf. §6.5). It is unlikely that this is the same morpheme as the adverbial *fi*.

- (155) *Et ṁan uṗyici aṁñi-i kava aan.*
 3SG.AR PF first drink-TR kava (s)he
 'He has already drunk his kava (e.g. before you came, or while you weren't looking).'

4.4.5 Morphophonemics of preverbal particles

There are a number of morphophonemic changes which occur when preverbal particles occur in a verb phrase, most of these being found in casual rather than in deliberate speech. I have already mentioned the fact that final vowels of subject-tense markers change the vowel to *u* when the first vowel of the next particle is *u*: e.g. *ti mu* (1INC.PL.INCP HORT) > *tu mu*. The one exception this seems to be the 1SG inceptive particle *ki*, which remains *ki* in this environment.

The final vowel in a bi- or poly-syllabic preverbal particle is usually deleted before a following vowel. For example:²¹

- (156) *Era itiyi atou... > er itiy atou*
 3PLAR NEG know
 '(They) didn't know...'

Third, the aspect-mood markers *ṁan* and *ṗar*, marking perfective and sequential respectively, usually occur as *ṁa* and *ṗa* before a following consonant.

4.5 Postverbal particles

Following the verb may be one of a small number of modifiers or the politeness postclitic.

Post-modifiers

As discussed in §3.4.3 above, there is a small number of modifiers in Anejoñ which may occur after the head of a noun or verb phrase. The examples below illustrate *achei* 'only', *acen* 'very' and *asga* 'all, altogether, completely':

- (157) *Et aced achei inra-n aan.*
 3SG.AR follow only branch-its (s)he
 'He just followed along the branches.'
- (158) *Et upni acen kava iyiiki.*
 3SG.AR good very kava DEM.AN.SG
 'That kava (we had) was very good.'
- (159) *Et adia asga a etpo-k iyenev.*
 3SG.AR leave altogether S grandparent-my yesterday
 'My grandfather/grandmother passed away yesterday.'

²¹ Note that while a preverbal particle of the shape CV or VC reduces to C before a vowel-initial word, a VCV form like *era* in example (156) loses only the last vowel – i.e. *era* reduces to *er* but not to **r*–.

Some stative verbs may also occur in this postverbal position. By far the commonest is *upni* 'good', which not only has its regular meaning, as in:

- (160) *Lep adaḗo-i upni aak!*
 again cover-TR good you.SG
 'Make sure you cover it up properly again!'

but can also act as an intensifier (rather like 'good and...' in colloquial English):

- (161) *Is ñan ouhokred upni aen...*
 3SG.P PF angry good (s)he
 'He/she was very angry...'/'He/she was good and angry...'
 (162) *Is omrag upni aan.*
 3SG.P old good (s)he
 'He/she was very old.'

Politeness postclitic *-sjak*

The politeness postclitic *-sjak* (*-jak* post-consonantly) is used to soften the force of a command or a question. It normally occurs as a suffix to verbs, and follows the directional suffixes if there are any:

- (163) *Nai idim apan-jak aak era-i stoa?*
 2SG.AR really go-POL you.SG LOC-CS store
 'Did you really go to the store?'
 (164) *Elad-se-sjak ajourau m-atou m-ika nev-itai yek et apam.*
 look-down-POL you.DL ES-know ES-say what-thing exist.SG 3SG.AR come
 'Would you two just look down and find out what's coming there?'

Its status as a postclitic is shown by the fact that it may occur following, rather than preceding, an indefinite non-singular noun object:

- (165) *Nai idim elad-jai cai-jak aak?*
 2SG.AR really look-up trees-POL you.SG
 'Did you really look up in the trees for it?'

5 *Compounding*

Compounding is, and was, quite productive in Anejoñ. I use both present and past tenses here because, while many compounds seem to be transparent, there are others which are fossilised but which suggest productive compounding at some earlier stage in the history of the language. For example, a number of fairly recent introductions to Aneityum culture and society are expressed as compounds, indicating the productive nature of the process:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>nepjed-eromaga</i> | 'mandarin orange' |
| | citrus-Erromango | |
| | <i>nadiat-atuñap</i> | 'Sunday' |
| | day-rest | |
| | <i>inta-alañod-hat</i> | 'oxy torch' |
| | thing-break.by.burning-stone | |

On the other hand, there are many words which look like compounds, but where one or both parts do not occur independently:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| (2) | <i>acjalyek</i> | 'spear inaccurately or randomly' |
| | <i>ehvelyek</i> | 'drop accidentally, lose <relative> through death' |
| | <i>torelyek</i> | '<kava> affect strongly, <wind> damage' |
| | <i>woyelyek</i> | 'stumble, trip' |

The words in example (2) seem to contain a second element *-(e)lyek* with the idea of 'badly, wrongly, unsuccessfully'; but neither *(e)lyek* (with this meaning) nor the first part of any of the forms in (2) occurs independently in modern Anejoñ. I will have more to say about such apparent compounds in §5.3 below.

The majority of compound nouns and verbs in Anejoñ involve just two morphemes,¹ like *nepjed-eromaga* and *nadiat-atuñap* in example (1) and also:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|---|-------------|---|----------------------|
| (3) | <i>ade</i> | + | <i>aṗok</i> | > | <i>adaṗok</i> |
| | go.down | | go.seawards | | 'go down to the sea' |

¹ I exclude from the 'morpheme count' here noun-initial *n-*, verb-initial vowels, and the transitive suffix. Note that I will use hyphens in compound forms when there has been no morphophonemic change in the components (e.g. *nadiat + atuñap* > *nadiat-atuñap* in example (1)), but will omit them when there has been some morphophonemic restructuring (e.g. *ade + aṗok* > *adaṗok* in (3)).

inhat + *itooga* > *inhat-itooga*
 stone + foreign 'iron'

Some, however, involve more than two morphemes, like *inta-alañod-hat* in (1) and also:

- (4) *atec* + *-se* + *necyañ* > *atecsecyañ*
 sit down termite 'be termite-infested'
- nitai* + *iklim* + *edou* > *nitaklimedou*
 thing gentle wander 'animal'

Some compounds are semantically transparent, in that the meaning of the compound can be deduced from the meaning of the parts:²

- (5) *ata-i* + *agre-i* > *atagre-i*
 slice-TR break-TR 'split <bamboo+>'
- nau* + *aged* > *nau-aged*
 bamboo mark 'k.o. bamboo with striped skin'

Others, however, are rather more idiomatic:

- (6) *ecji-i* + *apapela-ñ* > *ecjepela-ñ*
 ram-TR turn-TR 'to mix two foods'
- nohos* + *ma* > *nohos-ma*
 banana ripe 'k.o. drupe shell, *Drupa rubusidaeus*'

This chapter will begin with a discussion of nominal compounds, and then move on to verbal compounds. In each case, I will look first at the structure of these compounds, and then at the morphophonemic processes involved. It should be noted here (i) that, with almost no exception, the word class of a compound is the same as the word class of the first element in the compound, and (ii) that the morphophonemic processes are rather different depending on whether the compound is nominal or verbal. Finally, §5.3 will briefly discuss fossilised compounds.

5.1 Nominal compounds

This first section looks at compounds which are nouns, and whose heads are nouns.

5.1.1 Structure

Compound nouns consist of a noun followed by one or more lexical items or constructions – a noun, a verb, a modifier or a possessive construction – which form a single unit as far as the placement of stress and the behaviour of other elements in the noun phrase are concerned.

² It should be obvious that the notion of semantic transparency is culturally defined: what is transparent to a speaker of Anejoñ may not be so obvious to a speaker of some other language. An outside observer may not, for example, immediately perceive the transparency in the compound *inmoñol-hat* (spear-stone) 'k.o. false tamanu, *Garcinia platyphylla*'. However, the fact that the wood of this tree is used for making strong spears makes it a transparent compound in the eyes of speakers of the language.

Compounds involving the head nouns *natimi* 'person' and *nitai* 'thing' are the commonest ways of forming agentive and instrumental nouns. (Note, however, that *nitai* 'thing' usually appears in compounds as *nita-* rather than *nitai-*.) For example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|
| (7) | <i>auyat</i> | 'boast' | <i>natimi-auyat</i> | 'braggart' |
| | <i>al̥pas</i> | 'big' | <i>natimi-al̥pas</i> | 'district chief' |
| | <i>yag</i> | 'yellow' | <i>natimi-yag</i> | 'Polynesian' |
| | <i>anañ</i> | 'put on, wear' | <i>nita-anañ</i> | 'necklace' |
| | <i>awañ</i> | 'to plant' | <i>nita-awañ</i> | 'a plant' |
| | <i>irara</i> | 'to grate' | <i>nita-irara</i> | 'food-grater' |

Such compounds may involve more than two lexical elements. The second and third elements are usually either a verb and a following object:³

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (8) | <i>natimi-elwulwu-ntas</i> | <i>nita-acred-eañ</i> |
| | person-dominate-talk | thing-scrape-coconuts |
| | 'an overly talkative person' | 'a coconut-scraper' |

or they can be a possessive marker and a possessor:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (9) | <i>inhalav-u-napa</i> | <i>inlepei-uwu-n̄oded</i> |
| | child-POSS.G-soft.coral | grass.skirt-POSS.G-bush.spirit |
| | 'anemone fish, <i>Amphiprion</i> sp.' | 'k.o. grass which hangs from trees' |

Nominal compounding is a common device for distinguishing sub-species or minor varieties of fauna, flora, food, garden produce, etc. Note, for example, the following compounds on the head nouns *inman* 'bird', *namu* 'argonaut or nautilus shell', and *nalawu* 'laplap':⁴

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (10) | <i>inman-aleg</i> | <i>inman-atawai</i> |
| | bird-wild | bird-announce |
| | 'cuckoo-shrike, <i>Campephagidae</i> ' | 'grey-backed white-eye,
<i>Zosterops lateralis</i> ' |
| (11) | <i>namu-ataheñ</i> | <i>namu-atañmañ</i> |
| | nautilus-female | nautilus-male |
| | 'smaller variety of argonaut/nautilus' | 'larger variety of argonaut/nautilus' |
| (12) | <i>nalawu-ohos</i> | <i>nalawu-ohoyei</i> |
| | laplap-banana | laplap-manioc |
| | 'k.o. laplap made from bananas' | 'k.o. laplap made from manioc' |

The most common forms of compound nouns are discussed and exemplified below.

Noun + noun

In this type of compound, the second noun specifies or modifies the meaning of the head noun:

³ And such compounds could be considered as binary, of course – i.e. as noun + [verb + object].

⁴ *Laplap* is the Bislama term for a pudding made of grated tuber or banana, often with fillings of meat or greens, which is wrapped in leaves and cooked on hot stones.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (13) | <i>nioñ-Anejoñ</i>
house-Aneityum
'traditional-style house'

<i>inwau-kava</i>
vine-kava
'k.o. vine with leaves like those of kava' | <i>nataheñ-taketha</i>
girl-woman
'young woman'

<i>kava-mokom</i>
kava-parrotfish
'k.o. kava with bluish roots' |
|------|---|--|

Noun + possessive construction

In this kind of compound, the possessive construction also modifies the head noun; in many cases, the meaning is not particularly semantically transparent, but presumably is rooted in tradition. Some compounds of this type involve direct constructions (but without the construct suffix):

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (14) | <i>inmokom-tesia-nekrou</i>
parrotfish-flower-red.snapper
'k.o. reddish parrotfish' | <i>neañ-esgamta-nohor</i>
coconut-eye-spotless.crake
'k.o. coconut, red where the stalk joins the fruit' |
|------|---|--|

Others involve indirect constructions:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (15) | <i>inhal-u-nagesa</i>
child-POSS.G-sun
'albino'

<i>inmouad-u-pikad</i>
k.o.vine-POSS.G-pig
'k.o. vine, whose leaves are eaten by pigs' | <i>nittit-uwu-n̄poded</i>
knot-POSS.G-bush.spirit
'double reef-knot'

<i>naredared-a-nja</i>
diarrhoea-POSS.P-blood
'bloody diarrhoea' |
|------|---|--|

Noun + verb

There are also many compound nouns in which a verb modifies the head noun; in some of these cases, the verb is preceded by a particle. For example:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (16) | <i>nioñ-amyā</i>
house-menstruate
'menstrual hut'

<i>intas-itiyi-ahajeg</i>
talk-NEG-understand
'parable' | <i>neañ-del</i>
coconut-grow
'sprouting coconut'

<i>nelcau-añoñ</i>
canoe-drink
'canoe-shaped kava bowl' |
|------|--|---|

Noun + verb + object of verb

Compound nouns of this type are generally based on the head nouns *nitai* 'thing' or *natimi* 'person'. In the former case, we have something like 'a thing for doing something with':

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (17) | <i>nita-aplii-lag</i>
thing-chase-flies
'fly-whisk' | <i>nita-aprou-itai</i>
thing-hold.w.tongs-things
'tongs, tweezers' |
|------|---|--|

In the latter case we have 'a person who does something':

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|
| (18) | <i>natimi-elwulwu-ntas</i>
person-dominate-talk
'an overly talkative person' | > | <i>natimi-eneg-itai</i>
person-steal-things
'thief' |
|------|--|---|---|

5.1.2 Morphophonemics

Noun-initial *n* is deleted from all non-initial nouns in most types of nominal compounds:

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| (19) | <i>nataheñ-intaketha</i>
girl-woman | > | <i>nataheñ-taketha</i>
'young woman' |
| | <i>kava-inmokom</i>
kava-parrotfish | > | <i>kava-mokom</i>
'k.o. kava with bluish roots' |

However, noun-initial *n* is **not** deleted from a noun which is the possessor in a possessive construction;⁵ thus:

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| (20) | <i>neañ-nesgamta-nohor</i>
coconut-eye-spotless.crake | > | <i>neañ-esgamta-nohor</i>
'k.o. coconut, red where stalk joins fruit' |
| | <i>inhal-u-nagesga</i>
child-POSS.G-sun | > | <i>inhal-u-nagesga</i>
'albino' |

Of rather more interest is a set of vowel alternations in a number of head nouns in compounds, as illustrated by the following examples in which the first element is *incat* 'pandanus':

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|
| (21) | <i>incat-adgañ</i>
pandanus-put.on.head | > | <i>incat-adgañ</i>
'hat' |
| but: | | | |
| | <i>incat-mii</i>
pandanus-proper | > | <i>incet-mii</i>
'pandanus leaf for weaving' |

or by the following, in which the first element is *inlas* 'coral':

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (22) | <i>inlas-opdak</i>
coral-soft | > | <i>inlas-opdak</i>
'k.o. soft coral' |
| but: | | | |
| | <i>inlas-nelyat</i>
coral-devil.nettle | > | <i>inlis-elyat</i>
'k.o. stinging coral' |

In addition, there are cases of loss of vowels, as in:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (23) | <i>inloṗot-jaṗ</i>
croton-sea | > | <i>inloṗot-jaṗ</i>
'k.o. croton' |
| but: | | | |

⁵ Terry Crowley (pers. comm.) suggests that these may be a different sort of compound – one in which the elements are less tightly bound together. Compounds of this type are referred to as 'phrasal compounds' in his grammar of Erromangan (Crowley 1998:58-59).

<i>inloṗot-nahau</i> croton-turtle	>	<i>inloṗt-ahau</i> 'k.o. croton'
---------------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------

There are also cases of accretion of consonants:⁶

(24) <i>inma-ahii</i> breadfruit-white	>	<i>inmer-ahii</i> 'k.o. breadfruit with whitish fruit'
---	---	---

The full set of nouns in my corpus showing such alternations is listed below:

Uncompounded form	Compounded forms	
<i>incai</i>	<i>incai-, inca-, ince-, inci-</i>	'tree'
<i>incat</i>	<i>incat-, incet-</i>	'pandanus, basket'
<i>inhar</i>	<i>inher-</i>	'stingray'
<i>inhat</i>	<i>inhat-, inhet-</i>	'stone'
<i>inlag</i>	<i>inlag-, inleg-</i>	'a fly'
<i>inlas</i>	<i>inlas-, inlis-</i>	'coral'
<i>inloṗot</i>	<i>inloṗot-, inloṗt-</i>	'croton'
<i>inma</i>	<i>inmar-, inme-, inmer-</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>inman</i>	<i>inman-, inmen-</i>	'bird'
<i>inmokom</i>	<i>inmokom-, inmokm-</i>	'parrotfish'
<i>inrac</i>	<i>inrec-</i>	'land-crab'
<i>intan</i>	<i>intan-, inten-</i>	'ground'
<i>inwau</i>	<i>inwau-, inwou-, inwu-</i>	'vine'
<i>inyac</i>	<i>inyec-</i>	'yam-vine'
<i>inyat</i>	<i>inyet-</i>	'silkwood'
<i>nedoñ</i>	<i>nedoñ-, nedñ-</i>	'triggerfish'

As will be seen from the list above and also from the preceding examples, it is not simply a matter of a low vowel becoming a mid vowel when the noun enters into a compound: in some compounds this change takes place, in others it does not. Nor does there seem to be any phonological conditioning involved.

5.2 Verbal compounds

This section discusses compounds which are verbs, and in which the first element is a verb.

5.2.1 Structure

Compound verbs consist of a verb followed by one or more lexical items. The commonest pattern is verb + verb, but there are a few verbal compounds which have the structure verb + noun.

⁶ The form for 'breadfruit' derives from POc **maRi*. POc **R* is generally lost when it came to be word-final in Anejoñ (thus *inma* as the unsuffixed form), but not when it was word-medial, as is found in a number of compounds for names of breadfruit, in which **R* is reflected as *r*.

Verb + verb

In verb + verb compounds, the second verb usually modifies, limits, or further describes the action expressed by the first verb:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|--|
| (25) | <i>ama-i</i>
chew-TR | + | <i>alde-i</i>
cut-TR | > | <i>amalde-i</i>
'bite one's tongue' |
| | <i>asvi-i</i>
bend-TR | + | <i>alde-i</i>
cut-TR | > | <i>asvalde-i</i>
'break in two' |
| | <i>athe-i</i>
cover.w.earth-TR | + | <i>asgi-i</i>
direct.water-TR | > | <i>athasgi-i</i>
'dam' |
| | <i>ipñi-i</i>
smell-TR | + | <i>upni</i>
good | > | <i>ipñupni</i>
'fragrant' |
| | <i>isvi-i</i>
count-TR | + | <i>aduñoj</i>
return | > | <i>isviduñoj</i>
'count backwards' |

Verb + noun

In these compounds, the noun is the object of the verb and further specifies the action expressed by the verb:

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| (26) | <i>ati-i</i>
put-TR | + | <i>neromde-n</i>
strength-his | > | <i>atiromden</i>
'make an extra/last effort' |
| | <i>esja-ñ</i>
put.down-TR | + | <i>nalak</i>
roller | > | <i>esjaalak</i>
'put down rollers (for a canoe)' |
| | <i>isvi-i</i>
break-TR | + | <i>nahe</i>
compost | > | <i>isviahe</i>
'find compost' |

5.2.2 Morphophonemics

The first thing to note about the morphophonemics of verbal compounds is that the transitive suffix does not occur on the first verb in the compound. If the second verb is transitive, then it will take the suffix:

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| (27) | <i>aihi-i</i>
begin.to.plait-TR | + | <i>alde-i</i>
cut-TR | > | <i>aihalde-i</i>
'trim <pandanus leaf>' |
|------|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|--|

If, however, the second element is an intransitive verb or a transitive verb which does not take a transitive suffix, then no transitive suffix appears anywhere in the compound:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| (28) | <i>ipñi-i</i>
smell-TR | + | <i>upni</i>
good | > | <i>ipñupni</i>
'be fragrant' |
| | <i>almo-i</i>
see-TR | + | <i>ajidjid</i>
inspect | > | <i>almajidjid</i>
'inspect' |

Further, if the compound consists of a transitive verb followed by a noun, then both the transitive suffix and the noun-initial *n* are deleted:

- (29) *esja-ñ* + *nahaje-n* > *esjahajen*
 put.down-TR side-its 'be unbalanced'
- ati-i* + *neromde-n* > *atiromden*
 put-TR strength-his 'make an extra/last effort'

Following the deletion of any transitive suffix, if two vowels come together across a morpheme boundary, in *most* cases the first is deleted:

- (30) *asvi-i* + *acihi-i* > *asvacihi-i*
 bend-TR pull-TR 'straighten, stretch'
- acse-i* + *alge-i* > *acsalge-i*
 cut-TR turn-TR 'cut with sawing motion'
- athe-i* + *asgi-i* > *athasgi-i*
 cover w. earth-TR direct.water-TR 'dam'

However, there are cases where the second vowel is deleted:

- (31) *isvi-i* + *aduñoj* > *isviduñoj*
 count-TR return 'count backwards'
- ecse-i* + *akred* > *ecsekred*
 chip-TR scratch 'sharpen by paring'

There are also cases where the combination of vowels results in a third vowel which takes on some features of each of the adjacent vowels:

- (32) *ecji-i* + *apela-ñ* > *ecjepela-ñ*
 ram-TR turn-TR 'stuff with material'

5.3 Fossilised compounds

As noted in example (2) above, there are many other Anejoñ words which give the appearance of being compounds, but where there is no evidence of the independent occurrence of one or both elements.

Perhaps the most interesting of these are verbs like the following:

- (33) *acsañod* 'cut <string>' cf. *acsei* 'cut with sawing motion'
- ahvañod* 'break by squeezing' cf. *ahvii* 'press with finger'
- asvañod* 'wring, twist off' cf. *asvii* 'bend'
- atañod* 'cut with knife raised' cf. *atai* 'slice, cut without raising knife'
- atcañod* 'break by hitting' cf. *atcai* 'hit'

The apparent compounds all involve a second element of the form *añod*, and also all involve the idea of breaking. However, there is no free-form verb *añod*.

Here is a second set of similar verbs:

- (34) *achaṇḍekraṇ* 'drop and smash' cf. *achaṇ* 'smash down'
aiyaṇḍekraṇ 'remove <leaves from cooked laplap>' cf. *aiyii* 'remove <earth from oven>'
alcaṇḍekraṇ 'demolish (in order to repair/replace)' cf. *alcapsou* 'lever out'
ayaṇḍekraṇ 'open' cf. *ayapsou* 'pull out'

Once again, the apparent compounds involve a second element *dekraṇ*, and also involve the idea of removing and/or breaking. However, there is no free-form verb *dekraṇ* (or vowel + *dekraṇ*.)

It is probable that, at one stage, there were verbs like *aṇḍod* 'break' and *(a)dekraṇ* 'remove and break', that these entered into compounds as the second member further specifying the action, and that eventually they ceased to exist as independent verbs.

6 *Simple sentences*

This chapter will deal with the structure of simple sentences in Anejoñ. I will deal first with the structure of verbal and verbless sentences containing only core arguments, and then with peripheral arguments and the marking of these arguments. In the final sections of the chapter I will deal with imperative and interrogative sentences, make some remarks about intonation, and discuss an unusual clause type which contains the verb *alañ* ‘go along’.

6.1 Basic clause structure: core arguments

A simple verbal clause is one containing only core arguments to the verb phrase – that is, subjects and (in the case of transitive clauses) objects. Anejoñ has fairly strict ordering restrictions on these arguments, and the preferred phrase order is discussed first below, followed by a discussion of permissible variations.

6.1.1 Verbal clauses

The basic order of core arguments in Anejoñ verbal clauses is VS in intransitive clauses and VOS in transitive clauses – which makes Anejoñ the only (non-Polynesian) language in Vanuatu to have this as the preferred order (all other Vanuatu languages having SVO). Objects of transitive verbs are unmarked, as are inanimate subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs. Animate noun phrase subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked by a preceding particle *a* (though this has apparently fused with subject pronouns, which are all *a*-initial and which do not take this particle – see §3.1.1). Unlike in many Oceanic languages, subject pronouns are almost never omitted, even though the person and number of the subject are also indexed by a preverbal particle.

Sentences (1)–(5) are examples of simple intransitive clauses which have the structure VS. In (3) and (4), the subject is animate and is marked by *a*, while in (5) the subject is a pronoun and is unmarked. Phrases are bracketed in these and most other examples in this chapter.

- (1) [Is omlas] [nefalañ iyii].
3SG.P slippery path DEM.AN.SG
‘That path was slippery.’

- (2) [*Et apam*] [*plen*].
3SG.AR come plane
'The plane is coming.'
- (3) [*Et ñan hag*] [*a kuri*].
3SG.AR PF eat S dog
'The dog has eaten.'
- (4) [*Et apam*] [*a di*]?
3SG.AR come S who
'Who's coming?'
- (5) [*Jim lav*] [*aak*]!
DONT make.noise you.SG
'Don't (you sg.) make a noise!'

While the head of the verb phrase in an intransitive clause is usually a verb, it may be a member of some other word class. This occurs in certain kinds of equational or identificatory clauses, like examples (6) and (7).

- (6) [*Et etma-k*] [*a nat enaa*].
3SG.AR father-my S fellow DEM2.SG
'That fellow is my father.'
- (7) [*Et itiyi uña-k*] [*intal enaa*].
3SG.AR NEG POSS.G-my taro DEM2.SG
'That taro is not mine.'

There are two differences between these sentences and strictly verbless clauses (which will be discussed in §6.1.4). First, the predicate contains a subject-tense marker, which does not occur in verbless sentences. And second, animate subjects of these clauses are marked by *a*, which is not the case with animate subjects/topics of verbless clauses.

Sentences (8)–(12) are examples of simple transitive clauses which have the structure VOS. Animate subjects are marked by *a*, but inanimate subjects, as in (11) and (12), are simply marked by relations of order. The 2SG object suffixed allomorph is shown in (10).

- (8) [*Eris lecse-i*] [*isji-tal*] [*aarau*].
3PLP take.PL-TR fruits-taro they.DL
'The two of them took the taro corms.'
- (9) [*Et awod*] [*yic*] [*a di*]?
3SG.AR hit you.OBJ S who?
'Who hit you?'
- (10) [*Is emita-c*] [*a intaketha enaa*].
3SG.P fear-you.SG.O S woman DEM2.SG
'That woman is afraid of you.'
- (11) [*Et acjapnin*] [*inhal uña-k*] [*nimehe*].
3SG.AR affect child POSS.G sickness
'A sickness is affecting my child.'
- (12) [*Et ecni-i*] [*ñak*] [*kava*].
3SG.AR make.drunk-TR me kava
'The kava made me drunk.'

6.1.2 Topicalisation

Both subject and objects may be topicalised by moving to sentence-initial position, but this is not a very common phenomenon in Anejoñ in comparison with many other Oceanic languages.

With subject-topicalisation, a distinct pause occurs after the fronted subject NP, which is not preceded by the subject-marker *a*. When the subject is animate, the NP subject occurs sentence-initially, and a pronominal copy occurs clause-finally. Thus the phrase order in these clauses is SV(O)S:

- (13) [Añak im elpu-hal u-ñak], [ekris ahe-i] [incai iyiiki] [ajama].
I and PL-child POSS.G-my NSG.P climb-TR tree DEM1.SG we.EXC.PL
'I and my children, we climbed this tree.'
- (14) [Aattaj achei], [eris esej achei] [aattaj]...
they.TL only 3PL.P three only they.TL
'Those three only, there were just the three of them...'
- (15) [Nahaje-i elpu-hal u-rau], [eris apam] [aara].
other.side-CS PL-child POSS.G-their.DL 3PL.P come they.PL
'The other group of their children, they came.'
- (16) [Nomrag iyii], [is itiyi imehe] [aen].
old.man DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P NEG sick he
'That old man, he wasn't sick.'

Note in the following example the topicalisation of the subject in the second clause, as a clarification of the less definite subject of the first clause:

- (17) [Is añ atpu] [tah aarau] – [Nagesga] [atpu] [aan].
3SG.P and hide INDEF they.DL Nagesga hide he
'And one of the two of them hid – Nagesga hid.'

In the few cases I have recorded of topicalised inanimate subjects, there is no pronominal copy; and thus the phrase order is SV(O):

- (18) ...jai [n-amen u atimi] [is tii] [n-amen upni].
but N-live POSS.G people 3SG.P not.be.SG N-live good
'...but the people's life was not a good one.'
- (19) [Nejhe-n] [is upni asga].
tooth-his/her 3SG.P good all
'His/her teeth were all good.'

Object-topicalisation is probably less frequent than subject-topicalisation. In the few cases I have recorded, there is no corresponding object pronominal copy. It appears that only full NP objects may be topicalised, and so the phrase order here is OVS. I have not found any cases of a topicalised pronominal object. Perhaps the commonest context in which object-topicalisation occurs is when the object is interrogative:

- (20) [Nev-atimi iyii] [et awod] [aen]?
which-person DEM.AN.SG 3SG.AR hit (s)he
'Which person was it that he/she hit?'

- (21) [Nev-itai iyii] [na amen aek] [m-asañ]?
 which-thing DEM.AN.SG 2SG.AR stay you.SG ES-tell
 'What was that you were saying?'

However, it also occurs in non-interrogative sentences:

- (22) [Intal enai] [ek acred] [añak].
 taro DEM2.SG 1SG.AR scrape I
 'This taro, I'm scraping it now.'
- (23) [Inyiḡal era-n] [eris ika].
 story POSS.P-its 3PL.P say
 'The story they told about it.' (lit. 'Its story they told.')

6.1.3 Other variations in phrase order

There is a number of cases in which there may be departures from this otherwise strict V(O)S order, but which do not involve topicalisation.

One is when the object is quite long (often containing a relative clause, as in example (24) below), and the subject quite short, in which case VSO order may occur.

- (24) [Is itiyi atou] [aan] [intas kis asaḡ añak].
 3SG.P NEG know he word 1SG.P say I
 'He didn't understand what I said.'

Indefinite subjects – i.e. those marked by indefinite premodifiers like *tah* SG or *hal* PL – often occur preverbally:

- (25) [Tah nitai enaa] [et iji].
 NPL.INDEF thing DEM2.SG 3SG.AR stand
 'There's something standing there.'
- (26) [Hal jii] [era apam].
 PL.INDEF this1.PL 3PL.AR come
 'Here's some (people) coming.'

The existential verb *yek* (with its dual and plural forms *rak* and *sjek*) was discussed in §4.1.4 above. *Yek* is unusual in that, although a pronoun subject follows the verb, a noun phrase subject (whether indefinite or definite) obligatorily precedes it. Clauses with *yek* may be followed by normal relative clauses (see §8.1), as in (29) and (30):

- (27) [Yek] [aan] [se-pahai-kou].
 be.there.SG (s)he down-inland-DIST
 'He's down there (seawards).'
- (28) [Hal taketha] [sjek] [a-nlii-i nioḡ].
 PL.INDEF women be.there.PL LOC-inside-CS house
 'There are some women in the house.'
- (29) [Injaḡ] [ḡan yek] [et ḡan apam].
 sea PF be.there.SG 3SG.AR PF come
 'The sea is coming in there already.'

- (30) [Inhalav] [rak] [erau tañ].
 child be.there.DL 3DL.AR cry
 'There are two kids there who are crying.'

A final variation concerns clauses whose subject includes a noun modified by the general indirect possessor + pronominal suffix. Quite frequently in cases like these, the noun phrase is followed by a *focal* pronoun of the same person and number as the possessive pronoun. For example:

- (31) [Et miritmirit] [tarauses uña-k] [añak].
 3SG.AR (too).tight trousers POSS:G-my I
 'My trousers are (too) tight.'
- (32) [Era ahadahad] [era-i pikad] [elpu-kuri uñu-m] [aak].
 3PL.AR bark GOAL-CS pig PL-dog POSS.G-your.SG you.SG
 'Your dogs were barking at the pig(s).'

Both of these sentences are grammatical without the focal pronoun, though this construction is probably less frequent.

6.1.4 Verbless clauses

The fact that there is both an existential verb (*yek*) and a negative existential verb (*tii* SG, *atii* PL) in Anejoñ, plus the fact that adjectival meanings are conveyed by stative verbs, means that verbless clauses do not occur with as great a frequency as in some other Oceanic languages. The normal order in these clauses seems to be subject + predicate, with no subject-marker *a*:

- (33) [Nida-i nataheñ iyüiki] [Inmohoc].
 name-CS sister DEM.AN.SG Inmohoc
 'The sister's name was Inmohoc.'
- (34) [Nagesga] [natañañ era-i Inmohoc].
 Nagesga brother POSS.P-CS Inmohoc
 'Nagesga was the brother of Inmohoc.'

However, if the subject is a demonstrative pronoun, the normal order seems to be predicate + subject:

- (35) [Inyiḗal Anejoñ] [niñki].
 story Aneityum this1.SG
 'This is an Aneityumese story.'
- (36) [Tah nitai] [naa] [au-se-pag-kou].
 INDEF thing this2.SG LD-down-there-distant
 'That is something down there.'
- (37) [Natimi] [naa]?
 person this2.SG
 'Is this an important person?' (lit. 'Is this a person?')

6.2 Structure of peripheral phrases

As noted already, animate subjects are marked by a preposed *a*, while objects and inanimate subjects are unmarked. Certain kinds of temporal and locative phrases are also unmarked, but all other noun phrase arguments are marked by preposed CASE MARKERS. This section looks at the various case markers, and at the internal structure of different kinds of peripheral phrases; the syntax of peripheral phrases within the clause is discussed in §6.3.

These case markers might be referred to as prepositions. However, some take possessive suffixes and some take object suffixes; and in addition, in some contexts the case marker is cliticised to the first word in the noun phrase. I thus prefer to use the term case marker (which refers to their function) rather than preposition (which suggests a free-standing morpheme).

6.2.1 Case markers

Some Anejoñ case markers vary formally depending on the nature of the NP they govern. The base forms of the case markers (i.e. the form used with *n*-initial nouns), with a highly abbreviated description of their functions, are:¹

<i>a</i>	oblique
<i>ehele</i>	personal locative/directional
<i>imta</i>	dative/benefactive
<i>u</i>	locative (in certain restricted contexts)
<i>va</i>	causal
<i>imi</i>	dative/benefactive

Table 6.1 below lists the case markers, shows which type of pronoun they govern, and summarises differences in phonological form. When any of these case markers precedes an *in*-initial noun, that noun drops the *i*. (The various forms of *u*, which is the general possessive marker, were discussed in §3.5.2.)

Table 6.1: Formal variation in case markers

BASE FORM	<i>a</i>	<i>ehele</i>	<i>imta</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>imi</i>
WITH PRONOUNS:						
Form	<i>era-</i>	<i>ehele-</i>	<i>imta-</i>	[see	<i>va-</i>	<i>imi-</i>
Pronoun	POSS.	POSS.	POSS.	§3.5.2]	OBJ.	OBJ.
WITH NOUNS:						
Personal	<i>era-i</i>	<i>ehele-i</i>	<i>imta-i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>va-i</i>	<i>imi</i>
Sing. <i>n</i> -	<i>a</i>	<i>ehele-i</i>	<i>imta-i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>va-i</i>	<i>imi</i>
Sing. <i>in</i> -	<i>a-</i>	<i>ehele-</i>	<i>imta-</i>	<i>uwu</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>imi</i>
Sing. other	<i>era-i</i>	<i>ehele-i</i>	<i>imta-i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>va-i</i>	<i>imi</i>
Plural	<i>era-i</i>	<i>ehele-i</i>	<i>imta-i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>va-i</i>	<i>imi</i>
ANAPHORIC						
Animate	<i>era-n</i>	<i>ehele-n</i>	<i>imta-n</i>	<i>uwu-n</i>	<i>va-n</i>	
Inanimate	<i>era-n</i>	<i>ehele-n</i>	<i>imta-n</i>	<i>uwu-n</i>	<i>va-ñ</i>	

¹ I will show in §6.2.4.3 below that *u*, and the other possessive markers, also mark certain kinds of benefactive phrases.

The difference between anaphoric animate and inanimate forms with the case marker *va* can be seen in the following two sentences from the same text. In (38), the speaker introduces a character in the story (*tiapolo* 'devil' – obviously animate), and the animate anaphoric form *va-n* is used in the second clause.

- (38) *Is amen a tiapolo is ithii, eris ika [va-n] Nagaarien.*
 3SG.P stay S devil 3SG.P one 3PL.P call GOAL-him Nagaarien
 'There was a devil there, who was called Nagaarien.'

Example (39) comes from the same story; here, the speaker introduces a location (*a-nworen* 'to a place'), and then uses the inanimate anaphoric form *va-ñ* in the next clause.

- (39) *...a-nworen is ithii, eris ika [va-ñ] Inñanjaṭitac.*
 LOC-place 3SG.P one 3PL.P call GOAL-TR Inñanjaṭitac
 '...to a place which is called Inñanjaṭitac.'

The formal variation described in Table 6.1 can be exemplified with just two sets of examples. The first set consists of the oblique marker *a* governing pronouns and NPs of the different types given in Table 6.1. In these examples, *a* marks referential case, and introduces a phrase following *Et yiṭāl aan...* (3SG.AR tell.story (s)he) 'He/she told a story...':

- (40) *...era-ñ.* '...about you.'
...era-i Lui. '...about Lui.'
...a nelcau uwu-n. '...about his canoe.'
...a-ntaketha enaa. '...about that woman (*intaketha*).'
...era-i kuri enaa. '...about that dog.'
...era-i elcau uwu-n. '...about his canoes.'
...era-n. '...about it.'

Ehele, *imta* and *u*, like *a*, take possessive pronoun suffixes or the construct suffix *-i* and thus, in certain contexts at least, behave in the same way as possessive markers (or directly possessed nouns).

The second set consists of examples of the marker *va* (here marking cause), introducing a phrase in the frame *Ek atapnes añak...* (1SG.AR shut I...) 'I shut the door...':

- (41) *...va-c.* '...against/because of you.'
...va-i Lui. '...against/because of Lui.'
...va-i nelcau uwu-n. '...against/because of his canoe.'
...va-ntaketha enaa. '...against/because of that woman.'
...va-i kuri enaa. '...against/because of that dog.'
...va-i elcau uwu-n. '...against/because of his canoes.'
...va-ñ. '...against/because of it.'

Va and *imi* take object pronoun suffixes or transitive suffixes and may be derived historically from verbs, though neither can be used as the head of a verb phrase, nor is there any obvious verb in the modern language to which they are formally related.

It should be briefly mentioned here that the oblique marker *a* is, in certain contexts, homophonous with the animate subject marker *a*. For example:

- (42) [*Is apan*][*a Manio*] [*a nemnem*].
 3SG.P go S Manio LOC place
 'Manio went home.'

However, while the oblique case marker has the variants shown in Table 6.1, the subject marker is invariable in form and precipitates none of the morphophonemic changes which the oblique case marker does. Thus homophony occurs only in the context of a following *n*-initial noun (which, admittedly, is a common occurrence).

6.2.2 Time and place phrases

Two types of temporal and place phrases can be distinguished: those which are marked with a case marker, and those which are unmarked.²

6.2.2.1 Unmarked time and place phrases

Unmarked temporal phrases consist simply of a temporal noun (see §3.2.1 above). For example:

- (43) *Et pu apam a Tagipe* [imrañ].
 3SG.AR FUT come S Tagipe tomorrow
 'Tagipe will come tomorrow.'

Similarly, unmarked place phrases may consist simply of a locative noun (see §3.2.2):

- (44) *Et amen aan* [Umej].
 3SG.AR stay (s)he Umej
 'He/she is (staying) at Umej.'

Table 6.2: Locative demonstratives

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Anaphoric
PROXIMATE Indicated	<i>inkahegka, inkaaki, inkahe aṗniñki, aṗni</i>	<i>aṗrañki</i>	<i>aṗjiñki</i>	<i>inka</i>
INTERMEDIATE Indicated	<i>inkapam, ankehan, aṅkou aṗnañkou, aṗnaa</i>	<i>aṗrañkou</i>		<i>añki</i>
DISTANT Indicated	<i>inkapan, aaki, ean aṗnaikou, aṗyi</i>			<i>eaaki</i>

However, unmarked place phrases may also consist of a locative demonstrative. One set of these corresponds to the demonstrative pronouns and modifiers discussed in Chapter 3; these are listed in Table 6.2.³ These forms locate an event in space with reference to the speaker and hearer or to the focus of the discourse. There is much less marking of number here than there is with the demonstrative pronouns and modifiers, as one would expect; the singular forms are used in non-singular numbers where there is no specific non-singular form. The forms labelled 'indicated', which are all *aṗ*-initial, are used when the speaker is

² I use the term 'place' to include locative (at or in a place), allative (to a place) and ablative (from a place).

³ Sequences of *ñk* and *nk* often undergo assimilation to *gk*.

showing or pointing or in some other way physically indicating the location, and these forms may be further emphasised by taking the suffix *-sak*. Thus:

<i>aaki</i>	'there, over there (away from speaker and hearer)'
<i>aṗyi</i>	'there, over there, where I'm pointing'
<i>aṗyi-sak</i>	'over there where I'm pointing – can't you see it?'
<i>eaaki</i>	'there (in that place previously referred to or which speaker and hearer know of from context)'

The second set of locative demonstratives is formed on a base *au-*, which takes the verbal directional suffixes discussed in §4.2.5 above.⁴ Recall that those suffixes were:

Vertical direction/location	Horizontal distance direction/location	Distance
<i>-jai</i> 'up'	<i>-pam</i> 'hither'	<i>-ki</i> 'near'
<i>-se(h)</i> 'down'	<i>-pan</i> 'thither'	<i>-kou</i> 'distant'
	<i>-ṗok</i> 'seawards'	
	<i>-pahai</i> 'landwards, inland'	

The locative demonstratives using *au-* must take a vertical or horizontal suffix (and can take both), and must also take one of the two distance suffixes. That is, locative demonstratives may be of the following forms:

- au* – VERTICAL – DISTANCE
- au* – HORIZONTAL – DISTANCE
- au* – VERTICAL – HORIZONTAL – DISTANCE

For example:

<i>au-pan-kou</i>	'over there'
<i>au-so-kou</i>	'down there'
<i>au-se-pan-kou</i>	'down over there'
<i>au-ji-pam-ki</i>	'up here'

The following sentences contain a locative phrase consisting of one of the locative demonstratives discussed above; the first example is the sentence immediately following (39) above (where the people had arrived in a place called Inṁanjaṗitac):

- (45) *Wat yet-pan aarau [eaaki]...*
 T.P arrive-thither they.DL there.AN
 'When they arrived there...'
- (46) *Et ṁan toṗ ihnii inyiṗal [inkaaki].*
 3SG.AR PF just finish story here
 'The story just finishes here.'
- (47) *Is ṁan adei nagesga [au-pan-kou].*
 3SG.P PF go.down sun LD-thither-distant
 'The sun had already set over there.'

⁴ This locative-demonstrative base *au-* does not occur alone. It may derive historically from the oblique case marker *a* + a morpheme *u*, either the general possessive marker or an old locative prefix (see §3.7 above).

6.2.2.2 Marked time and place phrases

Temporal and place phrases which are marked with a case marker have as their head a form which is not a temporal or locative noun nor a locative demonstrative. Marked temporal phrases universally use the oblique case-marker *a*:

- (48) *Et itiyi hag aan [a nuyaleg].*
 3SG.AR NEG eat (s)he T morning
 'He/she didn't eat in the morning/this morning.'
- (49) *[A noupan is ithii]...*
 T time 3SG.P one
 'Once upon a time...'
- (50) *Et atou aan m-apam [era-i iji-sjupki].*
 3SG.AR know (s)he ES-come T-CS every-afternoon
 'He/she's in the habit of coming every afternoon.'

The most common case marker used in marked place phrases whose head is a non-personal noun is also *a*. It marks locative, allative and ablative cases, illustrated respectively in examples (51), (52) and (53):

- (51) *Et amen a Naulita [a nemnem] ka a'o?*
 3SG.AR stay S Naulita LOC place or no
 'Is Naulita at home?'
- (52) *A'o, et man apan aan [era-i stoa].*
 no 3SG.AR PF go he LOC-CS store.
 'No, he's gone to the store.'
- (53) *Jek aara era apam [a-nhenou].*
 be.there.PL they.PL 3PL.AR come LOC-taro.swamp
 'There they are coming back from the taro swamp.'

The general indirect possessive marker *u* also occasionally introduces non-personal place phrases:

- (54) *Eris wat apan aara wat alek yin wat apan*
 3PL.AR T.P go they.PL T.P look.for him T.P go
[u nirahed], am lep ecet yin.
 LOC pig.fence and again see him
 'When they went looking for him they went to the pig fence, and they saw him again.'
- (55) *Alañ [u naworitai inii] uña-k.*
 go.along LOC garden DEM1.SG POSS.G-my
 'I'm going to this garden.'

Indeed, *a* could occur in place of *u* in (54) above (...*wat apan a nirahed*...) and I am unclear as to what the semantic difference between them is, if there is any. Certainly, however, only *a*, and not *u*, could be used with the same verb and head noun in a non-dependent clause:

- (56) *Is apan aara [a nirahed].*
 P go they.PL LOC pig.fence
 'They went to the pig fence.'

**Is apan aara [u nirahed].*
 P go they.PL LOC pig.fence

When the head of the place phrase is a personal noun or a pronoun, the case marker *ehele-* is used:

- (57) *Et amen [ehele-i Nasawai] aan.*
 3SG.AR stay LOC-CS Nasawai (s)he
 'He/she stays with Nasawai/at Nasawai's place.'
- (58) *Et atec [ehele-k] a Keitadi.*
 3SG.AR sit LOC-my S Keitadi
 'Keitadi sat near/next to me.'
- (59) *Is p̄ar apan aara p̄ar yet-pan [ehele-n] p̄ar tas imta-n.*
 P SEQ go they.PL SEQ arrive-thither LOC-his SEQ talk DAT-his
 'Then they went to where he was and talked with him.'
- (60) *Is wat apan aan wat ala-i pikad uwu-n, añ ecet*
 3SG.P T.P go he T.P feed-TR pig POSS.G-his and see
Paralelcai is ecohos-pan aan [ehele-n].
 Paralelcai 3SG.P appear-thither he LOC-his
 'When he went to feed his pig(s), he saw Paralelcai appear near/in front of him.'

What are generally referred to in the literature on Oceanic languages as COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS also occur in Anejoñ. One subset of these consists of modifiers or locational nouns followed by a case marker:

<i>ijiñis a</i>	'on top of'
<i>ijhou a</i>	'outside (of)'
<i>itac u</i>	'behind'
<i>itac-pan u</i>	'far from'
<i>uṗotṗotet u</i>	'near, close to <inanimate>'
<i>uṗotṗotet ehele-</i>	'near, close to <animate>'

Examples:

- (61) *Ati-i-se-sjak [uṗotṗotet u rais] aak!*
 put-TR-down-POL near LOC rice you.SG
 'Just put it down next to the rice please!'
- (62) *Et amjeg a kuri [itac a nioñ].*
 3SG.AR sleep S dog behind LOC house
 'The dog is sleeping behind the house.'
- (63) *Et apam a pikad [uṗotṗotet ehele-k].*
 3SG come S pig near DAT-my
 'The pig is coming close to me.'

There are also cases where what appears to be the directional suffix *pan* occurs separated from and followed by *a* LOC, with some kind of comitative or associative meaning:

- (64) *Is p̄ar ciñ aen* [*pan a naṗu-n era-n*].
 3SG.P SEQ eat.TR (s)he thither LOC crust-its LOC-its
 'He/she then ate it with the crust still on it.'
- (65) *...aṃ lep ude-i yin* [*pan era-i atimi is*
 and again leave-TR him thither LOC-CS people P
amen m-amenjina-i yin].
 stay ES-look.after-TR him
 '...and (they) left him with the people who were looking after him.'

The other subset consists of a case marker plus a directly possessed noun:⁵

<i>a etha-</i>	'under'	cf. <i>etha-</i>	'the underneath of'
<i>a nahaje-</i>	'to the (other) side'	cf. <i>nahaje-</i>	'(other) side'
<i>a nepla-</i>	'between'	cf. <i>nepla-</i>	'the middle of'
<i>a-nlii-</i>	'inside'	cf. <i>inlii-</i>	'the inside of'
<i>a-nloula-</i>	'on top of'	cf. <i>inloula-</i>	'top'

Examples:

- (66) *Is amen aan* [*a etha-i tepol*].
 3SG.P stay it LOC under-CS table
 'It was under the table'
- (67) *Is apan aan* [*a nahaje-i inpeke*].
 3SG.P go (s)he LOC other.side-CS island
 'He/she went to the other side of the island.'
- (68) *Is amen aṇak m-aji* [*a nepla-rau*].
 P stay I ES-stand LOC middle-their.DL
 'I was standing between them.'
- (69) *Et amen* [*a-nlii-i nioṃ*] *a Naiyag*.
 3SG.AR stay LOC-inside-CS house S Naiyag
 'Naiyag's in(side) the house.'

6.2.3 Goal phrases

The semantic goal of a verb is often encoded as a direct object, in which case there is no overt marking (apart from pronominal objects, which differ formally from other pronouns). However, as pointed out in §4.1.2, there are two subclasses of intransitive verbs which encode the semantic goal as a case-marked goal phrase.

One such set uses the oblique preposition *a*:

- (70) *Is toṗ aṗiajaṗiaj* [*a nawu-nlas*] *aan*.
 P just loosen.to.remove GOAL log-coral (s)he
 'He just loosened the coral plug (so as to remove it).'

⁵ When *a* precedes *etha-* 'underneath', the *a* and *e* coalesce as *e*: *a etha-i tepol* 'under the table' > /ethaitepol/.

- (71) *Nai ñan arehed [era-i ti] ka?*
 2SG.AR PF turn GOAL-CS tea or
 'Have you stirred the tea?'
- (72) *Et ahajeg [a-ntas u-ja] a nupu-tooga*
 3SG.AR understand GOAL-language POSS.G-1INC.PL S person-foreign
iyii.
 DEM.AN.SG
 'That foreigner understands our language.'
- (73) *Isitu-sjak [era-k] aak!*
 help.SG-POL GOAL-my you.SG
 'Please help me!'
- (74) *Et gara [era-i trak uña-k] aan.*
 3SG.AR destroy.wilfully GOAL-CS vehicle POSS.G-my (s)he
 'He/she deliberately smashed my car/truck.'

The other set of goal-marking intransitive verbs uses the causal case marker *va*:

- (75) *Era ika [va-ñ] Anjinwai.*
 3PL.AR say GOAL-TR Anjinwai
 'They call it (a place) Anjinwai.'
- (76) *Is ñan arapan [va-i Nijvañ] aan m-apera-i yin*
 3SG.P PF hold GOAL-TR Prawn (s)he ES-turn.upside.down-TR him
is asuol nitjini-n.
 3SG.P descend head-his
 'He held Prawn and turned him upside down.'
- (77) *Jim egrinwai [va-ntas uwu-n] aak!*
 DONT interrupt GOAL-talk POSS.G-his/her you.SG
 'Don't interrupt his/her talk(ing)!'
- (78) *Et pu atinecop [va-i cowa] aan.*
 3SG.AR FUT lead GOAL-TR you.PL.O (s)he
 'He/she will lead you all.'
- (79) *Et esjam [va-i kofi] a puua.*
 3SG.AR refuse GOAL-TR coffee S Grandpa/Grandma
 'Grandpa/Grandma doesn't want (the) coffee.'

I have given quite a few examples of each marker here, for two reasons. The first is to show that it is definitely *goal*, and not some other case, that is being marked. The examples above seem to be of unequivocal goals. There are other more equivocal examples, like the following:

- (80) *Ek ohoj [va-c] añak!*
 1SG.AR angry va-you.SG.O I
 'I'm angry at you/because of you!'

In (80), *va* may be interpreted as marking semantic goal ('I'm angry at you!'), or it may be marking semantic cause ('I'm angry because of you!'). However, the examples in (70)–(79) above do not, I think, admit of any such dual interpretations.

The second reason why I have given quite a few examples is to show that there seems to be no semantic basis for the division between transitive verbs, goal-marking verbs with *a*, and goal-marking verbs with *va*. For example, listed below is a number of verbs of holding. The case marker used with each verb is indicated after the verb (\emptyset indicating that the semantic goal is the direct object).⁶

<i>upli-i</i>	\emptyset	'hold (general term)'
<i>ahioṃ</i>	<i>a</i>	'hold on to'
<i>alhe</i>	\emptyset	'hold in the hand'
<i>arapan</i>	<i>va</i>	'hold in the hand'
<i>asjira-ñ</i>	\emptyset	'hold securely in the hand'
<i>avaktit</i>	\emptyset	'hold securely'
<i>avapijga-ñ</i>	\emptyset	'hold two things'
<i>acjaṇ</i>	<i>a</i>	'hold in the mouth'
<i>aprou</i>	\emptyset	'hold with tongs'
<i>eklo</i>	\emptyset	'hold so as to comfort'

6.2.4 Beneficiaries and recipients

This section deals with the general area covered by cases like dative and benefactive. Some such phrases are unmarked, while others are marked by one of the markers *ehele-*, *imta-* or *imi*. In addition, the possessive markers can also introduce benefactive phrases.

6.2.4.1 Unmarked indirect object

There is a small number of ditransitive verbs which do not mark the dative with a case marker. For example:

- (81) *Et alṗa-i [risi-k] naifi iniñ a di?*
 3SG.AR give-TR mother-my knife DEM1.SG S who
 'Who gave my mother this knife?'
- (82) *Tu mu ala-i [Pelona im Makenta] tah*
 1INC.PL.INCP HORT give.to.eat-CS Pelona and Makenta INDEF
pret akaja.
 bread we.INC.PL
 'What say we give Pelona and Makenta some bread (to eat)?'

As noted in §4.1.3, the indirect object precedes the direct object. With some of these verbs (like *alṗa-i*), an indirect pronoun object occurs in the objective case; with others (like *ala-i*), the possessive pronoun is used:

- (83) *Et alṗa-i [yin] naifi iniñ a di?*
 3SG.AR give-TR her knife DEM1.SG S who
 'Who gave her this knife?'

⁶ This list is also interesting in relation to the discussion of the transitive suffixes in §4.2.4 above: of the various \emptyset -marked verbs, some have no suffix, some take *-i*, and some take *-ñ*.

- (84) *Tu mu ala-[rau] tah pret akaja.*
 1INC.PL.INCP HORT give.to.eat-their.DL INDEF bread we.INC.PL
 'What say we give the two of them some bread (to eat)?'

6.2.4.2 Marking of dative

With most other verbs, the marker of dative case is *imta-* as the following examples illustrate:

- (85) *Et ñan tas [imta-ñ] a natimarid ka?*
 3SG.AR ꞑ talk DAT-your.SG S chief or
 'Has the chief talked to you/had a chat with you?'
- (86) *Et yiṗal [imta-ma] a tata.*
 3SG.AR tell.story DAT-our.EXC.PL S Dad
 'Dad told us a story.'
- (87) *Ek akwanaham [imta-i Sera] añak.*
 1SG.AR give.freely DAT-CS Sera I
 'I'll give it to Sera for nothing.'
- (88) *Et esge [imta-i nupu-tooga] intas Anejoñ a Tepahai.*
 3SG.AR teach DAT-CS person-foreign language Anejoñ S Tepahae
 'Tepahae's teaching the foreigner the Anejoñ language.'

The case marker *imi* is rare in my corpus. Where it does occur, it does not seem to differ in any significant way from *imta-*, and when asked to substitute one for the other, speakers seem to find both equally acceptable. Sentence (89) below, for example, is synonymous with (86) above:

- (89) *Et yiṗal [imi cama] a tata.*
 3SG.AR tell.story DAT us.EXC.PL S Dad
 'Dad told us a story.'
- (90) *Is ṗar atau aan [imi atimi ijiñki].*
 3SG.P SEQ help (s)he DAT people DEM1.PL
 'Then he helped these people.'

An examination of Inglis' grammar sketch and dictionary suggests that *imi* may have once been the dative marker, and that *imta-* is replacing it. Inglis' (1882:41) list of prepositions contains *imi*, glossed 'to', and the dictionary entry (p.83) glosses it as 'to, for'. *Imta-*, however, does not appear anywhere in his grammar sketch, and the only possible related form in the dictionary is *imtaam* 'to help; to associate' (p.84) – which *may* be *imta-ñ* (DAT-your.SG) 'to/for you'. Capell's discussion of prepositions (n.d.:57-59) basically repeats Inglis in this regard. If *imta-* is replacing *imi*, it is interesting that a form which takes objective pronouns is giving way to one which takes possessive suffixes.

Ehele- also marks dative, but seems to be restricted to occurring with verbs of locution:

- (91) *Is ika a Paralelcai [ehele-i elpu-atmas ago kava]...*
 3SG.P say S Paralelcai DAT-CS PL-spirits make kava
 'Paralelcai said to the spirits who were making kava...'

- (92) *Et asañ tas-aktit-pan [ehele-k] a etwa-ñ.*
 3SG.AR tell talk-tie-thither DAT-my S brother-your.SG
 'Your brother made an agreement with me.'
- (93) *Ek ecsiipeke añaak [ehele-i elpu-halav].*
 1SG.AR riddle I DAT-CS PL-children
 'I asked the children a riddle.'

In this context, *ehele-* and *imta-* seem to be generally freely mutually substitutable; compare example (94) with (93) above:

- (94) *Ek ecsiipeke añaak [imta-i elpu-halav].*
 1SG.AR riddle I DAT-CS PL-children
 'I asked the children a riddle.'

However, in some cases at least there is a semantic difference. The following two sentences both have the sense 'Lui talked to me', but while the dative with *imta-* implies a conversation, the dative with *ehele-* implies rather more of a monologue or harangue:

- (95) *Et tas [imta-k] a Lui.*
 3SG.AR talk DAT-my S Lui
 'Lui talked to me.'/'Lui had a chat with me.'
- (96) *Et tas [ehele-k] a Lui.*
 3SG.AR talk DAT-my S Lui
 'Lui gave me a bit of a talking-to.'

6.2.4.3 Marking of benefactive

The case marker *imta-* also introduces benefactive phrases:⁷

- (97) *Asañ ehele-i Jon yi apra-ñ-pam naifi yi erou*
 tell DAT-CS John 3SG.INCP send-TR-hither knife 3SG.INCP two
aan [imta-k].
 he BEN-my
 'Tell John to send two knives for me.'
- (98) *Et asjan-ya [imta-i etma-n] aan.*
 3SG.AR throw-line BEN-CS father-his/her (s)he
 'He/she is fishing for his/her father.'
- (99) *Ki alinwai [imta-ñ] añaak.*
 1SG.INCP make.medicine BEN-your.SG I
 'I'll make medicine for you.'
- (100) *Et asega [imta-i ega-ñ] aan.*
 3SG.AR walk.holding BEN-CS wife-your.SG he
 'He walked with his arm around your wife.'

⁷ I have no data as to whether *imi* can be used to mark this role.

- (101) *Is is̃pa-n emda hal p̃ar ago ioñ [imta-n].*
 P REFL-his/her strong some SEQ make houses BEN-his/her
 'Some were independent enough to make houses for themselves.'

The possessive markers may also introduce benefactive phrases, as the following illustrate (and compare example (102) with (98) above, in which there is no *overt* intention of my eating the fish):

- (102) *Et asjan-ya [inca-k] aan.*
 3SG.AR throw-line POSS.F-my (s)he
 'He/she is fishing for me (I'm going to eat the fish).'
- (103) *Et tas [uñ-a-k] ñii.*
 3SG.AR talk POSS.G-my this1.SG
 'This one is talking for me/on my behalf.'
- (104) *Eris ago [luñ-a-n] aara.*
 3PL.P make POSS.D-his/her they.PL
 'They made it for him/her (to drink).'

6.2.5 Other peripheral phrases

In this section I look briefly at other types of peripheral phrases.

Instrumental phrases are introduced by the oblique case marker *a*:

- (105) *Et awod yin aan [a nelop̃].*
 3SG.AR hit him/her he/she INS club
 'He/she hit him/her with a club.'
- (106) *Era awod-jepe ra aara [era-i elop̃].*
 3PL.AR hit-random them they.PL INS-CS clubs
 'They were hitting each other with clubs.'

Cause phrases are introduced by *va*. This can perhaps be most simply illustrated by comparing *inhe* 'what?' with *va-nhe* 'why?'. Some other examples:

- (107) *Ek atapnes añak [va-i elpu-halav].*
 1SG.AR close I CAUS-TR PL-children
 'I shut the door because of the children.'
- (108) *[Va-ñ nii], is wat asvalav a intaketha, is emda aan.*
 CAUS-TR this1.SG 3SG.P T.P give.birth S woman P strong she
 'Because of this, when the woman gave birth, she was strong (or independent).'

Purpose phrases are also introduced by *va*:

- (109) *Is etec intas-aṗat [va n-asalgei] añ lep etec intas-aṗat*
 P stay talk-dark PURP N-open and again stay talk-dark
[va n-atapnes era-n].
 PURP N-close POSS.P-its
 'There was a secret word for opening it, and another secret word for closing it (lit. ...for its closing).'

- (110) *Ti ago inhe akaja p̄ar ago tah nitai iniñ*
 1EXC.PL.INCP make what we.INC.PL SEQ make INDEF thing DEM1.SG
et upni [va n-amenjina-i atimi ijüi]?
 3SG.AR good PURP N-look.after-TR people DEM1.PL
 'What should we be doing to take care of these people?' (More literally,
 'What can we do to do something which is good for looking after these people?')

The oblique case marker *a* also introduces referential phrases – i.e. it marks the noun phrase as being the subject of talk or discourse:

- (111) *Ek mu yiḗal añak [a-npeke Anejoñ]?*
 1SG.AR HORT story I REF-island Aneityum
 'Shall I tell a story about (the island of) Aneityum?'
 (112) *Et amjeg-ahanag [era-m̄] aan a nepeñ.*
 3SG.AR sleep-crazy REF-your (s)he T night
 'He/she dreamed about you last night.'

Comparative phrases are also introduced by the oblique case marker *a*:⁸

- (113) *Et awotai alḗas niñki [era-n jeknaa].*
 3SG.AR somewhat big this1.SG COMP-its this2.PL
 'This one is bigger than those ones.'

The case marker *ehele*- introduces some comitative phrases:

- (114) *Is m̄an alau-jai aan [ehele-rau].*
 3SG.P PF go-up (s)he COM-their.DL
 'He went up with both of them.'

More commonly, however, the conjunction *im* simply joins NPs in a comitative relationship.

6.2.6 Case markers: summary

The marking of various cases in Anejoñ, as discussed in detail above, is recapitulated in Table 6.3 below; Ø indicates that there are some occurrences of noun phrases in a particular case which are unmarked (like direct objects marking goal, or temporal nouns being the sole constituents of temporal phrases).

⁸ I cannot explain the occurrence of the 3SG possessive suffix *-n* on *era-* in example (113).

Table 6.3: Case roles and markers

Case		Marker(s)
Ablative	– non-personal	<i>a</i> , Ø
	– personal	?
Allative	– non-personal	<i>a</i> (restricted cases of <i>u</i>), Ø
	– personal	<i>ehele-</i>
Benefactive		<i>imta-</i> (also possessive-markers)
Causal		<i>va</i>
Comitative		<i>ehele-</i> (usually <i>im</i> ‘and’)
Comparative		<i>a</i>
Dative	– general	<i>imta-</i> , <i>imi</i> , Ø
	– verbs of speaking	<i>imta-</i> , <i>ehele-</i>
Goal (non-directional)		<i>a</i> , <i>va</i> , Ø
Instrumental		<i>a</i>
Locative	– non-personal	<i>a</i> , Ø
	– personal	<i>ehele-</i>
Purposive		<i>va</i>
Referential		<i>a</i>
Temporal		<i>a</i> , Ø

6.3 The syntax of peripheral phrases

As a general rule, peripheral phrases follow the core arguments of a verb:

- (115) *Et tii nohos [a nemnem].*

3SG.AR not.be.SG banana LOC home
‘There are no bananas in the house.’

- (116) *Et pu apam aan [imrañ].*

3SG.AR FUT come (s)he tomorrow
‘He/she’ll come tomorrow.’

- (117) *Toṗ atge-i pikad aak [a nelōṗ]!*

just kill-TR pig you.SG INS club
‘Just kill the pig with the club!’

However, this ordering is not absolutely strict.

First, time phrases often occur clause-initially:

- (118) [*Iyenev*], *et ecni-i ñak kava.*

yesterday 3SG.AR make.drunk-TR me kava
‘Yesterday, the kava made me drunk.’

- (119) [*A nouṗan iniñ*], *eris ecohos-pan aarau a nteṗtag...*

LOC time DEM1.SG 3NSG.P come.up-there they.DL LOC nakamal
‘At this time, the two of them came upon a nakamal...’

Second, peripheral phrases in which a pronominal form is suffixed to a case marker commonly precede the subject. Thus:

- (120) *Ek atapnes [va-c] añaak.*
 1SG.AR shut.door CAUS-you.SG.O I
 'I shut the door because of you.'

is probably more common than

- (121) *Ek atapnes añaak [va-c].*
 1SG.AR shut.door I CAUS-you.SG.O
 'I shut the door because of you.'

though both are acceptable.

6.4 Interrogative clauses

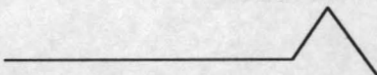
Interrogative clauses are basically of two types – polar ('yes/no') and non-polar or content questions.

6.4.1 Polar questions

Polar questions can be asked in one of two ways. First, intonation alone can encode interrogation. Statements tend to have a slight rise on the penultimate syllable of the clause and a fall on the last syllable:

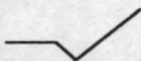


- (122) *Natimi naa.*
 person this2.SG
 'That's an important person.'



- (123) *Et ñan apam a Tagipe.*
 3SG.AR PF come S Tagipe
 'Tagipe has come.'

A change to a final rise–fall–rise intonation pattern turns the statement into a question:



- (124) *Natimi naa?*
 person this2.SG
 'Is that an important person?'

- (125) *Et ñan apam a Tagipe?*
 3SG.AR PF come S Tagipe
 'Has Tagipe come?'

Second, a polar question can be formed by adding *ka a'o* 'or no' to a statement, with the same intonation pattern as in examples (122) and (123):

- (126) *Et ñan apam a Tagipe ka a'o?*
 3SG.AR PF come S Tagipe or no
 'Has Tagipe come (or not)?'

In normal conversation, this is often shortened to *ka*, which retains the falling intonation:

- (127) *Et ñan apam a Tagipe ka?*
 3SG.AR PF come S Tagipe or
 'Has Tagipe come (or not)?'

Answers to polar questions include *ñaya* 'yes', *a'o* or *o'o* 'no', and *kitiyatou* 'I don't know', a much abbreviated form of:

- (128) *Ek itiyi atou añak.*
 1SG.AR NEG know I
 'I don't know.'

6.4.2 Content questions

Content questions – which normally carry declarative intonation – use one of a range of interrogative morphemes which belong to various word classes.

The interrogative nominals are:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>di</i> | 'who?' |
| <i>inhe</i> | 'what?' |
| <i>panid ~ panida</i> | 'which?/which one?' |
| <i>nuhuṗan</i> | 'when?' |

These interrogatives occur in normal subject, object or peripheral phrases in the same way as non-interrogative nominals. This can be illustrated with *di* 'who?':

- (129) *Et awod yin [a di]?*
 3SG.AR hit him S who
 'Who hit him/her?'
- (130) *Et awod [di] aan?*
 3SG.AR hit who (s)he
 'Who did he/she hit?'

- (131) *Et awod kuri [u di] aan?*
 3SG.AR hit dog POSS.G who (s)he
 'Whose dog did he/she hit?'

The interrogative *di* is pluralised by adding a coordinate noun phrase – either *di im di* 'who and who?' or *di im naa* 'who and that one?'.

Examples of other interrogative nominals also illustrate their position in the sentence and the fact that they can occur with case markers:

- (132) [*Inhe*] *niñki?*
 what this1.SG
 'What's this?'
- (133) *Is iiti amjeg a Nagaipen [va nhe]?*
 3SG.P NEG sleep S Nagaipen CAUS what
 'Why didn't Nagaipen sleep?'
- (134) *Nai avin [panid] aak?*
 2SG.AR want.to.eat which.one you.SG
 'Which one do you want (to eat)?'
- (135) *Et pu apam plen [a nuhuṣan]?*
 3SG.AR FUT come plane LOC when
 'When will the plane come?'

Interrogative nominals may also be formed by the prefix *nev(e)-* 'which?'. When prefixed to *nitai* 'thing', this forms a term meaning 'what?' (*nev-itai* ~ *niv-itai*) which is probably used at least as frequently as *inhe*. However, it also occurs prefixed to a wider range of other nouns:

- (136) [*Nev-itai*] *niñki?*
 which-thing this1.SG
 'What's this?'
- (137) *Era man apan aara [a nev-elcau]?*
 3PLAR PF go they.PL LOC which-canoe
 'Which canoe did they go in?'
- (138) *Ki apam aṇak [a nev-ouṣan]?*
 1SG.INCP come I LOC which-time
 'What time will I come?'

There is an interrogative locative *eda*, which normally behaves as a locative noun:

- (139) *Nioṁ uñu-ṁ yek [eda]?*
 house POSS.G-your.SG be.there.SG where
 'Where is your house?'
- (140) *Et le injaṣ a natimi inii [eda]?*
 3SG.AR take.SG salt S person DEM1.SG where
 'Where did this man get the salt?'
- (141) *Et apan aan [eda]?*
 3SG.AR go (s)he where
 'Where did he/she go?'

However, occasionally it appears to function verbally:

- (142) *Manio* [*yi eda*]?
 Manio 3SG.INCP where
 'Where is Manio?'/ 'Where might Manio be?'

There is also a set of interrogative verbs, which includes:

- awuri* 'do what?'
echa 'be how? be why?'
ehed 'be how much? be how many?'
ehewan 'be of what relationship? be related in what way?'
ikha 'be how?'
owowo 'do what? be why?'

Examples:

- (143) "*Et ñanapan aan Anelcauhat.*" "[*M-awuri*]?"
 3SG.AR PF go (s)he Anelcauhat ES-do.what
 "'(S)he's gone to Anelcauhat.'" "What for? To do what?"
- (144) [*Is awuri*] *aan*?
 3SG.P do.what (s)he
 'What did he/she do?'
- (145) [*Et echa*]?
 3SG.AR be.how
 'How is it? How's it going?' (a common informal greeting)
- (146) [*Et ehed*] *niom inkaaki*?
 3SG.AR how.many house here
 'How many houses are there here?'
- (147) *Ki asa-ñ añak* [*yi ikha*]?
 1SG.INCP tell-TR I 3SG.INCP be.how
 'How will I tell it?'
- (148) *Na owowo aak m-apam*?
 2SG.AR be.why you.SG ES-come
 'Why did you come?'

Non-interrogative verbs may be prefixed by the interrogative verbal prefix *ehv(e)-* with the meaning 'how to?':

- (149) [*Ki ehv-adena-ñ*] *mac añak*?
 1SG.INCP how-hide-TR cup I
 'How will I hide the cup?'

6.5 Imperative clauses

Affirmative commands carry no preverbal person-tense marking, though adverbial particles may occur in the verb phrase. The subject pronoun, however, is rarely deleted:

- (150) *Lep elad-se-sjak ajourau!*
 again look-down-POL you.DL
 'Both of you look down again!'

The hortative particle *mu* may precede the verb, giving a softening effect. Compare:

- (151) *Adia aak!*
 go.away you.SG
 'Go away!'
- (152) *Mu adia aak!*
 HORT go.away you.SG
 'Please go away!'/ 'Would you mind leaving?'

On the other hand, the preverbal particle *fi* intensifies the command:

- (153) *Fi adia aak!*
 INTENS go.away you.SG
 'Piss off!'

A command to a non-second person uses the verb *ude-i* 'let, leave' with a following purpose clause (marked with inceptive particles):

- (154) *Ude-i yin yi hag aen!*
 let-TR him/her 3SG.INCP eat.INTR (s)he
 'Let him/her eat!'
- (155) *Ude-i ñak ki apan añak!*
 let-TR me 1SG.INCP go I
 'Let me go!'

Certain very commonly used singular imperatives occur in a substantially phonologically reduced form in casual speech. These include:

- (156) *adia aak! > diak!*
 go.away you.SG
- ayo aak! > ayak!*
 come.here you.SG
- ayo-sjak aak! > yesak! or isak!*
 come.here-POL you.SG

Prohibitions use the preverbal particle *jim*:

- (157) *Jim lep awotai mauñau aak!*
 DONT again do.thing mistake you.SG
 'Don't make the same mistake again!'
- (158) *Jim ude-i yin yi hag aen!*
 DONT let-TR him/her 3SG.INCP eat.INTR (s)he
 'Don't let him/her eat!'

In extremely common use is the one-word prohibition *tapu!* 'don't!', a loan from Bislama.

6.6 *Alañ* clauses

The verb *alañ* 'go along' occurs as a perfectly normal verb when it is reduplicated (with the meaning 'go in single file') or in a compound. For example:

- (159) *Era alañ-alañ aara.*
 3PL.AR REDUP-go.along they.PL
 'They went in single file.'

When it occurs in its root form, however, it is quite unusual in its behaviour, as the following two examples show:

- (160) *Alañ uwu aworitai jii uñi-ma.*
 go.along POSS.G gardens this1.PL POSS.G-our.EXC.SG
 'We went to the gardens (severally).'
- (161) *Alañ apan nii uña-k a naworitai.*
 go.along go this1.SG POSS.G-my LOC garden
 'I went to the garden.'

The unusual features of clauses containing *alañ* are as follows.

- Alañ* does not admit any preverbal particles.
- A demonstrative pronoun occurs following the verb phrase (and the locative phrase, if this occurs before the subject). This demonstrative is of the same number as the subject.
- The semantic subject appears as a general possessive phrase.
- These clauses **appear** (though I am not absolutely certain of this) to be used only with a present tense orientation. Should an event be in a different tense, a regular clause (with *apan* 'go', for example, as the verb) would be used.

The differences between clauses like (160) and (161) are as follows.

- In (160) there is a single verb, but in (161) we have a serial construction.
- Clauses like (160) tend to require locative marking with *u*, at least when the locative phrase precedes the subject. Serial constructions like (161) use the more common locative marker *a*.

Some further examples of clauses containing just *alañ* are given below.

- (162) *Alañ nii uña-k era-i stoa.*
 go.along this1.SG POSS.G-my LOC-CS store
 'I'm going to the store.'
- (163) *Alañ eda naa uwu-n?*
 go.along where this2.SG POSS.G-his
 'Where is he going?'
- (164) *Alañ ehele-k u pikad.*
 go.along DAT-my POSS.G pig
 'The pig is coming towards/near me.'

Some examples of serial constructions with *alañ* are given below.

- (165) *Alañ apan nii u natañmañ enaa Vila.*
 go.along go DEM1.SG POSS.G man DEM2.SGVila
 'That man is going to Vila.'

- (166) *Alañ apan nü uña-k im-hag.*
 go.along go this1.SG POSS.G-my ES-eat.INTR
 'I am going to eat.' (movement, not intention)
- (167) *Alañ hag nü uña-k.*
 go.along eat.INTR this1.SG POSS.G-my
 'I am going to eat.'

There are a number of unresolved questions concerning these constructions.

- (a) Why are subject-tense markers not used?
- (b) Why is the subject encoded as a possessive phrase? If the clause is actually a nominalisation ('my going...'), as the presence of the possessive phrase might suggest, why does *alañ* not take the regular nominalising prefix *n-*?
- (c) Why are the demonstrative pronouns used? Why do they sometimes correspond in person (i.e. in terms of proximate/intermediate/distant) with the subject and sometimes not?

I am afraid I have no answers to these questions.

7 Coordination and verb serialisation

Anejoṃ sentences containing two or more conjoined clauses may employ more than one kind of strategy for linking these clauses. These strategies are:

- (a) simple clause chaining (strict paratactic conjoining);
- (b) the use of conjunctions;
- (c) the use of the conjunctive aspect markers *aṃ* and *ṃar*;
- (d) the echo-subject proclitic *m-*; and
- (e) verb serialisation.

Consider for example the following three sentences; the clauses in (1)–(3) are numbered and each is given on a separate line, for ease of reference. The kind of clause-linking strategy used is indicated on the right.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| (1) | ¹ [<i>Is ṃan arapan va-i Nijvaṇ aan</i>]
3SG.P PF hold GOAL-TR Prawn (s)he | |
| | ² [<i>m-aper-a-i yin</i>]
ES-turn.upside.down-TR him | ECHO-SUBJECT |
| | ³ [<i>is asuol nijjini-n</i>].
3SG.P descend head-his | CLAUSE-CHAINING |
| | 'He held Prawn and turned him upside down.' | |
| (2) | ¹ [<i>Is ahen</i>]
3SG.P roast | |
| | ² [<i>acred</i>]
scrape | SERIALISATION |
| | ³ [<i>is casc-as</i>]
3SG.P roast | CLAUSE-CHAINING |
| | ⁴ <i>jai [is ṃar ciṇ aen pan</i>
but 3SG.P SEQ eat.TR he there | CONJUNCTION |

a naḗu-n era-n].

LOC crust-its LOC-its

'He scraped off the crisp bits and ate it with its crust still on.'

- (3) ¹[*Eris lecse-i u-rau aarau*]
 NONSG.P take.PL-TR POSS.G-their.DL they.DL
- ²[*ḗar imy-apan*] CONJUNCTIVE ASPECT-MARKER
 SEQ COM-go
- ³[*alañ*] SERIALISATION
 go.along
- ⁴[*etha-ñ-se a-nwai*], SERIALISATION
 put-TR-down LOC-water
- ⁵[*is aṁ lecse-i uwu-n aan*] CLAUSE-CHAINING
 3SG.P and take.PL-TR POSS.G-his (s)he
- ⁶[*imy-athut*] SERIALISATION
 COM-run
- ⁷[*awaḗawaḗ*] SERIALISATION
 tiptoe
- ⁸[*imy-apan a-nworen iyiiki*]. SERIALISATION
 COM-go LOC-place DEM.AN.SG
- 'The two of them got theirs and took it and went and put it in the water,
 and he (someone else) took his and ran on tiptoe and brought it to that place.'

These different strategies for linking clauses will be discussed in this chapter, in the order as given above. In §7.1–§7.5 I simply outline the morphosyntax of the different strategies, while in §7.6, I discuss the conditions under which one strategy is chosen rather than another in any particular context. As in (1)–(3) above, clause-boundaries will be marked by square brackets in examples (but will normally not be numbered).

7.1 Simple clause chaining

Simple clause chaining involves strict parataxis – i.e. simply stringing the clauses one after another, with no conjunction or other overt marking of coordination, apart from a brief pause, marked here with a comma. Non-initial clauses in a chain include subject-tense and/or aspect-mood marking, and also include overt NP subjects if these are different from the subject of the initial clause.

Such conjoining may occur when the subjects of the clauses involved are the same or different, and may occur with both verbal and verbless clauses:

- (4) [*Ekrau edou ajamrau*], [*ek aḗahni aṁak*]
 1EXC.DL.AR roam we.EXC.DL 1SG.AR go.everywhere I
- era-i iji-teptag asga*].
 LOC-CS COL-nakamal all
- 'We wandered around and I went to every single nakamal.'

- (5) [Nida-i natañañ Nagesga], [nida-i nataheñ iyiiki Inmohoc].
 name-CS man Nagesga name-CS woman DEM.AN.SG Inmohoc
 'The man's name was Nagesga (Sun), and the woman's name was Inmohoc (Moon).'

It is perhaps more frequent when the subjects are identical. In verbless clauses, this simply involves juxtaposition:

- (6) [Inyiṭal Anejoñ niñki], [inyiṭal era-i Nismocoṭ im Nijvañ].
 story Aneityum this1.SG story REF-CS Nismocoṭ and Prawn
 'This is an Aneityumese story, a story about Nismocoṭ and Nijvañ (Prawn).'

With this kind of conjoining in verbal clauses with identical subjects, the VP in clauses other than the first may repeat the subject-tense and aspect-mood marker.²

- (7) [Is lep amen a nomrag is echei is lep ici aen],
 3SG.P again live S old.man 3SG.P different 3SG.P again be.like.this he
 [is amen Anouyac], [is lep ici aen], [is omrag upni],
 3SG.P live Anoyuac 3SG.P again be.like.this he 3SG.P old good
 [is lep amen natimi m-amenjina-i yin].
 3SG.P again live person ES-look.after-TR him
 'There was another old man like this, he lived at Anouyac; he was like this, very old, and he had someone looking after him.'

More frequently, however, subject-tense marking occurs only in the first clause, with only aspect markers appearing in subsequent clauses. This occurs very commonly with the perfective marker *man*, as in the examples below.

- (8) [Is man atgaawun aen], [man imy-auru], [man yet-pan
 3SG.P PF walk.away he PF COM-hurry PF arrive-there
 a nemnem].
 LOC home
 'He walked off and hurried with it and arrived home.'
- (9) [Et man apan aen], [man le injaṭ agkou].
 3SG.AR PF go he PF take.SG salt there
 'He went and got salt there.'
- (10) [Is man ahiwiyu aen], [man mas aen].
 3SG.P PF cold he PF die he
 'He was cold – he had died.'

However, it does also occur with other aspect markers:

- (11) [An le era-n uwu intak atimi aek], [pu mas aak],
 2SG.INCP take.SG LOC-its POSS.G INDEF people you.SG FUT die you.SG

¹ A *nismocoṭ* is a kind of small freshwater fish.

² The first clause in (7) includes two relative clauses, while the last clause has echo-subject marking.

[*pu mas aak a nouḗan*].

FUT die you.SG T time

'(If) you take fruit from someone else's branch, you will die, you will die on the spot.'

Paratactic conjoining may also link subordinate clauses, as in the following example of conjoined temporal clauses (marked as such by *wat*). (The clauses in this example are numbered to facilitate the discussion below.)

- (12) ¹[*Is wat asuol injaḗ a-nli-i inrau-uḗut uwu-n*] ²[*wat upni*],
 3SG.P T.P go.down sea LOC-inside-CS parcel-laplapPOSS.G-3SG T.P good
³[*is wat tas-aḗat aan*], ⁴[*ḡan lep avi-i-se nawunlas*
 3SG.P T.P talk-secret (s)he PF again push-TR-down k.o.coral
iyiiki] ⁵[*is ḡan epjen*].
 DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P PF strong
 'When the sea went down into his laplap parcel, when this was done properly,
 and when he said some secret words, he pushed the coral back in tightly.'

In this example:

- (a) clauses 1, 2 and 3 are subordinate, while 4 and 5 are independent clauses;
- (b) clauses 1 and 2 have the same subject, and the subject-tense marker does not appear in 2;
- (c) clause 3 has a different subject, and so the subject-tense marker must appear;
- (d) clause 4 has the same subject as 3, so there is no subject-tense marker; and
- (e) clause 5 has a different subject again, and the subject-tense marker is present.

7.2 Conjunctions

Anejoḡ has three clause-level coordinating conjunctions which will be discussed in this section.

7.2.1 The alternative conjunction *ka*

As well as coordinating two NPs (§3.4.4), the alternative conjunction *ka* can also conjoin two clauses:

- (13) [*Era itiyi atou akaja*] [*m-ika*] [*et invijic intas uwu-n*
 NSG.AR NEG know we.INC.PL ES-say 3SG.AR true word POSS.G-3SG
aen] *ka* [*et acil*].
 (s)he or 3SG.AR false
 'We don't know whether his words were true or (whether they were) false.'
- (14) [*Et ḡan apan Umej aan*] *ka* [*et amen a nemnem*]?
 3SG.AR PF go Umej (s)he or 3SG.AR stay LOC home
 'Has he/she already gone to Umej or is he/she (still) at home?'

Its most frequent occurrence, however, is in the question tag *ka a'o*, literally 'or no', often shortened to *ka*, as illustrated below.

- (15) [Et *manecohos nagesga*] *ka* [a'o]?
 3SG.AR PF appear sun or no
 'Has the sun risen (or not)?'
- (16) [Yek *aan*] *ka*?
 be.there.SG it or
 'Is it there?'

7.2.2 The adversative conjunctions *jai* and *jam*

There are two adversative conjunctions in Anejoñ, *jai* and *jam*.

Jai (which has an abbreviated variant *ja* used in fast, casual speech) is used as an adversative coordination when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are different. For example:

- (17) [Is *man atgaawun aan*], [*man yet-pan a nemnem*],
 3SG.P PF walk.away (s)he PF reach-there LOC home
jai [*eris par apitac ohowat o-māpō-n*]..
 but NSG.P SEQ follow both DL-grandchild-3SG
 'He walked off and went home, but both of his grandchildren followed him...'
- (18) [*Eris akrou m-alpā-i cama*], *jai* [*is par han*]..
 3PL.AR share ES-give-TR us.EXC.PL.O but 3SG.P SEQ enough
 'They shared it out to us, but there was enough...'
- (19) [*Ek lep ahanag a nida-ra añak*] *jai* [*et añ*
 1SG.AR again forget GOAL name-their.PL I but 3SG.AR and
apan inyīpal inii] [*m-ici*].
 go story DEM1.SG ES-be.like.this
 'I have forgotten their names, but the story goes like this.'

Jai may also be used when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are identical but where the verb phrase in the second clause contains a subject-tense marker. This occurs in cases where either (a) a change of tense is involved:

- (20) [*El ek par apan añak*], *jai* [*ki itiyi apan añak*].
 COND 1SG.AR SEQ go I but 1SG.INCP NEG go I
 'I should go, but I won't.'

or (b) where there is overt aspect marking in the second clause:³

- (21) [*Is lep atii n-imehe*], [*añ itiyi imehe natimi*] [*m-amen*]
 P again not.be.PL N-sick and NEG sick person ES-stay

³ Note that in example (21) the abbreviated form *ja* is used.

[*m-omrag upni*] *ja* [*ṣar ememas*].

ES-old good but SEQ die.PL

'And again there were no sicknesses, and people didn't get sick; they lived to a ripe old age but then died.'

To summarise, then: *ja(i)* is used either when there is a change of subject in the following clause, or else when the following clause contains a subject-tense or aspect marker which marks a change of tense or aspect from that of the preceding clause.

The other adversative conjunction, *jam*, is used when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are the same, and where there are no intervening subject-tense or aspect particles (and thus no change of tense-aspect).

- (22) [*Is amen aan*] [*m-ala-i pikad uwu-n*], *jam* [*ala-n*
3SG.P stay he ES-feed-TR pig POSS.G-3SG but.SS feed-3SG

era-i iji-sjupura].

LOC-CS COL-evening

'He stayed and fed his pigs, but he fed them every evening.'

- (23) [*Eris ago kava luṃa-n aara*] *jam* [*ago is erou*].

3PL.P make kava POSS.D-his they.PL but.SS make 3SG.P two

'They made his kava, but they made two (bowls).'

- (24) [*Is wat ika aen*] [*yi hag*] *jam* [*aviñ intal*]...

3SG.P T.P want he 3SG.INCP eat but.SS want.to.eat taro

'When he said he was going to eat but he wanted to eat taro...'

Note also the expression used a few times in the text in §9.1: *jam eda* (but where), roughly translated as 'how come?' (cf. Bislama *be we*).

It is possible that *jam* may actually derive historically from *jai* plus the echo-subject proclitic *m-* (see §7.4), which also does not allow a following subject-tense or aspect marker. However, while *m-* is cliticised to the first word of the verb phrase, there is no evidence that *jam* is so cliticised.

7.3 The conjunctive aspect-markers *aṃ* and *ṣar*

There are other two markers which are involved in conjunctive coordination. The semantics of these are similar to those of conjunctions in other languages, as their translations imply: *aṃ* 'and', *ṣar* 'and then, so'. However, their morphosyntactic behaviour is different from the conjunctions just discussed. They behave as if they are aspect markers rather than conjunctions in that they come within the verb phrase following the subject-tense marker, although in both cases the subject-tense marker may be deleted if the subject is the same as the subject of the previous clause. I thus refer to them as CONJUNCTIVE ASPECT-MARKERS, and justify this treatment at the end of this section.

The marker *aṃ* is simply a coordinator with no overt implication of temporal sequence, and translates best as 'and'. The first example below shows the use of *aṃ* with a preceding subject-tense marker, which appears when the subjects are different:

- (25) [*Ekris lecse-i u-rau aarau*], [*is aṁ atpu tah aarau*].
3DL.P take.PL-TR POSS-3DL they.DL 3SG.P and hide one they.DL
'The two of them took theirs, and one of them hid.'
- (26) [...*m-ecjecja-n*] [*is aṁ asuol inti-n a niṭjini-n*].
ES-ram-him 3SG.P and go.down excrement-his LOC head-his
'...and he rammed him and his shit went into his head.'

However, there are also examples where the subject-marker is omitted, even though the subjects of the conjoined clauses are different. Usually in these cases, the NP subject of the following clause(s) is overtly marked. For example:

- (27) [...*lep adia a tijiraaki*] [*m-alau-jhou*] [*m-amen ijhou*] [*lep atec*]
again leave S this1.TL ES-go-outside ES-stay outside again sit
[*im-yiṭal*] [*aṁ asjec a nomrag a-nlii-i nioṁ*].
ES-tell.story and lie S old.man LOC-middle-CS house
'...these three again went outside and stayed out there telling stories, and the old man was lying down inside the house.'

When the subjects of the conjoined clauses are identical, the subject-tense markers in non-initial clauses are normally deleted:

- (28) [*Is ecchos-pan aan ehele-n*] [*aṁ imy-ecej yin*].
3SG.P appear-there he DAT-3SG and COM-say.come him
'He appeared before him and told him to come with him.'
- (29) [*Is wat apan aarau*], [*wat ago uṭut*] [*aṁ imy-auru*] [*m-ago*]
P T.P go they.DL T.P make laplaps and COM-hurry ES-make
[*m-ago*] [*ihnii*]...
ES-make finish
'When the two of them went and hurried to finish making their laplap...' (More literally, 'When the two of them went, and when they made laplap and hurried with it and went on till it was finished...')

It will be seen below in §7.5 that verb serialisation occurs when a verb of motion expresses the directional orientation of the preceding verb. I will argue in §7.6, however, that serialisation is not *required* in this context; and indeed *aṁ* can occur within a clause which expresses such directional or locational orientation:

- (30) [*Lecse-i isji-tal ajourau*] [*aṁ imy-apan a nemnem*]...
take.PL-TR shoots-taro you.DL and COM-go LOC home
'Take the taro shoots home...'
- (31) [*Alau-jhou aak*] [*aṁ amen ijhou*] [*m-alek nagesga*].
go-outside you.SG and stay outside ES-look.for sun
'Go and stay outside and look for the sun.'

Similar comments apply to the other conjunctive aspect-marker *ṭar*,⁴ a sequential marker which indicates that the event follows the previous event in temporal sequence. Again, the

⁴ Indeed, it will be seen in §8.3 that the same is also true of the temporal conjunctives *wat* 'non-future/realis' and *wut* 'future/irrealis'.

subject-tense marker generally occurs in a non-initial clause when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are different:

- (32) [Is wat ici], [is ̄par ciñ inñap̄ a natimi asga].
 P T.P be.like.this P SEQ eat.TR chestnut S person all
 'It went on like this, and everyone ate the Tahitian chestnuts.'

When the subjects are the same, the subject-tense marker sometimes occurs in a following clause:

- (33) [Ek wut apan añak imrañ], [ek ̄par le inpas uwu-n].
 1SG.AR TF go I tomorrow 1SG.AR SEQ take.SG axe POSS-3SG
 'When I go tomorrow, then I will get his axe.'

However, it is more usual for the subject-tense marker to be deleted in a non-initial clause if it is the same as the subject of a preceding clause; thus:

- (34) [Eris lecse-i u-rau aarau] [̄par imy-apan].
 NSG.P take.PL-TR POSS.G-their.DL they.DL SEQ COM-go
 'The two of them took theirs and went.'

While sentences like (33) and (34) occur in my corpus, it is definitely more common to mark *all* the clauses in a sequence, including the initial clause, with ̄par, as in (35) and (36):

- (35) [Et ̄par atuḡun] [̄par ecohos toḡ tah nago era-n].
 3SG.AR SEQ begin SEQ start.rise just INDEF.SG rim POSSP-its
 'It's starting, a bit of the rim (of the sun) is beginning to come up.'
- (36) [Is ̄par aid n-epei ingeje-n a Nismocoḡ], [̄par alau-jhou],
 3SG.P SEQ finish N-shave chin-his S Nismocoḡ SEQ go-outside
 [̄par elad-jai-kou] [̄par alek nagesga].
 SEQ look-up-DIST SEQ search sun
 'Nismocoḡ finished shaving and went outside, and looked out to the east searching for the sun.'

Why do I treat *añ* and ̄par as aspect markers and not as conjunctions? This is a valid question since, because the subject-tense marker may be deleted if the subjects of the conjoined clauses are the same (and even on occasion when they differ), this means that there are many cases of [CLAUSE] + *añ*/̄par + VERB..., which appear to be no different on the surface from [CLAUSE] + *jai/ka* + VERB..., making *añ* and ̄par look superficially like conjunctions.

However, *jai* and *ka* are true conjunctions, since they occur inter-clausally and may be followed by the subject-tense markers, as in examples (17)–(19); *añ* and ̄par are not, since if a subject-tense marker is used it *precedes* *añ* or ̄par, which therefore occur *within* the clause. Additionally, clauses containing *añ* and ̄par may themselves be introduced by a conjunction. (See, for example, (2), (19) and (21) above.) I conclude, therefore, that *añ* and ̄par are not inter-clausal conjunctions but rather intra-clausal conjunctive aspect-markers.

7.4 The echo-subject proclitic *m-*

The echo-subject proclitic *m-* was discussed in §4.3.4 above, where its status as a clitic was justified. In this section, I look first at the syntax of *m-*, and then at a construction involving the verb *amen* ‘stay’ + *m-*.

7.4.1 Same-subject marking

Like the other languages of the Southern Vanuatu family, Anejoŋ has an echo-subject proclitic *m-* (*im-* before a consonant).⁵ This is attached to the first word in the verb phrase of a non-initial clause which has the same subject as the preceding clause. So while example (37) and the final clause in (38) show the most frequent pattern of *m-* cliticised directly to the verb, in the second clause in (38), and in (39), *m-* is cliticised to a preverbal particle.⁶

- (37) [Ekris apan aarau] [*m*-ago nuḗut] [*m*-ago ihni].
 3DL.P go they.DL ES-make k.o.laplap ES-make finish
 ‘They two went and made nuḗut and finished making it.’
- (38) [Et amen aan] [*im*-lep tas-pujhou ehele-i etwa-n] [*m*-ika...]⁷
 3SG.AR stay (s)he ES-again talk-outside DAT-CS brother-3SG ES-say
 ‘He again talked to his brother outside and said...’
- (39) [Is itiyi ege-ktit nitiniñ is asañ aan], [*m*-itiyi atou
 3SG.P NEG hear-well something 3SG.P say (s)he ES-NEG know
intas-aḗat iniñ is asañ aan.
 word-dark DEM1.SG 3SG.PAST say (s)he
 ‘He didn’t hear clearly what he said, and so didn’t know this secret word
 that he said.’

Although the echo-subject proclitic can be followed by a negative or adverbial particle, it cannot occur with aspect-mood markers (like *man* perfective and *par* sequential in the examples below). In cases of same-subject coordination when the aspect-mood marker has to be specified in a non-initial clause, then only clause-chaining can be used, as the examples in previous sections have shown. Thus compare (9), which is repeated here as (40), with (41), which is ungrammatical with *m-* despite having the same subject.

- (40) [Et man apan aen], [man le injaḗ agkou].
 3SG.AR PF go (s)he PF take.SG salt there
 ‘He went and got salt there.’
- (41) *[Et man apan aen], [*im*-man le injaḗ agkou].
 3SG.AR PF go (s)he ES-PF take.SG salt there

I have called this proclitic the ‘echo-subject’ proclitic, since this is the term used for cognate morphemes in other languages of the Southern Vanuatu family (Lynch 1983). The term was

⁵ See for example Crowley (1998:246-262) for a discussion of echo-subject marking in Sye, and Lynch (1978b:45-47, 1983) for Lenakel.

⁶ Note that each of the clauses in (39) contains a relative clause.

⁷ The quotative construction involving *m-ika* (ES-say) is discussed more fully in §8.5 below.

originally used with reference to the Tanna languages, in which the marker *m-* may cross-reference not only the subject of the previous clause but also, under certain conditions, some other nominal in that clause. The following examples from Lenakel are instructive:

- (42) [I-em-ho kuri] [m-akəmw].
 1-P-hit dog ES-run.away
 'I hit the dog and ran away.'
- (43) [I-em-ho kuri mil] [m-u-akəmw].
 1-P-hit dog DL ES-DL-run.away
 'I hit the two dogs and they ran away.'
- (44) [I-em-ho kuri] [mə-kəs rəmo-k].
 1-P-hit dog ES-bite father-my
 'I hit the dog and (then) it bit my father.'

In (42) we have the simple situation of the subjects of both clauses being identical, and *m-* marking this identity. In (43), the subject of the first clause is singular, but the object is dual; the echo-subject marked verb in the second clause is marked for dual number, and therefore *m-* refers to – that is, 'echoes' – an identifiable dual NP in the previous clause: in this case, the object *kuri mil* 'two dogs'. In (44), both NPs in the first clause are singular; however, the only logical subject of the verb in the second clause is *kuri* 'dog', not *io* 'I', so again we have an echoing situation.

In Anejoñ, however, the prefix *m-* is a *same-subject* prefix. The Anejoñ examples given earlier in this section parallel the Lenakel example (42), where the subjects of both clauses are the same. No Anejoñ parallel can be given for (43): number is not marked independently of person and tense in Anejoñ (as it is in Lenakel), and *m-* cannot be used with a subject-tense marker. Thus the Anejoñ equivalent of (43) would have to involve some other type of coordination:

- (45) [Kis awod kuri is erou] [eris p̄ar adia aarau].
 1SG.P hit dog P two NSG.P SEQ go.away they.DL
 'I hit the two dogs and they ran away.'

Similarly, *m-* cannot be used in the Anejoñ parallel of (44) – or if it is used, it can only have a same-subject interpretation, with the meaning 'I bit my father'. The two alternative readings are:

- (46) [Kis awod kuri] [m-aces etma-k].
 1SG.P hit dog ES-bite father-my
 'I hit the dog and (I) bit my father.'
- (47) [Kis awod kuri] [is p̄ar aces etma-k].
 1SG.P hit dog P SEQ bite father-my
 'I hit the dog and it bit my father.'

However, despite the fact that Anejoñ *m-* is less echoic than Lenakel *m-*, I retain the same name here.

7.4.2 Amen + m-: continuous aspect

Anejoŋ has a verb *amen* meaning 'live, stay, dwell, be located', as in:

- (48) *Nai amen aak eda?*
 2SG.AR stay you.SG where
 'Where do you live?'
 (49) *Et amen inti-i Nijvañ a nitjini-n.*
 3SG.AR stay excrement-CS Prawn LOC head-his
 'Prawn's shit is (located) in his head.'

When used with a following clause introduced by the echo-subject marker *m-*, however, *amen* acts as a marker of continuous aspect.⁸ For example:

- (50) [*Is wat amen aan*] [*m-epe-i ingeje-n*]...
 3SG.P T.P stay he ES-shave-TR chin-his
 'While he was shaving...'
 (51) [*Is itiyi imehe aen*] *jai* [*m-amen*] [*m-ajga-ñ noupan mas aen*].
 3SG.P NEG sick he but ES-stay ES-wait-TR time die he
 'He wasn't sick, but he was just waiting for his time to die.'
 (52) [*Is amen natimi*] [*m-almo-i*]...
 P stay person ES-watch-TR
 'People were watching...'

7.5 Verb serialisation

Crowley (1998:268-269) makes the following comment on verb serialisation in Sye and other languages of the Southern Vanuatu family:

The Southern Vanuatu languages in general appear to differ from most other western Oceanic languages in that there is relatively little evidence of serial verb constructions. Many of the functions expressed by serial verb constructions in other Oceanic languages are expressed in Sye by means of the echo verb construction [i.e. echo-subject prefix + verb]...[T]he directional orientation of a verb can be expressed in Sye by means of the echo verb construction. In many other Oceanic languages, the directional orientation of a verb is normally expressed by means of a serial verb construction.

The same is true of the languages of Tanna.⁹

It is not quite so true of Anejoŋ, however, which manifests more frequent verb serialisation than does Sye or Lenakel (though not nearly as much as many Oceanic languages). What I refer to here as verb serialisation corresponds roughly to what others

⁸ Note here the parallel with the Bislama verb *stap*, which can be used both as the sole verb in a clause meaning 'stay, exist, be there' (*Mama blong yu i stap wea?* 'Where is your mother?') and also as a marker of continuous aspect when it precedes another verb (*Mama i stap slip* 'Mum is asleep/sleeping'). The Bislama construction presumably reflects an Oceanic substrate, since the kind of construction I am talking about in Anejoŋ is found in many other Oceanic languages.

⁹ This is not made explicit in the published grammar of Lenakel (Lynch 1978b), written before verb serialisation became a major topic of research world-wide; but it is nevertheless a correct statement.

have referred to as nuclear serialisation (see e.g. Foley and Olson 1985; Crowley 1987).¹⁰ That is, I define a clause as occurring in a serial construction if:

- (a) there is no overt subject nominal;
- (b) there is no subject-tense marker; and
- (c) there is no aspect-mood marker.

A serial construction may, however, contain verbal prefixes, almost exclusively the comitative prefix *imy(i)-*, and one or more adverbial phrases.

Example (3) above gives a number of examples of serial verbs. Most of the examples in my corpus are of serial verbs (with or without *imy(i)-*) which supply the directional orientation of the preceding verb. For example:

- (53) ...[*añ adia aarau*] [*apan*] [*m-edou*] [*m-arehed*] *Anejoñ*.
and go.out they.DL go ES-walk.around ES-go.right.around Aneityum
'...and the two of them went off and walked right around Aneityum.'
- (54) ...[*añ lecse-i u-rau aarau*] [*imy-apan*] *a-nworen*
and take.PL-TR POSS.G-their.DL they.DL COM-go LOC-place
iyiiki eris ika va-ñ Inñanjaṗitac.
DEM.AN.SG 3PL.P call GOAL-TR Inñanjaṗitac
'...and they took theirs to the place called Inñanjaṗitac.'
- (55) [*Is ñan le aan tah nitai eris ika va-ñ*]
3SG.P PF take.SG (s)he INDEF thing 3PL.P call GOAL-TR
Nelcau-Eri-Nisyeg] [*imy-alau-jhou*] [*m-ati-i-se ijhou*].
Nelcau-Eri-Nisyeg COM-go-outside ES-put-TR-down outside
'He took something called Nelcau-Eri-Nisyeg outside and put it down outside.'¹¹
- (56) [*Is ñan lep rectidai aattaj*] [*apan a-nlii-i nioñ*].
P PF again get.up they.TL go LOC-inside-CS house
'They three got up again and went inside the house.'

There are relatively few examples of serial constructions in my corpus where the verb in the non-initial clause is not a verb of directional motion. One such example is clauses 5 and 6 of (3) above, included here as part of (57).

- (57) ...[*is añ lecse-i uwu-n aan*] [*imy-athut*] [*awaṗawaṗ*]
3SG.P and take.PL-TR POSS.G-his he COM-run tiptoe
[*imy-apan a-nworen iyiiki*].
COM-go LOC-place DEM.AN.SG
'...and he took his and ran on tiptoe and brought it to that place.'

The last clause in (57) includes a serialised directional verb. The second and third clauses, however, are also serialised verbs but are non-directional (although they are verbs of

¹⁰ See also volume 32, no.1 (1993) of *Oceanic Linguistics*, which includes a number of articles on serial verbs in Oceanic languages.

¹¹ Nelcau-Eri-Nisyeg is the name of an individual canoe: 'the canoe (*nelcau*) of the leaves (*eri*) of the barrel tree (*Acacia simplex*) (*nisyeg*).

motion). Another example is the fourth clause of that same example, repeated here as part of (58):

- (58) ...[*ṗar imy-apan*] [*alañ*] [*etha-ñ-se a-nwai*]...
 SEQ COM-go go.along put-TR-down LOC-water
 ‘...and went and put it in the water...’

Additional examples are:

- (59) [*Is amen aen*] [*omrag upni*].
 3SG.P live he old good
 ‘He was very old.’ (More literally, ‘He lived and was very old.’)
- (60) ...[*m-amen aen*] *jam* [*imy-amen*] [*alañaheni*].
 ES-stay he but.SS COM-stay pray
 ‘...and he prayed repeatedly.’ (More literally, ‘...and he stayed and stayed and prayed.’)

I will discuss the factors influencing the choice of serialisation as a conjoining strategy in the next section.

7.6 Choice of conjoining strategies

Having outlined the morphosyntax of the various conjoining strategies available to Anejoñ speakers, I now look at the contexts in which each is used, and attempt to provide some description of which strategies are used in which syntactic-semantic contexts. I exclude from this discussion the alternative conjunction *ka* and the adversative conjunctions *ja(i)* and *jam*, since these are both semantically and syntactically distinct from all other conjoining strategies. The strategies I will discuss in this section, therefore, are:

- (a) clause chaining;
- (b) use of the conjunctive aspect-markers *añ* and *ṗar*;
- (c) the echo-subject proclitic *m-*; and
- (d) serial constructions.

In this discussion, I will separate conjoined clauses with different subjects from those with the same subject.

7.6.1 Different subjects

Only two options seem to be available when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are different: these are (a) clause chaining and (b) use of the conjunctive aspect markers. (Both echo-subject marking and verb serialisation are not available strategies here, since both involve the same subjects.) Each of these is illustrated below, with (61) exemplifying clause-chaining and (62) and (63) the conjunctive aspect-markers *ṗar* and *añ*. NP subjects are underlined.

- (61) [*Et le ñak a Paralelcai*] [*erau edou a jamrau*]...
 3SG.AR take.SG me S Paralelcai NSG.AR roam we.EXC.DL
 ‘Paralelcai took me, and we roamed...’

- (62) [Is *ṁan asvalav a Inmohoc*] [*ṁar atuṁun n-amen uwwu atimi*
 3SG.P PF give.birth S Inmohoc SEQ begin N-live POSS.G people
a npeke Anejoṁ].
 LOC island Aneityum
 'Inmohoc gave birth, and so began the life of people on Aneityum.'
- (63) [Is *tii n-atau-jepe imi atimi*] [*aṁ tii natimarid*].
 3SG.P not.be N-help-REC DAT people and not.be chief
 'There was no cooperation between people, and there was no chief.'

It would appear that the conjunctive aspect marker *ṁar* is required when the idea of temporal (or logical?) sequence is a feature of the coordination. Otherwise, I am unable to discover any conditions which would require a speaker to choose between clause chaining and the conjunctive aspect marker *aṁ*.

7.6.2 Same subject

When the subjects of the conjoined clauses are the same, then all four conjoining strategies are possible. This is illustrated in numerous examples above, as well as the following; (66) illustrates both the echo-subject proclitic and verb serialisation.

(a) Clause-chaining:

- (64) [*Eris ṁan lep er-atga aara*], [*ṁan lep apan a nemnem*].
 3PL.P PF again MUT-walk they.PL PF again go LOC home
 'Then again they walked off and went home.'

(b) Conjunctive aspect markers:

- (65) [Is *ṁar ciñ inṁaṁ a natimi asga*] [*aṁ ciñ*
 3SG SEQ eat.TR Tahitian.chestnut S person all and eat.TR
inma a natimi asga].
 breadfruit S person all
 'All the people ate Tahitian chestnut and all the people ate breadfruit.'

(c) Echo-subject and (d) Verb serialisation:

- (66) ...[*aṁ adia aarau*] [*apan*] [*m-edou*] [*m-arehed Anejoṁ*].
 and go.out they.DL go ES-roam ES-go.right.round Aneityum
 '...and the two of them left and went off and wandered all around Aneityum.'

It is difficult to characterise the contexts in which each strategy occurs, and it seems to me that there is a reasonable amount of freedom here. As I noted in §7.6.1, when sequence needs to be expressed overtly then the conjunctive aspect marker *ṁar* is used. Similarly, when the second clause requires a tense or aspect marker, then the only option is clause-chaining.

I did mention in §7.5 that serialisation generally occurs with verbs of motion to express directional orientation (as with *apan* in (66), for example), and serialisation is rarely used in other contexts. However, the reverse is not true: directional orientation can be expressed by other means. Contrast the following two sentences, both taken from different parts of the

same story, and both virtually identical in meaning; the first uses serialisation, the second the conjunctive aspect-marker *añ*:

- (67) [*Lecse-i uñi-mirau ajourau*] [*imy-asuol*]...
 take.PL-TR POSS.G-your.DL you.DL COM-go.down
 'Take yours and go down with it...'
- (68) [*Lecse-i isji-tal ajourau*] [*añ imy-apan a nemnem*]...
 take.PL-TR shoots-taro you.DL and COM-go LOC home
 'Take the taro shoots home...'

Note also the following from the story in §9.2. In both cases, the people have heard the old man calling out and they come in to ask him what he was saying. The sentences are virtually identical, except that different conjoining strategies are used. (The relevant clauses are underlined.)

- (69) [*Rectidai aattaj*] [*m-athut*] [*m-apan a-nlii-i nioñ*]...
 get.up they.TL ES-run ES-go LOC-inside-CS house
 'They got up and ran inside the house...'
- (70) [*Is ñan rectidai aattaj*] [*apan a-nlii-i nioñ*]...
 P P get.up they.TL go LOC-inside-CS house
 'They got up and went inside the house...'

Apart from the few restrictions noted above, therefore, it appears as if speakers have a relatively free choice as to which conjoining strategy to use when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are the same. In terms of frequency of occurrence in text, note the following:

- (a) echo-subject marking is by far the most frequent strategy used;
- (b) the next most frequent strategy is to use a conjunctive aspect marker;
- (c) clause-chaining is relatively infrequent; and
- (d) serialisation is the least frequent strategy of all.

8 Subordination

This chapter provides a very brief overview of a number of different kinds of subordinate relationships, among them adverbial clauses of various kinds, complements, and conditional clauses. It is hoped that further research will lead to more definitive and detailed statements about various kinds of subordinate relationships in Anejoñ.

8.1 Relative clauses

Relativisation is a fairly straightforward process in Anejoñ. There is no relative pronoun, and the relative clause normally immediately follows the noun phrase to which it refers. (Noun phrases containing relative clauses, and the relative clauses themselves, are bracketed in all examples in this section; note that the noun phrase in (2) contains two relative clauses.)

- (1) *Is p̄ar han m̄an ude-i [_{NP} u ahaji-atimi*
 3SG.P SEQ enough PF leave-TR POSS.G other-people
[_{REL} eris m̄an aviñ owai-cai aara]_{REL}]_{NP}
 3PL.AR PF want.eat fruits-tree they.PL
 ‘There was still enough to leave for other people who wanted to eat fruit.’
- (2) *Is lep amen [_{NP} nomrag [_{REL} is echei]_{REL} [_{REL} is lep*
 3SG.P again stay old.man 3SG.P different 3SG.P again
ici aan...]_{REL}]_{NP}
 be.like.this he
 ‘And there was another man who was like this...’
- (3) [_{NP} *Inworen enaa [_{REL} et amen aan im-le injaṗ era-n.]_{REL}]_{NP}...*
 place DEM2.SG 3SG.AR stay he ES-take.SG salt LOC-its
 ‘The place where he got salt from...’
- (4) *...aṃ lep atec-se atoh ... [_{NP} a-nworen inii [_{REL} etijis*
 and again sit-down straight LOC-place DEM1.SG 3PL.AR
ared-jai a nelcau.]_{REL}]_{NP}
 go-up LOC canoe
 ‘...and again they sat down right in the place where they boarded the canoe.’

The only way in which a numeral or quantifier can refer to a noun or a noun phrase is in a following relative clause – and this implies that virtually any noun can be the head of a relative clause. In such a clause, the subject marker is always singular, irrespective of the numeral involved, and the tense is normally the same as in the verb phrase.

- (5) *Is amen achei* [_{NP} *a natañañ* [_{REL} *is ithii*]_{REL}]_{NP}, *ka* [_{NP} *tiapolo*
3SG.P stay alone S man 3SG.P one or devil
[_{REL} *is ithii*]_{REL}]_{NP}...
3SG.P one
'There lived alone one man, or perhaps one devil...'
- (6) *Al̥pa-i ñak* [_{NP} *nohos* [_{REL} *et esej*]_{REL}]_{NP}
give-TR me banana 3SG.AR three
'Give me three bananas.'
- (7) *Ek al̥pa-i yin* [_{NP} *inman* [_{REL} *et ehed*]_{REL}]_{NP} ?
1SG.AR give-TR him/her fowl 3SG.AR how.many
'How many fowls did I give him/her?'

Relativisation is used in locative clauses (§8.2) and also in reason clauses (§8.6.2).

8.2 Locative clauses

Locative clauses are basically relative clauses. One type of locative clause has as its head a locative noun, usually *inworen* 'place':¹

- (8) *Is tinin* [_{NP} *inworen ineñ* [_{REL} *eru pu le nowan-cai*
3SG.P smallish place DEM1.SG NSG FUT take.SG fruit-tree
aara era-n]_{REL}]_{NP}
they.PL LOC-its
'It was a small place where they used to get their fruit.'
- (9) *Is amen aan* [_{LP} *a-nworen* [_{REL} *et ithii*]_{REL} [_{REL} *eris ika*
3SG.P stay (s)he LOC-place 3SG.AR one 3PL.P call
va-ñ Nisasina]_{REL}]_{LP}
GOAL-TR Nisasina
'He lived at a place which they called Nisasina.'
- (10) *...imy-apan* [_{LP} *a-nworen iyiki* [_{REL} *is ijhou*]_{REL}]_{LP}
COM-go LOC-place DEM.AN.SG 3SG have.hole
'...and took it to a place where there was a hole (in the coral).'

In the next example, the head noun is again *inworen*, but it is separated from the locative relative clause by the subject *añak*:²

¹ *Inworen* is actually *inwore-n* (place-its).

² Recall from §6.1.3 that regular VOS order may become VSO if the subject is short and the object is long. This seems to follow the same principle.

- (11) *Ek ñan ecet-yin inworen iyiiki añak* [_{REL} *et amen aan*
 1SG.AR PF see-it place DEM.AN.SG I 3SG.AR stay (s)he
im-le injaḗ era-n.]_{REL}
 ES-take.SG salt LOC-its
 'I have seen that place where he stays and gets his salt.'

A second type of locative clause has as its head a locative demonstrative (see §6.2.2.1), which is followed by a relative clause:

- (12) *Is ñan lep atii-n* [_{LP} *inka* [_{REL} *is amen aan*
 3SG.P PF again put.down-him here.AN 3SG.P stay he
m-ala-i pikad.]_{REL}]_{LP}
 ES-feed-TR pig
 'He put him back where he used to stay and feed his pigs.'
- (13) ...*añ atpu* [_{LP} *uḗotḗotet inka* [_{REL} *et pu apan aan.*]_{REL}]_{LP}
 and hide near here.AN 3SG.AR FUT go (s)he
 '...and hid near where he/she would go.'
- (14) ...*añ lep ecet yin aara is amen aan* [_{LP} *eaaki* [_{REL} *is ñan*
 and again see him they.PL 3SG.P stay he there.AN 3SG.P PF
lep ati-i yin a Paralelcai.]_{REL}]_{LP}
 again put-TR him S Paralelcai
 '...and they saw him again staying there where Paralelcai had put him.'

8.3 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are marked by one of two particles: *wat* 'non-future/realis' (glossed T.P), and *wut* 'future/irrealis' (glossed T.F). Temporal clauses are bracketed in examples in this section.

The non-future/realis temporal marker occurs within the verb phrase immediately after the subject-tense marker, and refers to an event which has taken place or is taking place at the time of speaking. It may be used with aorist or past-subject markers.

- (15) [*Era wat hegañ uñi-mirau a jourau.*] *et idim idii-jaḗ*
 2DL.AR T.P eat.PL POSS.G-your.DL you.DL 3SG.AR really taste-salt
ka a'o?
 or no
 'When you eat yours, does it really taste salty?'
- (16) [*Is wat amen a Nagaarien a naworitai.*] *añ ege-i injaḗ*
 3SG.P T.P stay S Nagaarien LOC garden and hear-TR sea
is amen m-atcetec.
 3SG.P stay ES-roar
 'When Nagaarien was in the garden, he heard the sea roaring.'

A sequence of realis temporal clauses, however they may be conjoined, requires *wat* in each clause:

- (17) [Is wat *asuol*, *injaḗ a-nlii-i* *inrau-uḗut* *uwu-n*] [wat
3SG.P T.P go.down sea LOC-inside-CS parcel-laplap POSS.G-3SG T.P
upni], [*is* wat *tas-aḗat* *aan*], [*ḗan lep* *avi-i-se* *nawunlas*
good 3SG.P T.P say-secret (s)he PF again push-TR-down k.o.coral
iyiiki] [*is* *ḗan epjen*.]
DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P PF strong
'When the salt water went down into his laplap parcel, and went right in,
and when he said the secret words, he again pushed the coral down strongly.'

However, as with a number of other types of coordinate clauses, subject markers may be deleted if the subjects of each clause are the same:

- (18) [*Is* wat *lep* *aketo*], [wat *yet-pan* *a nadiat* *is* *ithii*]...
3SG.AR T.P again repeat T.P arrive-there T day 3SG.AR one
'When he did it again, and when he arrived there one day...'

The particle *wut* is used in future or irrealis temporal clauses, and may occur with aorist or inceptive subject markers. When it occurs in the aorist, it follows the subject marker, and appears to mark an event which the speaker assumes is going to occur:

- (19) [*Ek* wut *apan aṇak imraṇ*.] *ḗar le* *inpas* *uwu-n* *aṇak*.
1SG.AR T.F go I tomorrow SEQ take.SG axe POSS.G-his I
'When I go tomorrow, I will get his axe.'
- (20) *Jai* [*et* wut *ika* *aan inyi* *apam*.] *mu* *toḗ acil*
but 3SG.AR T.F say (s)he 3SG.INCP come HORT just tell.lie
akajau m-ika...³
we.INC.DL ES-say
'But when he says he's coming, let's just lie and say...'

Wut may also be used with the inceptive subject markers. This appears to occur when the temporal clause precedes or follows a main clause which is in the inceptive. In such cases also, *wut* precedes rather than follows the subject-tense marker. This is exemplified in both clauses of the first example below:

- (21) [Wut *yi* *ika* *aan yi* *lep* *apra-i* *cajau* *m-ika*
T.F 3SG.INCP say (s)he 3SG.INCP again send-TR us.INC.DL ES-say
tu *apam akajau m-ago nuḗut*.] [wut *ti*
1INC.DL.INCP come we.INC.DL ES-make laplap T.F 1INC.DL.INCP
ago akajau]...
make we.INC.DL
'When he says that he's going to send us to make laplap, and when we've made it...'

Treating this ordering as exceptional, it appears that *wat* and *wut* behave in a manner similar to the conjunctive aspect markers *aṇ* and *ḗar*. That is, they occur within the verb

³ The use of the quotative verb *ika* is discussed in some detail in §8.5.

phrase, coming after the subject-tense markers, and may not be followed by any other aspect markers.

I have recorded a few sentences which include both *wat* and *wut*. Examples:

- (22) [*Wut* *amen* *ajowa*] [*wut* *nadiat-atuṃap*] [*wut* *alañaheni* *ajowa* *a*
T.F stay you.PL T.F day-rest T.F pray you.PL T
nuyaleg] [*wat* *alau-jhou*] [*ṃan* *apam*] [*m-aihec* *va-i* *ñak*].
morning T.P go-outside PF come ES-greet GOAL-TR me
'When it's Sunday and you are in church, when you have come out then come
and take leave of me.'
- (23) [*Wut* *ika* *aan* *yi* *lep* *apra-i* *cajau* *m-ika* *tu* *apam*
T.F say he 3SG.INCP again send-TR us.INC.DL ES-say 1INC.DL.INCP come
akajau *m-ago* *nuṃut*], [*wut* *yi* *ago* *akajau*], [*wat* *ago*
we.INC.DL ES-make laplap T.F 3SG.INCP make we.INC.DL T.P make
ihni-i *ṃan* *ajga-n*], [*et* *wut* *ika* *aan* *iñiyi* *ham*]
finish-TR PF wait.for-him 3SG.AR T.F say he 3SG.INCP arrive.here
[*wat* *ika* *iñiyi* *apra-i* *cajau*]...
T.P say 3SG.INCP send-TR us.INC.DL
'When he next says he is going to send us to come and make laplap, and when
we make it, and when we have finished, when he comes, and when he says he's
going to send us...'

Both of these are quotations. In each case, the change from *wut* to *wat* seems to involve the notion of a completed action, even though that action is to be completed in the future: thus, 'when (*wut*) you are in church and when (*wat*) you have come out...', or 'when (*wut*) we make laplap and when (*wat*) we have finished...'. There are, however, not enough examples of this change in my corpus to test this theory further.

8.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses appear to be another area (like subject-tense marking) in which there has been considerable fairly recent change. I will describe first what seems to be the original system (which tallies with earlier descriptions of the language). It will be seen that examples (24)–(29) below which illustrate this system are clearly all elicited. I have virtually no examples of these constructions in the texts I recorded.

In this earlier system, still used by older speakers at least in elicitation conditions, conditional clauses are introduced by the conditional conjunction *el*, which becomes *ele* before a consonant. This conjunction precedes all verbal particles (and so is a true conjunction/subordinator and not a conjunctive/subordinative aspect marker). The conditional clause appears to always precede the main clause, which frequently includes the sequential marker *ṃar*. Real conditions use *el* + aorist subject-tense markers:

- (24) *El* *et* *apam* *aan*, *ek* *pu* *atpu* *añak*.
if 3SG.AR come (s)he 1SG.AR FUT hide I
'If he/she comes, I will hide.'

- (25) *El ek apan añaak imrañ, ek . p̄ar le inpas*
 if 1SG.AR go I tomorrow 1SG.AR SEQ take.SG axe

uñu-m̄ añaak.

POSS.G-your.SG I

'If I go tomorrow, I will get your axe/an axe for you.'

- (26) *El era itiyi apan aara, et p̄ar upni.*
 if 3PL.AR NEG go they.PL 3SG.AR SEQ good.

'If they don't go, that would be good.'

Hypothetical conditions generally used *el* + past subject-tense markers:

- (27) *El is apan aan era-i wik iyiki, et p̄ar le*
 if 3SG.P go (s)he T-CS week DEM.AN.SG 3SG.AR SEQ take.SG

inpas uña-k aan.

axe POSS.G-my (s)he

'If he had gone last week, he would have got my axe.'

- (28) *Ele kis apan añaak iyenev, p̄ar ecet-yin añaak.*
 if 1SG.P go I yesterday SEQ see-him/her I

'If I had gone yesterday, I would have seen him.'

The aorist rather than the past is sometimes used with a hypothetical condition, especially if it is clear from the presence of temporal phrases in the sentence that the condition is hypothetical:

- (29) *El ek apan añaak iyenev...*
 if 1SG.AR go I yesterday
 'If I had gone yesterday...'

A number of different changes to this system appear to be taking place or to have taken place. First, given the high frequency of *el* + *et* 3SG.AR in real conditions and *el* + *is* 3SG.P in hypothetical conditions, there is evidence that these have combined as single morphemes: a real conditional conjunction *elet*, and a hypothetical marker *elis*. Thus:

- (30) *Elet apan aak imrañ...*
 if.R go you.SG tomorrow
 'If you (SG) go tomorrow...'

- (31) *Elis apan aak era-i wik iyiki...*
 if.IRR go you.SG T-CS week DEM.AN.SG
 'If you (SG) had gone last week...'

The second is that, at least with the modified realis conditional *elet*, the temporal marker *wat* may also occur in the clause:

- (32) *Elet wat apan akaja...*
 if.R T.P go we.INC.PL
 'If we go...'

- (33) *Elet wat apan akaja iyenev...*
 if.R T.P go we.INC.PL yesterday
 'If we had gone yesterday...'

Again, however, it will be seen that the above are all elicited examples. The third change is perhaps the most pervasive, and this is what is found in the (relatively few) conditional clauses that I have recorded in texts, and also much more commonly in the speech of younger Aneityumese. This change involves replacement of the conditional conjunction by the temporal aspect markers, with *wut* T.F being used to mark future or real conditions and *wat* T.P being used to mark past or hypothetical conditions. For example:

- (34) *Ek wut itiyi apan Anejoṃ añak, ek pu itiyi ecet-yic.*
 1SG.AR T.F NEG go Aneityum I 1SG.AR FUT NEG see-you.SG
 'If I don't go to Aneityum, I won't see you.'
- (35) *Et wat ehe iyenev, ek amen a nemnem.*
 3SG.AR T.P rain yesterday 1SG.AR stay LOC home
 'If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed home.'

Perhaps even more frequent in the modern language, at least in the expression of real/future conditions, is for the verb of the conditional clause to be *ika* 'say, intend' and for this to be followed in a separate clause by the verb on which the condition operates (*apam* 'come' in example (36), *ehe* 'rain' in (37)):

- (36) [*Jai et wut ika aan*] [*inyi apam,*] [...*mu toṗ acil akajau.*]
 but 3SG.AR T.F say (s)he 3SG.INCP come HORT just lie we.INC.DL
 'But if he says that he is going to come...let's just tell a lie.'
- (37) [*Et wut ika*] [*et idim itiyi ehe iyenev,*] [*ek pu*
 3SG.AR T.F say 3SG.AR really NEG rain yesterday 1SG.AR FUT
idim apan m-asjan-ya.]
 really go ES-throw-line
 'If it really hadn't rained yesterday, I would have gone fishing.'

8.5 Complements and quotative clauses

Anejoṃ has a quotative verb *ika* which introduces direct quotations. Like its counterparts in other Southern Vanuatu languages,⁴ *ika* also introduces complements and certain other constructions.

8.5.1 The quotative verb *ika*

The quotative verb *ika* in fact has a wide range of meanings ('say, tell; cause, name; want to, intend to, be likely to'). Both direct and indirect quotations may follow *ika*, which is marked by subject-tense and other particles:

⁴ These counterparts are *ocu* ~ *agku* in Sye (Crowley 1998:254-262), which may possibly be formally cognate with Anejoṃ *ika*, and *amwa* in Lenakel (Lynch 1978b:110-113), which is clearly not formally cognate with either the Sye or Anejoṃ forms.

- (38) *Is ika a Natu, "Ek pu apam imrañ".*
 3SG.P say S Natu 1SG.AR FUT come tomorrow
 'Natu said, "I will come tomorrow".'
- (39) *Is ika a Natu is pu apam imrañ.*
 3SG.P say S Natu 3SG.AR FUT come tomorrow
 'Natu said she would come tomorrow.'

When the semantics of the verb of the locution are more specific than the fairly generalised semantics of *ika*, then a direct quote may immediately follow that verb:

- (40) ...*m-ahoda-i Nijvañ, "Et ñman ecohos nagesga ka a'o?".*
 ES-ask-TR Prawn 3SG.AR PF rise sun or no
 '...and asked Prawn, "Has the sun risen yet (or not)?".'
- (41) ...*m-aketo im-tas-pujhou ehele-i Nijvañ, "E Nijvañ, et ñman*
 ES-repeat ES-talk-outside DAT-CS Prawn hey Prawn 3SG.AR PF
ecohos nagesga ka?".
 Rise sun or
 '...and again spoke out the door to Prawn, "Hey Prawn, has the sun risen yet?".'

On the other hand, it is also possible for the clause containing the verb of locution to be followed by *m-ika* (with the echo-subject prefix).⁵

- (42) ...*añ ahoda-i Napeio m-ika, "Nai ika aak an*
 and ask-TR Napeio ES-say 2SG.AR want.to you.SG 2SG.INCP
lep aduñoj?".
 again return
 '...and asked Napeio (and said), "Do you want to go back again?".'
- (43) *Is yet-pan ehele-i etwa-n m-asañ m-ika, "Ek ñman ecet*
 3SG.P arrive-there DAT-CS brother-his ES-tell ES-say 1SG.AR PF see
yin inworen iyiiki añaak...
 it place DEM.AN.SG I
 'And he arrived and told his brother, "I have already seen that place...".'

Ika is also used to introduce direct 'quotations' after verbs of knowing or thinking – i.e. verbalisations of thoughts or opinions. For example:

- (44) *Is wat ege-i aan wat ahajeg añ atou m-ika, "Ja et*
 3SG.P T.P hear-TR he T.P listen and know ES-say but 3SG.AR
edevañ era ñman atou inworen iniñ ek amen añaak
 maybe NSG.AR PF know place DEM1.SG 1SG.AR stay I
im-le injaḗ era-n".
 ES-take.SG salt LOC-its
 'When he heard it he knew, "Maybe they know this place where I get salt".'

⁵ Example (42) below is interesting in that *ika* also occurs in the direct quote, but here with the meaning 'want to'.

- (45) *Ĥar amen aara m-ataka-i m-ika, "Ti ago inhe akaja?"*.
 SEQ stay they.PL ES-think-TR ES-say 1INC.PL.INCP do what we.INC.PL
 'And they were there thinking, "What are we going to do?"'.

8.5.2 Object complements

The indirect quotation in (39) above is an example of an object complement, and by far the most frequent way of expressing an object complement after verbs of locution, perception or intention is to interpose *m-ika* 'ES-say' between the matrix clause and the complement. Some examples follow.

- (46) *Is atakta-i aan m-ika [yu mu aduñoj aan.]*
 3SG.P think-TR (s)he ES-say 3SG.INCP HORT return (s)he
 'He/she wondered whether he/she would go back.'
- (47) *Yi ĥar atou aan m-ika [et le. injaĥ aan eda.]*
 3SG.INCP SEQ know (s)he ES-say 3SG.AR take.SG salt he where
 'And he will know where he gets his salt.'
- (48) *Ek meret añaĥ m-ika [yi apam aan imrañ.]*
 1SG.AR want I ES-say 3SG.INCP come (s)he tomorrow
 'I want him/her to come tomorrow.'
- (49) *Ek ege-i añaĥ m-ika [is ñan apam a etma-ñ Vila.]*
 1SG.AR hear-TR I ES-say 3SG.P PF go S father-your.SG Vila
 'I heard that your father had gone to Vila.'

An object complement may also be expressed by nominalising the verb. The NP subject in the nominalised clause is normally present if it is not identical to the subject of the matrix clause. In most cases, the verb is followed immediately by *va-ñ*. Now *va* marks cause, purpose and goal (see Table 6.3); it seems to me that it is purpose which is involved here, and I will treat it as such.

- (50) *Ek meret añaĥ n-apam va-ñ imrañ.*
 1SG.AR want I N-come PURP-TR tomorrow
 'I want to come tomorrow.'
- (51) *Ek meret añaĥ n-apam va-ñ aan imrañ.*
 1SG.AR want I N-come PURP-TR (s)he tomorrow
 'I want him/her to come tomorrow.'
- (52) *Is tii tah natimi n-ithii va-ñ.*
 3SG.P not.be INDEF person N-one PURP-TR
 'There wasn't a single person there.'

It is interesting to compare (48) and (51). These sentences seem to have identical meanings ('I want him/her to come tomorrow'), yet both a *m-ika* construction and also nominalisation + *va-ñ* seem to be acceptable.

There are a few examples of nominalised object complements, however, where *va-ñ* does not appear:

- (53) *Is p̄ar atid n-epe-i ingeje-n a Nismocoṗ.*
 3SG.P SEQ finish N-shave-TR chin-3SG S Nismocoṗ
 ‘Nismocoṗ finished shaving (lit. shaving his chin).’

8.5.3 Subject complements

It appears that subject complements can only be expressed by nominalisation. In such cases, *va-ñ* does not occur.

- (54) *Is has n-amen u atimi.*
 3SG.P bad N-live POSS.G people
 ‘People’s lives were bad.’
- (55) *...añ tūi n-atau-jepe imi atimi.*
 and not.be N-help-REC DAT people
 ‘...and there was no cooperation between people.’
- (56) *Is ago ra n-inyisjis n-invijec ehele-i Atua is atou nouṗan*
 P make them.PL N-believe N-true DAT-CS God P know time
iniñ aara is pu atii era-n.
 DEM1.SG they.PL P FUT not.be.PL T-its
 ‘Their faith in God made them know when they were going to pass away.’
- (57) *Is lep tūi n-amjeg.*
 P again not.be.SG N-sleep
 ‘There was no more sleep.’

8.6 Other adverbial clauses

This section briefly discusses purpose and reason clauses.

8.6.1 Purpose clauses

There appear to be three ways of forming a purpose clause. The first is simply to use the inceptive subject-tense markers which, with their implication of intention, can also encode purpose:

- (58) *Is wat aen [yi hag]...*
 3SG.P T.P he 3SG.INCP eat.INTR
 ‘When he wanted to eat...’
- (59) *...nagesga is m̄an ika [yi etjuu-se].*
 sun 3SG.P PF want 3SG.INCP sink-down
 ‘...the sun was already trying to set.’

The second kind of purpose clause also uses inceptive subject-tense marking, but the clause is introduced by *m-ika*:

- (60) *Yi lep apra-i cajau [m-ika tu apam akajau*
 3SG.INCP again send-TR us.INC.DL ES-say 1INC.NSG come we.INC.DL
m-ago nuḗut.]
 ES-make laplap
 'He will send us again (in order) to come and make laplap.'
- (61) *Is alṁa-jidjid-jepe aan [m-ika yi atapnes era-n].*
 3SG.P look-inspect-random (s)he ES-say 3SG.INCP close GOAL-its
 'He inspected it all over in order to establish that he had shut it.'

Thirdly, the sequential aspect-marker *ḗar* often encodes purpose:

- (62) *Eris amen aara, ḗar almu n-amen u atimi [ḗar atou*
 3PL.P stay they.PL SEQ look.at N-live POSS.G people PURP know
m-ika is itiyi upni n-amen u atimi.]
 ES-say 3SG.P NEG good N-live POSS.G people
 'They stayed on and watched people's lives in order to find out that their lives were not good.'
- (63) *Ti ago inhe akaja [ḗar ago tah nitai iniñ et*
 1INC.PL do what we.INC.PL PURP do INDEF thing DEM1.SG 3SG.AR
upni va-i n-amenjina atimi ijii?]
 good GOAL-TR N-look.after people DEM1.PL
 'What are we going to do in order to be able to do something good to look after these people?'

8.6.2 Reason clauses

Reason clauses employ the causal preposition *va* (see §6.2.1, §6.2.5). A reason clause is in fact a cause phrase which (i) is introduced by *va*, (ii) has as its head a demonstrative, and (iii) contains a relative clause.

- (64) *Is ehka [va-ñ niñ is etec intas-aḗat va n-asalgei*
 3SG.P difficult CAUS-TR this1.SG 3SG.P be word-secret PURP N-open
añ lep etec intas-aḗat va n-atapnes era-n.]
 and again be word-secret PURP N-close GOAL-its
 'It was difficult, because there was a secret word for opening it and another secret word for closing it.'
- (65) *Is apan aan Vila [va-ñ niñ is imehe aan.]*
 3SG.P go (s)he Vila CAUS-TR this1.SG 3SG.P sick (s)he
 'He/she went to Vila because he/she was sick.'
- (66) *Et amen inti-i Nijvañ a nitjini-n [va-ñ niñki is*
 3SG.AR stay excrement-CS Prawn LOC head-his CAUS-TR this1.SG 3SG.P
ouhokred va-n a Nismocoḗ...]
 be.angry GOAL-him S Nismocoḗ
 'Prawn's excrement is in his head because Nismocoḗ was angry with him...'

9 *Illustrative texts*

Three texts are presented in this chapter to illustrate features of Anejoñ grammar. Each was told to me by a different speaker of the language. I follow the presentation style as used by Robert Early (1994) in his grammar of Lewo by presenting the texts in two columns: the left hand column contains the text and interlinear morpheme glosses, while the right hand column contains a free translation.

9.1 Nismocoḗ and Prawn

This story was told to me in 1993 by Philip Tepahae. It is about a trick played on Nismocoḗ (a small brown freshwater fish) by Prawn, and explains why the excrement of prawns is found near their head.

Inyiḗḗl Anejoñ niñki, inyiḗḗl era-i nan
 story Aneityum this1.SG story REF-CS whataname

Nismocoḗ im Nijvañ
 Nismocoḗ and Prawn.

This is an Aneityumese story, the story of Nismocoḗ and Prawn.

A nouḗan is ithii, eris amen aarau.
 T time 3SG.P one NSG.P stay they.DL

Wat amjeg im-la asjan a nuyaleg, is ika
 T.P sleep ES-be.light clear T morning 3SG.P say

a Nismocoḗ ehele-i Nijvañ, "Alau-jhou añ
 S Nismocoḗ DAT-CS Prawn go-outside and

amen ijhou m-alek nagesga. Ki epe-i
 stay outside ES-look.for sun 1SG.INCP shave-TR

ingeje-k añak".
 chin-my I

Once upon a time, the two of them were staying together. When they had slept and it was bright and clear in the morning, Nismocoḗ said to Prawn, "Go and stay outside and watch for the sun. I'm going to shave".

Is ika a Nijvañ ehele-i Nismocoṽ, “Et upni.
 3SG.P say S Prawn DAT-CS Nismocoṽ 3SG.AR good
Ek apan añak”. Añ alau-jhou m-amen ijhou
 1SG.AR go I and go-outside ES-stay outside
a necsi-i nioñ, m-amen m-alek nagesga.
 LOC mouth-CS house ES-stay ES-look.for sun

Prawn said to Nismocoṽ, “OK. I’ll go”. And he went and stayed outside in the doorway, and watched for the sun.

Is epe-i ingeje-n a Nismocoṽ a-nlii-i
 3SG.P shave-TR chin-his S Nismocoṽ LOC-inside-CS
nioñ, añ tas-pujhou, “Et ñan ecohos nagesga,
 house and talk-outwards 3SG.AR PF appear sun
aak Nijvañ, ka a’o?”. Is ika a Nijvañ, “A’o,
 you.SG Prawn or no 3SG.P say S Prawn no
et itiyi fi ecohos nagesga”. Jam eda,
 3SG.AR NEG not.yet appear sun but where
is ñan ecohos nagesga.
 3SG.P PF appear sun

Nismocoṽ was shaving inside, and he called outside, “You, Prawn, has the sun risen or not?”. Prawn replied, “No, the sun hasn’t appeared yet.” But how come, since the sun had already risen?

Is wat amen aan m-epe-i ingeje-n,
 3SG.P T.P stay he ES-shave-TR chin-his
m-aketo im-tas-pujhou m-ahoda-i Nijvañ, “Et ñan
 ES-repeat ES-talk-outwards ES-ask-TR Prawn 3SG.AR PF
ecohos nagesga ka a’o?”. Is ika aan, “A’o,
 appear sun or no 3SG.P say he no
toṽ inla era-n ṽar naa. Et ṽar atuṽun
 just light POSS.P-its SEQ this2.SG 3SG.AR SEQ begin
ṽar la, jai et itiyi fi ecohos”. SEQ
 be.light but 3SG.AR NEG not.yet appear
Jam eda, is ñan adiat-adiat?
 but where 3SG.P PF REDUP-be.day

While he was shaving, he again called outside and asked Prawn, “Has the sun risen or not?”. And he replied, “No, there’s a bit of light. It’s just beginning to be light, but it hasn’t risen yet”. But how come, since it was already midday?

Is amen a Nismocoṗ m-epe-i ingeje-n...ee!
 3SG.P stay S Nismocoṗ ES-shave-TR chin-his whew

Is wat arohon tah nouṗan, is ṁan aketo
 3SG.P T.P elapse INDEF time 3SG.P PF repeat

aan m-alañ-pujhou, “Nijvañ, et ṁan elohos
 he ES-call-outwards Prawn 3SG.AR PF rise.completely

nagesga ka?”. Is ika a Nijvañ, “O’o, ṗar
 sun or 3SG.P say S Prawn no SEQ

naa et ṗar atuṗun ṗar ecohos toṗ tah
 this2.SG 3SG.AR SEQ begin SEQ appear just INDEF

nago era-n nahaje-n”. Jam eda, is ṁan
 rim POSS.P-its side-its but where 3SG.P PF

adei nagesga au-pag-kou.
 go.down sun LD-thither-DIST

Nismocoṗ went on shaving...whew! Some time passed, and then he again called outside, “Prawn, is the sun fully risen?”. Prawn replied, “No, it’s like there’s just its outline that’s starting to appear, one edge of it”. But how come, since the sun had already gone well to the west?

Ya’, is epe-i ingeje-n a Nismocoṗ m-aketo
 OK 3SG.P shave-TR chin-his S Nismocoṗ ES-repeat

im-tas-pujhou ehele-i Nijvañ, “Nijvañ, et ṁan
 ES-talk-outwards DAT-CS Prawn Prawn 3SG.AR PF

ecohos nagesga ka?”. Is ika aan, “Ṙaya, et ṁan
 appear sun or 3SG.P say he yes 3SG.AR PF

ecohos nagesga”. Jam eda, is ṁan etjuu nagesga,
 appear sun but where 3SG.P PF sink sun

ṁan apan au-pag-kou a-etha-njaṗ.
 PF go LD-thither-DIST LOC-underneath-sea

Well, Nismocoṗ went on shaving, and again talked to Prawn outside, “Prawn, has the sun already risen?”. He replied, “Yes, it has risen”. But how come, since the sun had already gone down, and had gone down over there under the sea?

Et alau-jhou aan – et ṗar atid
 3SG.AR go-outside he 3SG.AR SEQ finish

n-epe-i ingeje-n a Nismocoṗ ṗar alau-jhou,
 N-shave-TR chin-his S Nismocoṗ SEQ go-outside

ṗar elad-jai-kou ṗar alek nagesga aṁ itiyi ecta-i,
 SEQ look-up-DIST SEQ look.for sun and NEG see-TR

ṗar elad-se-pan a neteuwun aṁ ecta-i
 SEQ look-down-thither LOC west and see-TR

nagesga is ṁan ika yi etjuu-se.
 sun 3SG.P PF intend 3SG.INCP sink-down

Then Nismocoṗ went outside – he finished shaving and went outside, and he looked away in the east looking for the sun but he didn’t see it; then he looked down to the west and saw the sun about to set.

Is m̃an ouhokred upni aen va-i Nijvañ añ
 3SG.P PF angry good he GOAL-TR Prawn and
arapan va-i Nijvañ m-aper-a-n is asuol
 hold GOAL-TR Prawn ES-turn-him 3SG.P go.down
nitjini-n, m-ecjecja-i Nijvañ. Inpiñ im naa,
 head-his ES-ram-TR Prawn today and this2.SG
et amen inti-i Nijvañ a nitjini-n,
 3SG.AR stay excrement-CS Prawn LOC head-his
va-ñ niñki is ouhokred va-n a
 CAUS-TR this1.SG 3SG.P angry GOAL-him S
Nismocoḗ m-ecjecja-n m-aper-a-ñ is asuol
 Nismocoḗ ES-ram-him ES-turn-TR 3SG.P go.down
a nitjini-n, m-ecjecja-n is añ asuol
 LOC head-his ES-ram-him 3SG.P and go.down
inti-n a nitjini-n.
 excrement-his LOC head-his

He was very angry at Prawn, and grabbed hold of him and turned him upside down and rammed his head. And so today, Prawn's shit is in his head, because Nismocoḗ was angry with him and rammed him – he turned his head upside down and rammed his shit into his head.

9.2 The early Aneityumese Christians

This story, about some of the early Christians on Aneityum, was told to me by Deto Wimae in 1981. It originally appeared in my sketch grammar of Anejoñ (Lynch 1982:145-149), but the analysis there contained numerous errors. It is retranscribed and reanalysed here.

Nuyaleg upni Jon. Ek meret añaḡ m-ika
 morning good John 1SG.AR want I ES-say
ki asañ inyiḡal ehele-m̃ a nuyaleg inii.
 1SG.INCP tell story DAT-your.SG T morning DEM1.SG
Et epjed-epjed inyiḡal inii, inyiḡal a
 3SG.AR short story DEM1.SG story REF
n-alañaḡeni a-n-rijae era-n Anejoñ
 N-pray REF-N-arrive POSS.P-its Aneityum
ituwu-acen.
 long.ago-very

Good morning, John. I want to tell you a story this morning. It is a short story, about the arrival of Christianity on Aneityum long ago.

Maya, ituwu-acen is wat toṽ rijae
 yes long.ago-very 3SG.P T.P just arrive
n-alañaheni Anejoṽ is ecvan upni m-imisjjs
 N-pray Aneityum 3SG.P strong good ES-believe
n-invijec u atimi ehele-i Atua. Is lep amen
 N-true POSS.G people DAT-CS God 3SG.P again stay
upni natimi aṽ amen opra. Is ago ra n-imisjjs
 good person and live long 3SG.P make them.PL N-believe
n-invijec ehele-i Atua is atou nouṽan iniñ aara
 N-true DAT-CS God P know time DEM1.SG they.PL
is pu atii era-n.
 P FUT not.be.PL T-its

Well, long ago when Christianity had first arrived in Aneityum, people's belief in God was very strong. People lived well, and lived to a ripe old age. And their faith in God allowed them to know when they were going to pass away.

Maya, is amen a nomrag is ithii Ahajoṽ,
 yes 3SG.P live S old.man 3SG.P one Ahajoṽ
jai is atimi-alañaheni aen aṽ amen nioṽ-asvitai.
 but 3SG.P person.who-pray he and live house-book
Is amen aen omrag upni. Is amen natimi
 3SG.P live he old good SG live person
m-amenjina-i yin. A nouṽan enaa, is lep
 ES-look.after-TR him T time DEM2.SG P again
atii n-imehe, aṽ itiyi imehe natimi m-amen
 not.be.PL N-sick and NEG sick person ES-stay
m-omrag upni ja ṽar emesmas.
 ES-old good but SEQ die.PL

Well, there was an old man at Ahajoṽ, and he was a religious person and had a library. He was very old, and there were people looking after him. At that time also, there were no sicknesses, and people didn't get sick; they lived to a ripe old age, but then died.

Maya, nomrag iyii is itiyi imehe aen.
 yes old.man DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P NEG sick he
Nejhe-n is upni asga. Is wat ika aen yi
 tooth-his P good all 3SG.P T.P want he 3SG.INCP
hag jam aviñ intal iniñ is ahen acred
 eat but want.to.eat taro DEM1.SG 3SG.P roast scrape
is cascás jai is ṽar ciñ aen pan a
 3SG.P roast but 3SG.P SEQ eat.TR he with LOC
naṽu-n era-n. M-amen aen jam imy-amen alañaheni,
 crust-its LOC-its ES-live he but COM-stay pray
wat atga-sjipe a natimi a nepeñ wat elad-pan
 T.P walk-random S person T night T.P look-thither

Well, this old man wasn't sick. He had all his teeth. When he wanted to eat he roasted taro and scraped off the crisp bits and ate it with its crust still on. He prayed repeatedly, and anyone walking around at night could see that his house was all lit up. But this was the light of God.

a nioñ uwu-n jam ecta-i is ataunaju
 LOC house POSS.G-his but see-TR 3SG.P illuminated
era-n, inla era-i pensin-lam edeva-ñ. Ñaya,
 LOC-its light POSS.P benzene-lamp be.like-TR yes
is toṗ inla u Atua.
 3SG.P just light POSS.G God

Yi amen wat yet-pan a nouṗan inii,
 3SG.INCP live T.P arrive-there T time DEM1.SG
is ika yi tii aṁ apra-ñ-se intas
 3SG.P likely 3SG.INCP not.be.SG and send-TR-down word
Umej m-ika, "Wut amen ajowa wut nadiat-atuṁap wut
 Umej ES-say T.F stay you.PL T.F day-rest T.F
alañaheni ajowa a nuyaleg wat alau-jhou ṁan
 pray you.PL T morning T.P go-outside PF
apam m-aihec va-i ñak".
 come ES-greet GOAL-TR me

Ñaya, is wat yet-pan a nouṗan enaa is
 yes P T.P arrive-there T time DEM2.SG P
wat alau-jhou aara a nuyaleg, ṁan ajujai a
 T.P go-outside they.PL T morning PF go.east S
natimi asga ehele-n. Apan aara m-aihec va-i yin
 person all LOC-his go they.PLES-greet GOAL-TR him
im-tañ era-n is itiyi fi mas aen jai
 ES-cry GOAL-his 3SG.P NEG not.yet die he but
n-eva-ñ yi ika is aihec va-i yin aara
 N-show-TR 3SG.INCP want P greet GOAL-TR him they.PL
aṁ atou aara m-ika mu itiyi lep ecet-yin.
 and know they.PL ES-say HORT NEG again see-him

There came a time when he was ready to die, and he sent word down to Umej as follows: "When you go to church on Sunday morning, when you have come out, come and take leave of me".

So when the time came, and the people came out of church, they went east to see him. They went and took leave of him, and they cried over him; he hadn't yet died, but this was to show that they were farewelling him because they knew that they wouldn't see him again.

Maya, wat ago inii pan aara aĩ lep
 yes T.P make DEM1.SG there they.PL and again
ude-i yin pan era-i atimi is amen m-amenjina-i
 leave-TR him there LOC-CS people P stay ES-look.after-TR
yin. Wat nepeñ amen aara aĩ ecet inla
 him T.P night stay they.PL and see light
iyii is asuol, asuol m-apan im-taujai
 DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P go.down go.down ES-go ES-touch
era-i nomrag iyii wat tii-pan wat
 GOAL-CS old.man DEM.AN.SG T.P not.be.SG-there T.P
etca-i-pan yin a elpu-atimi-amenjina-i yin,
 feel-TR-there him S PL-person.who-look-after-TR him
is ñan ahiwiyu aen, ñan mas aen.
 3SG.P PF cold he PF die he

So they did this and then left him again with the people who were looking after him. When it was night, they saw a light coming down, and it came and touched the old man and disappeared. And when the people looking after him felt him, he was cold – he was dead.

Maya, is lep amen a nomrag is echei
 yes 3SG.P again live S old.man 3SG.P different
is lep ici aen, is amen (a itai)
 3SG.P again be.like.this he 3SG.P live (LOC things)
Anouyac, is lep ici aen, is omrag upni,
 Anouyac 3SG.P again be.like.this he 3SG.P old good
is lep amen natimi m-amenjina-i yin. Is ñan
 3SG.P again stay person ES-look.after-TR him 3SG.P PF
omrag upni aen m-itiyi atou m-atga-sjipe. Jai
 old good he ES-NEG know ES-walk-random but
is itiyi imehe aen jai m-amen m-ajga-ñ noupan
 3SG.P NEG sick he but ES-stay ES-wait-TR time
mas.
 die

Well, there was another old man like this, he lived at (what's it called) Anouyac. He was like this, very old, and he had someone looking after him. He was so old that he wasn't able to walk around. But he wasn't sick, he was just waiting for his time to die.

Amen aara wat yet-pan a nouḡan is ithii
 stay they.PL T.P arrive-there T time 3SG.P one
 is ṁan atou aen m-ika mu ude-i ra. Amen a
 3SG.P PF know he ES-say HORT leave-TR them stay S
 tijiraaki is amen m-amenjina-i yin ijhou m-atec
 this1.TL P stay ES-look.after-TR him outside ES-sit
 im-yiḡal aṁ asjec a nomrag a-nlii-i nioṁ.
 ES-tell.story and lie S old.man LOC-inside-CS house.
 (Ek lep ahanag a nida-ra aṇak jai et
 1SG.AR again forget GOALname-their.PL I but 3SG.AR
 aṁ apan inyiḡal inii m-ici.)
 and go story DEM1.SG ES-be.like.this

They went on, and it came to a time when he knew that he was going to leave them. These three who were looking after him were sitting outside telling stories, and the old man was lying down inside the house. (I have forgotten their names, but this story goes like this.)

Asjec a nomrag a-nlii-i nioṁ jai nepeñ
 lie S old.man LOC-inside-CS house but night
 yi aṁ ege-i yin aattaj is amen aen
 3SG.INCP and hear-TR him they.TL 3SG.P stay he
 im-tas. Rectidai aattaj m-athut m-apan a-nlii-i
 ES-talk get.up they.TL ES-run ES-go LOC-inside-CS
 nioṁ, aṁ ika is ithii, "Nomrag, nev-itai
 house and say 3SG.P one old.man which-thing
 iyii na amen aek m-asañ?".
 DEM.AN.SG 2SG.AR stay you ES-tell

The old man was lying inside the house, and that night they heard him talking. They got up and ran inside the house, and one of them said, "Old man, what was that that you were saying in here?".

Is aṁ ika aen, "A'o, era amen akaja
 3SG.P and say he no NSG.AR stay we.INC.PL
 m-apan u n-alañaheni et amen a natimi-n-
 ES-go LOC N-pray 3SG.AR stay S person-N-
 alaṇaheni m-ika et etec inpeke upni im
 pray ES-say 3SG.AR stay island good and
 inpeke has. Jai inpiñ era itiyi atou akaja
 island bad but today NSG.AR NEG know we.INC.PL
 m-ika et invijec intas uwu-n aen ka et
 ES-say 3SG.AR true word POSS.G-his he or 3SG.AR
 acil. Jai amen akaja wut ika aṇak ki
 false but stay we.INC.PL T.F likely I 1SG.INCP

He replied, "No, we go to church and the pastor says that there is a Heaven and a Hell. But today we don't know whether his words are true or false. We are here now, but when I leave you three or all of you, just look towards the east where the morning star rises. If you see a light coming down, then you can believe that it is true that there is a Heaven and a Hell".

ude-i coutaj ka cowa mu toḗ elad-jai
 leave-TR you.TL.O or you.PL.O HORT just look-up
ajoutaj a-n-ared-jai uwu-n inworen iniñ et
 you.TL LOC-N-go-up POSS.G-its place DEM1.SG 3SG.AR
ared-jai inñojev-a-nuyaleg era-n. Wut ika ajoutaj
 go-up star-POSS.P-morning LOC-its T.F say you.TL
ri ecet inla yi asuol, mu imyisjis
 NSG.AR see light 3SG.INCP go.down HORT believe
n-invijec ajoutaj m-ika et invijec et etec
 N-true you.TL ES-say 3SG.AR true 3SG.AR stay
inpeke upni im inpeke has".
 island good and island bad

Ñaya, amen aara lep adia a tijiraaki
 yes stay they.PL again leave S this1.TL
m-alau-jhou m-amen ijhou lep atec im-yiḗal
 ES-go-outside ES-stay outside again sit ES-tell-story
añ asjec a nomrag a-nlii-i nioñ. M-amen
 and lie S old.man LOC-middle-CS house ES-stay
is ñan lep ege-i yin aattaj is aketo aen
 P PF again hear-TR him they.TL 3SG.P repeat he
im-tas. Is ñan lep rectidai aattaj apan a-nlii-i
 ES-talk P PF again get.up they.TL go LOC-inside-CS
nioñ m-ahoda-n m-ika, "Nomrag, nev-itai
 house ES-ask-him ES-say old.man which-thing
iyü na amen aek m-asañ?".
 DEM.AN.SG 2SG.AR stay you.SG ES-say

Well, these three went
 and stayed outside there
 telling stories, and the
 old man was lying down
 inside the house. And
 again they heard him
 talking. They got up
 again and went inside
 the house and asked him,
 "Old man, what were
 you saying?".

Is aĩ ika aen, "Wu, ek asjec aĩak aĩ
 3SG.P and say he oh 1SG.AR lie I and
ecet yin natimi et erou era apam aarau.
 see it person 3SG.AR two NSG.AR come they.DL
Rai ham aarau m-aso rau era-i
 NSG.AR come they.DL ES-clothe them.DL INS-CS
apelĩmai ahii. Era apam aarau m-aji ehele-k
 clothes white NSG.AR come they.DL ES-stand DAT-my
m-ika wut lep apam a nithut a nadiat ĩman
 ES-say T.F again come T dawn POSS.P day PF
le ñak mu adia ajamtaĩ".
 take.SG me HORT leave we.EXC.TL

ĩMaya, is ĩman lep ude-n a tijiraaki
 yes, P PF again leave-him S this1.TL
m-alau-jhou m-amen ijhou. Is lep tii
 ES-go-outside ES-stay outside 3SG.P again not.be.SG
n-amjeg. Amen aattaj wat yet-pan a nouĩpan
 N-sleep. stay they.TL T.P arrive-there T time
iyii et asaĩ a nomrag a nithut a nadiat,
 DEM.AN.SG 3SG.AR tell S old.man T dawn POSS.P day
aĩ ecet inla iyii is asuol-asuol a-nworen
 and see light DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P REDUP-go.down LOC-place
iyii is asaĩ a nomrag, asuol m-apam
 DEM.AN.SG 3SG.P tell S old.man go.down ES-come
a-ĩĩa-nacuĩuĩ a nioĩ im-taujai a
 LOC-hole-chimney POSS.P house ES-touch GOAL
nepje-nemta-i nomrag iyii m-apam im-tii-pan
 cavity-face-CS old.man DEM.AN.SGES-come ES-not.be.SG-there
a nopseduo-n jai ĩpar tii-pan. ĩMaya, is
 LOC toe-his but SEQ not.be.SG-there yes P
wat apan a tijiraaki a-nlii-i nioĩ wat
 T.P go S this1.TL LOC-inside-CS house T.P
etca-i-pan nomrag is ĩman ahiwiyu aen, is
 feel-TR-there old.man 3SG.P PF cold he 3SG.P
ĩman mas aen.
 PF die he

And he replied, "Oh, I was lying here and I saw two people come. They came here dressed in white clothes. The two of them came and stood beside me and said that when they came again at dawn, they would take me with them".

So these three left him again and went and stayed around outside. But there was no more sleep. They stayed until the time the old man had spoken of, and at dawn they saw a light coming down to the place that he had told them of, and it came down into the chimney of the house and touched the old man's forehead and disappeared, and then went to his toes and disappeared. So these three went inside the house, but when they felt the old man he was cold – he had died.

Maya, et *man ihnii inyiḗal inii*
 yes 3SG.AR PF finish story DEM1.SG
u-jau *inkahe. Aak, Jon, jai inyiḗal*
 POSS.G-our.INC.DL here you.SG John but story
invijec inii.
 true DEM1.SG

Well, that's the end of this story of ours. But, John, this is a true story.

9.3 Laws about sharing fruit

This quite short story is about taboos and restrictions on fruit gathering, which was told to me by Manio of Aneplidai.

Is amen aara m-akrou inra-i cai aara –
 P stay they.PL ES-share branch-CS trees they.PL
inra-i māḗ im inra-i ma. Jai is
 branch-CS chestnuts and branch-CS breadfruits but P
ḗar han era-i atimi asga. Añak im elpu-hal
 SEQ enough GOAL-CS people all I and PL-child
uña-k ekris ahe-i incai iyiiki ajama,
 POSS.G-my 1EXC.PL.P climb-TR tree DEM.AN.SG we.EXC.PL
m-aced achei inra-n iniñ eris akrou
 ES-follow only branch-its DEM1.SG NSG.P share
m-alḗa-i cama.
 ES-give-TR us.EXC.PL

We used to share the branches of trees – Tahitian chestnut branches and breadfruit branches. But there was enough for everybody. Me and my children, we climbed the tree, and just followed this branch which had been allocated to us.

Ja is ḗar han man ude-i u
 but P SEQ enough PF leave-TR POSS.G
ahaje-atimi eris man aviñ ohowa-i cai
 other.sides-people 3PL.P PF want.to.eat fruits-CS trees
aara. Nahaje-atimi ḗar lep ahe-i ḗar
 they.PL other.side-people SEQ again climb-TR SEQ
aced inra-n u-ra.
 follow branch-its POSS.G-their.PL

But there was enough to leave some for other people who wanted to eat the fruit. Other people could climb and follow their own branch.

Jim lep awotai-māu māu aek im-le era-n
 DONT again do.slightly-mistake you.SG ES-take.SG LOC-its
uwu intak atimi aek. An le era-n
 POSS.G INDEF people you.SG 2SG.INCP take.SG LOC-its
uwu intak atimi aek, pu mas aak, pu
 POSS.G INDEF people you.SG FUT die you.SG FUT
mas aak a noupan. Māya, is amen natimi
 die you.SG T time yes P stay person
m-almo-i, m-almo-i intas-alep iniñ eris
 ES-watch-TR ES-watch-TR word-keep DEM1.SG 3PL.P
ati-i aara.
 put-TR they.PL

Is wat ici, is p̄ar ciñ inmāp̄ a natimi
 P T.P be.like.this P SEQ eat.TR chestnut S person
asga. Va-ñ inkaaki, is anag natimi, is edevañ
 all CAUS-TR here P many person P may.be
n-atec-se-ecyañ n-anag era-n. Is wat ici,
 N-sit-down-termite N-many POSS.P-its P T.P be.like.this
is tintin inworen iniñ eru pu le
 3SG.P smallish place DEM1.SG 3PL.AR FUT take.SG
nohowa-ncai aara era-n. Is ñan ago nefalañ
 fruit-tree they.PL LOC-its P PF do road
inii aara, is p̄ar han era-i atimi asga
 DEM1.SG they.PL P SEQ enough POSS.P people all
a noṗohtan. Is wat ago nefalañ iniii aara,
 LOC world P T.P do road DEM1.SG they.PL
is p̄ar ciñ nohowa-ncai a natimi asga
 P SEQ eat.TR fruit-tree S person all

We, et ñan edevañ et ñan toṗ ihni-i
 well 3SG.AR PF may.be 3SG.AR PF just finish-TR
inkaaki.
 here.

Don't ever make a little mistake and take from a branch something belonging to someone else. If you take fruit from someone else's branch, you will die, you will die on the spot. Yes, and there were people watching, watching to see that the law they had laid down was kept.

It went on like this, and everyone ate the Tahitian chestnuts. This was because there were many people – they were scurrying around like termites. And the place where they could get their fruit was small. They went on in this fashion, but there was enough for everybody in the world. So they went on like this, and all the people ate fruit.

Well, it seems as if our story is finished here.

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