## A descriptive grammar of Merei (Vanuatu)

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# A descriptive grammar of Merei (Vanuatu) 

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## Preface

This book is a description of the grammar of the Merei language of central Espiritu Santo Island of Vanuatu, South Pacific. Its purpose is to describe the Merei language of Vanuatu (New Hebrides), South Pacific. It starts with a brief description of phonemes, phonotactics, orthography and morphophonemics. The main components then follow the logical sequence of noun phrases, verb phrases, clauses, and sentences. Each part starts with simple default or unmarked patterns followed by the modified or more complex features.

The work is based on a structural and data oriented approach using data collected within the Merei-speaking community in Vanuatu between 1995 to 1997. It begins with background on the language and a brief phonological description. The description of syntax starts with phrase structures and their constituents. Clause structure, sentences types and more complex structures are built in a bottom-up approach based on the phrase structures. The Oceanic features of this language are highlighted through a comparison with other Austronesian languages and Proto Oceanic. Hopefully this description will provide more clues for the puzzles of the study of Oceanic languages.

First and foremost I have to thank our personnel coordinators Jim and Janet Stahl, who granted me six months' study leave for research. They also provided supplementary references for this work. I am thankful to my work supervisor Dr Paul Black, who spent a lot of painstaking hours understanding my English and my thoughts, and helped me to put both together. I am also grateful to Dr William Staley and Mrs Rochelle Staley for their teaching and advice in a grammar workshop as I started working with Merei grammar. I am really indebted to Dr Robert Early, who read through the very rough drafts and gave comments which were substantial. I also thank Dr Paul Kroeger for his comments on the phonology and syntax description and Mrs Joan Finlay for her comments on the earlier drafts.

My greatest debt however is to the Merei speakers in Navele village, who not only taught us Merei language and their culture, but also accepted my family as part of the community. I particularly thank the following members of the community: Chief John Mark, Norman Candy, Manuel Lagrere, Erikson Raf, Rebacca, Edmond, Bunne and Shadrack.

Last but not less important, I have to thank for my wife Loretta and my son Ling Fung as they tolerated my continual thinking about my work and Merei grammar in our family time.

## Abbreviations and conventions

| Abbreviation | Meaning | Section |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\#$ | word boundary | $\S 2.4$ |
| ?? | unknown | Table 10 |
| 1 | 1st person singular | $\S 3.1$ |
| 1D | 1st person dual inclusive | $\S 3.1$ |
| 1DE | 1st person dual exclusive | $\S 3.1$ |
| 1E | 1st person plural exclusive | $\S 3.1$ |
| II | 1st person plural inclusive | $\S 3.1$ |
| 2 | 2nd person singular | $\S 3.1$ |
| 2P | 2nd person plural | $\S 3.1$ |
| 3 | 3rd person singular | $\S 3.1$ |
| 3D | 3rd person dual | $\S 3.1$ |
| 3P | 3rd person plural | $\S 3.1$ |
| A:C | article of common noun | $\S 2.4$ |
| A:NF | non-referential article | $\S 2.4$ |
| A:P | article of personal noun | $\S 2.4$ |
| BEN | benefactive | $\S 5.3 .1$ |
| DAT | dative | $\S 5.3 .1$ |
| FUR | futuristic | $\S 5.4 .2$ |
| GEN.E | genitive for edible | $\S 3.7 .2$ |
| GEN.I | genitive for inedible | $\S 3.7 .2$ |
| HOR | hortative | $\S 6.1$ |
| IMP.INTR | aspect: intransitive imperfective | $\S 4.2 .5$ |
| IMP.TR | aspect: transitive imperfective | $\S 4.2 .5$ |
| IPT | imperative | $\S 6.1$ |
| IRR | modality: irrealis in third person | $\S 4.2 .2$ |
| L/T | locative/temporal preposition | $\S 5.3 .1$ |
| NEG | negative | $\S 4.2 .2$ |
| $\emptyset$ | zero morpheme | $\S 4.2 .1, \S 4.2 .4$ |
| OD | outwards directional clitics | $\S 5.4 .1$ |
| PAN | Proto Austronesian language | $\S 3$ |
| PERF.INTR | aspect: intransitive perfective | $\S 4.2 .5$ |
| PERF.TR | aspect: transitive perfective | $\S 4.2 .5$ |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |


| Abbreviation | Meaning | Section |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| POc | Proto Oceanic language | $\S 1.5$ |
| POSSC.E | direct possessive classifier of edible noun | $\S 3.7 .2$ |
| POSSC.I | direct possessive classifier of inedible noun | $\S 3.7 .2$ |
| PROHIB | prohibition | $\S 6.1$ |
| PSP | modality: presupposition | $\S 4.2 .2$ |
| R | modality: realis | $\S 4.2 .2$ |
| RED | reduplication | $\S 3.4$ |
| SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics | $\S 1.4$ |
| TD | towards directional clitics | $\S 5.4 .1$ |

Vernacular forms are printed in italics. Phonetic notations are in the International Phonetic Alphabet in DoulosIPA font and are enclosed in square brackets, [ ]. The full stop '. ' between the italic characters or phonetic symbols marks a syllable break. The ' $/$ ' in the examples represents a phonological pause. The meaning of the vernacular forms are marked shown in regular form inside the single quotation marks, ' '. The protolanguage phonemes are marked by a preceding ' $*$ ' before the italic segment. The ill-formed examples are marked by a preceding '*' before the examples.

## Introduction

This work is mainly based on language data I collected among the Merei-speaking people in Navele village in Espiritu Santo Island of Vanuatu, where I lived and learned the Merei language from May 1995 until March 1997. The data was based on elicitation in the field, and no further data was available to verify or countercheck the hypotheses during the writing of this work. Interference through introspection based on my limited competence of Merei seemed inevitable.

The Merei language has not previously been described and the languages of the Espiritu Santo inland have been a missing link for the whole picture of the languages of Vanuatu. In addition, the lack of data on Oceanic languages hinders the precise classification of the languages of Northern Central Vanuatu, which are Remote Oceanic (Ross 1994, pers. comm.; Early 1994:39-41; Tryon 1973:303). Thus it is hoped that this description of Merei might contribute to the comparative study of the languages of Vanuatu as well as of Oceanic languages in general. In order to facilitate such comparison, the outline is mainly based on the framework of the 'Typological Overview' in Chapter 3 of Lynch, Ross and Crowley's (2002) book, The Oceanic languages.

### 1.1 Typological features of Merei

Merei is an SVO language with many typical Oceanic features (Pawley \& Reid 1980:116-117). Possessives are divided into direct (or inalienable) and indirect (or alienable). Subject pronouns, modality and aspect markers occur preverbally, and object pronouns and aspect adverbs follow the verb. Serial verb constructions are frequent.

The morphological structure is relatively simple and somewhat between fusional and agglutinative, with a few inflectional and derivational affixes. Bi-morphemic nouns are common. The case marking system is nominative-accusative, with case marked by word order alone. Headmarking is rigid. The adpositions are prepositions.


Map 1: Merei and other languages of Espiritu Santo.
Based on Lynch and Crowley (2001:45).

### 1.2 Demographic information

Merei used to be classified as one of the twenty-nine languages on Espiritu Santo, the largest island of Vanuatu, with about four thousand square kilometres. Most of the language groups have fewer than a thousand speakers (Wurm 1994:135). In 1996 a linguistic survey shows that Merei is spoken as a mother tongue by approximately four hundred people in at least four villages, Angoru, Navele, Tombet and Vusvogo between the Ora and Lape rivers in
the central area of Espiritu Santo island (Stahl 1996). Recently Merei and its related language, Tiale, are considered the same language as Merei-Tiale under the category of Central Santo languages. The population of the Merei-Tiale speakers has been estimated around eight hundred (Lynch \& Crowley 2001:54).

The Merei language is not commonly discussed in the literature. It is considered to be the same as Lametin as described by Tryon (1976) based on a comparison of 234 words, among which 94.87 per cent cognates have been found (see Appendix 3). Tryon (1976) uses Lametin as the name for Merei and says it had 150 speakers. Lynch (1996) gives Naluttsileri as another name for the Lametin language. According to people from the Big Bay area and a map of Espiritu Santo (Topographical Service of the Government of the New Hebrides 1979), Lametin refers to a specific village near the Tombet village in the high land south of Bengie and south-west of Ora river that was abandoned in the 1960s. Two Merei-speaking women, who are currently living in Navele village, had been living in Lametin village around the 1960s. Thus, we may consider that Merei was Lametin. The name of Lametin has also been used as the name of the Merei language in some other linguistic literature (Gordon, R.G. Jr. 2005; Wurm 1994; Tryon 1994). However, the location of the villages can be confused as the village can be abandoned after the death of the chief (Lynch \& Crowley 2001:53). The name Merei, which means 'no', is what indigenous speakers use to refer to their language. Another reference to the name Merei was by the anthropologist Thomas Ludvigson (1981:67).

All the inhabitants of the Merei-speaking villages except my family are Melanesians. Some inhabitants are non-Merei speakers, including families of the clergy of the Melanesian Mission, the health workers, teachers and some boarding students in Navele school, the only primary school in the interior of Espiritu Santo island. The teaching medium in school is English, and so some Merei-speaking children who have attended school speak a little English. The government is considering having vernacular education in kindergarten.

Merei speakers seldom had contact with the town until a new road was built in 1993. They had not had much contact with the people beyond the interior of Espiritu Santo until the arrival of Melanesian missionaries in the 1970s. These foreign clergy are mainly from the Northern part of Vanuatu (New Hebrides). Most of the adults are bilingual in Bislama and their mother tongue to different degrees, but a few who went to school understand some English. Bislama is used in the domains of the church and community clinic and as the lingua franca with other language groups. Most of the adults in the village are preliterate. There was no literature in Merei until we produced some Bible story booklets in 1996.

Jim Stahl, a linguistic survey specialist, and I collected word lists of Merei and a few neighbouring languages, Tiale, Kiai, Toksigi, Okula and Akei. (All these language names are quite different from those mentioned in Tryon's New Hebrides languages: an internal classification.) Merei is closely related to Tiale, which is spoken by around seven hundred people living west of the Ora River, from the Big Bay area to Mataipevu village in Southwest Espiritu Santo. According to a comparison of 250 -item word lists based on Tryon (1976:172-174, cf. Appendix 3), Merei and Tiale are 90-93 per cent similar. The rest of the neighbouring languages are 62 per cent or less similar to Tiale and Merei. Recorded text tests have been carried out in Merei and Tiale and have shown that the two languages are mutually intelligible. Thus they might be considered varieties of one language (Stahl 1996). R.G. Gordon, Jr. (2005) also mentions Winiv as a dialect of Lametin. Strangely it is also listed as a dialect of Vinmavis, which belongs to the sub-classification of Malekula interior, but the Winiv language has not been found mentioned in any other document.


Map 2: Some other Northern Central Vanuatu languages. Based on Lynch and Crowley (2001:16).

### 1.3 Early sources

Not much literature on the grammars of Merei, Tiale and other closely related languages of Santo inland has been found. However, word lists of the Santo inland languages have been collected (Tryon 1976). Clark's (1985) work, which provides more information on the interrelationship between the North and Central Vanuatu languages, was cited under many different Santo languages in Lynch and Crowley's Languages of Vanuatu (2001).

Some of the earliest grammar descriptions or word lists of the neighbouring languages can be found in Ray's (1926) A comparative study of the Melanesian Islands languages. However, it is very difficult to distinguish the languages and verify that those mentioned in this article are the same as languages spoken today. According to a few lists of ten words, Merei seems to be similar at a rate of two out of three to what was named 'Inland language',
but the words of the Inland language are found 'mutilated almost beyond recognition' (Ray 1926:350). Merei is 40 per cent to 50 per cent similar to the languages of Tasiriki, Tangoa, Bay 2 and Nogugu (Ray 1926:350-351). The Nogugu language of the West Coast was learnt by European missionaries in 1869, and a sketch of grammar was printed in 1889 (Gordon 1889; Ray 1926:348-349).

The language of Mota Island of Northern Vanuatu was described in the last century (Codrington 1877). It was widely used as a common language (lingua franca) in education and in religious domains in northern Vanuatu and the eastern Solomons from the middle of the nineteenth century until 1931 (Wurm 1994:94). The Sakau language of the East Coast of Santo was also described (Guy 1974), but it is very different from its neighbours (Wurm 1994:135; Ray 1926:350). Annand (1891) described the grammar in South Santo in the last century. Camden has worked with the Tangoa language, and hymns in the Tangoa language have been produced and published. Jeff Batcock (pers. comm.) is working with the grammar and a dictionary of the language. Dorothy Jauncey (1996) is working with another language, named Malo, from the name of the island south of Espiritu Santo. Some other descriptions of other languages in Northern Central Vanuatu subgroup, including Raga, Paamese, Lewo, and Port Sandwich, are collected in Tryon's (1994-95) Comparative Austronesian dictionary. A more complete bibliography of Vanuatu languages has been done by Lynch and Crowley (2001).

### 1.4 Sources of data

In 1995 my wife and I arrived in Vanuatu and worked as translation advisers with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) under the auspices of the Translation and Literacy Program of the Vanuatu Christian Council, which is under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Vanuatu Government. We started learning the Vanuatu national language, Bislama, after our arrival in February. In May 1995 we were allocated to a Merei-speaking village, Navele, inland on Espiritu Santo Island, and started our cultural and language learning. I began by eliciting words and expressions in Merei and a list of 'power tools', expressions of greetings and questions for exploring the language, working with the village people who were bilingual in Bislama and Merei. My language learning is mainly based on an interactive approach, conversing with my neighbours and other members of the community. The references, Language acquisition made practical (Brewster \& Brewster 1976) and Language learner's field guide (Healey 1975) were used as guidelines and for evaluating learning progress.

The Merei words were first recorded in a data notebook, then were keyed into the lexical database of a linguistic data management program, Shoebox V2.0 (Wimbish 1992-93). In July 1995, we started to tape texts of different genres, such as procedural, legend, life story, history, speech and conversation. Some texts were transcribed and keyed in, then the texts were interlinearised by using Shoebox as a means of morphological analysis and source of new lexical items. (An interlinearised sample text of narrative genre is at the end of this work, Appendix 1.) The texts were then imported to the Fast Interactive Editor of Scripture and Text Analysis (FIESTA Vers. 4.5t) (Alsop 1987-1992) for searching and analysing the syntax. All the recorded texts are on fourteen tapes (see Appendix 2). Words based on the word list in Tryon's (1976) New Hebrides Languages were collected and have been analysed
by using phonological analysis software, Findphone (Vers. 6.0, SIL 1995). All the transcribed data was saved in the hard disk of a laptop computer with backup tapes in Port Vila. At a later stage of my language learning, I also used Computerised extraction of components of intonation in language for Windows (WinCECIL Vers. 2.1) (SIL 1994) as a speech analysis tool for learning utterances and imitating intonation. My Merei language proficiency was tested as being at the advanced level in the scale of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL; see SIL 1996, 1997) by the SIL (Vanuatu) personnel coordinator in February 1997.

### 1.5 Classification

Lametin language belongs to west-Santo subgroup of the North-Central Vanuatu group. The North Central Vanuatu group had been classified as Remote Oceanic of the Eastern Central Oceanic languages (Wurm 1994:135; Tryon 1994 Part I, Fascicle I:22-27) but now people widely accept that North Central Vanuatu should be classified directly under Proto Oceanic (POc) because there is not enough evidence to support the Eastern Oceanic classification (Pawley \& Ross 1993:439-440). There is another opinion subgrouping Lametin as South Santo (western) and considering its protolanguage to be Proto Northern Vanuatu based on Clark's data in 1985 and Tryon's work in 1976 (Lynch 1996). There seems to be little literature discussing the genetic affiliation of Lametin.

### 1.6 Approach to description

Since the objective of the paper is to provide more information for the comparative study of Oceanic languages, the outline of the typological sketch in The Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross \& Crowley 2002) was adopted with minor modification.

The advantage of this approach is that typical Oceanic features are highlighted and it is easy to compare prominent topics, such as the pronominal system, possessive constructions, serial verbs, and so on. This is especially important for a sketch grammar like this, which can by no means cover all topics in depth. However, any preset framework has a potential danger of obscuring the uniqueness of a particular language to fit it into a generic mould. Thus such a sketch should always be regarded as somewhat tentative and subject to revision. An awareness of the dynamics of language always humbles linguists, who are limited in time and space.

This work uses a 'bottom-up' structural approach starting from phonemes and moving to words and phrases, nominal constituents and predicates of the clause, and clause structures more generally. Relative clauses, which are widely embedded within the noun phrases, are dealt with in connection to nominals instead of clauses and thus are an exception to the 'bottom-up' approach. The next section discusses the sentence types, which are modifications of basic clause structures to produce different speech acts. The discussion of question words under a section about content questions is another exception to the 'bottomup' approach because those words are difficult to categorise according to their syntactic distribution. A section on complex sentences is a further development from basic clause structure. The conclusion then highlights some of the features of the Merei which may be significant in its classification.

## 2

 PhonologyThe phonology of Merei is relatively simple, like that of other members of the Oceanic subgroup, being a non-tonal language with most syllables being simply CV syllables. There are contrasts between prenasalised voiced stops and plain oral voiceless stops. Stress falls predicably on penultimate syllable. As in most of the western Oceanic languages (Staley 1996), there is no contrast between short and long vowels in Merei.

### 2.1 Phonemes

The language has sixteen consonant phonemes and five vowels. The combination of vowels can form nine diphthongs.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

| p | t | k |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ${ }^{m} \mathrm{~b}$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{g}$ |
| pm | d 3 |  |
| v | s |  |
| m | n | y |
|  | l |  |
|  | r | j |

Table 2: Vowel phonemes

| i | $u$ |
| :---: | :--- |
| e | $o$ |

a

Table 3: Vowel combinations: diphthongs

|  | a | e | i | o | u |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a |  | ae | ai | ao | au |
| e |  |  | ei |  |  |
| i |  |  |  |  |  |
| o |  |  | oi |  | ou |
| u |  | ue | ui |  |  |

The contrast between prenasalised stops and regular stops represents a typical feature of the neighbouring languages of this area. All the phonemes seem identical or similar to Proto Austronesian phonemes except the $p m$ (Dahl 1976:14, 101). The phoneme $/ \mathrm{pm} /$ is rare and it has a regional variation of $/ \mathrm{pn} /$ in initial and medial position of a word and $p$ in final position. The people from Tombet village tend to pronounce it pm .

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { [ropm }] \sim \text { [rop] } & \text { 'veranda' }  \tag{1}\\
[\text { pna.pna.na }] \sim \text { [pma.pma.na }] & \text { 'its base' } \\
[\text { lep.ne }] \sim \text { lep.me }] & \text { 'female' }
\end{array}
$$

### 2.2 Phonotactics

Words are mainly disyllabic but some are monosyllabic. Words more than three syllables are usually bi-morphemic. Words can begin with any consonant or vowel. The syllable patterns can be described as ((C)C)V(C), i.e. V, CV, CCV, VC, CVC, CCVC. The simple open syllable pattern CV is the most productive.

| V | $a . l o$ | 'fine weather' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CV | $k u$ | 'bark' (of dog) |
| CCV | $v l a$ | 'moon' |
| VC | $a t$ | 'bite' |
| CVC | $j i p$ | 'knife' |
| CCVC | dlang | 'hard' |

Nine of the sixteen consonants can occur as the final segment of closed syllables, namely the bilabial and dental voiceless stops $p$ and $t$, the nasalised bilabial voiced stop $b$, the sibilant $s$, the bilabial, dental and velar nasals $m, n$ and $n g$, the lateral $l$ and the alveolar flap $r$. Usually the first slot of the consonant cluster can be filled by any non-velar fricative or stop, i.e. $v, s, p, t, b, d$, and the second slot can be filled by either the lateral $l$ or alveolar flap $r$. There are also $l m, s n$ and $v s$ clusters. The initial consonant clusters are suspected to be a vestige of CV[high]C, where the high vowel has been deleted. Tiale speakers tend to pronounce high vowels between the consonants that are in Merei clusters.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { tlui }(\text { Merei }) \sim \text { tului }(\text { Tiale }) & \text { 'pull' }  \tag{3}\\
\text { Imana }(\text { Merei }) \sim \text { limana } \text { (Tiale) } & \text { 'his/her hand' } \\
\text { vsuina }(\text { Merei }) \sim \text { vusuina } \text { (Tiale) } & \text { 'its flower' }
\end{array}
$$

There is no contrast between long and short vowels within a morpheme, but identical vowel sequences, which are seem to be realised as lengthened vowels, can be found across morpheme boundaries (see also $\S 2.4$, second rule), compare:

| $t a$ | $l o$ | 'black' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| REL | black |  |
| $t a$ | alo | 'fine weather' |
| REL | fine |  |

The syllabification of sequences of different vowels is predictable. If the vowel sequence is high vowel followed by low vowel, it is manifested as two syllables. If the vowel sequence is low vowel followed by high vowel, it is one syllable, and the two vowels are considered to constitute a diphthong, as shown in Table 3.

### 2.3 Stress

Stress is not contrastive. In two or three syllable words stress falls on the penultimate vowel except when the word final syllable is heavier than the penultimate, i.e. the final syllable has more segments than the previous syllable, in which case stress is on the final syllable; compare:

| ma'ma.sa | 'good' |
| :--- | :--- |
| la'rai | 'grate' |

In words of four or more syllables, secondary stress falls on each alternate syllable to the right of the final stressed syllable, except when the following syllable is heavier.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { a.bu, a.bu'ka.ra } & \text { 'quick' }  \tag{6}\\
\text { ma, nai.la'rai } & \text { 'pudding' } \\
\text { ma,tai'ma.sa } & \text { 'sun' }
\end{array}
$$

### 2.4 Morphophonemics

In Merei the morphophonemic processes observed are as follows:

1. Reduce CV.CV[high] to CVC by deletion of the final vowel of unstressed syllable before an alveolar consonant, the process take places before the assignment of the stress.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CV.CV[high] }+\{\text { C[alveolar }]\} \rightarrow \text { CVC.C } \\
& \text { 'mali }+-n a \rightarrow \text { 'malna 'his house' } \\
& \text { house 3G } \\
& \text { 'natu }+-r a \rightarrow \text { 'natra 'their child' } \\
& \text { child 3PL }
\end{aligned}
$$

This rule does not apply if the following consonant is not alveolar. For example:

```
'mali + -m }->\mathrm{ ma'lim 'your house'
house 2G
```

```
'natu \(+-g u \rightarrow\) na'tugu 'my child'
child 1
```

2. Reduce V to $\emptyset$ by vowel deletion if preceded by the same vowel, the process takes place before the assignment of the stress.

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\mathrm{V}_{1} \# \mathrm{~V}_{1} \rightarrow \mathrm{~V}_{1} \\
\\
\text { 'sio } \\
\text { descend }
\end{array}+\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'oso } \\
& \text { arrive }
\end{aligned} \quad \rightarrow \begin{aligned}
& \text { si'o so } \\
& \text { 'descended and arrive' }
\end{aligned}
$$

However, the remaining vowel seems to be lengthened.

### 2.5 Orthography

The orthography now in use was recently decided and is still somewhat provisional. It is mainly based on Bislama and English. A Bislama literacy program had been run by World Vision for a couple of years from 1999.

The prenasalised stops $\left[{ }^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{b},{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d},{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{g}\right]$ are written with the letters $b, d, g$. The voiced alveolar affricate [d3] is written with the letter $j$. The velar nasal [ y ] is written with the digraph $n g$. The free varied flap [ r$]$ or trill $[\mathrm{r}]$ is written with the letter $r$. The palatal approximal [j] is written with the letter $i$. The vowels are based on Bislama.

Nominals include pronouns and nouns. Their modification and function is discussed below. As noted earlier, a 'bottom-up' approach is adopted. Noun phrases, which can be a combination of all these constituents, are discussed at the end of this chapter.

The chapter starts with the pronominal system, including pronouns and demonstratives, which is significant in typology. The Merei pronominal system has the typical Oceanic features of dual, exclusive and inclusive in first person plural form and no distinction between gender (Staley 1996). Similarities with Proto Austronesian (PAN) and other Austronesian language pronouns are obvious (see e.g. Dyen 1974:19). Demonstrative pronouns are discussed at a later point because they are compounds of third person pronouns and locational adverbs.

Noun classes are another important topic for typological concern. There is a close relationship between noun classes and articles, which have to agree with the noun classes. Number marking and numerals are mentioned before the nominal modifying section, because although they are similar to nominal modifying, they have their own distinctive features and are significant in Oceanic languages. Noun compounding is discussed after the topic of nominal modifying because the difference between nominal modifier and noun classifier is subtle. Following that, another typologically significant feature, the possessive construction, is described in detail. Ultimately, noun phrase structures can be described clearly with every ingredient well defined.

The final two subsections cover more complicated structures. The noun phrases are discussed as the building blocks of complex noun phrases. Relative clauses are also described because they function as nominal arguments within the clause or within noun phrase structures.

### 3.1 Pronouns

The pronominal system distinguishes among first, second and third persons. Singular, dual and plural are distinguished in number. First person dual and plural distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive. The following table shows not only the independent pronouns, but also preverbal subject pronouns and suffixes that become relevant in later sections.

Table 4: Pronouns and pronominal suffixes

|  | Independent pronouns | Preverbal subject pronouns | Object pronominal suffix | Possessive pronominal suffix |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | nao | na/nam | -iau | -gu |
| 2 | go | ko | -ko | -m |
| 3 | nie | $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | -na |
| 1 I | de | te | -da | -da |
| 1E | gamau | kama | -mau | -mau |
| 2P | gami | kam | -mi | -mi |
| 3P | ire | $\emptyset$ | -ra | -ra |
| 1D | de rua | tera | -da rua | -da rua |
| 1DE | gaтau rиa | kamara | -mau rua | -mau rua |
| 2D | gami rua | kamra | -mi rua | -mi rиa |
| 3D | ire rua | $\emptyset$ | -ra rua | -ra rua |

The pronominal system comprises two free-form categories (independent pronouns and preverbal subject pronouns), and two bound categories (object pronominal suffix and possessive pronominal suffix). The pronominal suffixes are not pronouns, but they are included in the discussion here because of their close relationships to them. There is no gender or animate distinction made, and the pronouns only have animate reference. Independent pronouns are always preceded by a personal article $i$, which is similar to $n i$, the optional emphatic particle of the free pronouns in a Solomon Island language, Toabaita (Simons 1986:24).

Numbers greater than two can be added after the plural pronoun as numeral or quantifier, although it is not very common.


Locational adverbs combining with a third person independent pronoun are used to refer to an inanimate argument with a location referential parameter (see §3.2). The pronominal objects of transitive verbs can be in the form of either an object pronoun suffix within the predicate (cf. §3.1 and §5.2.2) or an independent pronoun. This is also similar to Toabaita (Simons 1986:24-25).

The first person singular subject pronominal clitic has the allomorph nam when it is followed by the negative particle, tei, or the reality marker, ta. The third person singular pronoun nie can also function as a particle 'yes' or it can combine with the particle nga as ‘enough'.

Reflexive pronouns are formed from the root nese- with an (inalienable) possessive pronoun suffix. It can be used in apposition with the free pronoun and usually emphasises exclusiveness and is usually followed by the particle nga 'only'.
(9) I nau nese-gu nga nam ta sioto.

A:P 1 self-1 only $1 \quad \mathrm{R}$ stay
'Just I myself stay.'
(10)

| Nam ta | jip | nese-gu | nga. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | R cut | self-1 | only |
| 'I cut myself.' |  |  |  |

The reciprocal pronoun marie can be used to modify the verb of speaking with a plural subject.

Tato varavara marie.
R.3P speak each.other
'They speak to each other.'
Some verbs are semantically reciprocal, sometimes derivational (see §4.6).

| vol-uju | dom | jen-jen |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| buy-sell | fight | change-RED (intransitive) <br> 'exchange' |
|  | 'fight' | 'exchange' |

### 3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are combinations of locational adverbs and third person pronouns. They can occupy the whole noun phrase slot and function as an independent nominal argument or they can be at the end of the noun phrase as the modifier of the nounhead (see §3.8). They are significant as a 'pointing and indexing device' in discourse (Greenberg 1986:XVII-XVIII).

Like the locational adverbs, they can be classified into two types according to different aspects of reference: speaker-hearer reference and spatial reference.

The speaker-hearer reference demonstrative pronouns are formed by the third person independent pronouns, nie and ire, combined with speaker-hearer reference prefixes. Thus:

Table 5: Speaker-hearer reference demonstrative pronouns

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| close to both speaker and hearer | get-nie | get-ire |
| close to the speaker | na-nie | na-ire |
| close to the hearer | gata-nie | gata-ire |
| uncertain/not visible | ani-nie | ani-ire |

```
Get-nie ia sava?
this A:C what
'What is this?'
Iadu tese get-ire tato toma?
A:C.PL man these R.3P what.happen
'What are these men doing?'
```

The spatial reference demonstrative pronouns are formed by the third person independent pronouns, nie and ire, combined with spatial adverbial adverbs. Thus:

Table 6: Spatial reference demonstrative pronouns

|  |  | Proximal | Intermediate | Distal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ascending direction | singular <br> plural | ai-sa-nie <br> ai-sa-ire | ma-ja-nie <br> ma-ja-ire | le-sa-nie <br> le-sa-ire |
| at same level | singular <br> plural | ai-va-nie <br> ai-va-ire | ai-va-nie/lle-va-nie <br> ai-va-ire/le-va-ire | le-va-nie <br> le-va-ire |
| descending direction | singular <br> plural | ai-sio-nie <br> ai-sio-ire | ma-jio-nie <br> ma-jio-ire | le-sio-nie <br> le-sio-ire |

leva-nie
far.horizontal-3
'that far horizontal'
majio-ire
intermediate.down-3P
'those intermediate down'
$I a$ tese leva-nie $\emptyset$ ta logologo.

A:C man far.horizontal-3 $3 \quad \mathrm{R}$ bad
'That man is bad.' (refering to a man who is a long way from the speaker)
Demonstrative pronouns can also express direction in terms of time, but they are restricted to only those with the bound morphemes of get-, le- and ai-.

```
ia vla le-sio-nie
A:C moon distal-decline-3
    'the month before last'
ia vla ai-sio-nie A:C moon proximal-decline-3
'last month'
```

Most demonstratives usually provide definite reference in the discourse. However, some indefinite pronouns provide anonymous reference, such as taptua 'one', tapmera 'someone', tapsava 'something' and naonei 'that person/thing' (usually with negative connotation).

### 3.3 Nouns

Nouns are heads of noun phrases, which is one of the main nominal constituents of the clause structure as subject and object. They can also be the objects of prepositional phrases. Noun classes are marked by articles, which may also be considered as nominal markers that require nominals to be either definite or specific (Pawley \& Reid 1980:116). In some instances, words can be used as either a verb or a noun.

Nouns are divided into two classes typical of Oceanic noun classification, namely common and personal. A personal noun is preceded by the article $i$ (from the POc personal nominal marker $* i$ ). A common noun is preceded by the article $i a$ or its less common variant na (probably from a variation of the POc common nominal marker *na) (Pawley \& Reid 1980:116; Pawley 1973:112). Instead of ia a-gu 'mine/my food', sei ia 'for', and balein ia
sava 'like what, how', some Merei speakers may say na a-gu, sei na and balein na sava. The form $n a$ is also the article of some of the language groups which are found north of the Merei group. The form ia can also be followed by a relative clause and form a nominal argument (see §3.10).

Most common nouns, e.g. bo 'pig', mata-gu 'my eye', ran 'day', belong to the common class. Common class nouns vary in that they can be either directly possessed or indirectly possessed and some can be both, although with different meanings (§3.7.3).

Personal class nouns are those denoting proper personal names and also directly possessed referential kinship nouns, e.g. Pita 'Peter', tama-na 'his father', rabui-gu 'my mother'.

In addition there are two other classes of nouns, local and temporal. Local class nouns are those denoting the proper name of a location, or inherently places, e.g. Vila 'Vila', Kanel 'Luganville'. Temporal class nouns are those denoting time, e.g. arongo 'today', ananop 'yesterday', tuai 'a long time before' (see §5.3.3).

Both local and temporal classes always occur as peripheral arguments and need not take any location preposition (cf. §5.3.1). Temporal nouns always occur as peripheral arguments for time reference and usually in the outside layer of the clause periphery compared with the location argument (cf. §5.3.3).

All noun phrases have to begin with an article except for the location and temporal class nouns. There are three kinds of articles: common referential ( $\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C}$ ), common non-referential (A:NR) and personal/human nouns (A:P). Referential common nouns and human/personal nouns share the same dual and plural articles. The non-referential common article has only singular form.

Table 7: Articles

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Common | Referential | $i a$ | iarau | iadu |
|  | Non-referential | $a l$ | - | - |
| Personal |  | $i$ | iarau | iadu |
| Local/temporal |  | $\emptyset$ | - | - |

Articles function as a marking of reference and number. Usually the referential article is the unmarked form and the non-referential articles are used in uncertain or negative mood for the common noun. Personal nouns do not take the non-referential articles, but instead take non-referential pronouns, e.g. ani-nie 'that' or ani-re 'those' (cf. §3.2'). Articles also distinguish among the common nouns, personal nouns and the location/temporal noun. Thus:

| ya mali-m | 'your house' |
| :--- | :--- |
| al tese | 'any man' |
| i Pita | 'Peter' |
| i rabui-na | 'his mother' |
| Vila | 'Vila' (location class noun) |
| iarau tese | 'two men' |
| iadu natu-m | 'your children' |
| ia sava | 'What?' |

In addition articles function as nominal markers for those lexical items that belong to two grammatical categories. For example, usa 'rain' can be a verb or noun. On the other hand, jip 'knife' or 'cut' can also be a verb or noun. There may be some linkage between the categories of noun and verb.

| $\emptyset$ ta jip. | ia jip |
| :---: | :---: |
| 3 R knife | A:C knife |
| 'He cuts.' | 'the knife' |
| $\emptyset$ ta usa. | ia usa |
| 3 R rain | A:C rain |
| 'It rains.' | 'the rain' |

### 3.4 Number-marking and numerals

The nouns can also be divided into two classes, countable and uncountable. Numbermarking and numerals can only be applied to countable nouns. The number of the noun is usually indicated by the number of the article. The noun classifier mor- 'many' and tap- 'a few' can also be used to mark the number. Thus:

| ia tese | 'the man' |
| :--- | :--- |
| iarau tese | 'the two men' |
| iadu tese | 'the men' |
| ia mor-tese | 'many men' |
| ia tap-tese | 'a few men' |

Partial reduplication of some nouns can be a pluralising device. Marking plurality follows a hierarchy of animacy in the order of human, animal, plant and non-living things. However, the plurality of kin terms is rarely marked. Reduplication (RED) can be used to pluralise some nouns (and some verbs) (see §4.6.1).

```
marakir marakir-kir
child child-RED
'child' 'children'
```


### 3.4.1 Cardinal numbers

The Merei numeral system seems to be based on a quinary system. The numerals from one to five are unique forms. Numerals between five and nine are basically compounds of the form of either five, or two to four. However, not every morpheme of the numeral can be identified and be glossed.

Table 8: Cardinal numbers

| 1 | ese | 'one' |
| ---: | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | rua | 'two' |
| 3 | tol $($ u $)$ | 'three' |
| 4 | vat $($ i) | 'four' |
| 5 | l(i)ma | 'hand' |
| 6 | l(i)ma-ravo | hand-?? |
| 7 | ravo-rua | ??-two |
| 8 | rap-tol(u) | ??-three |
| 9 | rai-tat | ??-four |
| 10 | sa-ngavul | ??-ten |
| 11 | sa-ngavul ta ese | ??-ten R one |
| 12 | sa-ngavul ta rua | ??-ten R two |
| 20 | ngavul-rua | ten-two |
| 30 | ngavul-tol( $u$ ) | ten-three |
| 100 | lavul | hundred or many |
| 200 | lavul-rua | hundred-two |

Cardinal numbers also function as verb roots but always take a third person singular modality marker, ta or mo.

| Ia | tese | $\emptyset$ ta | raitat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | man 3 R | eight |  |

'There are eight men.' (lit. the man is eight)

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { Mo ese e mo rua. }  \tag{24}\\
& \text { IRR3 one or IRR3 two } \\
& \text { 'Maybe one or maybe two.' }
\end{align*}
$$

Numerals between ten and twenty are formed by juxtaposing sa-ngavul 'go up ten', ta 'the realis marker' and the single digit number. Thus:

11
16 sa-ngavul ta ese sa-ngavul ta lmaravo

The multiples of ten up to ninety consist of ngavul followed by the single digit number. Thus:

20 ngavul rua
40 ngavul vat
Complex numbers can be multiples of ten followed by $t a$ and then a single digit number, as with numbers between ten and twenty. Thus:

35 ngavul tol ta lma
67 ngavul lma-ravo ta ravo-rua
One hundred is ta lavul. The multiples of hundreds up to nine hundred are formed from $t a$ lavul followed by a single digit number. Thus:

200 ta lavul rua
500 ta lavul lma

The verb va 'go, come' can be used as a multiplication device. (This form seems related to the POc multiplication particle and verb *pa.) Thus:

| 20 | sangavul va rua | 'ten times two' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 300 | ta lavul va tol | 'hundred times three' |

For monetary units speakers will use borrowed words from either English or French via Bislama: siling 'shilling', which means 10 vatu; pad 'pound', which means 200 vatu and mil or tao 'thousand', which means 1000 vatu. (Vatu, which means 'stone' in some vernacular, is the unit of currency of Vanuatu.)

### 3.4.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed in a way similar to the direct possession structure (see §3.7.1), which is formed by putting an article $i a$ or $i$ before the numeral and adding the personal article with the pronominal possessive suffix or another noun head.

```
i rua-i-na
    A:P two-A:P-3
    'its second'
    ia vati-ra
    A:C four-A:P-3P
    'their fourth'
```


### 3.5 Nominal modifying and adjectives

Nominal modifying can by handled by descriptive relative clauses, noun compounding involving other nouns and verbs.

Most nominal modifying is handled by descriptive relative clauses (see §3.10). However, some can be handled by juxtaposing nouns for material or gender.

```
ia mano lepne
A:C bird woman
'the female bird'
```

Nominal attributive modifying for propensity or colour can be combined with intransitive verb roots. However, the compound can be used to denote different species.
(28) ia marta

A:C snake
'the snake'

| ia | marta | ta | kara |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | snake | R | red | 'the red snake' OR: 'the snake is red'

ia marta kara
A:C snake red
'earth worm'

Prepositional phrases are another means for modifying nominal for possessive, genericspecific and source relationships (see §5.3.1).

Stative verbs can be used to describe nominal arguments. The following are the stative verb of seven 'adjectival' semantic types (Dixon 1977:31):
Dimension:
(31) Ia votal $\emptyset$ ta kiri.

A:C banana 3 R small
'The banana is small.'
Physical Property:
(32) Ia sule $\emptyset$ ta bunga.
$\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C}$ stone 3 R heavy
'The stone is heavy.'
Colour:

| Ia | toa | $\emptyset$ | ta kara. | OR: | Ia toa kara |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | chicken 3 | R ed |  | $\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C}$ | chicken red | 'The chicken is brown.

'The brown chicken.' (as a kind of chicken)
Human Propensity:

| Ia | tese $\emptyset$ | ta | mismis. OR: | ia tese mismis |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C man 3 | R | lie |  | A:C man lie |
| 'The man lies.' (can be just on one occasion) | 'the liar' (habitual) |  |  |  |

Age:
(35) $\emptyset$ ta varese.

3 R old.male
'He is old.'
Value:
Ia jip $\emptyset$ ta mamasa. A:C knife 3 R good
'The knife is good.'
Speed:
Ko Ø kel abu-abu-kara.
2 IPT run fire-fire-red 'You run fast.'

There is only one adjective, toro-, which can be the nominal modifier in both attributive and predicate positions. When it functions as an attributive nominal modifier, it always precedes the noun head.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { ia } & \text { toro } & \text { tese }  \tag{38}\\
\text { A:C } & \text { big } & \text { man }
\end{array}
$$

'the big man (important man)'

It can also be a predicate in a stative clause. In this case, the adjective stem is followed by the possessive third person suffix, which is similar to the inalienable possessive classifier nou-, which is common in western Melanesian languages (Lynch, Ross \& Crowley 2002). Thus:

```
Ia tese Ø ta toro-na.
A:C man 3 R big-3
'The man is big.'
```

The counterpart of toro- is nat- 'small', which is also an inalienable kin term 'child'. However, it cannot be a predicate.

| ia | nat | jip |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | son | knife |
| 'the small knife' |  |  |

$$
\begin{array}{cllll}
\text { *Ia } & j i p & \emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { nat-na. }  \tag{41}\\
\text { A:C } & \text { knife } & 3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { son-3 }
\end{array}
$$

Thus it is not considered as an adjective. Occasionally words of colour and number can be put before the noun head, but they usually appear as stative verbs. Comparative nominal modifying is formed by serialisation of the stative verb with the verb nui 'be superlative; than' (cf. §4.7.1).

### 3.6 Noun compounding

Bi-morphemic nouns are common in Merei. The compounding includes noun-verb compounding and noun-noun compounding. The order of the arguments in compounding depends on their semantic domain. Sometimes the nouns are fused together and it is hard to determine which is head. Thus:

Table 9: Noun compounding

| (Noun of container) | (Inalienable <br> noun root) | Noun | (Material) | (Intransitive <br> verb root) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Compounding of noun stems with intransitive verb roots is common.

| votal-mena | tese-mismis |
| :--- | :--- |
| banana-ripe | man-lie |
| 'kind of banana which can be eaten raw' | 'liar' |

There are at least a dozen inalienable nouns which are highly productive in noun-noun compounding. Early (1994a:107) refers to a similar bound category in Lewo as noun formatives, but such nouns in Merei also occur as unbound independent inalienable nouns. They are mainly in the semantic domains of shape, part-whole and location, either with third person possessive suffixes or else with noun heads, usually common nouns. Thus:

```
su-na
heap-3
'its heap'
matai-na
thorn-3
'its thorn'
su-sule
heap-stone
'stone heap'
matai-kokomea
stick-metal
'metal-wire'
```

su-matui
heap-coconut
'coconut heap'
matai-jip
stick-knife
'knife'

| matai-iau | vui-kokomea | vui-iau |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| stick-wood | log-metal | log-wood |
| 'branch' | 'iron pole' | 'wooden log (trunk)' |

The compounding of a noun of container with a noun of being contained is also common.

| bugen-bei | pake-rais |
| :--- | :--- |
| cup-water | packet-rice |
| 'cup of water' | 'packet of rice' |

The compounding of a noun followed by a noun of the material that the first noun is made of is also possible.

(47) \begin{tabular}{ll}
bugen-kokomea <br>
cup-metal <br>
'metal cup'

$\quad$

bugen-kilas <br>
cup-glass
\end{tabular}

Compounding is not limited to two elements. Thus:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ia } & \text { su-vona-matui-gor }  \tag{48}\\
\text { A:C heap-fruit-coconut-dry } \\
\text { 'the heap of dry coconuts' }
\end{array}
$$

In languages with few adjectives usually human propensity is expressed by nouns and the shape is modified by verbs (Schachter 1996:14-15). However, in Merei expressing human propensity is usually done by compounding with verbs, but expressing shape is usually done by direct possessive constructions involving the class of inalienable nouns mentioned above. Thus it is another counter example to the typical statistical trend.

### 3.7 Possessive constructions

There are two possessive constructions in Merei, direct and indirect. When both are possible, with direct possession the possessed is more closely linked to the possessor as compared to indirect possession (see §3.7.3).

Possessive construction in Merei is typical Oceanic (Lynch 1973:76-79, 83). There are different types of the classifiers and genitive prepositions of indirect possessive according to the edibility of the noun heads, but with bur 'tattoo' as an exceptional member of edible noun (see §3.7.2). The non-singular pronominal possessive suffixes are almost identical with the pronominal object suffixes, which provide additional evidence for Lynch's (1973:82-83) hypothesis of verbal construction and the possessive (see §3.1).

### 3.7.1 Direct possession

In direct pronominal possession a possessed inalienable noun head is followed by a possessive pronominal suffix (listed in Table 4). This construction is typically associated with body parts, kin terms and part-whole or location relationship. Thus:
$i a \quad$ mata-m
A:C eye-2
'your eye'

```
i natu-gu
    A:P child-1
    'my child'
```

    la vsa-na
    L/T top-3
    'on its top'
    Where the possessor is a nominal, the directly possessed noun is followed by the possessor noun phrase. Thus:

| ia | natu | ia | bo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | child | A:C | pig |

'the pig's child'
ia lma $i$ Pita
A:C hand A:P Pita
'Peter's hand'
$i$ rabui $i \quad$ Pita
A:P mother A:P Pita
'Peter's mother'
The speech complementiser tale- also takes the direct possessive construction (see §7.2).

### 3.7.2 Indirect possession

In indirect pronominal possession the indirectly possessed alienable noun head is preceded by a Possessive Classifier, nou- for inedible nouns (POSSC.I) or $a$ - (or less commonly na-) for edible and drinkable nouns (POSSC.E), followed by the possessive pronominal suffix. Thus:

```
nои-gи uта
POSSC.I-1 garden
'my garden'
a-gu sna
POSSC.E-1 yam
'my yam'
```

In indirect nominal possession the indirectly possessive noun head is followed by a genitive preposition, nui for inedible (GEN.I) and nai for edible (GEN.E), which are followed by the possessor noun. Thus:

| ia | bo | nui | Loretta |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | pig | GEN.I | Loretta |
| 'Loretta's pig' |  |  |  |

ia sei-beda nai Loretta
A:C piece-taro GEN.E Loretta
'Loretta's taro-piece'
The genitive preposition nui for alienable nouns is also used as a verb meaning 'win, be superlative or in control' (cf. §5.3.1).

The benefactive preposition sei can also function as a genitive preposition. It operates as part of the noun phrase and functions like a descriptive nominal modifier or a possessive construction (cf. §5.3.1).

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { ia } & \text { tese } & \text { sei } & \text { Vila }  \tag{59}\\
\text { A:C } & \text { man } & \text { BEN } & \text { Vila }
\end{array}
$$

'the man from Vila'
(60) Gata-nie ia uluvara sei-na. that-3 A:C story BEN-3 'That is story about him.'

```
Gata-nie ia nou-na uluvara.
that-3 A:C POSSC.I-1 story
'That is his story (the story that he told).'
```


### 3.7.3 Both direct and indirect possession

Some nouns can be either indirectly possessed or directly, as in other Oceanic languages, like Aroma, Suau and Fijian (Lynch 1973:76). However, the meaning can be different. In indirect possession, the relationship between the possessed and the possessor is not as close as the direct possessive. Thus:
ia $\quad$ nou-gu bong
A:C
POSSC.I-1
night
'my night' (the day of celebration for me)

| ia | bong | $i$ | ia | vla | $\emptyset$ ta | ese |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | night | A:P | A:C | month | 3 R | one |

    'the first day of the month'
    ```
ia nou-gu sala
```

    A:C POSSC.I-1 road
    'my road'
    ia sala-gu
    A:C road-1
    'my way' (way of going or doing thing)
    
### 3.8 Basic noun phrase structure

The noun phrase structure is typical of Oceanic languages. It consists of a noun head preceded by an obligatory article (except before a proper local or temporal noun). Only possessive classifiers and adjectives can be placed between the head noun and article. Only numbers can be placed between the head noun and demonstratives. Relative clauses can be placed at the end of the noun phrase or even replace the whole noun phrase except for the article (see §3.10). Thus:

Table 10: Basic noun phrase

| (Article) | (Possessive <br> classifier) | (Adjective) | Head <br> noun | (Number) | (Demonstrative) | (Relative <br> clause) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

```
    iadu nou-gu se-ruru-kara get-ire
    A:C.PL POSSC.I-1 piece-cloth-red these
    'these red clothes of mine'
    iarau marakir
    A:C.dual child
    'the two children'
```


### 3.9 Complex noun phrases

Complex noun phrases are quite straightforward with two types, coordinate and conjoined. In coordinate complex noun phrases two or more noun phrases can be coordinated by simple juxtaposition, with an intonation of slight rise and pause at the end of each item before the last. Thus:

| ia | beta | ia | sna |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | taro | A:C | yam |

'the taro and the yam'
In conjoined complex noun phrases, the basic pattern is to link them with the instrumental preposition peseri, the conjunction maga or the third person dual pronoun ireruva. The preposition peseri is used with a co-participant; maga has a slightly subordinate or procedural sense, while ireruva is restricted to animate arguments (i.e. human or personified nominal argument). In a series of conjoined complex noun phrases, usually only the last two items are conjoined with either one of the three conjunctions and the rest are simply juxtaposed as a list. However, if the speakers need time to think about the item, then they put the conjunction between every item.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { ia esio peseri ia } & \text { maji } \\
\text { A:C king-fisher with A:C } & \text { fish } \\
\text { 'the kingfisher with the fish' } \tag{70}
\end{array}
$$

```
ia tese \emptyset ta ese ireruva ii nat-na
A:C man 3 R one and A:P child-3
'a man and his son'
\(i\) Erickson, \(i\) Pita, \(i\) John Mark maga i Shadrack A:P Erickson A:P Peter A:P John Mark after A:P Shadrack 'Erickson, Peter, John Mark and then Shadrack'
```


### 3.10 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can function as nominal arguments in main clauses and they also can modify core arguments or peripheral arguments (cf. § 3.5). They always occur at the end of the noun phrase and function as descriptive modifiers.

Non-restrictive relative clauses are postposed to the nominal head through simple juxtaposition, which is also a typical phenomenon in languages without copular verbs (Schachter 1996:56). The structure is highly dependent on context and pause to distinguish it from a simple coordinate clause.
(72) Nam ta rao ia toa [Ø ta kara].
$1 \quad \mathrm{R}$ take A:C chicken 3 R red 'I take a chicken that is red.' OR: 'I take the chicken. It is red.'

| Ia | toa | $[\emptyset$ | ta | kara] | ta | mate. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C}$ | chicken | 3 | R | red | R | die |

'The chicken, which was red, died.' OR: 'The chicken is red. It died.'

```
Nam ta gogo ia bei sei ia vui-tank [ire tato
1 R drink A:C water BEN A:C trunk-tank they R.3P
vai tei].
make PERF.TR
'I drank the water of the tank they made.'
```

Restrictive relative clauses are postposed to the nominal head, with the clause being relativised preceded by a free pronoun or demonstrative pronoun. Thus:


The article, without a noun head, can function as the relativiser of a relative clause.

$$
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\underline{\text { Ia }} & {[\emptyset \text { ta }} & \text { kiri] } & \emptyset \text { ta } & \text { tel } & \underline{\text { ia }} & {[\emptyset \text { ta }} & \text { torona]. }  \tag{76}\\
\hline \mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C} & 3 \mathrm{R} & \text { small } & 3 \mathrm{R} & \text { hit } & \mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C} & 3 \mathrm{R} & \text { big }
\end{array}
$$

'The small one hit the big one.'
It is also suspected that $t a$ can function as inalienable noun head.

```
ia ta Merei/Tiale
A:C group Merei/Tiale
'the man of Merei/Tiale' (Merei/Tiale speaker)
Ia ta sava?
A:C group what
'Which group?' (What colour?)
```

All four grammatical functions, subject, object, indirect object and oblique, within the relative clause can be relativised.

Relativised subject:

> Ia tese nanie $[\emptyset$ ta tuatua] $\emptyset$ ta vana-in A:C la vuivora. Aan that 3 R crazy 3 R come-OD 'That man, who is crazy, is coming into the village.'

Relativised object:
(80) Nam ta lili la peipa [i Loretta Ø ta vol]. $1 \quad \mathrm{R}$ write L/T paper A:P Loretta 3 R buy 'I write on paper which Loretta bought.'

Relativised indirect object:
(81) Ia pen nanie nui ia tese [i tama-na $\emptyset$ ta gure asi-na]. A:C pen that belong A:C man A:P father-3 $3 \quad \mathrm{R}$ give DAT-3 'That pen belonged to the man, whom his father gave to.'

Relativised oblique:
(82) I nie $\emptyset$ ta va-in la vuivora [al mol sei-na va merei]. A:P $3 \quad 3 \mathrm{R}$ go-OD L/T place A:NF chief for-3 go no 'He is going to a place where is no Chief (of it).'

## 4

 Verbs and verb phrases
### 4.1 Basic verb phrase structure

The verbal morphology and verb phrase syntax are relative simple compared with that of some other Northern Central Vanuatu languages, like Raga (Walsh 1994:813-815), and with other Oceanic language (see Lynch, Ross \& Crowley 2002). The verb phrase consists of a verb stem with an obligatory subject pronoun clitic and modality marker. Other preverbal constituents mark manner. A postverbal constituent is an aspect marker or adverb (see Pawley \& Reid 1980:105).

Table 11: Basic verb phrase

| Subject pronoun <br> clitic | Modality <br> marker | (Manner <br> marker) | Verb | (Aspect marker/ <br> adverb) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |

No derivational voice device has been found. However, the function of passivisation can be accomplished by demotion of the subject using a third person plural subject clitic as in (83) or the anonymous demonstrative as in (84) as a reduced passive (see Pawley \& Reid 1980:106).

> Tato ras ia tese.
> 3P.R beat A:C man
> 'They beat the man.'

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
I & \text { tapmera } & \emptyset \text { ta } & \text { an } & \text { tui. }  \tag{84}\\
\text { A:P } & \text { someone } & 3 \mathrm{R} & \text { eat } & \text { IMP.TR }
\end{array}
$$

'Someone was eating.'
The causative construction is periphrastic in a serial verb structure (see §4.7.1).

### 4.2 Verb inflection

There are close relationships between modality and the negative, and negation can be considered a propositional modality (Givon 1984:321). Thus the two are discussed in the same section and the inflections are put in the same paradigm.

The other significant feature of the verbal morphology is the alternation of realis, presupposition and irrealis marker. Irrealis is unmarked or marked by $m u$-, presupposition is unmarked or marked by $a$-, and realis is marked by $t a-$. This alternation is quite different
from what is found in the neighbouring languages and even the closely related Tiale, all of which have a pattern of modality marking similar to that posited for Proto Oceanic, namely *ma-for realis and *na-for irrealis (Lynch 1975:91). However, Paamese is similar to Merei in having $t$-marking as non-future (p.97).

### 4.2.1 Subject pronominal clitics

The subject pronominal clitics are obligatory constituents in the verb phrases except in some imperative clauses. The subject clitics always precede the other morphemes in a verb phrase. The non-third subject pronominal clitics distinguish between number and person, while the third person subjects regardless of their number are marked by a zero morpheme. The independent subject pronouns are optionally used for emphasis (see §3.1).

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Nam ta } & \text { voro. }  \tag{85}\\
1 & \text { R empty } \\
\text { 'I left.' } &
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
I & \text { nau } & \text { nam } & \text { ta } & \text { voro. }  \tag{86}\\
\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{P} & 1 & 1 & \mathrm{R} & \text { empty }
\end{array}
$$

'I left.' (emphasise the subject)
Pronouns and verbs do not show gender. However, the stative verbs/nouns for old/old people, varese (male) or kovarese (female), have to agree with gender.

| Ia | tese | $\emptyset$ ta | varese. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | man | 3 R | old.male |

'The man is old.'
(88) Ia lepne $\emptyset$ ta kovarese.

A:C woman 3 R old.female
'The woman is old.'
*Ia lepne $\emptyset$ ta varese.
A:C woman 3 R old.male

### 4.2.2 Modality and negation

There are three modalities, namely realis (R), presupposition (PSP) and irrealis (IRR).
Table 12: Modality markers

|  | Positive |  |  | Negative |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Realis | Presupposition | Irrealis | Presupposition | Realis/Irrealis |  |
| Non-third person | ta | $\varnothing$ |  | tei |  |  |
|  | Singular | $t a$ | $a$ | mo | atei | motei/mutei |
|  | Dual | tara | ara | mora | aratei | moratei |
|  | Plural | tato | ato | moto | ateita | moteita/muteita |

The inflection for modality of the non-third person only has two forms, ta for realis and zeros for both presupposition and irrealis, while the presupposition for third person marking $a$ - is different from its irrealis marking mo-. Dual and plural forms for the third person markers are formed by adding the suffixes -ra and -to respectively. The modality markers can be regarded as auxiliary elements as defined by Steele (1978:10-11).

There are also negative (NEG) forms of the modality markers. All non-third person forms share the same form tei. The third person singular and dual negative forms can be formed by adding tei to the end of the positive form, whereas in the plural tei is added before the plural suffix -ta.

Although there is no tense marking, modality is associated with past or present time in a binary tense system of future and non-future.

The realis mode indicates that the speaker is sure of the content. The presupposition mode is associated with a future event that the speaker is thinking will happen. The irrealis mode is associated with something that the speaker is sure will not happen or did not happen. Thus, the irrealis mode is widely used in polar questions (see §6.2.1).

| Bavio $\quad$ mo | usa. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tomorrow | IRR. 3 | rain. |
| 'It might rain tomorrow.' |  |  |


| Bavio | $a$ | sio-ma. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tomorrow | PSP. 3 | go.down-return | 'He will return tomorrow.' (I am quite sure)

Bavio mo sio-ma
tomorrow IRR. 3 go.down-return
'He might return.' (I am not sure)
$\emptyset$ ta usa.
3 R rain
'It rains.' / 'It has rained.' / 'It rained.'
Ananop $\quad$ ta usa.
yesterday 3 R rain
'It rained yesterday.'

### 4.2.3 Preverbal manner morphemes

There is a class of preverbal manner morphemes: bai 'just, able' and tau 'again'. Both are optional. The negation of bai takes the marking of negative presupposition mode, to express the meaning 'not able'.

Ø ta tau sa-ma.
3 R again go.up-return
'He came back again.'

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\emptyset \text { ta } & \text { bai } & \text { sa-ma. }  \tag{96}\\
3 \text { R } & \text { just } & \text { go.up-return } \\
\text { 'He has just came back.' }
\end{array}
$$

```
Atei bai sa-ma.
PSP.3.NEG able go.up-return
'He is not able to come back.'
```


### 4.2.4 Postverbal object pronominal suffix

The postverbal object pronominal suffix is obligatorily placed after the transitive verb if there is no nominal object. However, the third person singular object pronoun is a zero morpheme (see Table 4 in §3.1).
$\emptyset$ ta tel-ko
3 R hit- 2
'He hits you.'
Ø ta tel- ..
3 R
hit-3
'He hits (it).'

### 4.2.5 Postverbal aspect markers

There are different postverbal aspect markers marking two aspects as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation' as Comrie (2001:3) defined it, namely perfective (PERF) and imperfective (IMP). They vary according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

Table 13: Aspect markers

|  | Transitive | Intransitive |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Imperfective | $t u i$ | $t o$ |
| Perfective | $t e i$ | $t a u$ |

The aspect markers are optional but highly productive. They are mainly affirmative. The imperfective and perfective can express counter aspects to each other. We can see that the imperfective and perfective are the primary opposition in aspect as Comrie suggested (Comrie 2001:3).

The transitive aspect markers can occur after the pronominal object suffix or free pronoun but before the object noun phrase.

Ø ta vai tui.
3 R make IMP.TR
'He is making it.'
(101) Kama ta vai tui ia sala-na

1E $\quad \mathrm{R}$ make IMP.TR A:C road-3
'We make the road (of it).'
Ø ta tai tei.
3 R build PERF.TR
'He has built it.'
(103)

| Ø | ta | tel | ko |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tei. |  |  |  |
| 3 | R | hit | 2 | PERF.TR

The intransitive aspect markers are always found at the end of the verb phrase. Thus:
Ø ta mamasa tau.
3 R good PERF.INTR
'It has become good.'

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { Ø } \text { ta malao } \quad \text { to. }  \tag{105}\\
& 3 \mathrm{R} \quad \text { stay } \quad \text { IMP.INTR } \\
& \text { 'He is staying home.' }
\end{align*}
$$

All the aspect markers resemble forms having other meanings, namely tui 'probe', to'place; stay', tei 'but, negative particle', and tau 'again, back (body-part)'. Thus, they seem to provide evidence of the process of grammaticalisation.

### 4.2.6 Adverbs

The adverbs are very similar to aspect markers and they are in complementary distribution with the aspect markers. However, they are less productive and function differently. Adverbs are modifiers of verbs. There are two adverbs for stative verbs, namely nenel 'a bit' and nonom 'very', and two other for transitive or reciprocal verbs, nenel-in 'a bit' and nono-in-im 'very' (nono is also a stative verb 'be different', see also §5.4.1). Thus:

```
Ø ta torona nenel.
3 R big a.bit
'It is a little bit big.' (not really big)
```

Ø ta torona nono-m.
3 R big different-TD
'It is very big.'
(108) $\emptyset$ ta potpot nono-in-im.

3 R happy different-OD-TD 'He felt very happy.'

Ia toa getua ia morna nono-m
A:C chicken here A:C many different-TD
'Here are many many chickens.'

### 4.3 Verb derivation

The derivational affixes of the verb are not very productive.

### 4.3.1 Transitive derivative

Most of the transitive verbs end with $i$ for patient object (e.g. ngoboi 'snatch', tai 'build', tui 'pierce', varai 'said', pmei 'shoot') as vestiges of the POc transitive marker *-i (Lynch, Ross \& Crowley 2002:10; Pawley 1973:114; Clark 1973:565; Ross pers. comm.).

There is no morphological difference between optional and obligatory transitive verbs as found in other typical Oceanic languages because the third person singular pronominal suffix is $\emptyset$ (see Pawley 1973:112).

### 4.3.2 Stative verb derivative

Another vestige of POc is the stative derivative prefix $m a-$, which is found in Merei stative verbs, most of which begin with ma-. Those verbs are usually have semantic orientations of attribute, characteristic or posture (Pawley 1973:141); e.g. mamasa 'good', mangis 'sweat', malabo 'sleep', maladum 'level', mada 'ripe/ cooked', mamap 'tame'.

A similar derivational marker was found in Lewo as a 'stative performative' (Early 1994:143), but the rest of the verb roots are not used independently in Merei.

### 4.3.3 Local orientation derivative

A local orientation derivative is the post-verbal marker -ma and its allomorph -na, which signifies that the motion is towards the addressee and speaker, the same function as the verb stem postformative -asu in Lewo (Early 1994:144). This can also be compared to the intermediate locational adverb, ma-, which indicates within the hamlet or next hamlet (cf. §5.3.2), and may thus relate to -ma and -na, which also has the semantic content of 'local'.

Table 14: Motion verb with -ma

| $s a$ | 'go up' | $s a-m a$ | 'come up' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $v a$ | 'go' (level) | $v a-n a$ | 'come' (level) |
| $s i o$ | 'go down' | sio-ma | 'come down' |

Ko sio-ma
2 go.down-return
'You come down.' (as one is calling other coming down from the tree)
Ko sa-ma

2 go.up-return
'You come up.' (as one is calling other coming up from the river)

### 4.4 Verb compounding

Compounding of verb roots is common. The new combinations are freely created from at least one independent verb root. The meaning of the resulting stem need not be the sum of the meaning of the two original morphemes. The compounded verb can also become the constituent of a serial verb (see §4.7). Thus:

```
aliali-rongo
walk.RED-feel
'try'
```

```
rongo-in suru
feel-OD punch
`obey'
```

Al tua-mi motei ali-ali-rongo rongo-in suru. A:NF brother-2P R.3.NEG walk-RED-feel hear-OD punch. 'Your brother did not try to obey.'

### 4.5 Object incorporation

Some transitive verbs can combine with generic nominal objects without the articles and form an intransitive verb. Such 'incorporated non-specific object' construction is another typical feature of Fijian, Polynesian and Nuclear Micronesian languages (Pawley \& Reid 1980:116; Pawley 1973:179). Compare (115), in which the object is not incorporated, with (116), in which it is.
(115) $\emptyset$ ta pnei tui ia maji.

3 R shoot IMP.TR A:C fish
'He shoots the fish continually.'
$\emptyset$ ta pnei-maji to.
3 R shoot-fish IMP.INTR
'He is fish-shooting.'
That (116) is intransitive is clear from the intransitive marker to, replacing the transitive marker tui of example (115).

### 4.6 Reduplication

The reduplication of verbs expresses a wide range of functions, mainly including pluralising, detransitivising and other unpredictable semantic extensions, as well as derivation of nouns. The reduplication usually involves the whole word. However, some partial reduplication of the initial syllable(s) or final syllable(s), especially in words of more than two syllables, is common and those words thus are suspected of being bi-morphemic.

| luei | ma-luelue |
| :--- | :--- |
| spit | STAT-lue.RED |
| 'spit' | 'miscarry' |
| malabo | mala-malabo |
| sleep | RED-sleep |
| 'sleep' | 'be sleepy' |
| maloa | malo-maloa |
| slow | RED-low |
| 'slow' | 'soft' |

### 4.6.1 Pluralising

Most of the reduplication of action verbs pluralises the action. Thus:

| (120) | giri gaorum bin | 'grate one time' <br> 'scratch' <br> 'peel' | giri-giri <br> gaorum-gaorum <br> bin-bin | 'grate repeatedly' 'scratch repeatedly 'peel repeatedly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (121) | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { Tato } \quad m \\ \text { R.3P di } \\ \text { 'They die } \end{array}$ | -mate. <br> RED <br> ontinuously.' |  |  |

In some cases, the noun can be pluralised by reduplication. Thus, marakir 'child', marakir-kir 'children'.

### 4.6.2 Emphasising

The reduplication of stative verbs, locationals and some time words (cf. §5.3.3) functions as an emphasiser.

| (122) | kiri-kiri | leva-leva | mor-morna |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | small-RED | far.away-RED | RED-many |
|  | 'very small' | 'far far away' | 'many many' |

### 4.6.3 Detransitivising

The reduplication of some transitive action verbs can produce intransitive verbs. Thus:
(123) ali 'walk with a destination' ali-ali 'walk without a destination'
varai 'say' vara-vara 'talk'
dom 'think' (transitive) dom-dom 'think' (intransitive)
lopso 'wash/bath' (transitive) lo-lopso 'bath' (intransitive/reflexive)

### 4.6.4 Unpredictable

A few cases of reduplication of verbs are just unpredictable.

| logo | 'hungry' |
| :--- | :--- |
| lobo | 'cover' (verb) |
| dum | 'fight' |
| $v a$ | 'go' |


| logo-logo | 'be bad' |
| :--- | :--- |
| lobo-lobo | 'cloud' (noun) |
| dum-dum | 'blaze' (verb) |
| va-va | 'go hunting' |

### 4.6.5 Repetition as change of time/episode

It is common to repeat the verb of motion or staying for three or four times as the change of time or episode in the discourse.
Tara sioto sioto sioto ...
R.3D stay stay stay
'When they(two) were staying ...'

```
(126)
Tato sa sa sa_..
R.3P go.up go.up go.up
'As they were going up ...'
```


### 4.7 Verb serialisation

Serial verb constructions are highly productive in Merei. They are two or more independent verbs juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a single predicate and neither verb is subordinate to the other (Durie 1988:3). They are easily recognised as the initial verb takes the preverbal morphemes of the pronominal subject, modality and aspect marker but the second verb does not.

All verbs of the verbal serialisation share at least one core argument. Certain groups of verbs can appear as the second member of serial constructions but cannot be an independent verb.

### 4.7.1 Subcategory according to semantic types

Serial verbs can be categorised according their semantic types, namely sequential, directional/prepositional, causative, and comparative/superlative.

Sequential serialisation is formed by an initial verb of motion followed by another verb as the expression of a sequence of actions.

| $\emptyset$ | ta | $v a$ | $j i p$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3 | R | go | cut |
| 'He goes to cut.' |  |  |  |

Te va-na bele.
11 go-return carry
'Let us come to carry.'

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Sa-ma } & \text { rion. }  \tag{129}\\
\text { go.up-return } & \text { see } \\
\text { 'come see' } &
\end{array}
$$

Directional/positional serialisation is formed by the initial finite verb being followed by a verb of motion. The directional motion verb shows the direction of the action of the initial verb. Thus:

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { kai sa }  \tag{130}\\
& \text { look go.up } \\
& \text { 'look up' } \\
& \text { rui sio }  \tag{131}\\
& \text { go.in go.down } \\
& \text { 'go-inside down' } \\
& \text { suat sio }  \tag{132}\\
& \text { set.off go.down } \\
& \text { 'set off descendingly' }
\end{align*}
$$

Causative serialisation is formed by the initial finite transitive verb vai 'make', which is similar to the POc causative marking *pa- (Pawley 1973:150; Ross pers. comm.), followed by a transitive or intransitive verb plus the transitivising suffix.
$\emptyset$ ta vai matau-iau.
3 R make fear-1
'He makes me afraid.'

> Ø ta vai logologo-in.
> 3 R make bad-OD
> 'He destroys it.'

Comparative/superlative serialisation is formed by an the intransitive verb followed by the verb nui 'be superior to; than'. This serial verb construction usually takes an object. Note that nui can be used as a particle for alienable possessive construction (see §3.7.2).

```
I nie \emptyset ta barap nui iadu tese vunvun.
    A:P 3 3 R tall than A:C.PL man everyone
    'He is taller than all men.'
```


### 4.7.2 Subcategory according to their relation to the nominal argument

Serial verb constructions can also be subcategorised into two categories according to the level of restrictions involving the nominal arguments.

Same subject of both verbs:

> Kama ta sa ron.
> 1 E R go.up look
> 'We go up and look.'

Kama ta sa rao.
1E $\quad$ go.up take
'We go up and take (it).'
Switch subject with the initial transitive verb, followed by an intransitive stative verb:
(138) $\emptyset$ ta vai-ra mate.

3 R make-3P died
'He cause them to die.'
Ko lin iau tui sio oso tas.
2 wait 1 IMP.TR go.down reach sea 'You keep waiting for me, until I reach the sea.'

This section provides a brief description of the verbless, equative clause followed by a discussion of the main constituents of verbal clause structures, namely core arguments and peripheral arguments. The postclitics are also handled in this section because they usually function within clause structures, although they can also operate within the noun phrases.

### 5.1 Verbless clauses

The equative clause is the only type of verbless clause in Merei. Equative clauses are generally expressed by simple juxtaposition of noun phrases with no intervening verb. Temporal nouns may be added to mark the time. Tense, aspect and mood are not marked. Thus:
(140) Madia $i$ nie ia toro-tese.
before A:P 3 A:C big-man.
'He was an important man.'
Ia ese-na Pupuvla.
A:C name-3 Pupuvla
'Her name is Pupuvla.'
Vai i re Bethlehem ...
if A:P 3P Bethlehem
'When they are in Bethlehem ....

Negation in verbless equative clauses is marked by the irrealis marker mo or its allomorph $m u$ followed by the negative marker tei. This comes before the second noun phrase. In verbless equative clauses there is no longer a distinction of persons in marking irrealis: the particle $m o$ or $m u$ is used for all persons.

| I | nau | motei | na | tasale. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:P | 1 | IRR.3.NEG | A:C | white-man |
| 'I am not a white-man.' |  |  |  |  |


| $I$ | nie | motei | $n a$ | tija. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:P $\quad 3$ | IRR.3.NEG | A:C | teacher |  |
| 'He is not a teacher.' |  |  |  |  |

### 5.2 Verbal clauses: core arguments

The verb phrase as the predicate is the only obligatory constituent of the verbal clause. The predicate is preceded by the optional subject noun phrase, and followed by the object noun phrase (if the verb is transitive), prepositional phrase, location phrase and time phrase. The location phrase and time phrase slots can be filled by location and time words or by location and temporal prepositional phrases. The verbal clause structure is typical Eastern Oceanic and similar to the Proto Eastern Oceanic verbal phrase formula given by Pawley (1972:39).

Table 15: Verbal clause structure

| (Subject noun <br> phrase) | Verb <br> phrase | (Object noun <br> phrase) | (Prepositional <br> phrase) | (Location <br> phrase) | (Time <br> phrase) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

### 5.2.1 Intransitive clauses

The constituent order of intransitive clauses is SV. However, the verb with its subject and modality markers is the only obligatory constituent.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Ko } & \text { ta } & \text { sa. } \\
2 & \mathrm{R} & \text { go.up } \\
\text { 'You went up.' } \tag{146}
\end{array}
$$

| Ia lepne $\emptyset$ | ta | voro. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C woman 3 | R | leave |
| 'The woman left.' |  |  |

Existential clauses follow the basic intransitive structure. However, the verb phrase slot will be filled by the realis marker followed by the verb dauva 'exist' to express existence.

$$
\begin{array}{lccl}
\text { Ia tese } \emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { dauva. } \\
\text { A:C man } 3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { exist } \\
\text { 'There is a man.' } & \tag{148}
\end{array}
$$

| Ia | mor tese tato dauva Vila |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | many man R.3P exist Vila. |

'There are many men in Vila.'
Similarly, a negative existential clause follows the basic intransitive structure but the predicate slot is filled by the verb va'go' followed by the negative deictic merei and the clause takes only a singular subject. Thus:

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { Ia bo } \quad \emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { dauva. }  \tag{149}\\
\text { A:C pig } 3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { exist } \\
\text { 'There is a pig.' } &
\end{array}
$$



### 5.2.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have an SVO basic constituent order except when the object is topicalised, as in (153). The object can be either in the form of pronominal suffix before the optional aspect marker or noun phrase after the optional aspect marker.

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
I & \text { Steven } & \emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { ras } & \text { ia }  \tag{151}\\
\text { Ao } \\
\text { A:C } & \text { Stephen } 3 & \text { R } & \text { killed } & \text { A:C } & \text { pig } \\
\text { 'Steven killed the pig.' }
\end{array}
$$

Objects may be fronted for topicalisation.

| Ia | bo | $i$ | Steven | $\emptyset$ | ta | ras. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:C | pig | A:C | Stephen | 3 | R | kill | 'The pig, Steven killed it.'

More generally, the presence of an independent pronoun as subject or object marks contrast or focus. Subjects can also be topicalised by putting the independent pronoun after the subject.

| I | Steven $\quad$ i | nie | $\emptyset$ | ta | ras ia | bo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| A:P | Stephen A:P | 3 | 3 | R | killed A:C | pig |
| 'Steven killed the pig.' (with emphasis that | Steven is the one who killed) |  |  |  |  |  |

### 5.3 Verbal clauses: peripheral arguments

Peripheral arguments in a clause are generally expressed by prepositional phrases or temporal nouns.

### 5.3.1 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases usually consist of a noun phrase or pronominal object suffix preceded by a preposition, except that associative prepositional phrases involve pronouns or nominal noun phrases instead of pronominal object suffixes.

They communicate a variety of minor case roles for the peripheral arguments. These roles include instrument, associative, benefactive/source, destination, cause and locative/temporal. Some of the prepositions can have other functions within the complex noun phrases or in the sentence structures. Table 18 summarises the prepositions, including the genitive that was treated in §3.7.2.

Table 16: Prepositions

| Prepositional phrase | Preposition | Function | Other function |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Associative | peser | instrument or associate | noun phrase connective |
| Genitive | nui, nai | genitive, possessive | nui 'be superlative' |
| Benefactive | sei | benefactive | sei- noun classifier 'piece' <br> sei-na introduce purpose <br> clause |
| Destinational | asi | destination, source, <br> comitative | as 'spread' |
| Causal | belei | reason or cause | belei-na introduce causal <br> clause |
| Locative/temporal | la | location/temporal |  |

The associative prepositional phrase consists of a noun phrase or free pronoun preceded by the preposition peser, possibly derived from the verb pesi 'tie'. The prepositional phrase follows the verb phrase, and its noun head is an instrument or an associate (co-actor) in the action. Surprisingly, the aspect marker is added at the end of the associative prepositional phrase, as in (155). The instrumental preposition peser can also function as a connective in complex noun phrase structure (see §3.9).
(154) Na ta modi peser ia jip.
1 R cut with A:C knife 'I cut with the knife.'
Ko sio peser $i$ gamau tui.
2 descend with A:P 1E IMP.TR
'You will be present with us.'
(156) Ia esio peser ia maji moratei vai. A:C kingfisher with A:C fish IRR.3D.NEG do 'The kingfisher and the fish did not do (it).'

The benefactive prepositional phrase is made up of the benefactive preposition (BEN) sei followed by a noun phrase or pronominal suffix. This prepositional phrase occurs after the verb phrase. The noun head of the phrase has the role of beneficiary of the action of the clause.

| $2 \quad \mathrm{R}$'WhoKo ta |
| :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |

In addition, sei-na 'for it' can also be used to introduce a purpose clause in a complex sentence construction (see§7.4.2).

The destination prepositional phrase (or dative, DAT) is made up of the dative preposition (DAT) asi followed by a noun phrase or pronominal suffix. The head carries the role of destination or recipient, either animate or location.

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { Tato gure ia votal asi-mau. }  \tag{159}\\
& \text { R.3P give A:C banana DAT-1E. } \\
& \text { 'They gave the banana to us.' }
\end{align*}
$$

The nominal argument of the prepositional phrase can be destination, source or comitative, depending on the verb.

| $\varnothing$ | ta | tarage | asi | Pita. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3 | R | depart.from | DAT | Peter |
| 'He departs from Peter.' |  |  |  |  |


| Nam | ta a aninian | to | asi-m. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | R eat | IMP.INTR | DAT-2 |
| 'I ate with you.' |  |  |  |

The causal prepositional phrase is made up of the preposition belei followed by a noun phrase or pronominal suffix. The head carries the role of reason or cause.
(162) Nam ta vana belei-m.

1 R come because-2
'I come because of you.'
The preposition belei or belei-na is also used to introduce the dependent causal clause in a complex clause structure (see §7.4.3).

The locative/temporal preposition (L/T) is different from the rest of the prepositions because it alone shares a feature with the article, having number marking, i.e. rau 'dual' and $d u$ 'plural'. The locative/temporal prepositional phrase is made up of the preposition $l a$ followed by a noun without an article. It is placed either at the beginning or at the end of the clause to express time or location. It is placed further away from the verb phrase compared to other peripheral arguments. A temporal argument is usually placed further away from the verb phrase than a location argument. Fronting may topicalise the argument and is very common in the introduction of the setting in discourse.

| Nam ta | lolopso | la | bei | la | boibong. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | R | bath | $\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{T}$ | river | $\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{T}$ | afternoon |
| 'I bathed in the river in the afternoon.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In Oceanic languages it is not common to have more than three prepositions for marking the role or case of a nominal argument. However, in Merei the multiple functions of the preposition and some verbal marking in the associative prepositional phrase reflect a linkage between the verbs and prepositions. Thus the Merei prepositions could be the products of the grammaticalisation of the verb into prepositions (Rubba 1994:81). In addition, the semantic similarities between the verb and preposition may also suggest the serial verb construction has been a source of object case marking as another account of grammaticalisation (Givon 1984:179).

### 5.3.2 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs are the peripheral argument providing locational reference for the clause. Locational adverbs can be divided into two classes according to different references: speaker-hearer reference and spatial reference. They usually function as peripheral arguments (cf. §5.3.3). However, they can also function as locations or temporal nominal arguments.

The speaker-hearer reference locational adverbs indicate the reference in terms of the distance from speaker and hearer.

Table 17: Speaker-hearer reference locational adverbs

| Close to speaker | Close to both speaker <br> and hearer | Close to hearer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| naiia 'here' | getua 'here' | (na)gata 'there' |

$\emptyset$ ta sioto nagata la loloi-mal. 3 R stay there $\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{T}$ inside-house.
'He stays there inside the house.' (as peripheral)
(165) Getua ia vuivora mamasa.
here A:C place good
'Here is a good place.' (as nominal argument)
The forms naiia and nagata can also be used in closing a discourse.
Naiia $\emptyset$ ta
here 3 R soria
'Here is the end.'

```
Ia uluvara sei-na \(\emptyset\) ta sor nagata.
``` A:C story for-it 3 R complete there.
'The story about it finishes there.'
The locationals indicate the spatial reference in terms of distance and direction with the speaker as reference point. They are combinations of the motion verbs and other bound morphemes for distance marking, namely \(l e-\), \(m a\)-, or \(a i\)-, as shown in Table 18. The distance reference includes proximate, i.e. a distance from within a house and its yard, intermediate is beyond a house and within a hamlet or to the next hamlet and distal is beyond the next hamlet. The direction reference includes ascending, descending and level. They can also function as a peripheral or adjunct before the prepositional phrase and after the verb but never as a core argument. The directional reference of these deixis always agrees with the direction of the motion verb.

Table 18: Spatial reference locational adverbs
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\cline { 2 - 4 } \multicolumn{1}{c|}{} & Proximal & Intermediate & Distal \\
\hline Ascending direction & \(a i\)-sa & maja & \(l e\)-sa \\
At same level & \(a i\)-va & \(a i\)-valle-va & \(l e\)-va \\
Descending direction & \(a i\)-sio & majio & \(l e\)-sio \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Thus:
(168) I tama-m Ø ta sa lesa la bei.

A:P father-2 3 R go.up far.up \(L / T\) river.
'Your father goes up far away at the river.'
(169) Nam ta tada lesa la nauma.
\(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) sit far.up \(\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{T}\) bamboo
'I sat on the bamboo which is far away up.'
Reduplication of the distal locational adverb functions as an emphatic device (see §4.6). Thus:
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text { leva-leva }  \tag{170}\\
& \text { RED-far } \\
& \text { 'far far away' }
\end{align*}
\]

The locational adverbs, such as lesio, lesa, leva, may be used as a short imperative utterance or command as 'get away', usually to a dog or cat, but seldom to a human (cf. §6.1).

\subsection*{5.3.3 Temporal adverbs}

Temporal adverbs are a set of adverbs which function as peripheral arguments like temporal prepositional phrases. There is no inflective tense marking in the verb and tense is considered as the location in time (Comrie 1985:1-2). The location in time is marked by the temporal adverbs, which are neither obligatory nor morphologically bound (Comrie 1985:8-10, 49), with different degree of remoteness (Staley 1996), such as tuai 'long time ago, mythical past', arongo 'today' and lailai 'now'.
Arongo iadu tese tato malabo.
today A:C.PL man
'Today the men sleep.'

Table 19: Past and future time words
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline Past & Future \\
\hline anangnop 'yesterday' & bavio 'tomorrow' \\
anangsa 'the day before yesterday' & bavasa 'the day after tomorrow' \\
anangsasa 'the 2nd day before yesterday' & bavasasa 'the 2nd day after tomorrow' \\
anangsasasa 'the 3rd day before yesterday' & bavasasasa 'the 3rd day after tomorrow' \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{5.4 Postclitics}

There are postclitics of various functions, namely pivot marking, futuristic marking and limiters. All are quite free in distribution at the end of a clause or noun phrase.

\subsection*{5.4.1 Directional postclitics}

Clitics of directionals can be found in Oceanics. The directional postclitics are used to emphasise the direction of the action of the verb, which can be towards the actor, outwards the actor or inwards the actor. The towards directional - \(m\) usually emphasises the action towards the hearer and speaker. The outwards directional -in is used to emphasise the action away from the hearer and speaker, which is usually with the transitive verbs. The inwards directional -inim, which is only used to emphasise inwards the undergoers with the verb of reciprocal action or internal feeling.

The towards directional postclitic, \(-m\), has the allomorphs -im after a consonant other than \(m\) and \(-u m\) after \(m\). Thus:
\(\emptyset\) ta mamasa-m.
\(3 \quad \mathrm{R}\) good-TD
'It is really good.'
\(\emptyset\) ta ding-im.
3 R drain-TD
'It had really drained.'
(174) Avea-m.
where-TD
'Where!' (talking about the distance not far from the speaker and hearer)
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { tel-iau-m. }  \tag{175}\\
3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { hit-1-TD }
\end{array}
\]
'He (is the one) really hit me.'
\(\emptyset\) ta gure asi-m-um.
3 R give DAT-2-TD
'He gave (it) really to you.'
The outwards directional postclitic, -in, is usually just after the verb phrase or the nominal predicate. Thus:
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { Nam } & \text { ta } & \text { va-in } & \text { Vila. }  \tag{177}\\
1 & \mathrm{R} & \text { go-od } & \text { Vila } \\
\text { 'I went to Vila.' } &
\end{array}
\]

It can also apply to the verbless utterance, but this is very rare.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Ia } & \text { sava-in? }  \tag{178}\\
\text { A:C } & \text { what-OD }
\end{array}
\]
'What happened (to him)?'
The inwards directional postclitic, -inim, seems only to apply to verbs for which the actor is at the same time the undergoer.
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { popot-inim. }  \tag{179}\\
3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { happy-ID }
\end{array}
\]
'He is really very happy.'

\subsection*{5.4.2 Futuristic postclitic}

Another postclitic is the futuristic clitic (FUT) \(b a\), which is from the Proto Austronesian interrogative form *ba (Blust 1973:74). Usually it marks the futuristic focus or uncertainty of the event. It always agrees with the irrealis mode or presupposition mode in a clause.
(180) Ko ron-ba.

2 see-FUT
'You wait and see.'
(181) Ko ron la bong-ba.

2 see L/T night-FUT
'You (wait and) see at night.'
(182) Bavio-ba.
tomorrow-FUT
'(Let's see) tomorrow.' (wait until tomorrow)

\subsection*{5.4.3 Limiter postclitic}

The limiter postclitic ' \(n g a\) ' can be glossed as 'only' or 'just'. It can be put at the end of a noun phrase, after the reflexive pronoun nese-, complementiser tale- (cf. §7.2) or at the end of the clause.
(183) Ko tla matau, \(i\) nao nga.

2 PROHIB fear A:P I only
'Dont be afraid, just me.'
I Philip \(\emptyset\) ta vauma nese-na nga. A:P Philiip 3 R work self-3 only
'Philip just worked by himself.'

\section*{6 Sentence types}

A single clause as described in the preceding section is the most common type of sentence. There are two main modifications according to the speech-act, namely imperative/hortative and interrogative.

\subsection*{6.1 Imperative and hortative}

Both imperative (IPT) and hortative (HOR) can function as a command, with the stress in the beginning of the utterance, or as an invitation, with the stress at the end of the utterance. Some imperative utterances which just include a location word or verb without a subject clitic are strong commanding utterances which are not culturally appropriate unless one is commanding children or animals, as in (187) below. They have the same constituent ordering as indicative clauses with second person subject marker for invitation and without the subject marker for command, as in (188). There is no syntactic contrast between an imperative clause and an indicative clause in non-realis mood. The imperative and hortative are the same in syntactic structure.

The hortative functions as an inclusive invitation. Thus:
(185) \(T e \emptyset \quad k a\).

1 HOR wait
'Let's wait.'
Te Ø voro.
1 II HOR leave
'Let's leave.'
The imperative functions as an invitation towards a second party. Thus:
```

\emptysetat.
IPT set.off
'Set off.' (command)
\emptyset le-sio.
IPT away-down
'Go away.' (strong command)

```
```

Ko Ø an.
2 IPT eat
'You eat.' (invitation)

```

Just uttering a second person or first person inclusive free pronoun is also a speech act of invitation, with the action being understood by the hearers.
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
I & g o .  \tag{190}\\
\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{P} & 2
\end{array}
\]
'You (eat it).' (as one is giving you a piece of taro)
Imperative and hortative clauses are negated by putting the particle of prohibition (PROHIB) tla after the subject pronoun. The negation of an imperative can function as either prohibition or pleading, depending on the intonation and context. Thus the distinction between prohibition and pleading depends on the meaning of verbs and intonation or requires a more specific declaration, like varai malomalonga 'speak softly' for pleading and varai ore 'prohibit' for prohibition. Thus:
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Ko } & \text { tla } & \text { an. } \\
2 & \text { PROHIB } & \text { eat } \\
\text { 'Don't eat.' } & \tag{192}
\end{array}
\]

Te tla voro.
1I PROHIB leave
'Let's not leave.'
Kamara tla bat-voro-in.
1 DE PROHIB head-empty-OD
'Let's us not be naughty.'

\subsection*{6.2 Interrogative}

\subsection*{6.2.1 Polar questions}

Polar questions are expressed simply through intonation and an optional final questioning interjection, e merei, 'or no' or just \(e\) 'or'. The question intonation always has a high rise at the end of the utterance instead of the fall or low pitch ending of the declarative. Thus:
\begin{tabular}{llllll} 
Ia & nou-m & varavara & mo dauva sei-na? \\
A:C & POSSCI-2 & saying & IRR.3 exist & BEN-3
\end{tabular}
'Do you have something to talk about?'
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { va } & \text { e } & \text { merei? }  \tag{195}\\
3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { go } & \text { or } & \text { not } \\
\text { 'Did he go?' } &
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { sioto } & e \text { ? }  \tag{196}\\
3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { stay } & \text { or } \\
\text { 'Is he here?' }
\end{array}
\]

The answer 'yes' is e.e or sabo and 'no' is merei.

\subsection*{6.2.2 Content questions}

Content questions are formed by putting question words or phrases in the position of the information requested. The question words can be classified into different grammatical categories and reflect the natural semantic or functional categories of the language. Some of them can be part of a possessive structure or prepositional phrase. The basic words for the content question are shown in Table 20.

These question words mainly function as interrogatives, unlike the otherwise similar epistememes in Lewo (Early 1994:171).

Table 20: Question words
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
ave-nie \((\mathrm{sg})\) \\
ave-ire \((\mathrm{pl})\)
\end{tabular} & which \\
\hline ave-a & where \\
\hline belein na sava & why \\
\hline balein i ave & how \\
\hline i sava- & what relationship/kinship \\
\hline -ise (direct possession) & whose \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
i sefi savau \\
ira i savau \((\mathrm{pl})\)
\end{tabular} & who \\
\hline nansa & when \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
nui i se (not edible) \\
nai i se (edible)
\end{tabular} & whose \\
\hline sava & what \\
\hline sava- & what part \\
\hline sei ia sava/sei na sava & for what \\
\hline toma & what happen \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l} 
mo vsa (irrealis) \\
ta vsa (realis)
\end{tabular} & how many \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { va } & \underline{\text { avea? }}  \tag{197}\\
3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { go } & \text { where }
\end{array}
\]
'Where does he go?'
(198) Ko ta minin ave-nie?

2 R want which
'Which one do you want?'
Ko sa nansa?
2 go.up when
'When will you ascend?'
(200) \(\quad \frac{I}{\mathrm{~A} \cdot \mathrm{P}} \quad\) se who \(\quad \emptyset \quad\) ta \(\begin{aligned} & \text { voro? }\end{aligned}\)
‘Who left?'
(201) I Pita natu-ise.?

A:C Peter son-who
'Whose son is Peter?'
(202) I Pita \(\underline{i}\) sava-m

A:C Peter A:P who-2
'What kin is Peter to you?'
(203) Ko rao ia votal mo vsa?

2 take A:C banana IRR how.many
'How many bananas may you take?'
(204) Ko toma?

2 what.happen
'What happened to you?'
(205) Ko ta rao ia jip sei ia sava? 2 R take A:C knife for A:C what 'Why do you take the knife?'

\section*{Complex sentences}

The overall complex sentence structure involves embedding and juxtaposition, with a few subordinate connectives in the dependent clause. Complex sentence structure is somewhat simpler in complement clauses, quotations, and coordination than in dependent clause structures, where they have to be linked with connectives.

\subsection*{7.1 Complement clauses}

Complement clauses are embedded in the 'object' slot, following the main verb (see §4.1), which is usually a verb of cognition or speaking which allows a complement clause. The embedded 'object' can be a proposition or question. There is a pause before the subordinate clause to distinguish it from a relative clause, in which the pause is after the noun being relativised and the stress is on the noun. The person and modality of the verb in the subordinate clause is independent from the main verb.
(206) Nam ta rion/ ia leito \(\emptyset\) ta sa-ma.
\(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) see A:C truck 3 R go.up-return 'I saw the truck come.'
(207) Kam ta usi ko arongol ko sio peser \(i\) gamau tui. \(2 \mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{R}\) ask 2 today 2 down with \(\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{P}\) 1E PER 'We asked you today for you to stay with us.
\begin{tabular}{lllllllll} 
Nam & tei & tauin & lise & \(\emptyset\) & ta & rao & ia & toa. \\
1 & NEG & know & who & 3 & R & take & A:C & chicken \\
'I didn't know who took the chicken.'
\end{tabular}

The use of the particle vai 'if' in the complement clause seems to indicate uncertainty.
(209) Nam tei tauin vai I nie ia tija e merei. 1 NEG know if A:P 3 A:C teacher or no 'I don't know if he is a teacher or not.' Nam tei tauin \(i\) nie ia tija. 1 NEG know A:P 3 A:C teacher 'I don't know that he is a teacher.'

\subsection*{7.2 Quotation}

The structure of both direct and indirect quotations is similar to complement constructions. There has to be a pause before the quotation to distinguish direct quotation from indirect quotation. In addition both direct and indirect quotations can take an optional inalienable complementiser tale- 'speech', which does not take an article, to introduce the quotation. The optional particle nga after tale-shows that the quotation is direct. Direct quotation seems to be more common.
(211) Tale-i Jeremiah a voro. speech-A:P Jeremiah PSP. 3 leave 'Jeremiah's saying is, "He will leave".'
\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
I \quad \text { Jeremiah } & \emptyset & \text { ta } & \text { varai } & \text { tale-na, } & \text { na } & \text { voro. }  \tag{212}\\
\text { A:P Jeremiah } & 3 & \mathrm{R} & \text { say } & \text { speech-3 } & 1 & \text { leave } \\
\text { 'Jeremiah said, "I will leave."" } & & &
\end{array}
\]
(213) Nam ta varai tale-gu, Na voro. 1 R say speech-1 1 leave 'I said, "I will leave."'
(214) I Jeremiah, tale-na nga a voro A:P Jeremiah speech-3 only PSP. 3 leave 'Jeremiah, his saying is "He will leave.""

\subsection*{7.3 Coordinate clauses and serial clauses}

Juxtaposition is used extensively to coordinate clauses.
(215) Nam ta tai ia jingo-m ko ta tai ia sala-gu. \(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) make A:C mouth-2 2 R make A:C road-1 'I make your mouth and you make my road.' (from a legend)
```

Kama jen ia nou-m varavara a vana la lue-mau 1 E change A:C POSS-2 talk PSP. 3 come L/T language-1E 'We translate Your word (Bible) into our language.' (in a prayer)

```

Simple juxtaposition can also apply to serial or sequential clauses, with pauses between them. However, an optional connective, e.g. maga 'after' or madia 'before', can emphasise the difference in timing.
(217) Ia batu-gu ta vasis, nam gogo al meresin. A:C head-1 R pain 1 drink A:NF medicine 'When I have headache, I will take medicine.'
(218) Nam ta jip, (maga) nam ta an. \(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) cut (after) \(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) eat 'I cut, (then) I eat.'
The disjunctive \(e\) 'or' may be inserted between two clauses. It is used in questions expressing alternatives.
(219)

> Nam vai \(\quad\) e ko vai? 1 'Will do or 'Wo (it) or will you do (it)?'

\subsection*{7.4 Dependent clauses}

\subsection*{7.4.1 Manner}

The manner clause could be analysed as a dependent clause, introduced by balein 'just like', which occurs after the main clause. Note than balein can also be a verb, e.g. ta balein, 'it is the same.' Thus the structure is like an embedded clause or complement clause.
(220) Ia natu i Pita ta aliali balein i Pita (ta aliali).
the son Poss Peter \(R\) walk like A:C Peter \(R\) walk
'Peter's son walks like Peter walks.'
(221) Inie ta aliali balein ia hos ta kil. he R walk like \(\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{C}\) horse R run 'He walks like the horse runs.'
(222)

> Ko vai balein.

2 make like
'You do the same thing.'

\subsection*{7.4.2 Purpose}

The purpose clause can be analysed as a dependent clause, introduced by 'sei-na', which follows the main clause to state a purpose. Thus:
(223) Ko ta viris sei-na vaduvadu ia sna.

2 R squeeze for-3 cook A:C yam
'You squeezed (coconut milk) to cook the yam.'
Ko ta viris sei ia manailarai.
2 R squeeze for A:C pudding
'You squeezed (coconut milk) for pudding.'
(225) Nam ta vai vogovogo-in ia sala sei-na leito a 1 R make clean-OD A:C road for-3 truck PSP. 3
kil abuabukara.
run fast
'I clean the road in order that the truck will go fast.'
(225) Nam ta skul to sei ia susui ia tapsava.
\(1 \quad \mathrm{R}\) school IMP.INTR for A:C learn A:C thing
'I am going to school for learning something.'

\subsection*{7.4.3 Reason}

To show reason the independent clause is joined with the subordinate clause by belei-na 'because'. The subordinate clause can be put before or after the independent clause. The fronting may be an emphatic device.
(227) Nam tei va lolosop belei-na ia bei ta kara. 1 NEG go bathe because-3 A:C water \(R\) red 'I didn't go bathe because the water is dirty.'
The form belei- can also operate as a preposition with a nominal argument instead of a clause (see §5.3.1).
(228) Nam tei bai va lolosop belei ia usa. 1 NEG able go bathe because A:C rain 'I cannot go bathe because of the rain.'

\subsection*{7.4.4 Conditional}

To add a conditional clause, a particle vai is usually put in front of the main clause, and the dependent clause has to use the irrealis mood. There is no structural difference between simple, hypothetical and contrafactual conditional clauses. The order of the clauses can be changed, but usually the clause in focus occurs first, as in (229). Thus:

Rabui-m mo tel ko, vai ko tei mini ta vauma. mother-2 IRR. 3 whip you if 2 NEG want \(R\) work 'Your mother will whip you if you don't want to work.'
(230) Vai ko tei mini ta vauma, rabui-m mo tel ko. if 2 NEG want \(R\) work mother-2 IRR. 3 whip you 'If you don't want to work, your mother may whip you.'
Vai \(i\) nau Jeremiah, a sioto Hong Kong nga. if AP 1 Jeremiah PSP. 3 stay Hong Kong only 'If I was Jeremiah, I would stay Hong Kong only.'
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll} 
Vai & Nam & rion & tei & ia & tese & ta & bulen & ia & nou-m \\
if & 1 & see & PERF.TR & A:C & man & R & steal & A:C & POSSC.I-2
\end{tabular}

Vai mo tei vana tau, na voro. if IRR. 3 NEG come finish 1 leave 'Before he comes, I will leave.'

The use of nga 'only' shows contrast. Thus:

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(234) Nam ta minin na sigoru nga, vai mo usa, na sigoru

1 R want 1 play only if IRR. 3 rain 1 play
to nga.
IMP.INTR only
'I just want to play, even if it rains, I will still play.'

\section*{8 Conclusion}

In conclusion, the grammar has been described using a structural approach. Some of the typical features of the language have been highlighted and compared with some other Austronesian languages and protolanguages. However, the comparison is not in depth.

The data oriented approach can be objective provided that the collected data are accurate and the corpus well represents the language in different domains. However, the generative power of the language may be ignored and the recursiveness of the syntactic structure may not be well handled in this approach. The treatment of the function of clitics is not fully adequate due to lack of data. The discussion of the question words is limited to description.

\subsection*{8.1 A thread of categories}

Some features found during the process of categorising different syntactic components deserve to be highlighted. The verbalisation of nouns, nominalisation of verbs (see §3.3), nominal modifying through the stative clauses and the combination of nouns and verbs (see \(\S 3.5\) and \(\S 3.6\) ) seem to suggest that the grammatical categories of the Merei language are not clear-cut syntactically in some situations.

Aside from the one adjective, nominal modifying can be carried out by both adjectivalnouns or adjectival-verbs. If the verb tends to be more noun-like or the noun tends to be more verb-like, it also tends to be more modifier-like. The multiple functions of the prepositions (see §5.3.1) and the transitivity-sensitive aspect markers (see §4.2.5), which can have the same distribution as the second verb in a serial verb construction, might suggest grammaticalisation between these grammatical elements and the basic word classes of noun and verb. There seems to be a thread connecting all these categories.

The question words seem to be problematic for categorisation but they also reflect a natural way to categorise based on semantic rather than grammatical criteria. They reflect a semantic or lexical significance in the study of syntax and may suggest another direction for the further study of this language.

\subsection*{8.2 Typical Oceanic}

There is no doubt that Merei should be classified as an Oceanic language. The pronominal system and nominal modifying with limited adjective and possessive structures shows that Merei language is typical Oceanic. Verb serialisation and the structure of complex sentences and relative clauses are other typical Oceanic features.

The closeness to Proto Austronesian structures may reflect the fact that the language has had relatively little influence from other languages. In other words, the language seems to have remained quite stable. The Merei language group has been quite isolated from other, non-inland language groups. Thus, I wonder if even more Proto Oceanic features have been preserved than those discussed in this work.

\subsection*{8.3 Eastern Oceanic or Western Oceanic}

Merei's basic clause construction fits well the Proto Eastern Oceanic language verbal clause formula (Pawley 1972:39). Merei (under the name Lametin) has been classified as the Eastern Oceanic language, but there is not enough evidence for that hypothesis (Pawley \& Ross 1993:439-440). In addition, the absence of contrast between long and short vowels within morpheme boundaries (see §2.2) and the morphology of the adjective with a third person pronominal suffix (cf. §3.5) are features of Western Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross \& Crowley 2002).

\subsection*{8.4 Central Vanuatu or Northern Vanuatu}

Merei (under the name Lametin) has been classified as a member of the West Santo group of North Central Vanuatu languages (Wurm 1994:135; Gordon, R.G. Jr. 2005; Tryon 1994: Part I, Fascicle I:22-27, see also §1.5). There seems no strong evidence for classifying it as either North or Central Vanuatu. However, Merei is unlike the central languages in the number of noun classes, the neighbouring languages having more classes (Tryon 1973: 311-314). The verbal morphology is similar to that of the group of the extreme North, except the alternation between realis and irrealis (329-331). The verbal morphology and verb phrase syntax is relatively simple compared with other languages of the central subgroup.

The quinary numeral system is similar to that of the major languages in Espiritu Santo and Northern Vanuatu (Tryon 1973:323-324). Thus Merei more likely belongs to the Northern Vanuatu subgroup rather than the Central Vanuatu-subgroup.

\subsection*{8.5 Last words}

This is merely a descriptive grammar, so nothing about the comparative study or classification can be conclusive. As I wrote this paper I also realised that I don't know as much about Merei language as I thought. I also discovered my limitations in linguistics theory, which should go hand in hand with descriptive linguistics. The study of languages is exciting but awesome.

\section*{Appendix 1: Sample text}

\section*{Background}

The following text (text no. 6 in Appendix 2) is a story told by Erikson, a male of about sixty years old, in Navele village in central Espiritu Santo. A portion of the story was sung by the narrator. It is typical to have singing insertion inside the story. However, the song was not sung in Merei but an unknown language. The zero morpheme and the transitivity of the aspect markers is not marked in this text.

\section*{Text: A story of two children and two spirits}

1 Tuai ya marakir ta rua peseri tama-ra ireruvai long.time.ago A:C young.child R two ACC/INST father.ref-3P and
rabui-ra tato sio to la vuivora ta ese.
mother-3P R.3P down IMP L/T place \(R\) name
'Long time ago, two children with their parents stayed in one village.'
2 Tato sio-to sio-to sio-to tato vai ya anian taese ya
R.3P down-IMP down-IMP down-IMP R.3P make A:C food one A:C
ese-na ya jeli.
name-3s A:C dance.ko
'When they were staying, they made a feast. The name of the feast was jeli.'
3 Tato va jeli.
R.3P go dance.ko
'They went to the dancing feast.'
4 Atei ta alial tau vuivora nona lepne.
PSP.3.NEG PL walk PERF place his woman
'They had not walked to the place of the man's wife.'
5 'I gami rau marakir kamara ono to, \(i\) gamau rau
A:P 1E two young.child 1DE inhabit IMP A:P 1 E two
kamara va-in.'
1DE go-TRAN
""You two children, you stay here. We two will go there."

6 Tale-ra yarau marakir i gami kam mle va to. speech-3P both young.child A:P 2P 2P leave go IMP 'Two children said, "You may leave us and go.""

7 Tara sio-to sio-to sio-to sio-to ya ese ya tese R.3D down-IMP down-IMP down-IMP down-IMP A:C name A:C man
ta ese \(i \quad\) taulibosi \(i \quad\) bululaiyam.
R name A:P Taulibosi A:P bululaiyam
'While they were staying, there appeared one who is called Taulibosi with Bululaiyam.'
8 Tei tara vuvut vana tale-ra \(i\) gami rau ya marakir \(i \quad g a m a u\) and R.3D truly come speech-3P A:P 2P two A:C young.child A:P 1E
kamara minin tei la va tuluan.
1DE want and L/T go food.feast
'Then, they arrived and said, "You two children, we want to go to the feast."
9 Tale-ra kamara ta minin tei i tama-mau rabui-mau tara speech-3P 1DE \(\quad\) want PERF A:P father.ref-1E mother-1E R.3D varai ore \(i\) gamau.
tell obstacle A:P 1E
'They said, "We want to but our father and mother prohibited us.""
10 Tale-ra kamra tei minin vai \(i\) de va.
speech-3P 2d PERF want make A:P 1I go
'They said, "Don't you want all of us go together.""
11 Tale-ra kamara ta minin tei.
speech-3P 1DE R want PERF
'They replied, "We want.""
12 Tei taptua ta rau i taptua ta mle ta ju marakir ta and some.one R two \(\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{P}\) some.one R leave R let young.child R
ju la manaivulna.
let L/T hair.on.head
'Then, each one took one up, put the child in his hair.'
13 Getua balein.
here same
'Like here.' (the narrator was illustrating)
14 Tei tato va tau vuvut va tato va bet tato bolo to. and R.3P go PERF appear go R.3P go dance R.3P sing IMP 'Then, they arrived, they danced and they sang.'
15 Tato jeli tato bolo bolo tato bet ta ran varage. R.3P dance.ko R.3P sing sing R.3P dance \(R\) day go.side 'They had the dancing feast, they were dancing, the daylight departed.'
16 Lai rau marakir tara varai tau mle to mna. now two young.child R.3D tell back leave IMP very 'Now, two children really cried for going home.'

17 Ve lai ese-m ise?
SONG.M now name-2s who
'They sang as "Now, what is your name?",
18 Lai ese-m taulibosi tomle Mle ya ran tomle, now name-2s Taulibosi go.home leave A:C day go.home 'Now, your name is Taulibosi. Go home! Leave, the day is going home.'
19 Mle va kirikiri la tomle, leave go very.small L/T go.home 'Leave, it is going and leaving little by little.'
20 Lai ese-m ise?
now name-2s who
'They sang as "Now, what is your name?""
21 Lai ese-m bululaiyam tomle Mle ya ran tomle, now name-2s bululaiyam go.home leave A:C day go.home 'Now, your name is Bululaiyam. Go home! Leave, the day is going home.'

22 Mle va kirikiri la tomle tomle mle to leave go very.small L/T go.home go.home leave IMP 'Leave, it is going and leaving little by little.'

23 Tato tomle tato varage, tato vuvut varage la mal. R.3P go.side R.3P appear R.3P appear go.side L/T house. 'They went home, they departed and arrived the home.'

24 Tara tau vana ju sio ya rau marakir, tara sangule sio R.3D again come let down A:C two young.child R.3D go.put down yarau sei-bo.
both piece-pig
'They put down two children and gave them two pieces of pork.'
25 Tara sio-to nga.
R.3D down-IMP just
'They just went down.'
26 Tara sio-to sio-to, i tama-ra i rabui-ra tara tau R.3D down-IMP down-IMP A:P father.ref-3P A:P mother-3P R.3D back Vuvut vana. Tale-ra ya rau Marakir kam mle ta rao ya-mi appear come speech-3P A:C two young.child 2 P leave R take A:C-2pe sei-bo avea.
piece-pig where
'When they were staying, their father and mother came back and said, "Two children, where did you get the pork?",

27 Tale-ra kamara ta vana tau leva la anian asi-mi i gami kamra speech-3P 1DE R come PERF long \(\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{T}\) food to-2pe \(\mathrm{A}: \mathrm{P}\) 2P 2P

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tei rion gamau, gamau rion kami tei.
not see 1E 1E see 2P PERF
'They said, "We came back from the feast with you. You had not seen us, but we had seen you.""
28 Gata ta soria.
Here R last
'Here is the end.'

\section*{Appendix 2: Textual database details}

Key for the source: \(\mathrm{t}=\mathrm{tape} ; \mathrm{k}=\mathrm{key} \mathrm{in} ; \mathrm{hw}=\) handwritten; \(\mathrm{l}=\) letter; \(\mathrm{bk}=\) notebook
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Source & Narrator & Title/Content & File \\
\hline 1 & t1a000-008 & Rebecca & Making Pudding 1 & text001.txt \\
\hline 2 & t1a008-017 & Rosemont & Making Pudding 2 & text002.txt \\
\hline 3 & t1a017-022 & Joyce & Making Pudding 3 & unclear \\
\hline 4 & t1a022-044 & Erickson & Pupuvla & text004.txt \\
\hline 5 & t1a048-071 & Peter & Ya tese ta ruva & text005.txt \\
\hline 6 & t1a074-093 & Erickson & A story of two children & text006.txt \\
\hline 7 & t1a095-104 & Nelson & Dum to dum to & text007.txt \\
\hline 8 & t1a109-158 & Chief John Mark & Origin of night & text008.txt \\
\hline 9 & t1a159-205 & Chief John Mark & History of the villages & text009.txt \\
\hline 10 & t1a207-249 & Chief John Mark & Story of two rivers & text010.txt \\
\hline 11 & t1a253-377 & Chief John Mark & History of Anglican Church & text011.txt \\
\hline 12 & t1b001-019 & Ana & Banyan Tree story & text012.txt \\
\hline 13 & t1b023-085 & George & Story of Vorese village & text013.txt \\
\hline 14 & t1b085-395 & People in Navele & Coversation in Nakamal & text014.txt \\
\hline 15 & t2b000-015 & Shadrack & Prayer for village and translation project & text015.txt \\
\hline 16 & t2b015-045 & Manuel Katalelel & Story of two good friends & text016.txt \\
\hline 17 & t2b045-063 & John Mark & Speech in Philip's wedding (1) & text017.txt \\
\hline 18 & t2b063-099 & Kere & Speech in Philip's wedding (2) & text018.txt \\
\hline 19 & t2b099-119 & ?? & Speech in Philip's wedding (3) & \\
\hline 20 & t2b119-131 & Johndi & Speech in Philip's wedding (4a) & \\
\hline 21 & t2b131-193 & Stephen & Questions for Merei RRT test & \\
\hline 22 & t2b193-324 & Johndi & Speech in Philip's wedding (4b) & \\
\hline 23 & t3a001-577 & George and Raf & Coversation of George and Raf & text023.txt \\
\hline 24 & t3b001-013 & Edmond & An old woman changed skin & text024.txt \\
\hline 25 & t3b013-035 & Edmond & Arip toro and Vakir & text025.txt \\
\hline 26 & t3b035-066 & Edmond & The eel fish of the lake & text026.txt \\
\hline 27 & t3b066-578 & Rebecca and Rose & Conversation of Rebecca and Rose & \\
\hline 28 & t4a002-396 & Rebecca and Rose & Conversation of Rebecca and Rose & text028.txt \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Source & Narrator & Title/Content & File \\
\hline 29 & t4b002-166 & Rebecca and Rose & Conversation of Rebecca and Rose & text029.txt \\
\hline 30 & t5a002-427 & People from inland & Conversation on Chrisitmas Eve & \\
\hline 31 & t5b002-093 & People from inland & Conversation on the day after Christmas & \\
\hline 32 & t6a002-035 & Bunne & Vakir & \\
\hline 33 & t6a035-049 & Bunne & Rat and cat & \\
\hline 34 & t6a049-078 & Bunne & Dog and bat & \\
\hline 35 & t6a078-113 & Bunne & Man who cut the grass & \\
\hline 36 & t6a113-122 & Erickson & Song & \\
\hline 37 & t6a122-137 & Erickson & Song: sau saru sa e & \\
\hline 38 & t6a137-390 & Rebecca & In kitchen & \\
\hline 39 & t6b002-023 & Edmond & Story of fight between villa & \\
\hline 40 & t6b023-034 & Edmond & Story of trees & \\
\hline 41 & t6b034-048 & Edmond & Custom of marriage and funeral & \\
\hline 42 & t6b048-058 & Edmond & Custom of delivery baby & \\
\hline 43 & t6b058-068 & Edmond & Custom of shaving (rite of puberty for boy) & \\
\hline 44 & t6b078-097 & Edmond & Rite of puberty (girl) & \\
\hline 45 & t6b097-112 & Edmond & Custom healing & \\
\hline 46 & t6b112-131 & Edmond & Custom of funeral & \\
\hline 47 & t6b132-396 & Vustom/Navele people & Feast for farewell Simon & \\
\hline 48 & t7a003-136 & Rosemont and Tapsara & Conversation & \\
\hline 49 & t7a140-390 & Shadrack, David, Raf & Kava meeting (part 1) & \\
\hline 50 & t7b001-390 & Shadrack, David, Raf & Kava meeting (part 2) & \\
\hline 51 & t8a001-013 & William Dee & Tiale, Recorded Text Question & \\
\hline 52 & t8a016-049 & Manuel Lagrere & Life story of Manuel Lagrere & \\
\hline 53 & t8a052-070 & Manuel Lagrere & Education in Vanuatu & \\
\hline 54 & t8a071-093 & Manuel Lagrere & Shaving ceremony & \\
\hline 55 & t8a093-139 & Manuel Lagrere & Hunting & \\
\hline 56 & t8a140-155 & Johnsin & Daily life & \\
\hline 57 & t8a159-170 & Presly & Daily life & \\
\hline 58 & t8a170-194 & Julai & Talk with Jeremiah & \\
\hline 59 & t8b319-362 & Stephen & Question for RT Test (Tiale) & \\
\hline 60 & t8b362-382 & Chief Johndi & Question for RT Test (Tiale) & \\
\hline 61 & t9a002-020 & Shadrack & Prayer for translation daily & \\
\hline 62 & t9a021-057 & Shadrack & Teaching son (simulated) & \\
\hline 63 & t9a057-118 & Shadrack & Testimony & \\
\hline 64 & t9a122-426 & Rebecca and Bunne's Mum & Conversation in kitchen & \\
\hline 65 & t9a427-442 & Norman & Prayer & \\
\hline 66 & t9a445-461 & Raf, Erikson & Coconut scrapper & \\
\hline 67 & t9a461-561 & Rebecca, etc. & Converstiaon in Navele & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Source & Narrator & Title/Content & File \\
\hline 68 & t9b-001-111 & People of Navele & Working with copra & \\
\hline 69 & t9b-111-288 & Children of Navele & Watching photograph & \\
\hline 70 & t9b-289-320 & Manuel Lagrere & Growing coconuts & \\
\hline 71 & t9b-320-362 & Manuel Lagrere & Growing kava & \\
\hline 72 & t9b-362-426 & Manuel Lagrere & Raising cows & \\
\hline 73 & t9a-427-472 & Manuel Lagrere & Keeping pigs & \\
\hline 74 & t9a-472-521 & Manuel Lagrere & Keeping chickens & \\
\hline 75 & t10a-001-058 & Manuel Lagrere & Spirit and body & \\
\hline 76 & t10a-059-301 & Manuel Lagrere & Growing cocoa & \\
\hline 77 & t10b-003-019 & Erickson & A message to Loretta & \\
\hline 78 & t11a-003-224 & People of Espiritu Santo inland & Custom Dance on a feast & \\
\hline 79 & t13a-001-572 & People of Big Bay & Custom Dance on a feast (part 1) & \\
\hline 80 & t13b-001-209 & People of Big Bay & Custom Dance on a feast (part 2) & \\
\hline 81 & t13b-209-265 & People of Big Bay & Contemporary youth music & \\
\hline 82 & t12a-001-013 & People in Nakamal, Navele & Conversation & \\
\hline 83 & t12a-013-102 & Chief John Mark & Funeral rite & text083.txt \\
\hline 84 & t12a-111-121 & Chief Frank & Feast & text084.txt \\
\hline 85 & t14a-002-157 & Stephen & Minimal pair (part 2) & \\
\hline 86 & k1 & William Dee & Story of crab and fish (Tiale) & \\
\hline 87 & k2 & Shadrack & Story of crab and fish (Merei) & text087.txt \\
\hline 88 & k3 & William Dee & Story of crab and rat (Tiale) & \\
\hline 89 & k4 & Shadrack & Story of crab and rat (Merei) & text089.txt \\
\hline 90 & 11-11-11-96 & Norman & A letter to Manuel Peter & text090.txt \\
\hline 91 & 12-24-4-97 & Norman & A letter to Jeremiah (project report) & \\
\hline 92 & 13-11-5-97 & Norman & A letter to Jeremiah (literacy course) & \\
\hline 93 & 14-7-6-97 & Norman & Literacy course report & \\
\hline 94 & 15-12-8-97 & Norman & Project report & \\
\hline 95 & 16-24-2-98 & Norman & Big Bay situation & \\
\hline 96 & hw1-22-11-97 & Norman & Today's story & text096.txt \\
\hline 97 & hw2-22-11-97 & Norman & A ghost who killed many & text097.txt \\
\hline 98 & hw3-22-11-97 & Norman & How to build a house & text098.txt \\
\hline 99 & bk1a & Big Bay people & Miscellaneous & \\
\hline 100 & bk1b & Big Bay people & Miscellaneous & \\
\hline 101 & bk2 & Big Bay people & Miscellaneous & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Appendix 3: Comparative word lists}

The following is a word list comparing Lametin, Merei and Tiale. The items of the word lists and the Lametin list are a modification based on the word list in Tryon (1976:175-539). The Merei and Tiale lists were collected by the author and Jim Stahl in 1996.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 1 & head & \({ }^{\text {mb batu }}\) & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bat & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bat \\
\hline 2 & hair & manaị \(\beta\) ul & manaivul & manaivul \\
\hline 3 & ear & \({ }^{\text {mboror}}\) & \({ }^{\text {mboro }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mb}}\) boro \\
\hline 4 & nose & nalsụ & yasu & asu \\
\hline 5 & tongue & memẹ & meme & meme \\
\hline 6 & tooth & \(u^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}}\) u & \(u^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{du}\) & \(\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{go}\) \\
\hline 7 & eye & mata & mata & mata \\
\hline 8 & mouth & tfinọ & tsinjo & tsijo \\
\hline 9 & beard & ßulesẹ & vulese & vulese \\
\hline 10 & chin & esee & ese & ese \\
\hline 11 & shoulder & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bilị & \({ }^{\text {mbil }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbili }}\) \\
\hline 12 & upper arm & & wuilma \({ }^{\text {n }}\) d & vuima \\
\hline 13 & hand & lima & 1 ma & liman \\
\hline 14 & thumb & & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{bis}^{\text {m }}\) bo & bis \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo \\
\hline 15 & neck & \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d} \mathrm{r}\) alọ & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dolo & gonon \\
\hline 16 & breasts & susụ & susu & susu \\
\hline 17 & rib & rorọ & roro & ronro \\
\hline 18 & belly & tiạ & tia & ta \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bele \\
\hline 19 & guts & manaital & tali & tali \\
\hline 20 & heart & maßsonputuị & mapso & mapson \\
\hline 21 & liver & ma \({ }^{\text {mbe }}\) & ma \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) be & ma \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) be \\
\hline 22 & navel & mbuto & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) buto & \({ }^{\text {mbuto }}\) \\
\hline 23 & kidney & ßatSowa & vatsova & vajeva \\
\hline 24 & body hair & vul & vulu & \\
\hline 25 & penis & \({ }^{\text {ngala }}\) & & \\
\hline 26 & testicles & lasa & & \\
\hline 27 & vulva & tfirị & & \\
\hline 28 & back & taụ & tau & tau \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 29 & right (hand) & \(\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{i}\) & \(\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{dia}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{di}^{\text {d }}\) & agiagi \\
\hline 30 & left (hand) & maraụ & marau & marau \\
\hline 31 & lungs & & ma \({ }^{\text {m }}\) beraụ & maberau \\
\hline 32 & excrement & morte & morte & morte \\
\hline 33 & vein & raras & karavot & karavot \\
\hline 34 & thigh & ßesela \({ }^{\text {mbạa }}\) & vesela \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bai & veselam \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bai \\
\hline 35 & knee & mbaụ & \({ }^{\text {mbau }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbau }}\) \\
\hline 36 & leg & & & vese \\
\hline 37 & ankle & na \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bolrạ & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bau & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) balorailima \\
\hline 38 & heel & \(t u^{\text {m }}\) ba \({ }^{\text {n }} 9 \mathrm{a}\) & tu \({ }^{\text {m }}\) banya & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) baloraisari \\
\hline 39 & foot & & vese & sari \\
\hline 40 & blood & \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{ae}\) & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dai & gae \\
\hline 41 & bone & sụ̂ & sui & sui \\
\hline 42 & skin & urur & uru & ururi \\
\hline 43 & sore(n) & \(m a^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{amas}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{a}\) & \(m a^{\text {n }}\) dama \({ }^{\text {n }}\) da & loloiesari \\
\hline 44 & fat(n) & manaiar & ar & ari \\
\hline 45 & sweat & manyis & manyis & valalaja \\
\hline 46 & tears & \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) beinmata & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) beimata & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) beimata \\
\hline 47 & father & tama & tama & tama \\
\hline 48 & mother & ra \({ }^{\text {mbu }}\) buị & rambui & ra \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) bui \\
\hline 49 & child & nat & nat & nat \\
\hline 50 & man & tau \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{u}\) & taundu & taugu \\
\hline 51 & woman & lepne & lepne/lepme & levine \\
\hline 52 & husband & & tau \({ }^{\text {d }}\) du & taugu \\
\hline 53 & name & ese & ese & ese \\
\hline 54 & person & & tese & tese \\
\hline 55 & wife & & lepne & lepne \\
\hline 56 & uncle (gen.) & mbapnẹ & yeluwaitamana/tama & sa \({ }^{\text {m }}\) be \\
\hline 57 & uncle (mat.) & & meme/sa \({ }^{\text {m }}\) be & meme \\
\hline 58 & singsing & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}}\) bolo & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}}\) bolo & \({ }^{\text {mbolo }}\) \\
\hline 59 & house & mal & mal & eima \\
\hline 60 & men's house & mal & maliyadulvou & eimalatulvo \\
\hline 61 & door & tfiyoimal & tsinyoimal & jinoiima \\
\hline 62 & story & ululßara & ulultui/ululvara & ululvaravara \\
\hline 63 & pig & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bo & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bo & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bo \\
\hline 64 & tusk & \(\mathrm{u}^{\mathrm{n}}\) dui & \(u^{\text {n }}\) dui & ugui \\
\hline 65 & centipede & & & \\
\hline 66 & crayfish & & riy & ura \\
\hline 67 & dog & \({ }^{m}\) bes & pes & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bes \\
\hline 68 & louse & ut & ut & utu \\
\hline 69 & fly & lay & lanyo & lano \\
\hline 70 & snake & marta & marta & marita \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 71 & egg & slẹ & slei & sle \\
\hline 72 & bird & mano & manno & mano \\
\hline 73 & animal & saravat & saravat & \\
\hline 74 & mosquito & tSino & tsinjo & mosti \\
\hline 75 & fish & mant i & matsi & maji \\
\hline 76 & squid & & & \\
\hline 77 & rat & ari \(\beta\) & arif & arip \\
\hline 78 & shark & & & \\
\hline 79 & whale & & & \\
\hline 80 & stingray & & & \\
\hline 81 & butterfly & \({ }^{m} \mathrm{be}^{\mathrm{m}}\) be & \({ }^{m} \mathrm{be}^{\mathrm{m}}\) be & \({ }^{m} \mathrm{be}^{\mathrm{m}}\) be \\
\hline 82 & wing & rara & rara & rara \\
\hline 83 & ant & \({ }^{n} d^{r} i u^{n} d^{\text {r }}\) iu & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dui \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dui & guigui / agi \\
\hline 84 & flying fox & \({ }^{7}\) garai & garai & garai \\
\hline 85 & dolphin & & & \\
\hline 86 & grasshopper & \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\text {r }}\) ui & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dui & egui \\
\hline 87 & scorpion & ta \({ }^{\text {m }} \mathrm{ba}\) & ta \({ }^{\text {m }} \mathrm{ba}\) & ta \({ }^{\text {m }} \mathrm{ba}\) \\
\hline 88 & seasnake & & & \\
\hline 89 & starfish & & yeviselatas & evitumaji \\
\hline 90 & tail & \(\beta i^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \underline{i}\) & vi \({ }^{\text {n }}\) di & vigi \\
\hline 91 & turtle & & vua & vua \\
\hline 92 & spider web & \({ }^{\text {mbara }}\) & tatalbara & tatannui \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) bara \\
\hline 93 & biche de mer & & & \\
\hline 94 & feather & & vul & vulu \\
\hline 95 & meat & masao & masau/viso & viso \\
\hline 96 & food & aniani & annian & anian \\
\hline 97 & yam & sna & sna & sina \\
\hline 98 & taro & \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) beta & \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) beta & \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) beta \\
\hline 99 & sugar cane & to \(\beta\) & top & top \\
\hline 100 & sago & & \({ }^{\text {mbiyo }}\) & biyo \\
\hline 101 & almond & & vonai/fonai & vonai \\
\hline 102 & tree & ao & yarau/pmau & vuiyau \\
\hline 103 & leaf & rau & manairau & manairau \\
\hline 104 & arrowroot & & & \\
\hline 105 & dry coconut & matui & matui gor & matuigoru \\
\hline 106 & coconut palm & & matui & matui \\
\hline 107 & banana & ßotal & votal & votal \\
\hline 108 & breadfruit & lep & lep & \\
\hline 109 & black palm & & matas & malavo \\
\hline 110 & sandalwood & & marovo/ \({ }^{\text {mbioro }}\) & mrovo \\
\hline 111 & flower & ßsoiau & vsuiyau & wusoiyau \\
\hline 112 & fruit & ßona & vona & vona \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 113 & grass & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) balis & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) balis & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) balis \\
\hline 114 & root & ora & ora & oraiyau \\
\hline 115 & woods & \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\text {r u }}\) uluau & \(1 \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{n}}\) duluau & tavaiam \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu \\
\hline 116 & sun & mataimasa & mataimasa & mataemasa \\
\hline 117 & moon & \(\beta 1 \mathrm{a}\) & vla & vla \\
\hline 118 & star & Bit & vit & vitu \\
\hline 119 & cloud & \({ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{o}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{o}\) & \(10^{\text {m }}\) bolo \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo & \(10^{\text {m }}\) bolo \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo \\
\hline 120 & water & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bei & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bei & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bei \\
\hline 121 & rain & usa & usa & usa \\
\hline 122 & river & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bei & bei & \\
\hline 123 & sand & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bonaißus & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bonaivus & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bonaivus \\
\hline 124 & stone & sule & sule & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bule \\
\hline 125 & salt & & manaisolo & solo \\
\hline 126 & mountain & \({ }^{\text {m bat }}\) 3ut & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) batfut & mbavut \\
\hline 127 & fire & moria \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu & moria \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu & moria \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu \\
\hline 128 & smoke & asu & asu & easu \\
\hline 129 & ashes & morßsoa & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) batmorsoa & morsoa \\
\hline 130 & road & sal & sala & sala \\
\hline 131 & wind & sisil & sisil & sisil \\
\hline 132 & lighting & \(\beta\) ilei & vilei/jirekara & vileivilei \\
\hline 133 & rainbow & raßeraßemarar & raveravemarakara & la \({ }^{\text {m }}\) beimara \\
\hline 134 & earth & morßtano & movortanno & movotano \\
\hline 135 & earthquake & mui & mui & mui \\
\hline 136 & hole & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{ba}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{ba}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbua }}\) & vunu \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bua \\
\hline 137 & thunder & \({ }^{\text {mbirin }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbirin }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbirin }}\) \\
\hline 138 & fog & \(10^{\text {m }}\) bolo \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo & \(10^{\text {mb }}\) bolo \(^{\text {m }}\) bo & \(10^{\text {m }}\) bolo \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo \\
\hline 139 & lake & & tu \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bu/lamma/paloai & lama \\
\hline 140 & sea & tas & tas & tas \\
\hline 141 & seed & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bir & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bir & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) birina \\
\hline 142 & sky & & lanjot & tuga \\
\hline 143 & stick & \(\beta\) uiau & wuiau/tavaiyau & tavaiyau \\
\hline 144 & firewood & \(\beta\) uia \({ }^{\text {mbu }}\) bu & tavaia \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu & tavaia \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bu \\
\hline 145 & mud & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) gama \({ }^{\text { }}\) gama & manaile \({ }^{\text {m }}\) ba & manaieva \\
\hline 146 & wave & & tarulum/susun & rulum \\
\hline 147 & foam & & manaivalvalna/falfal & manaivalvalna \\
\hline 148 & canoe & & & \\
\hline 149 & paddle & & & \\
\hline 150 & anchor & & & \\
\hline 151 & outrigger & & & \\
\hline 152 & sail & & & \\
\hline 153 & dust & & manaifsoa/vusivusi & banaivus \\
\hline 154 & rope & ßuias & vuiyas & vuiyas \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 155 & bow & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bipna & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bipna & lie \\
\hline 156 & arrow & matai \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bati \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bna & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) batipna & \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) batvina \\
\hline 157 & knife & tfip & jip/jif & jivi \\
\hline 158 & axe & tfaejk & jaeke & jaeke \\
\hline 159 & digging stick & oraßsa & wuivaiyel & vuivaiel \\
\hline 160 & hook & & wuiyauko & vuiyauko \\
\hline 161 & spear & & mawua & mavua \\
\hline 162 & earth oven & napnamoru & mamoru & vunamoru \\
\hline 163 & fight(n) & \(\beta\) uro & tato \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dum/ tato \(^{\text {n }}\) dum \(^{\text {n }}\) du & taragum \\
\hline 164 & black & & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bon \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bontu \({ }^{\text {m }}\) b & \({ }^{\text {m }}\) boy \({ }^{\text {m }}\) boy \\
\hline 165 & white & ßso & vso & uso \\
\hline 166 & red & \({ }^{\text {y }}\) gar & kara & kara \\
\hline 167 & yellow & mantfina & majinna & majina \\
\hline 168 & green & entfa & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}}\) baro \({ }^{\text {m }}\) baro & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}}\) baro \({ }^{\text {m }}\) baro \\
\hline 169 & blind & mataßso & mata \({ }^{\text {n }}\) donto & matanvuso \\
\hline 170 & deaf & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) boroßono & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) borovonno & \({ }^{\text {mborovono }}\) \\
\hline 171 & big & torona & toronna & tala \({ }^{\text {mb }}\) ba \\
\hline 172 & small & ta \({ }^{19} \mathrm{gir}\) & takir & kirekire \\
\hline 173 & good & mamasa & mamasa & mamasa \\
\hline 174 & bad & \(1 \mathrm{lo}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{golo}^{\text {n }}\) go & \(10^{n} \mathrm{golo}^{\text {n }} \mathrm{go}\) & lokoloko \\
\hline 175 & cooked & \(m a^{n} d^{r} a\) & \(\mathrm{ma}^{\text {n }}\) da & mejo \\
\hline 176 & dead & mate & mate & mate \\
\hline 177 & dry & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) gor & goru & goru \\
\hline 178 & wet & \(m e^{n} d^{\text {r }}\) ime \({ }^{\text {n }} \mathrm{d}^{\text {r }}\) in & menme \({ }^{\text {n }}\) din & menmegin \\
\hline 179 & lazy & siok & sioko & sioka \\
\hline 180 & heavy & \({ }^{\text {mburuya }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbunya }}\) & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) buvet \\
\hline 181 & light & sasal & sasale & ran \\
\hline 182 & sick & rots & rojo/rotSo & rojo \\
\hline 183 & cold & marih & maril & kovokovoso \\
\hline 184 & dirty & marou & manaija & manaija \\
\hline 185 & dull & nol & & \\
\hline 186 & long & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) barap & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) barap & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) barap \\
\hline 187 & narrow & & takir & takirekire \\
\hline 188 & new & \(\beta u a \beta\) n & vavun & vavun \\
\hline 189 & old & \(\beta\) ßarese & ßarese & varese \\
\hline 190 & right (correct) & mamasa & \({ }^{\text {mb}}\) bos/mamasa & mbos/mamasa \\
\hline 191 & rotten & nut & nut & jira \\
\hline 192 & sharp & mat & mat & mat \\
\hline 193 & short & \({ }^{\text {mbut }}\) & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) but & va \({ }^{\text {m }}\) but \\
\hline 194 & smooth & malamala & malamala & kamalamalas \\
\hline 195 & straight & & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bos & bos \\
\hline 196 & thick & & \({ }^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{blo}^{\mathrm{m}}\) blono & blono \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 197 & thin & & seiseina & seina \\
\hline 198 & wide & & jia & laba \\
\hline 199 & one & ese & ese & ese \\
\hline 200 & two & rua & ruwa & ruva \\
\hline 201 & three & tolu & tolu & tolu \\
\hline 202 & four & \(\beta\) at & vat & vat \\
\hline 203 & five & lima & lima & lima \\
\hline 204 & six & limaraßu & maravo & maravo \\
\hline 205 & seven & raßrua & ravorua & ravorua \\
\hline 206 & eight & raptolu & raptol & raptol \\
\hline 207 & nine & raitat & raetat & raetat \\
\hline 208 & ten & sapaßul & sanyaful & sannalvul \\
\hline 209 & few & & esese & esese \\
\hline 210 & other & taPanono & nono & nono \\
\hline 211 & some & & falsu \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bera & varsu \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bera \\
\hline 212 & who & ise & isavau/ise & savau \\
\hline 213 & what & nasa?u & sava & sava \\
\hline 214 & when & lalai moßsa & nansa/annaysa & ananasa \\
\hline 215 & how many & moßsa & mofsa/tafsa & tavisa \\
\hline 216 & many & laßraena & morna & morina \\
\hline 217 & where & aßea & avea & avea \\
\hline 218 & work & ßauma & vauma & vauma \\
\hline 219 & warm & \(\beta\) arlentfe & valetse/varvartun & varavaratun \\
\hline 220 & yesterday & nano \(\beta\) & yanannop & ananop \\
\hline 221 & tomorrow & \(\beta\) ß阝io & bavio & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bavio \\
\hline 222 & night & \({ }^{\text {mbon }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mboy }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbon }}\) \\
\hline 223 & year & taon & tauon & tauun \\
\hline 224 & day & ran & ran & ran \\
\hline 225 & I & inau & innau & inau \\
\hline 226 & thou & \(\mathrm{i}^{\mathrm{T}} \mathrm{go}\) & ino & igo \\
\hline 227 & he & nie & nie & nie \\
\hline 228 & we pl.inc & \(i^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{e}\) & \(\mathrm{i}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{de}\) & igmau \\
\hline 229 & we pl.exc & \({ }^{\text {y }}\) gamauya & ijammau & gamau \\
\hline 230 & you pl. & \({ }^{\text {y }} \mathrm{gam}\) & inammi & gami \\
\hline 231 & they & ire & ire & ire \\
\hline 232 & we dl.inc. & & \(\mathrm{i}^{\mathrm{n}}\) deruwa & gerua \\
\hline 233 & we dl.exc. & & inamauruwa & gamaurua \\
\hline 234 & you dl & & ijamiruwa & gamirua \\
\hline 235 & they dl & & ireruwa & irerua \\
\hline 236 & give & \({ }^{\text {7 }}\) gure & gure & gurei \\
\hline 237 & hit & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bot & \(\mathrm{a}^{\text {m }}\) bot & tel \\
\hline 238 & see & terion & taron & rion \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 239 & bite & at & at & tata \\
\hline 240 & hear & royoin & ronyoin & ronoiin \\
\hline 241 & cry & yar & yara & \(\tan\) \\
\hline 242 & die & mate & mate & mate \\
\hline 243 & vomit & lua & lua & luva \\
\hline 244 & go & soßa & voro/va & voro \\
\hline 245 & come & sioma & sioma/sama & sama \\
\hline 246 & swim & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) garu & \({ }^{\text {7 }}\) gar & garu \\
\hline 247 & eat & aniani & anian & anian \\
\hline 248 & stand & turu & turu & tur \\
\hline 249 & sit & \(\operatorname{ta}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{a}\) & \(\mathrm{ta}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{da}\) & tasio \\
\hline 250 & call out & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) gele & kel & kel \\
\hline 251 & run & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) gil & kil & kil \\
\hline 252 & fall & tSop & jop & jovi \\
\hline 253 & sleep & mala \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo & mala \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo & mala \({ }^{\text {m }}\) bo \\
\hline 254 & laugh & uru & uru & lisa \\
\hline 255 & blow & sis & sis & sisi \\
\hline 256 & hold & ykau & gau & gau \\
\hline 257 & fly & sale & sale & sale \\
\hline 258 & tie & \(\beta\) is & pes & pes \\
\hline 259 & spit & loto & loto & loto \\
\hline 260 & bark & & ku & ku \\
\hline 261 & breathe & yura & manyamanya & manamana \\
\hline 262 & burn & sului & sului & sului \\
\hline 263 & count & ep & ep & viep \\
\hline 264 & cut & teßei & tevei & teve \\
\hline 265 & dig & eli & el & el \\
\hline 266 & drink & \({ }^{7} \mathrm{go}{ }^{\text {n }} \mathrm{go}\) & \({ }^{7} \mathrm{go}{ }^{\text {n }} \mathrm{go}\) & gogo \\
\hline 267 & fear & matau & matau & matau \\
\hline 268 & float & sasale & sasale & sasale \\
\hline 269 & flow & \(\beta \mathrm{ra}\) & vravra & uraura \\
\hline 270 & hunt & & jurpes & jurbes \\
\hline 271 & kill & pti & raswum/pti & tailavum \\
\hline 272 & know & taßuin & tauvin & tauvin \\
\hline 273 & lie & kokono & kokono/mismis & tamismis \\
\hline 274 & live & & ta \({ }^{\text {mbei }}\) & \\
\hline 275 & play & tas \({ }^{\text {n }}\) gor & sijoru & sijoru \\
\hline 276 & pull & tetlui & tlui & tului \\
\hline 277 & push & tetani & susuren/tani & susuren \\
\hline 278 & rub & mesmes & mes & mos \\
\hline 279 & say & ßarai & varavara & varavara \\
\hline 280 & scratch & \({ }^{\text {7 }}\) garu \({ }^{\text {n }}\) garum & \({ }^{\text {y }}\) garum & garum \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline No & Gloss & Lametin & Merei & Tiale \\
\hline 281 & sew & & tulu/tulatula & \\
\hline 282 & sing & \({ }^{\text {mbole }}\) & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bolo & \({ }^{\text {mbolo }}\) \\
\hline 283 & smell & roy \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bonai & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bonai/yuru & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bonai \\
\hline 284 & split & \({ }^{\text {mbosoßueßue }}\) & poso & poso \\
\hline 285 & squeeze & Birisi & viris & man \\
\hline 286 & stab & tui & tui/oti & oti \\
\hline 287 & suck & \({ }^{n}{ }^{\text {r }}\) ame & taim & im \\
\hline 288 & swell & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) bure & \({ }^{\text {mbure }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mbure }}\) \\
\hline 289 & think & \({ }^{n} d^{\text {r }}\) om \({ }^{\text {n }} \mathrm{d}^{\text {r }}\) om & \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dom \({ }^{\text {n }}\) dom & gomgom \\
\hline 290 & throw & plei & \({ }^{\text {mblei }}\) & \({ }^{\text {mblei }}\) \\
\hline 291 & turn & \({ }^{\text {mb}}\) borsen & \({ }^{\text {m}}\) borsin & porsen \\
\hline 292 & walk & ruruai & ruruwai/aliali & aliali \\
\hline 293 & wash & \(\beta\) ariorione & losop & losop \\
\hline 294 & wipe & tSoia & mes & tatel \\
\hline 295 & all & & vonno/ire/vunvun & ire \\
\hline 296 & and & & peseri & tuen \\
\hline 297 & at & & la & la \\
\hline 298 & because & & paleina & palena \\
\hline 299 & far & & leva & levano \\
\hline 300 & here & & ketua & ketua \\
\hline 301 & how & & paleiniave & palenniave \\
\hline 302 & if & & vai & vai \\
\hline 303 & in & & laloloi & laloloi \\
\hline 304 & near & & tevui & tevui \\
\hline 305 & not & & merei & tiale \\
\hline 306 & that & & levanie & levanie \\
\hline 307 & there & & levannie & levanie \\
\hline 308 & this & & ketnie & ketnie \\
\hline 309 & with & & peseri & peseri \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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