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LELEPA

TOPICS IN THE GRAMMAR OF A VANUATU LANGUAGE

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Except where otherwise noted in the text,
this thesis represents the author's own original work.

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Abstract

This thesis discusses topics in the grammar of Lelepa, an Oceanic language spoken by about 500 people on the islands of Lelepa and Efate in the centre of the Vanuatu archipelago.

The areas of grammar covered in the thesis are phonology (chapter 2), morphology (chapter 3), word classes (chapter 4), noun phrases (chapter 5), possession (chapter 6), clause structure and grammatical relations (chapter 7), verb classes and valency changing devices (chapter 8), the verb complex (chapter 9), complex predicates (chapter 10), aspect and modality (chapter 11), coordination and subordination (chapter 12).

The phonemic inventory is of medium to small size, with fourteen consonants and five vowels. It includes two typologically rare labial-velar consonants. Stress is not phonemic. Syllables can be complex and consonant clusters are allowed in onset and coda positions. The most important phonological process is vowel reduction, which represent a significant driver of language change.

Clausal word order is SVO. Oblique arguments follow the object(s), and adjuncts occur in initial or final position in the clause. An exception is the benefactive phrase, an adjunct encoding beneficiaries which occurs between the subject proclitic and the verb, and makes the verb complex a discontinuous structure. The benefactive phrase is cross-linguistically unusual and makes central Vanuatu languages distinctive.

Of typological interest is the split dividing objects along two classes of transitive verbs. It has its source in a semantic distinction between significantly affected Ps and less affected Ps. However, the split is lexical because borrowed transitive verbs are systematically classified with verbs taking less affected Ps regardless of the degree of affectedness of their P.

Lelepa has serial verb constructions but has also developed other verbal constructions grouped in the class of complex predicates, which comprise auxiliary verbs, serial verbs, post-verbs and

clause-final particles. These encode a broad range of semantic distinctions including aspectual, modal and directional values, manner, intensification, cause-effect and result.

Lelepa distinguishes between inalienable and alienable possession, but the possessive constructions have diverged from the typical Oceanic model. In particular, relational classifiers are not found in the language, and a construction reflecting alienable relationships distinguishes between human and non-human possessors.

An unusual feature is the marking of mood and transitivity on certain verbs with Stem Initial Mutation. In this process, verbs switch their initial consonant from /f/ to /p/ according to particular mood and transitivity values. This process is known in Vanuatu language but often limited to mood marking, whereas Lelepa and other central Vanuatu languages also mark transitivity.

The morphological structure is agglutinative, but many grammatical features are encoded by particles, especially in the verb complex. In the nominal domain, inflectional affixes include possessor-indexing suffixes, a prefixed article and derivational affixes generating deverbal nouns. Compounding is a feature of both nouns and verbs.

Word classes are clearly defined, and the main open classes are nouns and verbs. Nominals can be derived through nominalisation of verb roots or subtantivisation, a process deriving referential items from all word classes except nouns and pronouns.

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Glosses and abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADD	addressee
AGAIN	iterative and emphatic
ASS	associative
BEN	benefactive
CERT	certainty
COM	commitative
COME	directional (towards deictic centre)
COMP	complementiser
COP	copula
CONJ.NUM	conjunction linking numerals
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DYAD	dyadic kin term formation prefix
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
EXPL	expletive
F	f-initial verb
FIRST	initial/previous event
FOC	focus
GO	directional (away from deicticcentre)/durative
H	human
HESIT	hesitation
INCL	inclusive
INT	intensifier
INTERJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
KIN	kin term prefix
LOC	locative
MAYBE	hypothetical modality
MED	medial
NEG	first negation particle
NEG2	second negation particle
NH	non-human
NMLZ	nominaliser
N.SPEC	non-specific
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal
P	p-initial verb root
PL	plural
p.name	personal/place name
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PROX	proximal
R	realis
RED	reduplication
REL	relativiser
RR	reflexive/reciprocal
S	subject
SBST	substantiviser
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SOURCE	source preposition
STAT	stative
STILL	ongoing
TOP	contrastive topic
TR	transitiviser

Chapter 1 — Introduction

1.1 The language and its speakers

1.1.1 Location

Lelepa is an Oceanic language spoken is central Vanuatu by about 500 people who live on two islands: Lelepa and Efate. Lelepa Island is located close to the western coast of Efate, in the centre of the Vanuatu archipelago (see map 1.1). It is a small limestone island of about 8 sq. km (Garanger 1972:38) with no rivers, but a few creeks that run after heavy rain. The island is dominated by a small peak culminating at 202 meters above sea level, and all the inhabitants live together in Natapao, a village located at the south-eastern tip of the island (see map 1.2).

On Efate, the main community of Lelepa speakers live in Mangaliliu, a village located on the western coast of Efate (see map 1.2). The traditional land of Lelepa people comprise Lelepa Island, Artok Island (named Retoka on map 1.2), and a stretch of Efate land going from Utaon on the western coast to the easternmost tip of Efate, named Tuktuk (this name does not appear on the map).

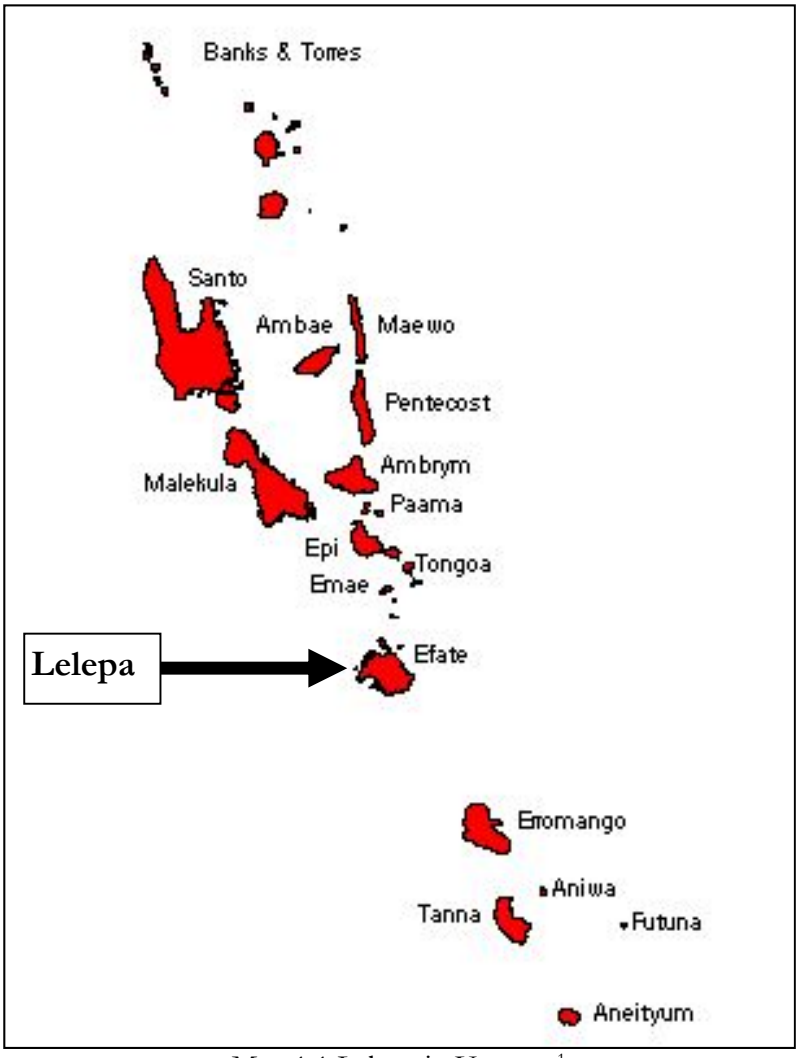
1.1.2 Genetic affiliation

Lelepa is an Oceanic language from the Austronesian family. It is part of the Central Eastern Oceanic linkage, which is currently divided into five groups:

- Southeast Solomonic family
- Utupua and Vanikoro
- Southern Oceanic linkage
- Central Pacific linkage
- Micronesian family

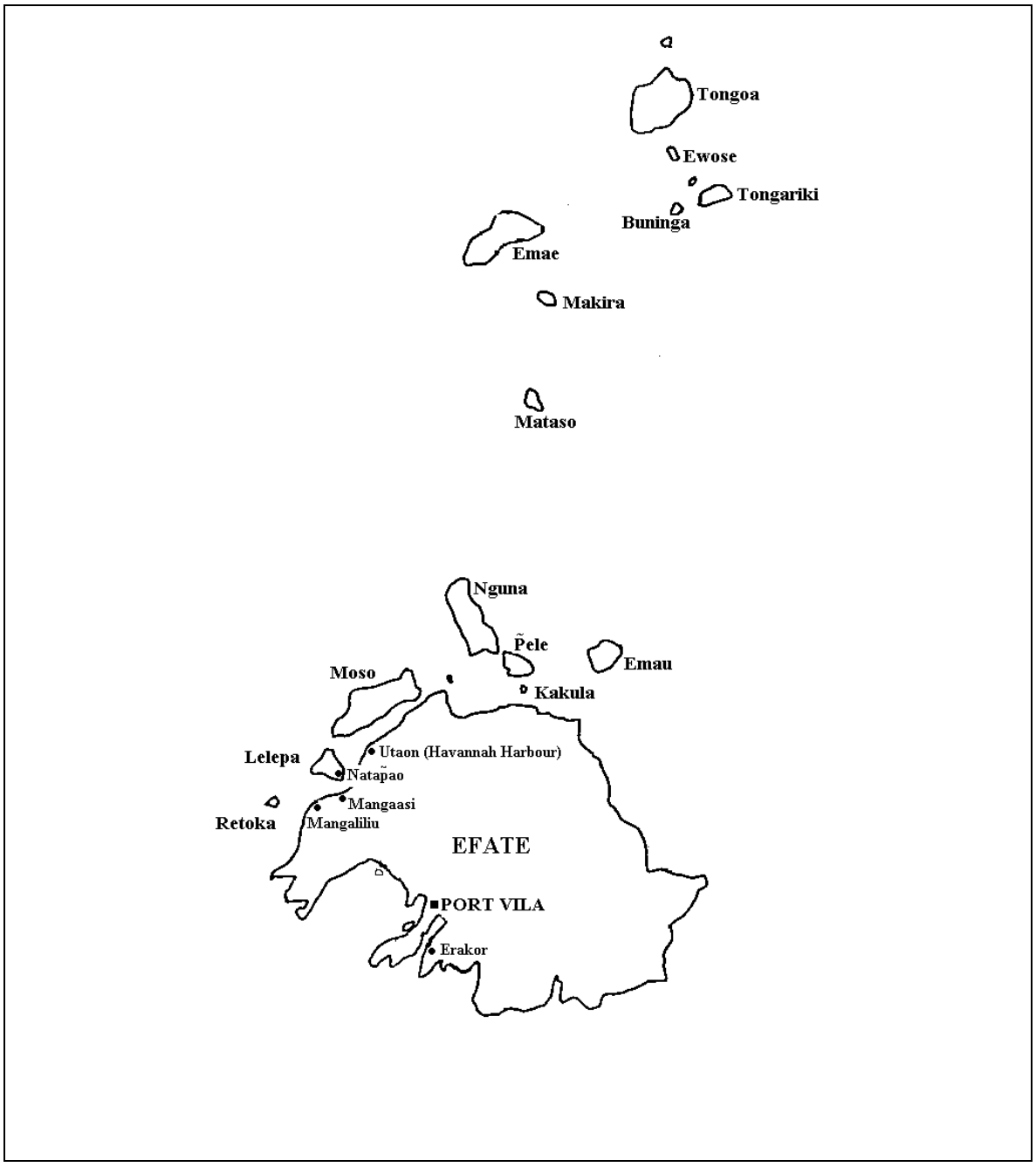
According to Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:108), these groups may actually be first-order Oceanic subgroups, as Central Eastern Oceanic is not well supported. Lelepa is part of the Southern Oceanic linkage, which also includes all the languages of Vanuatu and New Caledonia. This grouping is further subdivided into the North Vanuatu linkage and the Nuclear Southern Oceanic linkage. Lelepa is part of the latter, and its closest sister languages

appear to be Nakanamanga and South Efate. However, as these two languages are classified as part of distinct groups within Nuclear Southern Oceanic, the exact position of Lelepa within this larger linkage is not currently known. Nakanamanga is spoken in Moso, Nguna, on the north Coast of Efate and in the Shepherd Islands (a group of islands extending from Mataso to Tongoa), and South Efate is spoken in Erakor and on the south-eastern coast of Efate (see map 1.2).



Map 1.1 Lelepa in Vanuatu[1]

[1] Map made in MapInfo by Nick Thieberger, available at: http://languages-linguistics.unimelb.edu.au/thieberger/vanlangs/index.html Last accessed April 1, 2014.



Map 1.2. Efate and the Shepherd Islands
[outline taken from Lynch and Crowley (2001:108)]

1.1.3 Language name and language transmission

In this study, the language is referred to as 'Lelepa'; however, this term is not indigenous to the community of Lelepa speakers, who refer to their language with the collocations seen in (1), or simply as *nafsana* 'language':

(1) a. na-fsa-na=n Allaapa
ART-speak-NMLZ=POSS:NH Lelepa
'The language of Lelepa.'

b. na-fsa-na=n kia-gta
ART-speak-NMLZ=POSS:NH LOCAL-1PL.INCL
'Our language.' (*lit. the language of our area*)

The term 'Lelepa' was chosen here for practical reasons, because outside of their community, Lelepa people refer to themselves, their island and language by that name, and are also known by that name in Vanuatu.

On a Vanuatu scale, Lelepa is a fairly small language spoken by about five hundred people. According to the latest National Census of 2009, there are 387 people living on the island of Lelepa, in the single village of Nataɸ̃ao (Vanuatu National Statistics Office 2009:4). About one hundred Lelepa speakers live in the village of Mangaliliu, and a further small number of speakers live in the capital Port-Vila. On Lelepa, the village of Nataɸ̃ao comprises groupings of several traditional villages and was established as people left the interior of the island at the end of the 19th Century, when Christianity started to spread. Mangaliliu was established much more recently, in 1983 (Chief Kalkot Mormor pers. comm.). There is no dialectal variation between Nataɸ̃ao and Mangaliliu, and daily contact occurs between residents of both settlements.

Most children in the community learn Lelepa as their first language, but the language is not taught in the local schools, except at the kindergarten level. Speakers often point out that language transmission is an issue in families in which the father originates from Lelepa while the mother comes from another language group. In such situations, the language of the household is Bislama,[2] which often results in the children having Bislama as their first language. While exogamous marriage is the usual practice in Lelepa, in the past women marrying into the community used to learn the language, so that the dominant language in the family was Lelepa. In more recent times however, Bislama has crept in to become the dominant language in some households. This situation is regarded as the main risk factor for language endangerment by Lelepa people. During my fieldwork I have indeed observed that Bislama is the main language in some households; however, I have also witnessed many examples of children using Bislama with their mothers and Lelepa with other Lelepa speakers.

[2] Bislama is the national language of Vanuatu. It is a creole language in which the lexicon is primarily based on English, with a small percentage of words coming from French.

This shows that language transmission can be achieved even when the mother is not a Lelepa speaker. This, however, should not detract from the fact that language transmission is an issue for the future generation of Lelepa speakers.

1.1.4 Language ecology and language use

The languages of central Vanuatu (see map 1.2) are part of a dialect chain (Lynch and Crowley 2001:108) which involves South Efate, Nakanamanga, Lelepa and Namakir. In addition, two Polynesian outliers, Mele-Fila and Emae, are spoken in the region. Lelepa shares a language boundary with Mele-Fila to the south,[3] and with Nakanamanga to the North. Lelepa does not share a direct language boundary with South Efate, but Lelepa and South Efate speakers have been in sustained contact throughout the history of the region. Geographically, Lelepa is stuck between Nakanamanga and South Efate, which are also much bigger languages, with 6,000 speakers for South Efate and 9,500 for Nakanamanga (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2001:106).

When Christianity started to spread in the area at the end of the 19th Century, Lelepa speakers used South Efate as a church and education language. Later, they turned to the Nguna variety of Nakanamanga for use in these two domains (George Munalpa & Steven Mariofa pers. comm.). In contrast, Lelepa was never used as a church language nor education language. As a result, Lelepa people became very familiar with South Efate and Nguna, to the point that today, many people over the age of forty are fully competent in one of these two languages, if not both. Currently, neither South Efate nor Nakanamanga are used in education, and only Nguna remains as Church language, but now solely used for religious hymns. However, a strong connection between Lelepa speakers and these two languages remains, especially through marriage, as Nguna and South Efate women often marry into Lelepa. The other connection is through literacy. Although there is no strong writing tradition in the community, people tend to write in either South Efate or Nakanamanga, especially if they have been schooled in one of these languages. They also read in these two languages, as the few reading resources available are hymns and bible translations in Nguna and South Efate. An example of local writing is the diary of Chief Mormor, the chief of Mangaliliu in the eighties. His diary is written mostly in Nguna, with a few Bislama passages, probably because he was schooled in Nguna and also because it was the dominant church language. Another, more recent example of the strong connection with Nakanamanga can be seen with the local Lelepa

[3] The other Polynesian outlier, Emae, is spoken on the island of Emae in the Shepherds Islands.

string band.[4] The dozen young men who play in the band write songs in Bislama or Nakanamanga. When asked why they were not using Lelepa, they replied that Nguna was easier for them to sing in, because that was the language used by previous string-band members to write songs. Interestingly, the name of the string-band itself, *Leo Rongo Wia*, is Ngunese, and the band designed a tee-shirt with Ngunese slogans as well.

At the time of Independence in 1980, French and English became the languages of education in Vanuatu, and consequently schooling in Nguna was stopped for Lelepa children. Currently, Lelepa children are educated in either English or French in the two primary schools of the community: Lelo School is an English school located on Lelepa, while Amaroa School is a French school based in Mangaliliu. However there are two kindergartens on Lelepa in which Lelepa is the medium of education.

Inter-generational variation is a striking feature of Lelepa, as seen particularly in its phonology. The phonological process of vowel reduction (see 2.5.1) is widespread and can be observed when comparing the speech of different generations of speakers. Young speakers' speech reflects a stage in which the process has been fully applied, that is, vowels occurring in the relevant environment are reduced if not deleted altogether. In contrast, older speakers show considerable variation, and in their speech vowels either fully surface or are reduced but still pronounced, and less often deleted.

1.2 Typological profile

The phonemic inventory is of medium to small size, with fourteen consonants and five vowels. There are two typologically rare consonants, the labial-velars /k͡p^{w}/ and /ŋ͡m^{w}/. Voicing of consonants is not contrastive and occurs in the vicinity of other voiced segments. Vowels /a e i o u/are regularly centralised before alveolars (except for /a/) and lengthened when stressed. Vowel length is contrastive for central /a/ only, but has a low functional load and tends to be neutralised in fast speech. Stress is predictable: primary stress falls on the penultimate mora, and a secondary stress is assigned every second mora to the left. Some words starting with the prefixed article *na-* 'ART' are exceptional and receive initial stress. The syllable is potentially complex. It minimally comprises a sonorant in the nucleus, up to three consonants in the onset and a maximum of two consonants in the coda. Only a single consonant in the coda is allowed if three consonants occur in the onset, and there are only a

[4] String bands are popular music groups comprising acoustic instruments (guitars, ukuleles, a bush-bass and percussion). They exist in many villages in Vanuatu and perform during festive events.

few syllables with two consonants in the onset and two consonants in the coda. The most important phonological process is vowel reduction, which occurs in the immediate environment of stress and is loosely conditioned by inter-generational variation. It is a significant driver of language change, with younger speakers showing the tendency to reduce vowels drastically while older speakers tend to preserve full forms.

The morphological structure is agglutinative, but many grammatical features are encoded by independent particles, especially in the verb complex, which also has a few clitics surrounding the verb to encode participant reference. Other features encoded by particles in the verb complex are aspect, modality, negation, reflexivity/reciprocality, direction and posture/position. One of the few suffixes occurring on verbs is the transitiviser *–ki* 'TR', along with some object markers. There is more affixation in the nominal domain: inflectional affixes include possessor-indexing suffixes marking inalienable possession, the prefix *na-* 'ART' encoding genericity, and the nominaliser suffix *–na* 'NMLZ'. Nouns are distinguished morphologically on their ability to take possessor-indexing suffixes, in which case they are called bound nouns, and contrast with free nouns. Kin terms are the only bound nouns which must occur with these suffixes, while other bound nouns can occur as bare stems. Free nouns, in contrast, never take possessor-indexing suffixes. Compounding is a feature of both nouns and verbs, and compounds can be phonological (several roots combine into a single phonological word) or phrasal (several roots combine but each is phonologically independent).

Word classes are clearly defined, and the main classes are nouns and verbs. Typologically notable classes include a small closed class of adjectives, the class of directionals which encode spatial reference, and post-verbs which modify verbs and encode manner, aspect and intensification. Stative intransitive verbs occur as noun modifiers to encode typical adjectival meanings not encoded by the 'true' adjectives. Other word classes are pronouns, numerals, two classes of adverbs (phrasal and sentential), free possessive pronominals, determiners and prepositions. Nominals can be derived through nominalisation of verb roots, or through subtantivisation with *te* 'SBST'. Substantivisation derives referential items and applies to all non-referential classes of words; that is, all word classes except for nouns and pronouns.

There are two types of NPs depending on whether the head is a noun or a pronoun. NPs with head nouns can be complex while those with pronouns can only have a single modifier. NPs are left-headed, except for the distributive *sara* 'each' which occurs pre-head. Relative clauses are the final element of the NP. Both NP types follow a rigid order, but

variation exists in some possessive constructions in which the usual order possessum-possessor is reversed to encode intensification of the possessive relationship.

Possession in Oceanic languages is typically described in terms of the semantic distinction of inalienability, and a grammatical distinction, known as direct/indirect possession, that is determined by the position of possessor suffixes which occur either on the possessum noun or a relational classifier. While Lelepa shows this semantic opposition, the constructions have diverged and the opposition between direct and indirect possession is not relevant to the system. In particular, relational classifiers are not found in Lelepa, and a construction reflecting alienable relationships distinguishes between human and non-human possessors.

Subjects, objects and obliques are coded through word order and participant-indexing bound morphemes. Of typological interest is the lexical split dividing objects along two classes of transitive verbs. This split is likely to have its source in a semantic distinction between significantly affected Ps (i.e. patients) and less affected Ps (e.g. stimuli, locations, goals, themes). However, since borrowed transitive verbs are systematically classified with verbs taking less affected Ps regardless of the degree of affectedness of their P, this semantic division does not allow accurate predictions. The coding of object and oblique arguments with clitics is complex due to several interacting properties. First, both phonological and lexical conditioning of object markers makes the system more complex on the surface than it is underlyingly. Second, while there is a multiplicity of bound forms encoding the same relation (i.e. object), there is only a single form, *=s*, which encodes certain objects as well as obliques. The distribution of *=s* shows a double case of syncretism, first in the marking of grammatical relations, but also in that of number, as *=s* collapses singular and plural. Ditransitive alignment is secundative, with primary and secondary objects coded by order and distinct sets of bound object markers.

The order of core arguments in the clause is Subject-Verb-Primary Object-Secondary Object. Oblique arguments follow the object(s), and adjuncts occur in initial or final position in the clause. An unusual exception to this is the position of the beneficiary participant, which receives dedicated coding in terms of formal marking and position. It is encoded by the benefactive phrase, an adjunct realised either as a prepositional phrase introduced by *mag* 'BEN' or by a benefactive pronoun. It occurs between the subject and the verb, an unusual position for an adjunct, and makes the verb complex a discontinuous structure. While cross-linguistically unusual in terms of its position and specialised semantics, similar constituents are

found in other central Vanuatu languages, which appear to make these languages distinctive in the Vanuatu context.

Like many of its sister languages, Lelepa has retained serial verb constructions, but has also developed other verbal constructions grouped in the class of complex predicates, which encode complex events in a single clause. They comprise constructions with auxiliary verbs, serial verbs, post-verbs and clause-final particles, and encode the types of distinctions denoted by serial verbs in other Oceanic languages.

Aspect and modality are central categories but are encoded by a range of different constructions. In contrast, tense is not a grammatical category, but time reference is encoded by temporal adverbs and adjunct NPs. Every clause is obligatorily marked for mood, while aspect is optionally expressed. Irrealis mood and epistemic modality are both encoded by means of preverbal particles, while other modalities and aspect can be encoded in various locations in the verb complex, and by various constructions. These include dedicated particles (epistemic modality, imperfective, perfect), as well as serial verb constructions, auxiliary constructions and other types of complex predicates encoding a wide range of aspectual and modal distinctions.

Coordination of clauses and NPs include conjunctive, disjunctive, adversative, sequential and simultaneity coordination. This is done by dedicated coordinators as well as asyndetic coordination. Subordinating structures comprise complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. In terms of relativisation, the language relativises all positions in the NP Accessibility Hierarchy and uses a pronoun retention strategy for relativized arguments and a gapping strategy for relativized adjuncts.

1.3 Previous studies

There are few linguistic studies dedicated to Lelepa itself, but there are quite a few studies of the languages of the area. This section only addresses linguistic work dedicated to Lelepa.

Miller 1945 is a brief grammar sketch comprising brief lists of targeted vocabulary (body parts, kin terms, numbers, etc) and grammatical words (prepositions, adjectives, adverbs, etc).

Lacrampe 2009 is an unpublished MA thesis giving an account of the expression of possession. It is accessible here: https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/10440/1026

Lacrampe 2011 is a published paper on vowel reduction showing that this phenomenon reflects inter-generational variation and language change. It is accessible here: https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/9402/5/Lacrampe_Simplifying2012.pdf

1.4 The present study

1.4.1 Fieldwork and methodology

This study presents an analysis of grammatical topics based on linguistic data collected over several periods of fieldwork in Natapao and Mangaliliu. The first period of fieldwork was conducted in 2007 and the final one in 2012, for a total of over thirteen months. There were two longer periods of fieldwork of four months each in 2009 and 2012.

Most of the data consists of texts produced by speakers, often as a result of my prompting. They comprise traditional narratives, personal life stories, procedural texts, natural conversations, public speeches, songs and lullabies. Traditional narratives are of two kinds: *nakai* are folktales involving humans, animals and local supernatural creatures such as the *mutuama* 'ogre' and anthropomorphised taboo stones. The other traditional narratives are *naluokia*. They are similar to proverbs in that they are the length of a sentence and contain messages relevant to everyday life on Lelepa. When recording *naluokia*, I would ask the speaker to explain their meaning in their own terms. Personal life stories are narratives in which a speaker would recount a particular event in his or her life, either on my suggestion or of their own choice. These include personal experiences such as travels to foreign countries, as well as events relating to historical events. Procedural texts always resulted from my prompting and consist of one or two speakers describing a traditional but still contemporary activity: mat weaving, cooking, fishing, hunting, gardening, house building and canoe making. For recordings of procedural texts I used video as much as possible. Natural conversations, in contrast, were not staged: I would take a walk in the village and if I found people chatting at the front of their house or under trees, I would simply seek their consent to record the conversation. I would place my recorder and microphone in a location as innocuous as possible and leave, then come back after a few minutes, to let the speakers familiarise themselves with such an unnatural intrusion. I would also participate in the conversation if invited or if I considered it appropriate. Public speeches often take place during traditional ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, chiefly title ordinations, and so forth. As such activities require a considerable amount of planning; I was able to arrange speakers' consent for my

recording in advance. As speakers became acquainted with my project I was increasingly invited to record particular events, either because the speaker has an interest in documenting a particular activity or simply saw it as a way to help me.

The other type of data consists of elicitation on topics of my choosing: nominal and verbal paradigms, noun phrases, serial verbs and other complex predicates, coordination and subordination. Those sessions were audio-recorded while I was taking notes at the same time. Elicitation was used in each fieldtrip; however, it is during the last visits that most targeted elicitation was conducted, following considerable analysis of the narratives and natural conversations. Elicitation sessions during the 2012 fieldtrip were conducted monolingually.

Recordings were transcribed in the field with speakers, and these transcriptions were transferred to digital files using the annotation software ELAN.[5] Transcribing with speakers had many advantages: further questions on particular linguistic issues were able to be asked, orthographic conventions were discussed, and speakers could provide alternative formulations of particular pieces of discourse, especially to replace borrowings or when they detected a speech error. It should be noted that borrowings have been kept in the data used in this study as they represent valuable data. However, in the literacy resources jointly produced with speakers, borrowings were replaced with Lelepa words.[6]

1.4.2 Corpus and examples used in this study

During fieldtrips I recorded about 20.5 hours of texts. A large part of these recordings is organised in a searchable corpus of about 100 texts, which represents 13 hours of the total recordings. These are currently being archived with PARADISEC[7] and ELDP[8]. The ELAN transcriptions were exported to Toolbox[9] for interlinearisation and building of a dictionary (currently about 2,000 entries), then exported back in ELAN for further annotation. In this study, examples are presented in interlinearised form as seen in (2) and (3). The first line is in the practical orthography (see 2.6) and presents morphemic breaks. The second line gives glosses for each morpheme, and the third line is a free English translation. Examples from

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[5] Elan is freely downloadable here: http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/download/ (Last accessed on April 01, 2014)
[6] These literary resources were produced as part of the Lelepa Language Project: http://chiefroimatasdomain.com/?page_id=144 (Last accessed April 05, 2014)
[7] See http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/SL1 (Last accessed on April 01, 2014)
[8] see http://www.hrelp.org/grants/projects/index.php?projid=295 (Last accessed on April 01, 2014)
[9] Toolbox is freely downloadable here: http://www-01.sil.org/computing/toolbox/downloads.htm (Last accessed on April 01, 2014)

natural texts have three lines, as in (2), while with elicited examples such as (3), a fourth line specifying '[elicited]'. It should also be noted that in chapter 2 on phonology, as well as in a few other places in this study, phonetic transcriptions of data are provided when relevant.

(2) Ur=**to** pat n-sale-na, ur=**to** taakae.
3PL.S=IPFV make ART-dance-NMLZ 3PL.S=IPFV dance
'They were having a dance ceremony, they were dancing.'

(3) nɸou konou
head 1SG
'my head'
[elicited]

Chapter 2 — Phonology

2.1 Introduction

At the underlying level, the phonological system of Lelepa is typical of Oceanic languages. With fourteen consonants and five vowels, and a dominant penultimate stress pattern, the language fits the Oceanic picture quite well (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:34-35). However, the system behaves in interesting ways, particularly with regards to the derivation of surface forms. Underlying forms are altered significantly to arrive at surface forms, and phonological and morphophonological processes play an important role. The most important phonological process is that of vowel deletion, which is widespread and probably the most significant driver of phonological change in the language, to the point that positing underlying forms is difficult in some cases (Lacrampe 2012). In addition, while there is a dominant penultimate stress pattern, there are also variations away from it, which contributes to making Lelepa different from other Oceanic languages.

The chapter is organised in six parts. Section 2.2 is dedicated to segmental phonology, providing minimal phonemic contrasts and describing the phonemes and their allophones. Section 2.3 discusses syllable structure and shows the different syllable types occurring in the language. Section 2.4 explores Lelepa phonotactics, segment distribution and stress. Section 2.5 analyses the most prominent phonological processes observed in the language. Finally, the orthographic system is introduced in section 2.6. Detailed phonetic transcriptions of data are given throughout, along with their phonemic representations. Note that phonetic transcriptions of all attested realisations are not always given, especially if a particular transcription is not relevant to the discussion at hand. Starting from chapter 3, all example sentences are given in their orthographic representation.

2.2 Segmental Phonology

2.2.1 Phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventories below present the fourteen consonants (Table 2.1) and the five vowels (Table 2.2) found in the language. The consonantal system is fairly typical of Oceanic in terms of number of places of articulations, but somewhat unusual in that the four plosives do

not contrast in voicing or other types of manner of articulation. Places of articulation of stops and nasals match, and the language has a contrast between the liquids /l/ and /ɾ/. Labials, that is, labial-velars, bilabials and labiodentals make up the largest classes of sounds in the language. Nasals and liquids may be syllabic in certain environments (see 2.5.3).[1] The series of stops and nasals include coarticulated labial-velars. These are cross-linguistically unusual but typical of the area. They are recorded in Lelepa's neighbours South Efate (Thieberger 2006:47, 51) and Nguna (Schütz 1969:15-16), as well as in more distant relatives such as Anejom̃ (Lynch 2000:14), Lewo (Early 1994:49, 50), North-East Ambae (Hyslop 2001:28) and Mwotlap (François 2001:54), amongst others. The language also has two fricatives and two glides. The phonemic status of the glides and particularly of the palatal /j/ is not straightforward and needs some justification (see 2.2.3.5). Allophonic variation of consonants is discussed in 2.2.3.

	labial-velar	**bilabial**	**labiodental**	**alveolar**	**palatal**	**velar**
stop	k͡pʷ	p		t		k
fricative			f	s		
nasal	ŋ͡mʷ	m		n		ŋ
lateral				l		
trill				ɾ		
glide	w				j	

Table 2.1. Consonants

With five phonemic vowels and contrastive length, the vocalic system is fairly typical of an Oceanic language. However, the system also behaves in its own ways, especially regarding vocalic realisation and length. First, there is quite a lot of variation in vocalic realisation – see 2.2.4.3 which discusses the main allophones of the vowels. A phonetic schwa also occurs in a number of environments: as an allophone of /e/, and as an epenthetic vowel separating consonant clusters both morpheme-internally and across morpheme boundaries. Second, while the vocalic system has contrastive vowel length, this feature has a low functional load. Table 2.2 shows that contrastive vowel length only exists for /a/-/aa/. Very few contrastive pairs are attested (see 2.2.4.1) and it is unclear if additional length contrasts exist beyond those posited in this table. As vowels are commonly lengthened when stressed, it is not straightforward to determine whether particular vowel realisations are phonemically short or long (see 2.2.4.3).

[1] Nasals and liquids are grouped together in the table as they form a natural class in the language, which I will refer to as sonorants. They behave similarly in some ways, for instance in their propensity to be syllabic under certain conditions.

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a – aa	

Table 2.2. Vowels

2.2.2 A preliminary note on final vowel reduction

Reduction of final vowels is widespread in the language and is relevant to many of the allophony rules concerning both consonants and vowels. Thus it is important to introduce this process briefly here (see 2.5.1.1 for a detailed discussion). On the surface, it is manifested by a range of realisations of the final vowels, which may be fully realised, devoiced, centralised (in the case of /i/ and /a/) or fully truncated. This is shown in (1). In this example, the single lexeme *nati* 'banana' is assigned two phonemic representations: a vowel-final one and a consonant-final one. Both representations point to a single vowel-final underlying form. Note also that in this example, the vowel-final representation has two phonetic realisations, one with final /i/ fully realised and the other with final /i/ devoiced:

(1)	/nati/	['na.ti]~['na.t̥i̥]	'banana'
	/nat/	[nat]~[nat̚]	'banana'

Final vowel reduction is not conditioned by a phonological feature (other than the immediate proximity of stress), but rather reflects a phonological change in progress in the language. It is found in the speech of all speakers, but more so in that of younger speakers. Older speakers on the other hand are more conservative and tend to use full, vowel-final forms more often. Since the change is in progress, final vowel reduction is optional. This is shown by the data given in this chapter, where two phonemic forms of the same lexeme may be given, a vowel-final one and a consonant-final one.

A consequence of this phenomenon is that it can be difficult to know whether a particular surface form is underlyingly vowel-final or not. However, final vowels can be recovered in lexemes which host enclitics such as the nominaliser =*na* 'NMLZ', the enclitic =s '3SG.OBJ; 3OBL', or the object enclitic =*nia* '3SG.OBJ'. In (2), the verb *tina* 'be.pregnant' is shown in its consonant-final form *tin*, and in its nominalised form *natinana* 'pregnancy.' During the enclitisation process, the final vowel of the root surfaces, showing that the underlying form of the verb is the vowel-final *tina*. In addition, this vowel surfaces in a stressed position, which forces a full realisation, and shows that stress is determined before final vowel deletion:

(2)	/e=tin/	[e.tɨn]	‘3SG.S=be.pregnant’
	/e=tina/	[e.ˈti.nɐ]	‘3SG.S=be.pregnant’
	/na=tina=na/	[nɐ.ti.ˈna.nɐ]	‘pregnancy’

In (3), the verb *maroa* ‘think’ is shown with two distinct vowel-final forms, and in its nominalised form. Note that in the first phonetic form, *maro* receives final stress, which is not expected on CV-final forms (see 2.4.3). This is a clue that *maro* is a truncated form and that its underlying form is CVV final. This is seen in the following form *maroa* ‘think’ and in the nominalised form *namaroana* ‘thought, idea’:

(3)	/e=to maro/	[ˈe.to ma.ˈro]	‘3SG.S=IPFV think’
	/e=to maroa/	[ˈe.to ma.ˈro.wɐ]	‘3SG.S=IPFV think’
	/na=maroa=na/	[nɐ.ˌma.ro.ˈwa.nɐ]	‘thought, idea’

This process is also relevant to consonants and vowels preceding all final vowels. When a final vowel is truncated from an underlyingly CV-final form, the previous consonant finds itself in final position and its realisation is affected. Stops are the most affected class: alveolars may be aspirated or unreleased, while velars preceded by a back vowel may either be pushed back into the vocal tract and surface as uvular stops, or surface as velar fricatives, as seen in (4):

(4)	/psruk/	[psruq]~[psruχ]	‘speak’
	/e=sok/	[e.ˈsɔq]~[e.ˈsɔχ]	‘it jumped’

Other consonants are either slightly affected or not affected at all: fricatives may be slightly lengthened in final position after final vowel loss, while nasals do not vary between a final or non-final position. See 2.2.3 for a detailed discussion of consonant allophony.

When the final vowel is fully deleted, the process also affects preceding vowels if a consonant occurs between them, as with /sili/ and /sil/ ‘enter’ in (5). This example shows that following the deletion of final /i/, medial /i/ is centralised to [ɨ], due to the fact that front and back vowel are centralised before an alveolar coda (see 2.2.4.2)

(5)	/sili/	['si.li]~['si.l̥i]	'enter'
	/sil/	[sɨl]	'enter'
	/sili=s/	[si.lɨs]	'enter=3OBL'

2.2.3 Consonants

2.2.3.1 Stops

This section discusses the three stops articulated at a single place, while the co-articulated labial-velar plosive is discussed in 2.2.3.6. Voicing is not contrastive for all Lelepa stops, which can be realised as voiced in certain environments. Plosive contrast is shown in (6):

(6)	/k͡pʷat=ia/	[k͡pʷa.'ti.ja]~[k͡pʷa.'ti]	'hit=3SG.OBJ'
	/pat=ia/	[pa.'ti.ja]~[pa.'ti]	'make=3SG.OBJ'
	/taatia/	[taː.'ti.ja]~[taː.'ti]	'paternal grandmother'
	/kat=ia/	[ka.'ti.ja]~[ka.'ti]	'bite=3SG.OBJ'

- Bilabial /p/

Example (9) shows that /p/ is mostly realised as a plain voiceless bilabial stop when occurring initially or medially:

(7)	/p/→[p]		
	/pepe/	['pe.pe]	'butterfly'
	/puka/	['pu.qa]	'swell'

However, it is optionally voiced when following a nasal, occurring between a liquid and a vowel or intervocalically, as shown in (9):

(8) /p/→[p]~[b]/[+voice]_[+voice]

(9)	/p/→[p]~[b]		
	/npat/	[n̥.'patʰ]~[n̥.'batʰ]	'tooth'
	/alpat/	[ɐl.'patʰ]~[ɐl.'batʰ]	'p.name'
	/kapua/	[kɐ.'pu]~[kɐ.'bu]~[kɐ.'bu.wɐ]~[kɐ.'pu.wɐ]	'laplap'
	/napua/	[nɐ.'pu.wa]~[nɐ.'bu.wa]~[nɐ.'pu]~[nɐ.'bu]	'road'

Less frequently, /p/ occurs in word-final position, especially after loss of a final vowel as seen in (12). In this position it surfaces either aspirated or unreleased:

(10) /p/→[pʰ]~[pˀ]/_#

(11) /p/→[pʰ]

/e=tap/	[eˑtapʰ]	‘taboo=3SG.S’
/napap/	[nɐˑpapʰ]~[nɐˑbapʰ]	‘shoulder’

(12) /p/→[pˀ]

/nkapu/	[n̩ˑkap̚]~[n̩ˑgap̚]~ [n̩ˑka.pu]	‘fire’
/taljopu/	[tɐlˑjɔpˀ]~[tɐlˑjo.pu]	‘turn around’
/muntopu/	[mʉnˑtɔpˀ]~[mʉnˑto.pu]	‘p.name’

- Alveolar /t/

/t/ has a similar allophonic range as /p/, with unvoiced, voiced, aspirated and unreleased allophones. These allophones are realised in similar environments to the /p/ allophones. Thus /t/ surfaces as a plain voiceless alveolar stop word-initially and medially, including when it occurs in a complex onset:

(13) /t/→[t]

/toto/	[ˈto.to]	‘sea cucumber’
/atlak/	[aˑtlax]	‘start’

When occurring between voiced segments, it is optionally voiced as shown in (14):

(14) /t/→[t]~[d]/[+voice]_[+voice]

/t/→[t]~[d]

/nta/	[n̩ˑta]~[n̩ˑda]	‘all right’
/mtak/	[m̩ˑtakʰ~[m̩ˑdakʰ]	‘afraid’
/ntale/	[n̩ˑta.le]~[n̩ˑdale]	‘taro’
/faatu/	[ˈfaːˑtu]~[ˈfaːˑdu]	‘stone’
/atlake/	[ɐˑtla.ke]~[ɐˑtlax]~[ɐˑdlax]	‘start’

/t/ is optionally aspirated or unreleased in word-final position:

(15) /t/→[tʰ]~[tˀ]/_#

(16) /t/→[tʰ]

/napat/	[nɐˑpatʰ]	‘tooth’

(17) /t/→[tˀ]

/nafat/	[nɐˑfatˀ]	‘bone’

- Velar /k/

Like /p/ and /t/, /k/ has voiceless, voiced, aspirated and unreleased allophones. It surfaces as a plain voiceless velar stop before any segment if the preceding or following segment is voiceless:

(18) /k/→[k]/_Ç̥
/Ç̥_

(19) /k/→[k]

/naktaf/	[nɐk.'taf]	'p.name'
/naskau/	[nɐs.'kaw]	'reef'
/natkar/	[nɐt.'kar]	'chiefly power'
/e=ksum=ia/~	[ek.su.'mi]~[ek.su.'mi.jɐ]	
	'3SG.S=husk=3SG.OBJ'	
/e=ksum=i/		

When preceded and followed by voiced segments, /k/ optionally surfaces as [g], as shown in (20):

(20) /k/→[k]~[g]/[+voice]_[+voice]

/k/→[k]~[g]

/nkasu/~/nkas/	[n̩.'kas]~[n̩.'gas]	'tree'
/siko/	['si.ko]~['si.go]	'squirrelfish'
/pakoa/~/pako/	[pa.'ko.wɐ]~[pa.'go.wɐ]	
	~[pa.'ko]~[pa.'go]	'shark'

In final position, /k/ surfaces as an aspirated or unreleased voiceless velar plosive:

(21) /k/→[kʰ]~[kˀ]

/nkarkiki/~ /nkarkik/	[n̩.kɐr.'gikˀ]~[n̩.kɐr.gikʰ]~ [n̩.kɐr.'gi.gi]	'children'
/palseki/~ /palsek/	[pɐl.'sɛkˀ]~[pɐl.'sɛkʰ]~[pɐl.'se.ki]	'paddle'

After back vowels and /a/, /k/ surfaces as a uvular plosive or fricative:

(22) /k/→[q]~[χ]

/psruk/	[psruq]~[psruχ]	'speak'
/e=sok/	[e.ˈsɔq]~[e.ˈsɔχ]	'it jumped'
/makala/~ /makal/	[ma.ˈqal]~[ma.ˈχal]~[mɐ.ˈka.lɐ]	'sharp'
/msak/	[m̩.ˈsaq]~[m̩.ˈsaχ]	'sick'

Nevertheless, there can also be a fair amount of variation in the realisation of final /k/. Compare the three realisations of *mtak* 'afraid' in (24). They are taken from a wordlist in which the same speaker utters this word three times in a row, with three different realisations of /k/:

(23) /k/→[kʰ]~[kˀ]~[χ]/_#

(24) /k/→[kʰ]

/mtak/	[m̩.ˈtakʰ]~[m̩.ˈtak̚]~[m̩.ˈtaχ]	'afraid'

2.2.3.2 Nasals

Lelepa has four nasals, three of which are simple segments articulated at a single place of articulation (bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/) and another one that is a complex segment, the coarticulated labial-velar nasal /ŋ͡mʷ/. The sub-minimal pairs given in (25) below show the contrast between these phonemes:

(25)

/ŋ͡mʷae/	[ŋ͡mʷaj]~[ŋ͡mʷaj]	'away'
/mae/	[maj]~[ˈma.e]	'jump'
/nae/	[naj]~[ˈna.e]	'3SG'
/ŋaeŋae/	[ŋɐj.ˈŋaj]~[ˌŋa.e.ˈŋa.e]	'pant'

- Bilabial /m/

/m/ does not vary in its phonetic realisation and surfaces as [m] in all environments. Its distribution is not restricted and it combines with most segments. /m/ occurs in simple onsets, in second position in complex onsets and in codas.

(26) /m/→[m]

/mesa/	[ˈme.sa]	'today'
/mlat/	[mlat]~[mlatʰ]	'cold'
/lima/	[ˈli.ma]	'five'
/namlas/	[nɐm.ˈlas]	'forest'
/faam/	[faːm]	'eat:F'
/naaram/	[naː.ˈram]	'and'

Word-initially, /m/is syllabified before obstruents. This syllabification is optionally realised with the addition of an epenthetic schwa before the nasal:

(27)	/m/→[m̩]		
	/mpan/	[m̩.ˈpan]~[m̩.ˈban]	
		~ [əm̩.ˈpan]~[əm̩.ˈban]	‘away’
	/mtak/	[m̩.ˈtak^{h}]~[əm̩.ˈtak^{h}]	
		~[m̩.ˈdak^{h}]~[əm̩.ˈdak^{h}]	‘afraid’
	/msak/	[m̩.ˈsak^{h}]~[əm.ˈsak^{h}]	
		[m̩.ˈzak^{h}]~[əm.ˈzak^{h}]	‘sick’

- Alveolar /n/

Similarly to /m/, /n/ does not undergo allophonic variation and has an unrestricted distribution. It occurs in onsets, codas and as syllable nuclei before obstruents. Within words, it occurs initially, medially and finally:

(28)	/n/→[n]		
	/nuwai/	[nu.ˈwa.i]	‘water’
	/nlaŋ/	[nlaŋ]	‘wind’
	/taanu/	[ˈtaː.nu]	‘spit’
	/manfenfe/	[mɐn.ˈfɛn.fe]	‘thin’
	/e=len/	[e.ˈlɛn]	‘straight’
	/tan/	[tan]	‘downwards’

Like /m/, it is syllabified word-initially, before obstruents:

(29)	/n/→[n̩]		
	/npat/	[n̩.ˈpat^{h}]~[ən.ˈpat^{h}]	
		~[n̩.ˈbat^{h}]~[ən.ˈbat^{h}]	‘tooth’
	/nta/	[n̩.ˈta]~[ən.ˈta]~[n̩.ˈda]~[ən̩.ˈda]	‘all right’
	/nkas/	[n̩.ˈkas]~[ən.ˈkas]	
		~[n̩.ˈgas]~[ən.ˈgas]	‘tree’
	/nsfa/	[n̩.ˈsfa]~[ən.ˈsfa]	
		~[n̩.ˈsva]~[ən.ˈsva]	‘what’
	/nfat/	[n̩.ˈfat^{h}]~[ən.ˈfat^{h}]	
		~[n̩.ˈvat^{h}]~[ən.ˈvat^{h}]	‘bone’

- Velar /ŋ/

The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ has a wide distribution, but is slightly more restricted than the other nasals /n/ and /m/: it does not occur word-initially before obstruents, and thus does not undergo syllabification. Other than that, it combines with most other segments and occurs as

an onset, a coda and in consonant clusters. Within words, it occurs initially, medially and finally:

(30) /ŋ/→[ŋ]

/paŋau/	[pɐ.ˈŋau]	‘fish sp’
/ŋot/	[ŋɔt]	‘dark’
/ŋisu/	[ˈŋi.su]	‘squirrelfish’
/laŋ/	[laŋ]	‘canoe nail’
/ŋ͡mʷlatiŋ/	[ŋ͡mʷlɐ.ˈtiŋ]	‘close’
/fatenleŋ/	[ˌfa.tɛn.ˈlɛŋ]	‘p.name’
/ŋruni/	[ŋrun]	‘female’
/lŋaki/	[l̩.ˈŋa.ki]	‘marry’
/nŋe/	[n̩.ˈŋe]~[nə.ˈŋe]	‘DEF’

2.2.3.3 Fricatives

Lelepa has two fricatives, the labio-dental /f/ and the alveolar /s/. Contrasts between these two segments and stops are shown in (31):

(31)

/fa/	[fa]	‘go:IRR’
/sa/	[sa]	‘bad’
/ta/	[ta]	‘cut’
/ufa/	[ˈu.fɐ]	‘carry with head’
/usa/	[ˈu.sɐ]	‘rain’
/uta/	[ˈu.tɐ]	‘landwards’
/fua/	[ˈfu.wɐ]	‘blue fly’
/sua/	[ˈsu.wɐ]	‘PRF’
/tua/	[ˈsu.wɐ]	‘give’

- Labio-dental /f/

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative which surfaces as [f] word-initially and finally, and optionally as [v] between voiced segments:

(32) /f/→[f]

/faatu/	[ˈfaː.tu]~[ˈfaː.du]	‘stone’
/naktaf/	[nak.ˈtaf]	‘p.name’

(33) /f/→[f]~[v]

/k͡pʷa=fa/	[k͡pʷɐ.ˈfa]~[k͡pʷɐ.ˈva]	‘2SG.S:IRR=go:’
/k͡pʷa=fnoti/	[k͡pʷɐf.ˈnɔt]~[k͡pʷɐv.ˈnɔt] ~[k͡pʷaf.ˈnɔti]~[k͡pʷav.ˈnɔti]	‘2SG.S:IRR=come:IRR’
/kafe/	[ˈka.fe]~[ˈka.ve]	‘crab sp.’
/nalfa/	[ˈnal.fa]~[ˈnal.va]	‘track’

- Alveolar /s/

Similarly to the other fricative, /s/ surfaces as a plain voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in most environments and is optionally voiced between voiced segments:

(34) /s/→[s]

/seŋ/	[sɛŋ]	‘yes’
/sufate/	[su.ˈfat]~ [su.ˈfa.te]	‘south wind’
/ntas/	[n̩.ˈtas]~[n̩.ˈdas]	‘sea’

(35) /s/→[z]~[s]

/natusina/	[ˌna.tu.ˈsin]~[ˌna.tu.ˈzin] ~ [ˌna.tu.ˈsi.nɐ]~[ˌna.tu.ˈzi.nɐ]	‘story’
/naŋsa/	[ˈnaŋ.sa]~[ˈnaŋ.za]	‘when’

After /t/, [s] undergoes optional palatalisation, a variation attested for a few speakers only:

(36) /s/→[s]~[ɕ]

/latsa/	[ˈlat.sa]~[ˈlat.ɕa]	‘six’

(37) /s/→[s]~[ʃ]

/mut suk=ia/ tightly=3SG.OBJ’	[ˌmut.su.ˈki]~[ˌmut.ʃu.ˈki]	‘fasten

2.2.3.4 Liquids

Lelepa has two liquids, the alveolar lateral /l/ and the alveolar trill /r/. Contrast between these two phonemes is shown with the minimal pairs in (38):

(38)

/walaa/	[wa.ˈlaː]	‘spear’
/waraa/	[wa.ˈraː]	‘here’

/kul/	[kul]	'new skin'
/kur/	[kur]	'2PL.S'
/pra/	[pra]	'crash'
/pla/	[pla]	'pick'
/loa/	['lo.wa]~[lo]	'black'
/roa/	['ro.wa]~[ro]	'fall'

- Lateral /l/

/l/ is an alveolar lateral which surfaces as [l] in all environments. Similarly to nasals, /l/ is syllabified before obstruents, a process that can be avoided by the insertion of an epenthetic schwa. It has a wide distribution and occurs initially, medially and finally:

(39) /l/→[l]

/laŋo/	['la.ŋo]	'fly'
/tolu/	['to.lu]	'three'
/slae/	['sla.e]	'help'
/kal/	[kal]	'digging stick'

(40) /l/→[l]~[l̩]

/lfot/	[l̩.'fɵt^{h}]~[lə.'fɵt^{h}]~[əl.'fɵt^{h}] ~[l̩.'vɵt^{h}]~[lə.'vɵt^{h}]~[əl.'vɵt^{h}]	'nine'
/lkot/	[l̩.'gɵt]~[əl.'gɵt]	'tie'

- Trill /ɾ/

/ɾ/ is an alveolar trill which, similarly to /l/, does not present allophonic variation except when occurring initially before obstruents and /ŋ͡m^{w}/, as a following coarticulated segment creates an additional environment for sonorant syllabification. It has a wide distribution and can occur in simple and complex onsets as well as codas.

(41) /r/→[r]

/rakua/	[rɐ.'gu.wɐ]	'crab'
/paro/	['pa.ro]	'p.name'
/tera/	['te.rɐ]	'garden'
/ŋor/	[ŋɵr]	'block'
/sral/	[sral]	'often'
/tortor/	[tɵr.'tɵr]	'sweat'

(42) /r/→[r̩]

/rŋ͡m^{w}aki/	[r̩.ŋ͡m^{w}a.ki]~[r̩.ŋ͡m^{w}aq]	'bark'

2.2.3.5 Glides

Lelepa has two phonemic glides, the labial velar /w/ and the palatal /j/. It is important to distinguish these phonemes from the epenthetic glides [w] and [j], which occur as a result of a process of intervocalic glide insertion discussed in 2.5.2.2.

- Labial-velar /w/

Minimal contrasts between /w/ and other phonetically similar consonants are given below:

(43)	/w/-/m/-/ŋ͡mʷ/-/p/-/k/		
	/wuru/~/wur/	['wu.ru]~[wur]	'pass'
	/muru/~/mur/	['mu.ru]~[mʉr]	'laugh'
	/ŋ͡mʷur/	[mʷur]~[mʷur]	'sink'
	/pura/~/pur/	['pu.ra]~[pʉr]	'full'
	/kur/	[kur]	'2PL.S'

(44)	/w/-/k͡pʷ/		
	/wat/	[wat]	'slap'
	/k͡pʷata/~/k͡pʷat/	[pʷat]~ ['pʷa.tɐ]	'another'
	/wa/	[wa]	'DEM'
	/k͡pʷa/	[pʷa]	'2SG.S:IRR'

/w/ does not present allophonic variation and is realised as [w] in all environments it occurs in. The minimal pairs in (45) disambiguate /w/ and /u/. Note that the glide following /u/ in these examples is epenthetic (see 2.5.2.2):

(45)	/wa/	[wa]	'DEM'
	/ua/	['u.wa]	'ground oven'
	/k͡pʷalwa/	['pʷal.wa]	'rockpool'
	/k͡pʷa=lua /	[pʷa.'lu.wɐ]	'2SG.S:IRR=vomit'

The distribution of /w/ is shown in (46). These examples show that /w/ occurs as an onset, word-initially and medially, but is not attested as a coda. However, note that [w] occurs in coda position as an allophone of /u/. Unacceptable surface forms are given to further disambiguate /w/ from /u/:

(46)	/walaa/	[wa.ˈlaː]	*[ˌu.wa.ˈlaː]	‘spear’
	/wotanman/	[wo.tɐn.ˈman]	*[u.ˌwo.tan.ˈman]	‘p.name’
	/pawa/	[ˈpa.wa]	*[pa.ˈu.wa]	‘fish sp.’
	/mowra/	[ˈmow.ra]	*[mo.ˈwu.ra]	‘blow’
	/nows/	[nows]	*[no.ˈwus]	‘plant sp.’

- Palatal /j/

This phoneme has a much more restricted distribution than other phonemes of the language. Known occurrences of /j/ are only few; however, there is enough evidence to posit this segment as a phoneme. Compare the forms given in (47), in which both examples are given with acceptable and unacceptable surface forms. These show that /j/ is phonemically distinct from /i/ as it is unable to carry stress and cannot be the nucleus of a syllable. In the acceptable surface forms, stress falls on the penultimate mora as predicted by the stress rule (see 2.4.3.2). The unacceptable surface forms are realised as four-syllable words with stress falling on a vowel [i] which takes the position of /j/. This vowel is followed by [j], a regularly inserted epenthetic glide (see 2.5.2.2). Since these surface realisations are not acceptable, [j] is analysed as /j/ rather than [i]:

(47)	/moutarju/	[mow.ˈtar.ju]	*[ˌmow.tɐ.ˈri.ju]	‘p.name’
	/marmarju/	[mɐr.ˈmar.ju]	*[ˌmar.mɐ.ˈri.ju]	‘p.name’

/j/ does not present any allophonic variation and is realised as [j] in all environment it occurs in. Its distribution is shown in (48): it occurs as a simple onset but not word-initially. Unacceptable surface forms are given to disambiguate /j/ from /i/:

(48)	/taljop/	[tɐl.ˈjop]	*[ˌta.li.ˈjop]	‘turn around’
	/mameja/	[mɐ.ˈme.jɐ]	*[ˌma.me.ˈi.jɐ]	‘father’
	/teteja/	[te.ˈte.jɐ]	*[te.te.ˈi.jɐ]	‘mother’
	/mimija/	[mi.ˈmi.jɐ]	*[mi.mi.ˈi.jɐ]	‘father’
	/nlaŋjot/	[nlɐŋ.ˈjɐt]	*[nlɐ.ˈŋi.jɐt]	‘cyclone’

2.2.3.6 Co-articulated consonants

There are two co-articulated consonants in the language, the bilabial-velar stop /k͡p^{w}/ and the bilabial-velar nasal /ŋ͡m^{w}/. These two consonants are complex, being doubly-articulated as well as secondary articulated. Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996 observe that while the distinction between double and secondary articulation was made in early phonetic works (such as in

Abercrombie 1967), it is still crucial and observed in recent works (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:332, Kehrein 2006:705). In a double articulation, there are two articulatory gestures which have the same degree of stricture. Primary and secondary articulations are distinguished in that their articulatory gestures have different levels of stricture, the articulation with the greater level of stricture being the primary one, while the one with a lower level of stricture is termed secondary (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:328). Thus in the representation of the co-articulated /k͡pʷ/ and /ŋ͡mʷ/, the superscript ͡ represents the primary articulation, which is doubly-articulated, while the ʷ represents the secondary articulation. Note that both phonemes have labialised and non-labialised allophones occurring before back vowels and liquids, as discussed below.

At the articulatory level, reasons for interpreting two subsequent articulatory gestures as a double articulation corresponding to a single segment rather than two gestures corresponding to two independent segments are often based on duration: a doubly-articulated segment should be more or less the same duration as a singly articulated segment, and duration should also be an important clue for distinguishing consonant clusters from doubly-articulated segments. It is generally agreed that consonant clusters are between one and a half to twice the duration of a co-articulated segment of the same type (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:334, citing Haggard 1973, Hardcastle and Roach 1977, Catford 1977). While no in-depth articulatory study was conducted on the Lelepa data regarding the durations of simple, doubly-articulated and sequences of two consonants, single and double articulations are perceptually closer to each other in duration than they are to sequences of consonants, which appear to be perceptually longer.

Another point of discussion looks at whether or not doubly-articulated segments consist in the simultaneous articulation of their gestures. While it is commonly said that there is simultaneous articulation in the realisation of these segments (Catford 1988:104, Kehrein 2006:705, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:328), language-specific studies of labial-velars have shown that the articulation of the gestures involved in these segments are not simultaneous, but that one gesture, the velar one, is earlier than the other. This is the case, for instance, in Yoruba (Painter 1978, Maddieson and Ladefoged 1989), Ibibio (Connell 1987, 1991), Mangbetu (Demolin 1991), and Ewe (Maddieson 1993). More recently, Connell (1994:446) suggests that regarding labial velars, "it is safe to say that the two component gestures are not simultaneous in the strict sense of the word, and that there is substantial, if not complete,

agreement that the velar closure and release, respectively, precedes those of the labial gesture." Similarly in Lelepa, the velar gesture present in the primary articulation of both /k͡pʷ/ and /ŋ͡mʷ/ precedes the labial gesture. Evidence for this is found in word-initial position for both phonemes, in which the primary articulation does not occur. In this position, the allophones [pʷ] and [mʷ] occur, but never *[kʷ] and *[ŋʷ]. If the bilabial gesture preceded the velar one, then we would expect the allophones *[kʷ] and *[ŋʷ] instead, because the primary articulation does not occur in initial position. However this is not the case, as shown in (49):

(49)	/k͡pʷa.rik/	[pʷa.ˈrikˈ]	*[kʷa.ˈrikˈ]	'few'
	/k͡pʷoŋ/	[pʷɔŋ]	*[kʷɔŋ]	'night'
	/ŋ͡mʷol/	[mʷɔl]	*[ŋʷɔl]	'just'
	/ŋ͡mʷaata/	['mʷaː.ta]	*['ŋʷaː.ta]	'snake'

In addition to articulatory evidence, and in the absence of an in-depth articulatory study, evidence for positing doubly-articulated consonants instead of consonant sequences can be found in the phonology. A doubly-articulated consonant should behave similarly to a simple one with respects to the phonological processes at work in the language (Kehrein 2006:705).

- Voiceless labialised bilabial-velar stop /k͡pʷ/

It surfaces as /k͡pʷ/ word-medially, either intervocallically or after a consonant:

(50) /k͡pʷ/ → [k͡pʷ]/V_V
/C_

/loˈk͡pʷa=e/	[lo.ˈk͡pʷa.e]	'see-3sg.obj'
/litk͡pʷatɔk/	[lit. k͡pʷɐ. ˈtɔk]	'tree sp.'

Intervocalically and between voiced segments, it is optionally voiced:

(51) /k͡pʷ/ → [g͡bʷ]/V_V
/[+voice]_[+voice]

/loˈk͡pʷa=e/	[lo.ˈg͡bʷa.e]	'see-3sg.obj'
/lk͡pʷaŋor/	[l̩.ˈg͡bʷɐ.ˈŋɔr]	'enclose'

The velar articulation is optionaly reduced when it is in medial position, before a CV syllable:

(52)	/k͡pʷ/→[kˀpʷ]~[gˀbʷ]		
	/nak͡pʷo/	['na.gˀbʷo]	'be smelly'

The velar articulation is dropped initially before V:

(53)	/k͡pʷ/→ [pʷ]/#_V		
	[k͡pʷa=to]	[pʷɐ.'to]	'2SG.S:IRR=stay'
	[k͡pʷokae]	[pʷo.'kɐ.e]	'porcupinefish'

Rounding is preserved before /i/, /e/, /a/ but lost before liquids and when it occurs in final position as a result of final vowel deletion:

(54)	/k͡pʷ/→ [k͡pʷ]~[pʷ]/__V[- back]		
	/k͡pʷili/	['pʷi.li]	'blink'
	/k͡pʷela/	['pʷe.lɐ]	'big'
	/tik͡pʷa/	['ti.gbʷa]	'truss web'

(55)	/k͡pʷ/→ [k͡p]/__C[+ liquid]		
	/k͡pʷlaka/	['k͡pla.kɐ]	'buff-banded rail'
	/k͡pʷrata/	['k͡pra.tɐ]	'fish sp.'

(56)	/k͡pʷ/→ [k͡p]/__#		
	/naak͡pʷe/	[naak͡p]	'war club'
	/nak͡pʷa/	[nak͡p]	'creek'

In terms of distribution, /k͡pʷ/ only occurs word-initially and medially, not finally. It cannot be a coda. It occurs before any vowel, mostly before /a/, and rarely before /u/. It can form complex onset, and be C1 before liquids, and C2 after alveolars /s/, /t/ (see 2.4.1.2).

- Bilabial-velar nasal /ŋ͡mʷ/

In contrast to /k͡pʷ/, does not incur variations in voicing. As a voiced phoneme, it remains voiced in all environments, including in the immediate vicinity of a voiceless segment:

(57)	/ŋ͡mʷaata/	['ŋ͡mʷaa.tɐ]	'snake'
	/naŋ͡mʷalfar/	[ˌna.ŋ͡mʷɐl.'far]	'charcoal'
	/nataŋ͡mʷate/	[nɐt.'ŋ͡mʷa.te]	'peace.ceremony'

However, like /k͡pʷ/, when it occurs finally as a result of final vowel deletion, rounding is lost:

(58)	/ŋ͡mʷ/→ [ŋ͡m]/__#		
	/fatuŋ͡mʷa/	[fɐ.'tuŋ͡m]	'p.name'
	/saraŋ͡mʷoŋ͡mʷo/	[ˌsa.rɐ.'ŋ͡mʷoŋ͡m]	'p.name'

2.2.4 Vowels

2.2.4.1 Minimal vowel contrasts

There are five vowels in the language, with a contrast in length between /a/and /aa/. The main variation in vocalic realisation is the centralisation of front and back vowels (see 2.2.4.2). Minimal and sub-minimal pairs are given for short vowels in table 2.3, and for long vowels in table 2.4:

/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/
/fi/ 'COP:IRR'	/fe/ 'count:IRR'	/fa/ 'go:IRR'	/fo/ 'SEQ.F'	/fu/ 'hold:IRR'
/pi/ 'COP'	/pe/ 'count'	/pa/ 'go'	/po/ 'SEQ.F'	/pu/ 'hold'
/k͡pʷil/ 'blink'	/kel/ 'dig'	/kal/ 'digging stick'		/kul/ 'cover'
/liko/ 'hang'		/laka/ 'look'	/lo-ki/ 'look-TR'	/luku/ 'hole'
/kis/ 'press'		/kase/ 'sweet'	/kos/ 'husker'	
/tina/ 'pregnant'	/ten/ 'SBST.POSS:NH'	/tan/ 'downwards'	/napton/ 'belly button'	/tun/ 'bury'
/napir/ 'tree sp.'		/nak͡pʷar/ 'p.name'		/napur/ 'shell'
	/lesi/ 'coral'	/las/ 'container'	/los/ 'bathe'	

Table 2.3. Short vowels contrasts

/a/	/aa/
/mala/ 'time'	/maala/ 'bird sp.'
/nar-a/ 'hand-3SG.POSS'	/naara/ '3PL'
/fat/ 'make'	/faatu/ 'stone'
/nak͡pʷa/ 'creek'	/naak͡pʷe/ 'club'

Table 2.4. Long vowel contrasts

2.2.4.2 Vowel allophony

This section discusses the main allophonic variations for the vowel phonemes, which are primarily conditioned by (i) syllable shape (whether syllables are open or closed, and which consonants occur as onsets and codas), and (ii) stress. These factors do not affect all vowels equally. For instance, stress plays an important role in the realisation of /a/ and /e/ but not in the realisation of other vowels. Likewise, the presence of particular consonants as onsets and codas affects the realisation of all vowels except /a/. In a CVC syllable, it is the place of articulation of onset and coda consonants which conditions the realisation of vowels: when any vowel except /a/ is the nucleus of a closed syllable in which the coda is an alveolar, that vowel is centralised while keeping its features of height and rounding. Back vowels conform to this rule except when they are preceded by a velar consonant in the onset, in which case they are not centralised. Since closed syllables are common in Lelepa and alveolars form the second largest class in the sound system, this environment is encountered often, and this explains the important vocalic variation found on the surface. This conditioning is illustrated by the rule in (59), which is henceforth referred to as the centralisation rule. Examples of the application of this rule are given in the discussion below.

(59) V → { [+ front] → [+central] / $C___C[+alveolar]$; [+ back] → [+central] / $C[- velar]___C[+alveolar]$ }

- /i/

/i/ is a high unrounded vowel, with [i], [ɨ] and [j] as its main allophones. In open syllables, it surfaces as [i], as well as in closed syllables whose coda is not an alveolar consonant:

(60) /i/→[i]

/koria/	[ko.ˈri.jɐ]	‘dog’
/nina/	[ˈni.nɐ]	‘then’
/lima/	[ˈli.mɐ]	‘five’
/liko/	[ˈli.ko]	‘hang’
/ŋm͡ʷlatiŋ/	[mʷlɐ.ˈtiŋ]	‘close’

In contrast, in closed syllables with alveolar codas, the centralisation rule in (59) applies, and /i/ surfaces as [ɨ]:

(61) /i/→[ɨ]

/aŋinta/	[ɐ.ˈŋɨn.tɐ]	‘1PL.INCL.POSS’
/kinta/	[ˈkɨn.tɐ]	‘1PL.INCL’
/pistaf/	[pɨs.ˈtaf]	‘speak to’
/kis/	[kɨs]	‘poke’
/nawil/	[nɐ.ˈwɨl]	‘skin’

When monosyllabic alveolar-ending stems such as *kis* ‘poke’ host an enclitic, resyllabification occurs and the environment for the centralisation rule is not created. That is, the coda of the syllable forming the root becomes the onset of the next syllable. In (62), *kis* ‘poke’ is shown hosting the object enclitic *=ia* ‘3SG:OBJ’. In this process, the /i/ from the host becomes the nucleus of an open syllable in the encliticised word and is thus realised as [i]:

(62)

/kis/	[kɨs]	‘poke’
/kis=ia/	[ki.ˈsi.jɐ]	‘poke=3SG.OBJ’

In fast speech, after a stressed open syllable and before a vowel, /i/ surfaces as the palatal glide [j]. In the example below, *skei* ‘INDEF’ is realised as [skɛj] as there is no pause between the final /i/ and the next morpheme *ur*= ‘3PL.S.R=’:

(63) /i/→[j]

[tma.ˈraw.tə	ˈskɛj	ruː]
/tamarauta	skei	ur/
couple	INDEF	3PL.S=
‘A couple they...’		

In contrast, before a pause, final /i/ is realised as [i]. In the example below, /skei/ ‘INDEF’ occurs sentence finally and is followed by a significant pause (in milliseconds). This environment allows for the final /i/ to be realised as [i]:

(64) /i/→[i]

[ˌar.pid.ˈlag	ˈnaːrɐ	ŋŭ.ˈrun	gi.gə	ˈske.i]	pause
(24.490 ms)					
/ar=pitlak	naara	ŋrun	kik	skei/	
3DU.S=have	3PL	female	small	INDEF	
‘They had a little daughter,’					

Other examples of lexemes for which reduction of /i/ to [j] occurs in the same environment are given below:

(65) /i/→[i]~[j]

/tai/	['ta.i]~[taj]	'sibling'
/natroi/	[na.'tro.i]~[na.'troj]	'young person'

Example (66) shows the nominalised form of *natroi*, with the final *i* of *natroi* being stressed and realised as [i] in *natroina* 'youth':

(66) /natroi-na/ [na.tro.'i.na] *[na.'troj.na] 'young.person-NMLZ'

- /e/

/e/ is a mid-high unrounded vowel, and is realised as [e], [ə], [ɛ] or [ə]. This depends on whether /e/ is stressed and whether it occurs in an open or closed syllable. In open syllables, /e/ surfaces as [e]:

(67) /e/→[e]

/tera/	['te.rɐ]	'garden'
/lesi/	['le.si]	'coral'
/kerak/	[ke.'rak]	'prow'

In contrast, in stressed and closed syllables, it is realised as [ɛ] except if the following coda is an alveolar, in which case the centralisation rule applies and /e/ is centralised to [ə]:

(68) /e/→[ɛ]

/tekta/	['tɛk.tɐ]	'behind'
/neika/	[nɛjk^{h}]~['nɛj.ka]	'fish'
/nafjef/	[nɐf.'jɛf]	'plant sp.'
/fatenleŋ/	[ˌfa.tɛn.'lɛŋ]	'p.name'
/aŋnemi/	[ɐŋ.'nɛm]	'1PL.EXCL.POSS'

(69) /e/→[ə]

/namena/	[na.'mən]~[nɐ.'me.nɐ]	'tongue'
/ftes/	[ftəs]	'different'
/per/	[pər]	'plait'
/nakerker/	[ˌna.kər.'kər]	'sand'

As shown with /i/, when alveolar-ending monosyllabic stems host enclitics, the encliticised forms are resyllabified. In (70), compare the stems *tel* 'tell', *kel* 'dig with digging stick' and *per*

'plait' with the encliticised forms *tel=ia* 'tell=3SG:O', *kel=ia* 'dig with digging stick=3SG:O' and *per=ia* 'plait=3SG:O': the centralisation rule applies to the stems but not to the encliticised forms, as after encliticisation, the vowel of the stems /e/ occurs in an open, unstressed syllable and is then realised as [e] or optionally as [ə]:

(70)	/tel/	[təl]	'tell'
	/tel=ia/	[te.ˈli.jɐ]~[tə.ˈli.jɐ]	'tell=3SG.OBJ'
	/kel/	[kəl]	'dig'
	/kel=ia/	[ke.ˈli.jɐ]~[kə.ˈli.jɐ]	'dig=3SG.OBJ'
	/per/	[pər]	'plait'
	/per=ia/	[pe.ˈri.jɐ]~[pə.ˈli.jɐ]	'plait=3SG.OBJ'

When occurring before or after a stressed syllable, /e/ is optionally reduced to schwa. As discussed in more details in 2.5.1, schwa reduction of /e/ is the first step in a reduction process which may end with full vowel deletion. Note that in such an environment, /e/ is centralised to schwa but not to mid-high central [ɵ], as for the centralisation rule to apply /e/ needs to be stressed (this is not the case of /i/ nor of the back vowels /o/ and /u/):

(71)	/e/→[ə]		
	/e=mou/	[e.ˈmo.u]~[ə.ˈmo.u]	'3SG.S=wet'
	/namerina/	[ˌna.me.ˈri.nɐ]~[ˌna.mə.ˈri.nɐ]	'way'
	/taare/	[ˈtaː.re]~[ˈtaː.rə]~[taːr]	'white'
	/nakerker/	[ˌna.ker.ˈkər]~[ˌna.kər.ˈkər]	'sand'
	/a=sralesko=s/	[ɐ.ˌsra.les.ˈkɔs]~[ɐ.ˌsra.ləs.ˈkɔs] '1SG.S=believe=3SG.OBJ'	

- /a/

The low central /a/ is the commonest vowel in the corpus and has the allophones [a] and [ɐ]. In contrast to the other vowels in the system, it is not affected by the centralisation rule, as it already has the feature [+central]. When occurring in a stressed syllable, /a/ is realised as [a]:

(72)	/a/→[a]		
	/naɲal/	[nɐ.ˈk͡pʷal]	'guts'
	/pati/	[ˈpa.ti]	'four'
	/m̃aata/	[ˈŋ͡mʷaː.tɐ]	'snake'
	/nfar/	[n̩.ˈfar]	'germinated coconut'

In an unstressed syllable, /a/ is reduced to [ɐ] (or deleted altogether, see 2.5.1):

(73) /a/→[ɐ]

/napap/	[nɐ.ˈpap]~[n̩.ˈpap]	‘shoulder’
/k͡pʷalake/	[k͡pʷɐ.ˈlak]~[k͡pʷlak]	‘afraid’
/mantua/	[mɐn.ˈdu.wɐ]	‘flying fox’
/namta/	[ˈnam.tɐ]	‘eye’
/npat-na/	[n̩.ˈpad.nɐ]	‘tooth-3SG.POSS’

- /o/

/o/ is a mid-back vowel which has four allophones: the back vowels [o] and [ɔ], the central vowel [ɵ] and the semivowel [w]. As the nucleus of open syllables it is realised as [o], whether or not these syllables are stressed:

(74) /o/→[o]

/natoroa/	[ˌna.to.ˈro.wɐ]	‘edge of cliff’
/lopa/	[ˈlo.pɐ]	‘p. name’
/nawowa/	[nɐ.ˈwo.wɐ]	‘plant sp.’
/koria/	[ko.ˈri]~ [ko.ˈri.jɐ]	‘dog’
/siko/	[ˈsi.ko]	‘fish sp.’
/taros=ia/	[ˌta.ro.ˈsi.jɐ]~[ˌta.ro.ˈsi]	‘invoke=3SG.OBJ’

In closed syllables with a non-alveolar consonant in the coda, /o/ is lowered to [ɔ]:

(75) /o/→[ɔ]

/artok/	[ɐr.ˈtɔk]	‘p.name’
/mom/	[mɔm]	‘breast’
/narop/	[na.ˈrɔp]	‘p.name’
/lop̃a/	[lɔk͡pʷ]	‘see’

In contrast, in closed syllables with an alveolar in the coda, the centralisation rule applies and /o/ is centralised to [ɵ]:

(76) /o/→[ɵ]

/napto-na/	[nɐp.ˈtɵn]~[nɐp.ˈto.nɐ]	‘belly button’
/los/	[lɵs]	‘bathe’
/matol/	[mɐ.ˈtɵl]	‘thick’
/kotor/	[ko.ˈtɵr]	‘k.o.basket’

As stated in (59), the centralisation rule applies to back vowels as long as they are not preceded by a velar in the onset. When preceded by a velar, /o/ is realised as [ɔ] as in other closed syllables which do not have an alveolar coda:

(77)	/o/→[ɔ]		
	/ŋɔt/	[ŋɔt]	'black'
	/natkon/	[nat.ˈkɔn]	'village'
	/kor/	[kɔr]	'closed'
	/ŋor/	[ŋɔr]	'block'

When /o/ occurs in a monosyllabic, alveolar-ending stem which is encliticised, resyllabification occurs and the environment for the centralisation rule does not apply anymore. This is shown in the example below where /o/ occurring in *loso* 'bathe' is realised as [ɵ] in the bare stem and as [o] when the stem hosts the oblique clitic *=s* '3OBL':

(78)	/loso/	[lɵs]	'bathe'
	/loso=s/	[lo.ˈsɵs]	'bathe=3OBL'

Finally, /o/ is realised as [w] when unstressed and occurring intervocalically:

(79)	/lao=ea/	[la.ˈwe.ɐ]~[la.ˈwe]	'spear=3SG.OBJ'

- /u/

/u/ is a high back vowel which surfaces as [u], [ʉ] or [w]. In open syllables, it is always realised as [u], as well as in closed syllables which do not have an alveolar coda:

(80)	/u/→[u]		
	/ura/	[ˈu.rɐ]	'prawn'
	/kapua/	[ka.ˈpu.ɐ]	'trad. pudding, laplap'
	/fatuŋm͡ʷa/	[fa.ˈtu.ŋm͡ʷɐ]	'p.name'
	/mursuksuk/	[ˌmʉr.suk.ˈsuk]	'prepare'

In contrast, when /u/ occurs in a closed syllable with a non-velar consonant in the onset and an alveolar in coda position, the centralisation rule applies and /u/ is centralised to [ʉ]:

(81) /u/→[ʉ]

/namuna/	[na.'mʉn]~[na.'mu.nɐ]	'tide'
/ftunu/	[ftʉn]~['ftu.nu]	'hot:IRR, sore:IRR'
/mus/	[mʉs]	'dive'
/sura/	[sʉr]~['su.rɐ]	'defecate'

However, with a velar in the onset, the centralisation rule does not apply:

(82) /kul/ [kul] 'new skin'

As shown with other front and back vowels, when /u/ occurs in an alveolar-final monosyllabic root hosting an enclitic, resyllabification occurs and the alveolar coda becomes the onset of the following syllable. In this case, /u/ is realised as [u] as seen with *ptunus* 'sore=3OBL' and *musus* 'dive=3OBL' hosting the enclitic *=s* '3OBL':

(83)

/ptunu/	[ptʉn] ['ptu.nu]	'sore'
/ptunu=s/	[ptu.'nʉs]	'sore=3OBL'
/musu/	[mʉs]~['mu.su]	'dive'
/musu=s/	[mu.'sʉs]	'dive=3OBL'
/plus/	[plʉs]	'wipe'
/plus=ia/	[plu.'si.jɐ]	'wipe=3SG.OBJ'

Finally, in fast speech and when consecutive to a stressed vowel, /u/ is optionally realised as [w]. Note that in the phonetic transcriptions of *roaleu,* only the last occurrence of [w] is an allophone of /u/, while the others are epenthetic. Similarly, in the phonetic transcriptions of *puasa,* [w] is an allophone of /u/ in the third variant only, while in the first and second variant [w] is epenthetic:

(84) /u/→[w]

/mau/	['ma.u]~[maw]	'NEG2'
/fau/	['fa.u]~[faw]	'new'
/roaleu/	[ˌro.wɐ.'le.u]~[ˌro.wɐ.'lɛw]	'echo'
/puasa/	[pu.'wa.s]~ [pu.'wa.sɐ]~['pwa.sɐ]	'buff-banded rail'

Example (85) shows the verb *tua* 'give' occurring without and with an object enclitic. Without the enclitic, /u/ is realised as [u] as it is stressed. However, when hosting an enclitic, stress moves to the next syllable and /u/ precedes stress, thereby surfacing as [w]:

(85)	/tua/	['tu.wɐ]~[tu]	'give'
	/tua=e/	[tu.'wa.e]~['twa.e]	'give=3SG.OBJ'

2.2.4.3 Vowel length

Contrastive vowel length is established for the central vowels /a/ - /aa/ (see 2.2.4.1 for minimal pairs). When addressing vowel length, it is important to distinguish a phonemically long vowel phoneme from a short vowel phoneme that is phonetically lengthened because it carries stress. Stress is realised as a combination of length, pitch and intensity in Lelepa: in a stressed syllable, the vowel will be longer and higher in pitch and intensity than the vowel of an unstressed syllable. In light of this, length variations of short vowels should be predictable: on the surface, a short vowel is short when it does not carry stress, and lengthened when stressed. In a phonemic system with both short and long vowels, it is not straightforward to make these predictions, because the presence of phonemic length and the fact that stress lengthens vowels entails that four distinct lengths can be predicted on the surface:

- Unstressed short vowels are the shortest of all vowels and their length is not affected by stress;
- Stressed short vowels are lengthened under the effect of stress;
- Unstressed long vowels are longer than unstressed short vowels, and their length is not resulting from the effects of stress;
- Stressed long vowels are possibly additionally lengthened by stress.

Several questions arise from these four possibilities. First, are all four vocalic lengths actually found on the surface? Second, does stress actually affect both short and long vowels? That is, while stressed short vowels are lengthened, is it also the case that long vowels are additionally lengthened when stressed? Third, is there a length difference between unstressed long vowels and stressed short vowels? To answer these questions, vowel measurements were taken with Praat and are presented in the tables below. Vowels were measured in citation forms and reduced vowels (pretonic and final vowels) were not measured. In table 2.5, the length of stressed and unstressed short vowels is compared in open and closed syllables. Length is given in milliseconds for measured vowels (in bold in each example). The table shows that for vowels occurring in the same syllable types (open or closed), stress affects vowel length: whether a short vowel occurs in an open or a closed syllable, it is longer when stressed. The table also shows that the presence of a coda affects length: a stressed vowel is longer in open

syllables than in closed syllables, and the same observation holds for unstressed vowels. However, these observations only reveal tendencies: in some cases, differences in length for vowels which would be predicted to differ significantly due to their environment do not differ greatly. For instance, there is little length difference between the unstressed vowels of *katam* 'outside' and *sarsar* 'everywhere', despite the fact that the former occurs in an open syllable and the latter in a closed one. However, with stressed syllables, length differences between vowels occurring in open and closed syllables are particularly significant. From the table, we can extract the length ranges for short vowels in each environment:

1. Unstressed, closed syllable: 0.040 – 0.052
2. Unstressed, open syllable: 0.046 – 0.077
3. Stressed, closed syllable: 0.064 – 0.109
4. Stressed, open syllable: 0.131 – 0.171

From these measurements, the predictions above are verified: stressed vowels tend to be longer than unstressed ones, and vowels occurring in closed syllables tend to be shorter than those occurring in open syllables. In sum, short vowels can be classified in length, according to whether they occur in open or closed syllables and whether they are stressed or not, as listed above.

Syllable types	**unstressed short vowels (duration in ms)**		**stressed short vowels (duration in ms)**	
open	/tol**u**/ 'three'	0.077	/t**o**lu/ 'three'	0.158
	/pat**i**/ 'four'	0.071	/t**o**lu/ 'three'	0.163
	/n**a**sara/ 'dancing ground'	0.067	/nas**a**ra/ 'dancing ground'	0.131
	/n**a**ŋaru/ 'mouth'	0.070	/naŋ**a**ru/ 'mouth'	0.171
	/nas**i**far/ 'banana sp'	0.070	/m**i**la/ 'red'	0.141
	/k**o**tor/ 'k.o. basket'	0.046	/f**u**a/ 'fly sp.'	0.171
	/k**a**tam/ 'outside'	0.055	/na$\widehat{\text{kp}}^{\text{w}}$a/ 'creek'	0.150
closed	/mak**e**nkini/ 'itch'	0.048	/k**i**nta/ '1PL.INCL'	0.064
	/natk**e**tken/ 'fin'	0.040	/lg**a**k/ 'marry'	0.070
	/s**a**rsar/ 'everywhere'	0.051	/sars**a**r/ 'everywhere'	0.074
	/naf**a**rkal/ 'nuclear family'	0.052	/n**a**ŋsa/ 'when'	0.073
			/kat**a**m/ 'outside'	0.083
			/lim**o**n/ 'p.name'	0.071
			/kot**o**r/ 'ko. basket'	0.109

Table 2.5. Comparing durations of short vowels

The discussion now turns to long vowels, whose length is compared in table 2.6. Note that long vowels in closed unstressed syllables are not attested, while there is only one example of a stressed long vowel in a closed syllable. Regarding long vowels attested in the other environments, the observations made for short vowels are valid for long vowels, and they can be classified in the same way:

1. Unstressed, open syllable: 0.138 – 0.188
2. Stressed, closed syllable: 0.187 – 0.214
3. Stressed, open syllable: 0.212 – 0.295

The length ranges for long vowels overlap only slightly, pointing to a lesser effect of syllable type and stress than with short vowels.

Syllable types	**unstressed long vowels (duration in ms)**		**stressed long vowels (duration in ms)**	
open	/p**aa**mia/	0.179	/m**aa**nu/ 'bird'	0.254
	/f**aa**lua/ 'current'		/n**aa**k͡p^{w}e/ 'war club'	0.213
	/p**aa**pua/ 'maternal grandfather'	0.188	/l**aa**sa/ 'container'	0.216
	/t**aa**tia/ 'maternal grandmother'	0.138	/n**aa**su/ 'bow'	0.212
	/t**aa**sak/ 'come ashore'	0.148	/m**aa**la/ 'bird sp.'	0.246
	/t**aa**kae/ 'dance'	0.166	/lop**aa**/ 'p.name'	0.241
closed			/f**aa**m/ 'eat'	0.214

Table 2.6. Comparing durations of long vowels

We can now compare short and long vowels (table 2.7). While the measurements taken were not done within a large-scale investigation, the results show a distinction between short and long vowels on the surface. In each of the different environments, long vowels are phonetically longer than short ones. The fact that the longest short vowel is over ten ms shorter than the shortest long vowel suggests that there are two phonemic categories of vowels according to length. Along with minimal pairs, this is a piece of evidence for positing vowel length as an emic category. Some issues remain, however, particularly within each length value. For instance, table 2.7 shows that the short vowels in unstressed, open and closed syllables overlap in their duration range, as do stressed long vowels.

	Unstressed syllables		Stressed syllables	
	short vowels	**long vowels**	**short vowels**	**long vowels**
open syllables	0.046 – 0.077	0.138 – 0.188	0.131 – 0.171	0.212 – 0.295
closed syllables	0.040 – 0.052	N/A	0.064 – 0.109	0.187 – 0.214

Table 2.7. Comparing duration ranges across vocalic lengths

Finally, note that out of the realm of citation forms, long vowels are perceptually difficult to establish, especially in unstressed syllables.

2.3 Syllable structure

2.3.1 Introduction

Syllables are represented using C and V, where C is a consonant and V a syllable nucleus. A syllable nucleus (V) can be filled with a short vowel, a long vowel, a diphthong or a syllabic nasal or liquid. Codas can be simple (one consonant) or complex (two consonants). Long vowels are regarded as tautosyllabic, as shown by the surface alternations of forms such as /waraa/ in (86). Like all vowel-final forms in the language, /waraa/ is affected by a process of final vowel deletion (see 2.5.1). However, it never surface as *[war], but can have its final vowel shortened as seen in (86):

(86) /wa.raa/ [wa.ˈraː]~[wa.ˈra] 'here'

A number of attested syllable types are given in (87). These are all single morphemes with unproblematic syllabifications, although some data have alternative syllabifications, a monosyllabic and a disyllabic one. While the disyllabic structures correspond to the underlying structures of these words, the monosyllables are due to a process of final vowel deletion. This is the case of *gisu* which can be realised as CV.CV or CVC, and of *fterki* 'wife' and *psruki* 'speak'. Note that while *fterki* is chosen to illustrate the CCVCC pattern, this pattern only occurs after this word has had its final vowel deleted. Similarly, *psruki* illustrates the CCCVC pattern only when its final vowel is deleted. As vowel deletion is widespread in the language, it is necessary to take it into account when investigating syllabification in the language. While (87) represents a fair number of syllables types, certain types such as CV and CVC are very common, while others, such as CCVCC and CCCVC, are rare.

(87)	V	/akoto/	[a.ˈko.to]	‘p.name’
	CV	/ŋisu/	[ˈŋi.su]~ [ŋɨs]	‘fish sp.’
	CCV	/psa/	[psa]	‘speak’
	VC	/ar/	[ar]	‘rainbow’
	CVC	/laŋ/	[laŋ]	‘upwards’
	CVCC	/self/	[səlf]	‘be beside’
	CCVC	/psak/	[psak]	‘elevate’
	CCVCC	/fterki/	[ftərk] ~[ˈftər.ki]	‘wife’
	CCCVC	/psruki/	[psruk]~[ˈpsru.ki]	‘speak’

From the data above, the provisional syllable schema in (88) can be derived. The first restriction on this schema is that it is not attested in its maximal shape. There are no forms with three consonants in the onset, a nucleus and two consonants in the coda. Other than this, there are a number of other restrictions discussed in 2.3.2 and summarised in 2.3.3.

(88) (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)

To see what restrictions exist on syllable types and their combinations, it is useful to look at a less constrained set of data than in (87). Using morphologically complex forms allows for the observation of certain sequences which may not appear in simple roots, and including polysyllabic words allows for the observation of combinations of syllable types. This reveals the supplementary syllable type CCCV in the reduplicated verb *fsrusruki* ‘discuss’. Including heavy syllables also allows for the observation of diphthongs, long vowels and possible combinations with codas. Examples of such syllable types are given in table 2.8:

	Underlying form	**Surface realisation**	**gloss**
V	/aupa/	[ˈaw.pa]~[ˈa.ŭ.pa]	‘p.name’
CV	/pai/	[ˈpa.i]~[paj]	‘stingray’
CCV	/skei/	[ˈske.i]~[skej]	‘INDEF’
CCCV	/fsru~sruki-nia/	[fsru.ˌsru.kə.ˈni]	‘discuss-3SG.OBJ
VC	/artok/	[ar.ˈtok]	‘p.name’
CVC	/namta=n/	[nɐm.ˈtan]	‘eye=POSS:NH’
	/faam/	[fa:m]	‘eat:F’
CVCC	/self/	[səlf]	‘be.beside’
CCVC	/pseiki/	[ˈpsej.ki]~[psejk]	‘teach’
CCVCC	/mlaksa/	[ˈmlak.sɐ]~[mlaks]	‘blue’
CCCVC	/fsruki/	[ˈfsru.ki]~[fsruk]	‘speak:IRR’

Table 2.8. Syllable types: morphologically complex forms and heavy syllables

2.3.2 Syllable types

2.3.2.1 Nucleus-only syllables

- V

There are very few monosyllabic lexemes consisting of a single vowel. Examples are the subject proclitics *a*= '1SG.S' and *e*= '3SG.S', which are not free morphemes but cliticise to a host. Monosyllabic lexemes in which the single syllable consists of only a vowel do not exist in Lelepa. As (89) below shows, all phonemic vowels can occur as the only segment of a V syllable, in lexemes of at least two syllables. This is also the case of a few diphthongs and syllabic consonants. This syllable type mostly occurs as either the first or last syllable in polysyllabic words, but is also attested medially.

(89)	/e=to/	[e.'to]	'3SG.S=stay'
	/uta/	['u.ta]	'to land'
	/felea/	[fe.'le.a]	'argue'
	/nseiseina/	[n̩.ˌse.se.'i.na]	'meeting'
	/rsaŋ=ia/	[r̩.sa.'ŋi.ja]	'drag=3SG:OBJ'
	/ao/	['a.ŏ]~[aw]	'yes'

2.3.2.2 Open syllables

- CV

Any combination of a consonant and a vowel can occur as this syllable type, as well as non-phonemic diphthongs (see 2.4.2). This is also one of the most common syllable types. Example (90) shows that all vowels, including diphthongs and long vowels occur in this syllable type. This pattern can be replicated up to four times to form monomorphemic words:

(90)	/k͡pʷo/	[k͡pʷo]	‘fall[rain]’
	/ta/	[ta]	‘cut’
	/fe/	[fe]	‘count’
	/si/	[si]	‘peel, tear’
	/llu/	[lːu]	‘return’
	/maala/	[ˈmaːlɐ]	‘bird sp.’
	/ŋisu/	[ˈŋi.su]	‘fish sp.’
	/walaa/	[waˈlaː]	‘spear’
	/makala/	[mɐˈxa.la]	‘spider’
	/naŋ͡mʷa k͡pʷe/	[naˈŋ͡mʷa.k͡pʷe]	‘Tahitian chestnut’
	/moutarju/	[mowˈtar.ju]	‘p.name’
	/nasuŋ͡mʷa/	[naˈsu.ŋ͡mʷa]	‘house’
	/saraŋ͡mʷoŋ͡mʷo/	[ˌsa.raˈŋ͡mʷo.ŋ͡mʷo]	‘p.name’
	/munariki/	[ˌmu.nɐˈri.ki]	‘p.name’
	/raparapa/	[ˌra.pɐˈra.pɐ]	‘sea bug’

- CCV

This pattern is well represented without being as common as CV or CVC. The first consonant can either be a plosive, a nasal or a fricative and the second consonant is commonly a liquid but can be a fricative or a stop as well, and more rarely a glide. Note that in this pattern, a sonorant cannot be followed by an obstruent, as sonorants are syllabified in this environment. This pattern is attested initially, finally and can be reduplicated. Nuclei can be filled with a vowel or a diphthong (see 2.4.1.2 on the restrictions on consonant distribution in consonant clusters).

(91)	/mro/	[mro]	‘do again’
	/pla/	[pla]	‘pick’
	/pla=e/	[ˈpla.ĕ]~[plaj]	‘pick=3SG.OBJ’
	/troi/	[ˈtro.i]~[troj]	‘young man’
	/m̃latiŋ/	[ŋ͡mʷlaˈtiŋ]	‘close’
	/nmatena/	[nmaˈtɛn]	‘funeral’
	/frak͡pʷo/	[ˈfra.k͡pʷo]	‘bedbug’
	/flafla/	[ˈfla.flɐ]	‘be.blocked’
	/taplaa/	[taˈplaː]	‘like.this’

- CCCV

This pattern is very rare, and only attested for the two lexemes shown in (92). It forms the first syllable of the verb *fsruki* ‘speak’ and the reduplicated form *fsrusruki* ‘discuss’. The form *fsrusruki* is achieved by partly reduplicating the first syllable of *fsruki*: the initial consonant /f/ is dropped. The reduplicated pattern CCCV.CCV is obtained from an original CCCV:

(92)	/fsruki/	['fsru.ki]~[fsruk]	'speak'
	/fsru~sruki-nia/	[fsru.ˌsru.kə.'ni.jɐ]~[fsru.ˌsru.kə.'ni]	'discuss-3SG.OBJ'

2.3.2.3 Closed syllables

- VC

This pattern occurs only initially and is not common with monomorphemic words. In contrast, morphologically complex words which exhibit this pattern are more common, and most often consist of a vowel-initial subject proclitic followed by a verb root or another verbal constituent. As seen in (93), attested realisations of this pattern have either /a/, /o/, /u/ as their nucleus and /t/, /ŋ/, /f/, or /r/ as their coda. Only short vowels occur in this pattern:

(93)	/aŋnou/	[aŋ.'now]~ [aŋ.'no.ŭ]	'1SG.POSS'
	/artok/	[ar.'tɔk]	'p.name'
	/oftau/	[ɔf.'taw]~[ɔf.'ta.u]	'k.o.bird'
	/atlaŋ/	[at.'laŋ]	'month'
	/ur=to rsu/	[ur.ˌto.rə.'su]	'3PL.S=IPFV shift'

- CVC

Along with CV, this is the most common type. There are few restrictions on it, as any consonant can occur in its onset and coda positions, and any vowel as well as diphthongs can form its nucleus. This pattern can be underlying, or result from final vowel deletion, as seen with *lotu* 'pray' in (94). In addition, it can be reduplicated and combine with other syllable patterns, and occur initially, medially and finally:

(94)	/laŋ/	[laŋ]	'canoe stanchion'
	/faam/	[fa:m]	'eat:F'
	/faus/	[faws]~['fa.ŭs]	'weave:IRR'
	/lotu/	[lɵt]~['lo.tu]	'pray'
	/munalpa/	[mu.'nal.pa]	'p.name'
	/ŋotfan/	[ŋɔt.'fan]	'afternoon'
	/marmar/	[mar.'mar]	'breathe'
	/ŋ͡mʷulŋ͡mʷul/	[ŋ͡mʷul.'ŋ͡mʷul]	'round'
	/na.k͡pʷar/	[nɐ.'k͡pʷar]	'p.name'
	/tataliŋ/	[ta.tɐ.'liŋ]	'k.o.fish'

- CVCC

This is a marginal pattern, with all known forms given in (95). The nucleus of this syllable type can only be a short vowel. When this pattern combines with other syllables, resyllabification

may occur. This is shown in (96) with *self* 'be.beside', *surki* 'hide' and *kint* 'pinch'. When taking object markers, these forms are resyllabified so that the final consonant of the root becomes the onset of the following syllable:

(95)	/self/	[səlf]	'be beside'
	/surki/	[surk]~['sur.ki]	'hide'
	/taŋs/	[taŋs]	'cry'
	/kint/	[kɨnt]	'pinch'
	/paŋ-ki/	[paŋk]	'climb-TR'
	/ŋ͡mʷlatiŋ-ki/	[ŋ͡mʷlɐ.'tiŋk]	'close-TR'

(96)	/self=ia/	[səl.'fi.jɐ]~[səl.'fi]	'be beside=3SG.OBJ'
	/surki-nia/	[sur.kə.'ni.jɐ]~ [sur.kə.'ni]	'hide-3SG.OBJ'
	/kint=ia/	[kɨn.'ti.jɐ]~ [kɨn.'ti]	'pinch=3SG.OBJ'

- CCVC

This is a fairly common pattern. All short vowels can form the nucleus as well as diphthongs. Stops, nasals, liquids and fricatives can occur as either C1 or C2 in the onset and in the coda as well. However, combinations of sonorants + obstruents are not allowed as sonorants syllabify in this environment:

(97)	/plak/	[plak]	'be with'
	/mlati/	[mlat]	'cold'
	/nmartana/	[nmar.'ta.na]	'belly-3SG.POSS'
	/sraus/	[sraws]~['sra.ŭs]	'repeat'
	/ftaur/	[ftawr]~['fta.ŭr]	'marry'
	/ftunu/	[ftʉn]	'sore'
	/pnoti/	[pnot]	'come'
	/trus/	[trʉs]	'leave'
	/sraki/	[srak]	'hang'
	/nlak/	[nlak]	'trunk'

This pattern is resyllabified when roots take an enclitic or a suffix, as seen in (98):

(98)	/trus=ia/	[tru.'si]~[tru.'si.jɐ]	'leave=3SG.OBJ'
	/sraki=nia/	[sra.kə.'ni]~ [sra.kə.'ni.jɐ]	'hang=3SG.OBJ'
	/nlak-na/	['nlak.na]~[nla.'gan]	'trunk-3SG.POSS'

- CCVCC

This is a rare pattern, with all attested forms listed in (99) below. It only occurs as a result of final vowel deletion, and is not attested in underlying forms:

(99)	/mlaksa/	[mlaks]~['mlak.sɐ]	'blue, green'
	/tkarki/	[tkark]~['tkar.kɐ]	'last born'
	/tkalpa/	[tkalp]~['tkal.pɐ]	'first born'
	/fterki/	[ftərk]~['ftər.ki]	'wife'

- CCCVC

Similarly to CCVCC, this is a rare pattern that is only realised after deletion of the final vowel of underlying forms. There are only two known forms occurring in the corpus, as shown in (100):

(100)	/fsruki/	[fsruk]~['fsru.ki]	'speak:IRR'
	/psruki/	[psruk]~['psru.ki]	'speak'

2.3.3 Summary: the Lelepa syllable

The review of the different syllable types above showed that the nucleus of a syllable can be a short or long vowel, a diphthong or a sonorant (n, m, r, l) and that a syllable can have an optional onset and an optional coda. While both onsets and codas can be complex, syllable complexity tends to be in the onset rather than in the coda.[2] Syllables can be onsetless or codaless, but they are less commonly both. Complex onsets have up to three consonants, while complex codas have a maximum of two consonants. Complex codas only occur if an onset is present as well. In contrast, complex onsets are attested to occur in open syllables and in syllables with simple or complex codas. The structure of the Lelepa syllable is represented in (101) and the constraints on this schema are given in (102). Note that in this schema, C_1 and C_4 are respectively the onset and coda of a CVC syllable:

(101) $(C_1)(C_2)(C_3)V(C_4)(C_5)$

[2] This is also the case of Lelepa's neighbour South Efate (Thieberger 2006:57).

(102) **Restrictions on syllable structure**

C_1

- Can be /j/ syllable-initially but not word-initially
- Cannot be a nasal or liquid if C_2 is a plosive or a fricative
- If C_2 is present, can either be a plosive, a nasal, a fricative, a liquid or a glide
- Otherwise, can be any consonant if C_2 is not present

C_2

- If C_3 is present, can only be /s/
- Cannot be a plosive or a fricative if C_1 is a nasal or a liquid
- Otherwise, can either be a plosive, a nasal, a fricative, a liquid or a glide

C_3

- Can only occur if C_2 is present
- Never occurs if C_5 is present
- Can only be /r/

V

- Cannot be a long vowel or diphthong if there is a complex coda
- Can be a syllabified consonant before an obstruent
- Otherwise, can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong

C_4

- Cannot be /k͡pʷ/
- If both C_2 and C_5 are present, cannot be a glide
- If C_3 is present, can only be /k/
- Otherwise, can be any consonant

C_5

- Does not occur if C_1 is not present
- Does not occur if C_3 is present
- Can only be a plosive or a fricative

2.4 Phonotactics

2.4.1 Consonant distribution

2.4.1.1 Simple onsets and simple codas

Table 2.9 below shows that most consonants can occur as simple onsets and simple codas, word-initially, medially and finally. However, it also shows that there are some restrictions on four consonants: the labial-velars /k͡pʷ/ and /ŋ͡mʷ/ and the glides /w/ and /j/. Underlyingly, they cannot occur as codas, except for /ŋ͡mʷ/ which can be a coda as long as it is word-internally. /j/ is additionally constrained in that it only occurs as a word-medial onset. The labial-velars can be codas after final-vowel deletion, as in /lo͡pa/ 'see' realised as [lok͡pʷ] and /nasuma/ 'house' realised as [na.ˈsuŋ͡mʷ]. Similarly, [w] and [j] occur as codas as allophones of /u/ and /i/ (see 2.2.4.2).

	word-initial	**word-final**	**syllable-initial (word-internally)**	**syllable-final (word-internally)**
/k͡pʷ/	/k͡pʷaŋ/ 'inside'	-	/fra.k͡pʷo/ 'bedbug'	-
/ŋ͡mʷ/	/ŋ͡mʷa.e/ 'away'	-	/na.ŋ͡mʷa.k͡pʷe/ 'tahitian chestnut'	/naŋ͡mʷ.ka/ 'fish sp'
/w/	/wa.laa/ 'spear'	-	/na.to.wi.a/ 'ancestors'	-
/p/	/pa.ŋa.u/ 'fish sp'	/na.rop/ 'p.name'	/lo.pu/ 'bamboo'	/nap.kal/ 'hibiscus'
/m/	/ma.tu.ru/ 'sleep'	/ke.nem/ '1PL.EXC'	/na.mu.na/ 'high tide'	/nam.las/ 'bush'
/f/	/faa.tu/ 'stone'	/sruf/ 'suck.up'	/k͡pʷa.fun/ 'p.name'	/naf.nag/ 'food'
/t/	/ta.ko/ 'yard'	/na.ŋ͡mʷit/ 'mat'	/na.ta.ŋ͡mʷol/ 'people'	/fat.ka.u/ 'p.name'
/n/	/ni.na/ 'then'	/pan/ 'go'	/ka.nas/ 'mullet'	/mun.to.pu/ 'p.name'
/s/	/su.fa.te/ 'south wind'	/n.tas/ 'sea'	/si.sa/ 'shellfish sp.'	/pis.taf/ 'talk'
/l/	/les.ko/ 'truth'	/tal/ 'roll'	/ta.la.ki/ 'avoid'	/pal.se/ 'paddle'
/r/	/ra.ru.a/ 'canoe'	/ko.tor/ 'k.o. basket'	/sa.rik/ 'a little'	/k͡pʷar.ka.pe/ 'fish sp'
/j/	-	-	/tar.ju/ 'p.name'	-
/k/	/ko.fa / 'shelter'	/ke.rak/ 'prow'	/taa.ka.e/ 'dance'	/wok.maŋ/ 'fish sp'
/ŋ/	/ŋot/ 'black'	/a.roŋ/ 'surgeonfish'	/sra.ŋo/ 'things'	/aŋ.nem/ '1PL.POSS.EXCL'

Table 2.9. Consonant distribution at word and syllable boundaries

2.4.1.2 Consonant combinations

This section looks at how consonants combine with each other, and particularly which consonant sequences are permitted in the language and in which environments. The analysis of the different syllable types in 2.3 showed that Lelepa allows tautosyllabic consonant sequences (henceforth consonant clusters) of up to three consonants in the onset and of two consonants in the coda, with restrictions on their occurrence and composition summarised in 2.3.3. This is remarkable for an Oceanic language, as Oceanic languages tend to have a CV syllable structure (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:34). However, the closely related South Efate shows a similar syllable structure to Lelepa (Thieberger 2006:58). In addition, some Oceanic languages such as Kokota (Palmer 2009) also have consonant clusters but present a more limited range than Lelepa and South Efate. For instance, Kokota clusters must have an obstruent as their first consonant followed by a voiced coronal sonorant (Palmer 2009:21), while in Lelepa such strong constraints do not apply. In addition to tautosyllabic consonant clusters (see table 2.10), the language allows consonant sequences over syllable boundaries, which I refer to as heterosyllabic consonant sequences (see table 2.11). Both consonant clusters and heterosyllabic consonant sequences are discussed in turn below.

- Tautosyllabic consonant clusters

Table 2.10 gives all attested tautosyllabic two-consonant clusters. Three-consonant clusters are marginal and discussed below. Note that all clusters in table 2.10 are underlying ones. It is possible that clusters in which one of the consonants is not underlying occur: this is the case when an underlying vowel surfaces as the glides [w] or [j], as in /neika/ > [nejk] 'fish' and /maora/ > [mawr] 'broken'. The table lists both clusters occurring in the onset and in the coda. Coda clusters are represented in the table by a circled plus sign. They are a minor pattern in the language, with six known coda clusters over a total of forty-six clusters. The table also distinguishes between heterorganic clusters (in white areas in the table) which are preferred over homorganic ones (in grey areas), with thirty-five attested heterorganic clusters against eleven homorganic ones.

Of the possible homorganic clusters, only those with alveolar segments and a single combination of velar /k/ and labial-velar /w/ occur; no labial homorganic clusters were found:

- Clusters of alveolars /tn/, /tl/, /tr/, /nt/, /nl/, /nr/, /sl/, /sr/, /lt/, /ll/

- Clusters of velars (labial-velars and velars) /kw/

Heterorganic clusters can be described as combinations of classes of segments:

- labials+alveolars /p͡l/, /pt/, /ml/, /m͡l/, /fr/, etc
- alveolars+labials: /t͡p/, /tp/, /tf/, /sf/, /rm͡/, etc
- alveolars+velars: /tk/, /sk/, /rŋ/, /rk/, etc
- velars+alveolars: /ks/, /kr/, /gs/, /gr/
- labials+velars: /pk/, /fk/

While these clusters are well attested, they do not always surface as clusters: see 2.5.2.1 for a discussion showing that some of these underlying clusters can be interrupted by an epenthetic schwa.

Consonant 1	Consonant 2													
	k͡pʷ	ŋ͡mʷ	w	p	m	f	t	n	s	l	r	j	k	ŋ
k͡pʷ		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
ŋ͡mʷ	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
w	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
p	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
m	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
f	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
t	+	+	-	+	-	+		+	-	+	+	+	+	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕		-	+	+	-	-	-
s	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	+	-	+	+
l	-	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	+	-	-	⊕	-
r	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	⊕	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
k	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-
ŋ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	+	-	-	

Table 2.10. Tautosyllabic consonant clusters

Before turning to heterosyllabic consonant sequences, a brief mention of tautosyllabic three-consonants clusters is in order. These clusters are very marginal and occur strictly as onsets in the two lexemes *psruki* 'speak' and *fsruki* 'speak:IRR' given in (100) above. These can be simplified on the surface following processes of resyllabification or optional consonant deletion. Both *psruki* and *fsruki* are verb roots and can occur with a variety of verb complex elements. In (103), *psruki* forms a phonological word with a subject proclitic and two aspectual markers, which are both realised as open CV syllables. This leads to its resyllabification as

initial *p* becomes the coda of the preceding syllable, while [sruk] occurs as the final syllable of the word:

(103)	['tu.po	'tɔp	'sruk	ˌnaf.sɐ.'nan	'mal.fa]
	/tu=po	to	psruki	nafsana=n	malfa/
	1PL.INCL.S=SEQ	IPFV	speak	language=POSS:NH	space
	'Then, we were speaking with mobile phones'				

Another way for this cluster to be simplified is by dropping one of its consonants. This is shown in (104):

(104)	['lɵs	eb.'sug	nɐf.'san	'k͡pʷat]
	/Losa	e=psruki	nafsana	k͡pʷata/
	p.name	3SG.S=speak	language	different
	'Leosa spoke a different language.'			

While (103) and (104) show a tendency to simplify complex onsets such as that of *psruki*, there are cases such as (105) in which the integrity of this cluster is preserved. This is explained by the fact that the morpheme preceding *psruki* ends in a closed syllable which has enough weight to attract stress. *Psruki* is then realised as its own phonological word, and the onset cluster is preserved:

(105)	[ˌta.ŋɐs.'tat	'psruk]
	/ta=ŋa=stat	psruki/
	1PL.INCL.S=SEQ=IPFV	speak
	'Let's start speaking.'	

- Heterosyllabic consonant sequences

These arise when a syllable with a coda is followed by a syllable with an onset, as in (106):

(106) (C)VC.C(C)V(C)

Given the number of syllable types with consonant clusters attested in Lelepa, positing heterosyllabic consonant sequences rather than tautosyllabic consonant clusters needs some justification, especially with disyllabic and trisyllabic words with medial consonant sequences. For instance, lexemes such as *nafsan* 'language, talk' or *gotfan* 'afternoon' could be syllabified as /*na.fsan*/ and /*go.tfan*/ since /fs/ and /tf/ are attested onsets (see table 2.10 above), but could also be syllabified as /*naf.san*/ 'language, talk' or /*got.fan*/ 'afternoon' since CVC is an attested

syllable type in the language, and one of the most common ones (see Thieberger 2006:57 for a similar issue in South Efate). Keeping in mind that determining an unambiguous syllabification may not always be possible, there are two principles which help in positing heterosyllabic consonant clusters over tautosyllabic ones in the environment shown in (106):

i. The existence of particular tautosyllabic consonant clusters in monosyllabic words
ii. The occurrence of one or the other allophones of /o/ and /e/: [o] and [e] in open syllables and [ɔ] and [ɛ] in closed syllables.

Principle (i.) makes the assumption that consonant clusters in monosyllabic words keep their integrity and are not resyllabified when occurring in words of several syllables.[3] Principle (ii.) is only relevant for two vowels in the system, namely /o/ and /e/. Thus both (i.) and (ii.) have their limitations; however, it is still possible to predict a correct syllabification in many cases. Table 2.11 below shows heterosyllabic consonant sequences resulting from the application of (i) and (ii) above. In this table, consonant 1 is the coda of a syllable and consonant 2 is the onset of the following syllable, '+' means that the sequence is underlying, and 'X' means that the sequence is not underlying and only occurs on the surface after the application of phonological processes of vowel deletion.

[3] Note that this is not valid for lexemes with three-consonnant clusters such as *psruki* 'speak', as seen in (103) - (105).

		Consonant 2													
		k͡p^{w}	ŋ͡m^{w}	w	p	m	f	t	n	s	l	r	j	k	ŋ
Consonant 1	k͡p^{w}	-	-	X	-	X	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	X
	ŋ͡m^{w}	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	X	-	-	+	-
	w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	p	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
	m	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
	f	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	n	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	s	+	X	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
	l	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	j	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X
	k	-	-	X	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	ŋ	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

Table 2.11. Heterosyllabic two-consonant sequences

While table 2.11 summarises heterosyllabic sequences of two consonants, some lexemes exhibit heterosyllabic sequences of three consonants. Sequences of more than three consonants are not attested in the language. Syllabification of both examples in (108) is achieved by using principles (i) and (ii), as well the rule syllabifying sonorants occurring before obstruents word-initially. Sequences of three consonants are realised as follows:

(107) CCC → C.CC

(108)	/nakortlaŋ/	[na.ˈkɔr.tlaŋ]	‘sky’
	/nalŋurfrau/	[nal.ŋur.ˈfrau]	‘fish sp.’
	/nsfa/	[n̩.ˈsfa]	‘what’

2.4.2 Vowel distribution

As seen in 2.3, the nucleus of a heavy syllable can be a short vowel in a closed syllable, a long vowel, or a two-vowel sequence realised as a diphthong. Table 2.12 presents all vowel combinations in the language, with unattested sequences labelled “N/A”. Twenty-two combinations are attested, out of twenty-five possible ones (unattested vowel sequences are *ii*, *uu*, *oo* and *iu*). Two distinct phonological processes occur when vowel combines: diphthongisation and glide insertion.[4] Vowel sequences may be realised as diphthongs on the surface if the first vowel is lower than the second. This is an optional process that generally takes place in fast speech, and the table shows that vowel sequences can also be realised over syllable boundaries. This process occurs with /ai/, /ae/, /au/, /ao/, /ei/, /eu/, /oi/ and /ou/. In these sequences, the second vowel is realised as the glide [j] if it is a front vowel and as [w] if it is a back vowel. In contrast, if the first vowel is higher than the second, epenthetic glide insertion occurs. This is true in sequences with high vowels in first position: /ia/, /ue/, /ua/, /uo/. The sequence is realised over two syllables, and the palatal glide [j] is inserted after /i/ while the labial-velar glide [w] is inserted after back vowels. Note that the process does not apply after non-high /e/ (see 2.5.2.2). Long vowels are regarded as phonemic (see 2.2.4, 2.3) and tautosyllabic: they form the nucleus of heavy syllables.

[4] Glide insertion is documented in closely-related languages such as South Efate (Thieberger 2006:53), Lewo (Early 1994:71), amongst others.

ii **N/A**	**ie** /tie/ [tĭ.'je]~[tje] 'do'	**ia** /wia/ ['wi.jɐ] 'good'	**io** /p̃a=msugi=ou/ [k͡pʷam.ˌsu.gi.'jo.ŭ] '2SG.S:IRR=carry=1SG.OBJ'	**iu** **N/A**
ei /seisei/ [ˌse.ĭ.'se.ĭ]~ [sej.'sej] 'meet' /nseiseina/ [n̩.ˌse.se.'i.na] 'meeting'	**ee** /ee/ ['e.e] 'no'	**ea** /prea/ ['pre.a] 'wash'	**eo** /takeo/ [ta.'ke.o] 'k.o. fish'	**eu** /e=uk͡pʷa/ [e.'uk͡pʷɐ] '3SG.S=kick'
ai /nakai/ [na.'ka.i]~ [na.'kaj] 'traditional story'	**ae** /tae/ [ta.e]~[taj] 'know' /nataena/ [ˌna.tɐ.'e.na] 'knowledge'	**aa** *occurs as phonemic long vowel (see 2.2.4, 2.3)*	**ao** /ao/ ['a.o]~[aw] 'yes'	**au** /mau/ ['ma.u]~[maw] 'NEG2'
oi /troi/ ['tro.i]~[trɔj] 'young man' /natroina/ [na.tro.'i.na] 'youth'	**oe** /e=lao=ea/ /e.la.'we.a/ '3SG.S=spear =3SG.OBJ'	**oa** /naloana/ [ˌna.lo.'wa.na] 'ceremony'	**oo** **N/A**	**ou** /mou/ ['mo.u]~[mow] 'wet'
ui /puilt/ [pu.'wilt] 'paint'	**ue** /suer/ [su.'wɛr] 'tell off'	**ua** /suara/ [su.'wa.ra] 'walk'	**uo** /e=martuo=ko/ [e.mar.tu.'wo.ko] '3SG.S=breathe=2SG.OBJ'	**uu** **N/A**

Table 2.12. Vowel sequences

There is no need to posit phonemic diphthongs in the language, as diphthongisation is an optional process, loosely conditioned by speech speed: fast speech tends to correlate with diphthong formation. Additional evidence is provided by morphological expansion of some roots. In table 2.12, nominalised forms of verbs such as *seisei* 'meet' and *tae* 'know' show that the underlying forms of these verbs are not **sejsej* and **taj*. While occurring as verbs, these forms can be optionally realised with the diphthongs [ej] and [aj] as their syllable nuclei. However, when nominalised, the verbs host the nominalising enclitic *=na* 'NMLZ' and the final vowels of the roots are now in position of receiving stress, and are not realised as glides but as full vowels, as in *nseiseina* 'meeting' (see also 2.4.3.3 on the status of diphthongs).

Finally, sequences of more than two vowels are uncommon and limited to four vowels. They occur in processes of affixation or cliticisation. As shown in (109), they are not realised as sequences of three full syllabic vowels:

(109)	/lua=e/	['lwa.e]	'vomit=TR'
	/e=oufaki/	[e.ow.'fak]	'3SG.S=bury'
	/lao=ea/	[la.'we]	'spear=3SG.OBJ'

2.4.3 Word stress

2.4.3.1 Preliminaries

I follow Ladefoged (2001:131), for a simple and general definition of stress:

> [stress] applies not to individual vowels and consonants but to whole syllables – whatever they might be. A stressed syllable is produced with a greater amount of energy than an unstressed syllable, and it is more prominent in the flow of speech.

There are three factors which determine syllable prominence in Lelepa: vowel duration, intensity (or loudness) and pitch. A stressed syllable has a lengthened vowel and is pronounced with a higher intensity and pitch than an adjacent, unstressed syllable. Note that all three phonetic correlates do not obligatorily co-occur on any given stressed syllable. Stressed syllables always have a higher level of intensity and pitch than unstressed ones, but in fast speech, length differences between vowels tend to be reduced.

A very common pattern for stress in Oceanic languages is to fall on the penultimate syllable (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35). In Vanuatu, examples are Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:37), Naman (Crowley 2006), and Sye (Crowley 1998a:17). However, looking at a sample of Vanuatu languages shows a range of different patterns. First, some languages have several stress patterns and may include penultimate stress as the dominant pattern or conversely as the minor one. Examples are Lewo, in which stress assignment is predominantly on the penultimate syllable with other minor but regular patterns (Early 1994:66), South Efate which has several stress patterns including initial stress as the dominant pattern and penultimate syllable stress as a restricted one (Thieberger 2006:65-66), while Abma has word stress sensitive to syllable weight: in words with open syllables and short vowels, stress is penultimate, but if long vowels occur they take precedence and carry stress, regardless of their

position in the word (Schneider 2010:35). Second, some languages differ more radically in that they do not show penultimate stress at all: in Mwotlap word stress falls on the last syllable (François 2001:79) and in Nahavaq there is no evidence for either contrastive or fixed word stress (Dimock 2009:45). Finally, other languages are in a process of change in their stress system: this is the case of the Solomon Islands language Kokota (Palmer 2009:30-37).

In Lelepa, stress is best described using moraic theory (Hayes 1995). Morae are units of weight assigned to syllables. Syllables can be light or heavy, with light syllables containing a single mora and heavy syllables containing more than one mora. While onsets do not count as morae, syllable nuclei and codas do. Light syllables are open and their nucleus is filled by a short vowel. In contrast, heavy syllables can be open or closed. A heavy syllable that is open contains either a long vowel or a diphthong as its nucleus, while a closed heavy syllable can be formed with a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong as its nucleus, and up to two consonants in the coda (however, long vowels and diphthongs cannot be the nucleus of a syllable with a complex coda). As stress is attracted to the penultimate mora, it is not relevant to distinguish between different types of heavy syllables. In Lelepa, stress is not contrastive and the language has several predictable stress patterns, with penultimate stress the predominant pattern.

2.4.3.2 Dominant stress pattern

In this pattern, stress falls on the penultimate mora. All words in (110) are formed with light syllables and primary stress falls on the penultimate mora, which in this case occurs in the penultimate syllable. In words of four syllables and over, a secondary stress falls two morae to the left of the penultimate mora:

(110)	/mesa/	['me.sɐ]	'today'
	/ŋisu/	['ŋi.su]	'squirrelfish'
	/puka/	['pu.qɐ]	'swell'
	/flafla/	['fla.flɐ]	'blocked'
	/ŋ͡mʷaata/	['ŋ͡mʷaː.tɐ]	'snake'
	/napua/	[nɐ.'pu.wɐ]	'road'
	/maroa/	[mɐ.'ro.wɐ]	'p.name'
	/makala/	[mɐ.'xa.lɐ]	'spider'
	/keleti/	[kɐ.'le.ti]	'k.o.shell'
	/raparapa/	[ˌra.pɐ.'ra.pɐ]	'sea bug'
	/munariki/	[ˌmu.nɐ.'ri.ki]	'p.name'
	/masafia/	[ˌma.sɐ.'vi.jɐ]	'p.name'

The same pattern of primary stress assignment is observed in words whose penultimate syllable is heavy and whose final syllable is light, as in (111). In such forms, the penultimate syllable contains the penultimate mora and it attracts stress:

(111)	/aŋinta/	[a.ˈŋɨn.tɐ]	‘1PL.INCL.POSS’
	/kinta/	[ˈkɨn.tɐ]	‘1PL.INCL’
	/manfenfe/	[mɐn.ˈfɛn.fe]	‘be.thin’
	/nalpalpa/	[nɐl.ˈpal.pɐ]	‘mud’

In lexemes with a light penultimate syllable and a heavy final one, stress is assigned to the final heavy syllable as it contains the penultimate mora:

(112)	/aŋnem/	[ɐŋ.ˈnɛm]	‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’
	/napap/	[nɐ.ˈpapʰ]	‘shoulder’
	/natul/	[nɐ.ˈtʉl]	‘egg’
	/saluaser/	[sɐ.ˌlu.wɐ.ˈsɛr]	‘lionfish’
	/tataliŋ/	[ˌta.tɐ.ˈliŋ]	‘batfish’

Lexemes with both heavy penultimate and final syllables also show that the relevant factor is mora position. In (113), stress falls on the final syllable of words as it contains the penultimate mora:

(113)	/naktaf/	[nɐk.ˈtaf]	‘p.name’
	/naptona/	[nap.ˈtɔn]	‘belly button’
	/ŋ͡mʷonŋ͡mʷon/	[ŋ͡mʷon.ˈŋ͡mʷon]	‘yellow’
	/nmalmal/	[nmɐl.ˈmal]	‘cry’
	/alpat/	[ɐl.ˈpat]	‘pinch’
	/ŋotfan/	[ŋɔt.ˈfan]	‘blue’
	/maŋnem/	[mɐŋ.ˈnɛm]	‘1PL.EXCL.BEN’
	/makenkin/	[ˌma.kɘn.ˈkɨn]	‘itchy’
	/mankurkur/	[ˌman.kʉr.ˈkʉr]	‘bat’

A unit receiving a single primary stress is a phonological word. While primary and secondary stress have the same phonetic correlates, they can be distinguished by virtue of the fact that the values of these correlates are higher with primary stress.

2.4.3.3 Exceptions to the dominant stress pattern

There are two deviations from the predominant pattern of penultimate stress. The first concerns lexemes whose penultimate mora is immediately preceded by /a/, and the second

concerns *n(a)*-initial words. In the first case, words contain two vowels in a row, as in *maua* 'p.name', *maole* 'spread' and *maeto* 'angry'. The first vowel is /a/ while the second can be any other vowel. The second vowel is in penultimate mora position and expected to receive stress, but this does not occur as the two vowels diphthongise, because the first vowel /a/ is lower than the following one (see 2.4.2). Stress is then assigned after diphtongisation, as shown in (114):

(114)	/paiŋa/	['paj.ŋɐ]~['paĭ.ŋɐ]	'conch shell'
	/Maina/	['maj.nɐ]~['maĭ.nɐ]	'p.name'
	/raika/	['raj.kɐ]~['raĭ.kɐ]	'spearfish'
	/naŋtaina/	[nɐŋ.'taj.nɐ]~[nɐŋ.'taĭ.nɐ]	'brain'
	/tamataira/	[tɐ.mɐ.'taj.rɐ]~[tɐ.mɐ.'taĭ.rɐ]	'siblings'
	/taβaet/	[tɐ.'k͡pʷajt]~[tɐ.'k͡pʷaĕt]	'hit'
	/ntae-na/	[n.'taj.nɐ]~[n.'taĭ.nɐ]	'poo-3SG.POSS'
	/taos/	['taws]~['taŏs]	'be like'
	/naota/	['naw.tɐ]~['naŏ.tɐ]	'chief'
	/malmauna/	[mɐl.'maw.nɐ]~[mal.'maŭ.na]	'now'
	/tamaraota/	[ta.mɐ.'raw.tɐ]~[ta.mɐ.'raŏ.ta]	'couple'
	/temauna/	[tɐ.'maw.nɐ]~[tɐ.'maŭ.nɐ]	'everyone'
	/mtauki/	[m̩.'taw.ki]~[m̩.'taŭ.ki]	'fear'

The phonetic transcriptions in (114) give two alternative transcriptions for each example, the first with the vowel following /a/ realised as a glide in the stressed syllable, while in the second transcription the same vowel is realised as shorter and non-syllabic. While these sequences could be analysed as phonemic diphthongs, there are reasons why it seems best to treat them as sequences of two underlying vowels. First, these diphthongs are fully predictable: if /a/ immediately occurs before any vowel, diphthongisation occurs and then the diphtong carries stress. If this environment is changed, for instance if another vowel such as /o/ occurs instead of /a/, diphthongisation does not occur and /o/ does not receive stress. This is seen in (66):

(115)	/natroina/	[nɐ.tro.'i.nɐ]	*[nɐ.'troj.nɐ]	'youth'

Second, there is variation in the realisation of the vowel following /a/: in fast speech, it is realised as a glide, while in careful speech it is clearly realised as a vowel, only shorter and unstressed, as seen in the second phonetic transcription of examples in (114). If there were no variation in the pronunciation of these syllables and a glide always followed the /a/, then there would be better grounds to consider analysing these as phonemic diphthongs. However, the

variation in pronunciation suggests that these segments may in fact be underlying vowels rather than glides. Finally, there are historical clues which point to a vocalic origin of the surface glides. For instance, it is likely that *raika* partly reflects POc *ikan 'fish', as shown in (116):

(116) /raika/ ['raj.kɐ]~['raĭ.kɐ] 'spearfish'
ra < *? + ika < *ikan

In conclusion, these sequences are analysed as surface diphthongs of two underlying vowels instead of underlying diphthongs because of their predictable shape. If we consider that stress is assigned after diphthongisation, then this phenomenon can be explained and not considered as an exception anymore, as it is arguable that there is no violation to the rule, since diphthongs are attested syllable nuclei and receive stress.

A real exception to the stress pattern concerns *na*-initial nouns. Nouns with this shape are found all over Vanuatu and were formed by the fusion of an early article of the form **na* to the root (Crowley 1985, Lynch 2001). In Lelepa, these nouns represent a sizeable portion of the class of nouns in the current corpus (about 43%) and are peculiar in that their stress pattern is variable: while many of them have the regular penultimate stress pattern as in (117), others receive stress on their initial *na* syllable, as in (118):

(117)	/nawowa/	[nɐ.'wo.wɐ]	'leaf'
	/nasara/	[nɐ.'sa.rɐ]	'dancing ground'
	/nafsana/	[nɐf.'sa.nɐ]	'language'
	/nafsatrana/	[ˌnaf.sɐ.'tra.nɐ]	'youth'
	/nafinta/	[nɐ.'fin.tɐ]	'silent person'
	/namarta/	[nɐ.'mar.tɐ]	'belly'
	/nanoai/	[nɐ.no.'wa.i]~ [nɐ.no.'waj]	'male'
	/naptau/	[nɐp.'ta.u]~ [nɐp.'taw]	'breadfruit'
	/niasu/	[ni.'ja.su]~ [ni.'jas]	'bailer'

(118)	/nasuŋ͡mʷa/	[ˈna.su.ŋ͡mʷɐ]	‘house’
	/napaŋa/	[ˈna.pɐ.ŋɐ]	‘banyan tree’
	/nak͡pʷo-na/	[ˈna.k͡pʷo.nɐ]	‘smell-3SG.POSS’
	/nafie/	[ˈna.fi.jɐ]	‘plant sp’
	/nafte-na/	[ˈnaf.tə.nɐ]	‘rib-3SG.POSS’
	/naŋ͡mʷa-na/	[ˈna.ŋ͡mʷɐ.nɐ]	‘liver-3SG.POSS’
	/naoa/	[ˈna.wɐ]~[ˈna.wo.ɐ]	‘vein’
	/naŋ͡mʷoru/	[ˈna.ŋ͡mʷo.ru]	‘deepness’
	/natan/	[ˈna.tɐn]	‘spirit’
	/nasoŋo/	[ˈna.soŋo]~[ˈna.soŋ]	‘rubbish’

Nouns in (118) violate the penultimate stress rule and it is difficult to find a motivation for such an exception. For instance, nouns with similar syllable structure are found in both (117) and (118). Both *nawowa* ‘leaf’ and *nasogo* ‘rubbish’ have the same CV.CV.CV syllable structure, yet the latter is an exception to the penultimate stress rule. Similarly, *nafsana* ‘language’ and *naftena* ‘ribs’ both have a CVC.CV.CV structure but different stress patterns, with *naftena* having initial stress. This clearly shows that syllable structure is not determining the variation. In addition, there is also some variation in stress assignment for certain *na*-initial nouns, as seen in (119). These nouns are attested in the corpus with regular stress (as in their first transcription variant) and irregular stress (as in their second transcription variant):

(119)	/nalia/	[nɐ.ˈli.jɐ]~[ˈna.li.jɐ]	‘place’
	/name-na/	[nɐ.ˈme.nɐ]~[ˈna.mə.nɐ]	‘tongue-3SG.POSS’
	/naŋ͡mʷa-na/	[nɐ.ˈŋ͡mʷɐ.nɐ]~[ˈna.ŋ͡mʷɐ.nɐ]	‘liver-3SG.POSS’
	/napat/	[nɐ.ˈpat]~[ˈna.pɐt]	‘tooth’
	/nerue/	[nə.ˈru.we]~[ˈne.ru.we]	‘twins’

2.4.3.4 Final vowel reduction and stress assignment

There is a widespread process of final vowel reduction (see 2.5.1.1), and the present section discusses stress assignment on forms undergoing this process. As this process deletes the final mora, it may have effects on stress assignment. After application of this process, many lexemes which are underlyingly CV-final surface as consonant-final. There is no effect on stress assignment in this case, as the final syllable now contains two morae, and stress falls on the same mora as with vowel-final forms. This is seen in (120):

(120)	/nati/	[nat]~['nati]	'banana'
	/nfarke/	[n̩.'fark̚]~[n̩.'far.kə]	'canoe deck'
	/ntafara/	[n̩tɐ.'far]~[n̩.tɐ.'fa.rɐ]	'wave'
	/ŋm̩moru/	[ŋm̩^{w}ɔr]~['ŋm̩^{w}o.ru]	'hole'
	/muntopu/	[mun.'tɔpˀ]~[mun.'to.pu]	'p.name'
	/mtaso/	[m̩.'tas]~[m̩.'ta.so]	'p.name'

In contrast, with lexemes whose last syllable consists of a vowel with no coda, final vowel deletion results in a surface pattern of final stress, as seen in (121). This means that stress is assigned first, then final vowel deletion applies. This also means that these forms may give the mistaken impression that there is an underlying pattern of final stress in the language:

(121)	/rarua/	[ra.'ru]~[ra.'ru.wɐ]	'canoe'
	/koria/	[ko.'ri]~[ko.'ri.jɐ]	'dog'
	/waraa/	[wɐ.'ra]~[wɐ.'raː]	'here'
	/loa/	[lo]~['lo.wɐ]	'black'
	/falea/	[fɐ.'le]~[fɐ.'le.ɐ]	'cave'
	/kusue/	[ku.'su]~[ku.'su.we]	'rat'

2.5 Phonological processes

2.5.1 Vowel reduction

Vowel reduction refers to the reduction and deletion of vowels: both processes are interlinked, as reduction is the stage preceding deletion. The environment in which this process operates is the immediate surroundings of syllables receiving primary stress. Thus, in certain conditions, vowels occurring both before and after a stressed syllable may be deleted. While this process is widespread and the main phonological process in the language, it is optional: many lexemes attested to undergo the process are also attested not undergoing it, and the process is more likely to be attested in the speech of younger speakers. That said, the process does apply across all generations of speakers.

2.5.1.1 Final vowel reduction

After a consonant, any vowel in word-final position can be deleted, as seen in many examples in this chapter, as well as in (122). High and back vowels are either realised as full vowels or not at all in this position, while /e/ and /a/ also have the reduced forms [ə] and [ɐ], respectively:

(122)	/poti/	[ˈpo.ti]~[pɔt]	‘banana sp’
	/nmaloŋo/	[nma.ˈlo.ŋo]~[nma.ˈlɔŋ]	‘darkness’
	/lopu/	[ˈlo.pu]~[lɔp]	‘bamboo’
	/nife/	[ˈni.fə]~[nif]	‘fan’
	/neika/	[ˈnɛj.kɐ]~[nɛjk]	‘fish’

After a vowel, there are more restrictions governing the application of the process. In this environment, high and back vowels are never fully deleted but are reduced to glides: /i/ is reduced to the palatal glide [j] while the back vowels are reduced to the labial-velar glide [w]:

(123)	/takanei/	[ˌta.kɐ.ˈne.i]~[tɐ.kɐ.ˈnɛj]	‘banana sp.’
	/skei/	[ˈske.i]~[skɛj]	‘INDEF; one’
	/katou/	[kɐ.ˈto.u]~[kɐ.ˈtɔw]	‘hermit crab’
	/kafrau/	[kɐf.ˈra.u]~[kɐf.ˈraw]	‘crawl’
	/llao/	[ˈlːa.o]~[lːaw]	‘spider’
	/fatkao/	[fɐt.ˈka.o]~[fɐt.ˈkaw]	‘p.name’

For final /e/, the process applies in different ways according to the nature of the preceding vowel. After a high vowel, final /e/ can be deleted outright as in (124), but in contrast after /a/ it can be reduced to [j] but not deleted, as in (125). Note that there are no final *oe* sequences in the language:

(124)	/nafie/	[nɐ.ˈfi.je]~[nɐ.ˈfi]	‘k.o. leaf’
	/ŋm͡ʷatietie/	[ŋm͡ʷɐ.ˌti.je.ˈti.je]~[ˌŋm͡ʷa.ti.ˈti]	‘smouth’
	/kusue/	[ku.ˈsu.we]~[ku.ˈsu]	‘rat’

(125)	/marae/	[mɐ.ˈra.e]~[mɐ.ˈraj]	‘eel’
	/ŋm͡ʷae/	[ˈŋm͡ʷa.e]~[ŋm͡ʷaj]	‘far’
	/tae/	[ˈta.e]~[taj]	‘know’

Finally, when final /a/ immediately follows a vowel, it may be either reduced to [ɐ] or deleted altogether. In fast speech, /a/ tends to be deleted, while in more careful speech it is likely to be only reduced:

(126) /nekia/	[ne.ˈki.jɐ]~[ne.ˈki]		‘pandanus’
/wia/	[ˈwi.jɐ]~[ˈwi]		‘good’
/farea/	[fɐ.ˈre.ɐ]~[fɐ.ˈre]		‘chiefly house’
/slafea/	[slɐ.ˈfe.ɐ]~[slɐ.ˈfe]		‘before’
/katoa/	[kɐ.ˈto.wɐ]~[kɐ.ˈto]		‘p.name’
/maroa/	[mɐ.ˈro.wɐ]~[mɐ.ˈro]		‘think’
/napua/	[nɐ.ˈpu.wɐ]~[nɐ.ˈpu]		‘road’
/rua/	[ˈru.wɐ]~[ˈru]		‘two’

2.5.1.2 Pretonic vowel reduction

Vowels filling the nucleus of a syllable preceding a syllable receiving primary stress are also regularly reduced or deleted. This process applies equally to monomorphemic and morphologically complex words. However, it is significantly more constrained than final vowel deletion. In particular, this process is sensitive to both the number of syllables and the syllable structure of a word. First, the pretonic vowel is not deleted in words of three syllables or less, as shown in (127):

(127) /fatuŋ͡mʷa/	[fɐ.ˈtu.ŋ͡mʷɐ]~[fɐ.ˈtuŋ͡mʷ]	*[ftu.ŋ͡mʷɐ]~*[ftuŋ͡mʷ]		‘p.name’
/falea/	[fɐ.ˈle.ɐ]~[fɐ.ˈle]	*[ˈfle.ɐ]~*[fle]		‘cave’
/panei/	[pɐ.ˈne.i]~[pɐ.ˈnej]	*[ˈpne.i]~*[pnɛj]		‘come’

In words of four or more syllables with CV syllables, the process applies with no restrictions, as seen in (128):

(128) /ŋ͡mʷalaŋ͡mʷala/	[ŋ͡mʷɐl.ˈŋ͡mʷal]		‘naked’
/na-muru-na/	[nɐm.ˈrun]		‘N.SPEC-laugh-NMLZ’

It also applies if the syllables surrounding the stressed syllable are simply V, as long as the stressed syllable is CV:

(129) /ŋ͡mʷatietie/	[ˌŋ͡mʷa.ti.ˈti]	‘smooth’

However, it does not happen if the stressed syllable has no onset:

(130) /natroina/	[ˌna.tro.ˈi.nɐ]	*[nɐ.ˈtri.nɐ]	‘youth’
/nataena/	[ˌna.tɐ.ˈe.nɐ]	*[nɐ.ˈte.nɐ]	‘knowledge’

The shape of the stressed syllable is not the only important criterion. The shape of the syllable preceding the pretonic one is also important: if this syllable has a shape different from CV or V, the process does not apply. The reason for this is that it would create a complex consonant cluster, and while three-consonant clusters are attested, they are very rare (see 2.4.1.2). For instance, in (131) the syllable preceding the pretonic one is closed, and the process does not apply:

(131)	/ŋm͡ʷaskosko/	[ŋm͡ʷɐ.ˈkɔs.ko]	*[ˈŋm͡ʷskɔs.ko]	‘mature’
	/nafakliŋana/	[nɐ.ˌfak.li.ˈŋa.nɐ]	*[ˌna.fɐk.ˈlŋa.nɐ]	‘departure’
	/nafan͡kpʷatana/	[nɐ.ˌfan.͡kpʷɐ.ˈta.nɐ]	*[ˌna.fɐn.ˈ͡kpʷta.nɐ]	‘difference’

Similarly, if the syllable preceding the pretonic one is open but has a complex onset, the process does not apply either:

(132)	/ŋm͡ʷlatiŋ/	[ŋm͡ʷlɐ.ˈtiŋ]	*[ˈŋm͡ʷl.tiŋ]	‘close’
	/sralesko/	[srɐ.ˈlɛs.ko]	*[srlɛs.ko]	‘believe’
	/nafsatrana/	[ˌna.fsɐ.ˈtra.nɐ]	*[nɐf.ˈstra.nɐ]	‘answer’

2.5.2 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a process inserting non-underlying segments within words. There are two distinct epenthesis processes in the language, according to the type of the epenthetic segment: vowel epenthesis (see 2.5.2.1) on the one hand and glide epenthesis (see 2.5.2.2) on the other. The main function of epenthesis is to break sequences of like segments: vowel epenthesis occurs to break consonant clusters, while glide epenthesis occurs to break vowel sequences.

2.5.2.1 Vowel epenthesis

Vowel epenthesis consists of the insertion of a non-lexical vowel in certain environments. In Lelepa, it can be the result of either phonological or morphophonological processes. As it changes the phonetic shape of words, it has an impact on surface syllable structure: with the addition of a vowel, the syllable count of a word is increased by one syllable. However, note that a syllable in which the nucleus is epenthetic does not receive stress. Vowel epenthesis occurs to break consonant clusters. It was shown in 2.4.1.2 that consonant clusters are allowed in the language, however they are also disprefered and speakers will avoid them. Vowel epenthesis is conditioned by the sonority of the consonants forming a sequence, and whether

consonant sequences are tautosyllabic or heterosyllabic. A formulation of the sonority hierarchy is shown in (133), after Kenstowicz (1994:254). Vowels have the highest levels of sonority, while obstruents have the lowest:

(133) The sonority hierarchy (Kenstowicz 1994:254)
VOWELS > GLIDES > LIQUIDS > NASALS > OBSTRUENTS

Kenstowicz's sonority hierarchy ranks classes of sounds in terms of their sonority, and states that the class of obstruents has the lowest level of sonority. Recall that the class of obstruents is fairly large in the language (six members), unlike other classes of consonants (two glides, two liquids, four nasals), thus it would be useful to distinguish different degrees of sonority among obstruents. This is what Parker's (2002:235) sonority scale proposes:

(134) Sonority scale (Parker 2002:235)
LOW VOWELS > MID VOWELS > HIGH VOWELS > SCHWA >
GLIDES > LATERALS > FLAPS > TRILLS > NASALS >
GLOTTAL FRICATIVE > VOICED FRICATIVES > VOICED STOPS > VOICELESS FRICATIVES >
VOICELESS STOPS & AFFRICATES

Armed with Parker's sonority scale, it is possible to make more fine-grained analyses of the sonority of obstruents combinations. The sonority sequencing principle (Clement 1990:285, Blevins 1995:210) makes predictions on syllabicity based on the sonority of the segments surrounding the syllable peak (or nucleus):

(135) Sonority Sequencing Principle (Blevins 1995:210)
BETWEEN ANY MEMBER OF THE SYLLABLE AND THE SYLLABLE PEAK, A SONORITY RISE OR PLATEAU MUST OCCUR.

This means that in a syllable of the shape C_1C_2V, C_1 must have a lower or equal sonority than C_2. In case C_1 has a lower sonority than C_2, there is a sonority rise, while with equal sonority levels there is a sonority plateau. Finally, when the C_1 has a higher sonority than C_2, a sonority reversal occurs and the sonority sequencing principle is violated. A common environment for vowel epenthesis to occur in Lelepa is a sonority plateau. In (136), the word-initial clusters are formed with phonemes from the same classes of sounds (nasal-nasal and stop-stop). These clusters form a sonority plateau and may be interrupted by an epenthetic schwa:

(136)	/nŋea/	[nŋe]~[nə.ˈŋe]	‘DEF’
	/nmatena/	[nmɐ.ˈtɛn]~[nə.mɐ.ˈtɛn]	‘funeral’
	/tkarki/	[tkark]~[tə.ˈkark]	‘last born’
	/tkalpa/	[tkalp]~[tə.ˈkalp]	‘first born’
	/tk͡pʷar/	[tk͡pʷar]~[tə.ˈk͡pʷar]	‘open’

In syllables with complex onsets in which a rise in sonority occurs, there are no instances of vowel epenthesis:

(137)	/pnak/	[pnak]	‘steal’
	/psa/	[psa]	‘speak’
	/fsa/	[fsa]	‘speak:IRR’
	/plake/	[ˈplak]	‘go.with’
	/k͡pʷlaka/	[ˈk͡pla.kɐ]	‘buff-banded rail’

There are a few clusters which represent sonority reversals in the language. Such clusters are violation of the sonority sequencing principle. The language deals with them in various ways, including vowel epenthesis and consonant syllabification (see 2.5.3). First, certain sequences are syllabified as part of a complex onset. They represent violations of the sonority sequencing principle, as seen in (138). The noun *fterki* ‘wife’ is a rare case in which a syllable presenting a sonority reversal in the onset occurs, and optional epenthesis can occur to solve this violation:

(138)	/fterki/	[ftərk] ~[fə.ˈtərk]~[ˈftər.ki]~ [fə.ˈtər.ki]	‘wife’

Second, there are forms such as the aspect particle *mro* ‘AGAIN’ which do not occur in isolation and minimally need a subject proclitic and a verb to occur in a construction. As seen in (139) and (140), *mro* is resyllabified, and the onset cluster /mr/ is broken, with /m/ acting as a coda and /r/ as an onset. In (139), the subject proclitic is vowel final and no epenthesis is needed, as it acts as the nucleus of the first syllable, which has /m/ of *mro* as a coda:

(139)	[ˈam.ro	ˈnɛt	nɐr.ˈk͡pʷan	ke.ˈru]
	A=mro	net	narp̃an	ke=rua,
	1SG.S=again	plane	side	ORD=two
	‘I plane the other side again,’			

But it is also possible for *mro* to be preceded by a consonant-final subject proclitic, as seen in (140). In this example, there is potentially a sonority reversal in the sequence /rm/. To deal

with this, an epenthetic schwa is inserted between the proclitic and the aspect particle, which results in breaking the cluster presenting a sonority reversal:

(140) ['a.rəm.ro 'pa rɐ.'ru 'wok 'la.kun]
ar=mro pa ra=rua wok Lagoon
3DU.S=again go 3DU.s=two work p.name
'They both went to work at the Lagoon Hotel.'

So far, vowel epenthesis was shown to occur to break two kinds of consonant sequences, those forming sonority plateaus and reversals. However, this process is only one of the processes the language calls upon to deal with prohibited sequences, as 2.5.3 shows that certain prohibited sequences are resolved by consonant syllabification.

2.5.2.2 Glide epenthesis

The phones [w] and [j] are regularly inserted between vowels when particular vowels are in sequence. The occurrence of these epenthetic glides depends on the height difference of the two vowels in sequence: if any of the high or mid vowels /i/, /o/ or /u/ is followed by a lower vowel, then glide insertion occurs. The selection of either [j] or [w] depends on the frontness or backness of the first vowel in the sequence: the palatal [j] is inserted following a front vowel, but labial-velar [w] is inserted after back vowels. Note that the sequence *iu* is not attested. Example (141) shows insertion of [j] between /i/ and /a/ and /i/ and /o/:

(141)	/ŋia/	['ŋi.jɐ]	'dolphin'
	/wia/	['wi.jɐ]	'good'
	/masafia/	[ˌma.sɐ.'vi.jɐ]	'p.name'
	/ŋaio/	[ŋɐ.'i.jo]	'fine'
	/e=walof=iou/	[ˌe.wɐ.ˌlo.fi.'jɔw]	
		'3SG.S=wave=1SG.OBJ'	

Example (142) shows that [w] is inserted between /u/ and /a/, /o/ and /a/ and /u/ and /e/:

(142)	/rua/	['ru.wɐ]	'two'
	/suara/	[su.'war]	'walk'
	/saluaser/	[sɐ.ˌlu.wɐ.'sɛr]	'fish sp'
	/maroa/	[mɐ.'ro.wɐ]	'p.name'
	/toa/	['to.wɐ]	'chicken'
	/natue/	[nɐ.'tu.we]	'plant sp.'

Glide insertion does not occur between vowels of the same height as shown in (143), nor in sequences in which the first vowel is lower than the second one, as in (144):

(143)	/takeo/	[tɛ.'ke.o]	*[tɛ.'ke.jo]	'fish sp.'
(144)	/tai/	['ta.i]	*['ta.ji]~*['ta.wi]	'sibling'
	/tae/	['ta.e]	*['ta.je]~*['ta.we]	'know'
	/k͡pʷa=owfak/	[ˌk͡pʷa.ow.'fak]	*[ˌk͡pʷa.jow'fak]~*[ˌk͡pʷa.wow'fak]	'2SG.S:IRR=bury'
	/k͡pʷa=uk͡pʷa/	[k͡pʷɐ.'u.k͡pʷɐ] '2SG.S:IRR=kick'	*[k͡pʷɐ.'ju.k͡pʷɐ]~*[k͡pʷɐ.'wu.k͡pʷɐ]	
	/e=uk͡pʷa/	[e.'u.k͡pʷɐ]	*[e.'ju.k͡pʷɐ]	'3SG.S=kick'

2.5.3 Consonant syllabification

Consonant syllabification is another process used to avoid consonant clusters that violate the sonority sequencing principle. In this process, the sonorants /n/, /m/, /ŋ͡mʷ/, /l/, /ɾ/ are syllabified before obstruents /k͡pʷ/, /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/ and /s/. Recall that /ŋ/ is not attested in first position in onset clusters, and the sequences such as */mk͡pʷ/ and */mf/are not attested.

(145)	/ntas/	[n̩.'tas]~[n̩.'das]	'sea'
	/nkapu/	[n̩.'kaᵬ]~[n̩.'gaᵬ]~ [n̩.'ka.pu]	'fire'
	/nsfa/	[n̩.'sfa]~[ən.'sfa] ~[n̩.'sva]~[ən.'sva]	'what'

(146)	/mpan/	[m̩.'pan]~[m̩.'ban]	'away'
	/mtak/	[m̩.'tak^{h}]~[m̩.'dak^{h}]	'afraid'
	/mkalkal/	[m̩.kɐl.'kal]~[m̩.gɐl.'gal]	'itchy'
	/msak/	[m̩.'sak^{h}]~[m̩.'zak^{h}]	'sick'

2.5.4 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a minor process: it is limited to the verb complex, and to certain morphemes occurring in the verb complex. In this process, the vowels of certain elements of the verb complex harmonise with the vowel of certain subject proclitics. Morphemes involved in vowel harmony include subject proclitics with the high back vowel /u/ (that is, *ku*= '2SG.S'; *tu*= '1DU.EXCL.S' *ur*= '1PL.INCL.S'; *ur*= '3PL.S'). These proclitics trigger the assimilation of the vowel of the modality particle *kat* 'CERT', the verb *to* 'stay', and the clause-final particle *to*

'STAT'. In (147) and (148), the vowel of the particle *kat* assimilates to that of the subject proclitic:

(147) [ku.'ku.tə tɬl srɐŋ.'maw.nɐ nɐ.'ŋan]
Ku=kat til sraŋmauna naŋ-na.
2SG.S=CERT tell everything ASS-3SG.POSS
'You told everything about it.'

(148) [ur.'ku.tə 'pɐl.sə pɐn.'mɛj]
ur=kat palse panmei
3PL.S.CERT paddle come
'They paddled towards us.'

In (149), the vowels of both the verb *to* 'stay' and the clause-final particle *to* 'STAT' have assimilated to that of the subject proclitic:

(149) [ˌte.mɐ.'tu aŋ'nɛm ur.'tus 'tu]
Te=matua aŋnem ur=to=s to
SBST=old 1PL.EXCL.POSS 3PL.S=stay=3OBL STAT
'Our ancestors stayed there.'

Proximity to the subject proclitic is not a condition for the vowel harmony to occur. As seen in (150), the clause-final particle occurs twice, and is separated from the verb by the oblique *natkon* 'village' and by the adverbs *m̃ol* and *tapla* 'like this':

(150) Naara ur=kut tu natkon tu,
3PL 3PL.S=CERT stay village STAT

ur=kut tu m̃ol tapla tu,
3PL.S=CERT stay just like.this STAT
'They stayed in the village, they just stayed like this.'

2.5.5 Gemination

The liquids /l/ and /r/ as well as the plosive /p/ occur as geminates in a small number of roots:

(151) /llu/ [lːu] 'return'
/llao/ ['lːa.o] 'spider'
/rri/ [rːi] 'fly'
/nappa/ ['nap.pɐ] 'timber'
/lalla/ ['lal.lɐ] 'shellfish sp.'

Gemination is contrastive, as seen in (152):

(152)	/llao/	['lːa.o]	'spider'
	/lao/	['la.o]	'stand'
	/rri/	[rːi]	'fly'
	/ri/	[ri]	'dig'

Gemination also occurs at morpheme boundaries, when roots combine with affixes and clitics:

(153)	/nan-na/	['nan.nɐ]	'offspring-3SG.POSS'

(154)	[urː.su.'ŋi	pɐ.'nɛj]
	/ur=rsuŋ=ia	panei/
	3PL.S=shift=3SG.OBJ	COME
	'They brought it.'	
	[]	

In addition, when two same vowels are in the underlying $VL_1V_1L_1V_1V_2$ (where L is a liquid), V_1 is deleted and the sequence $VL_1L_1V_2$ surfaces: the liquids are not separated by a vowel and are pronounced as a geminate consonant, as seen below.

(155)	/maŋaliliu/	[mɐ.'ŋal.lu]	'Mangaliliu'
	/allaapa/	['al.lɐː.paɐ]	'Lelepa'

The surface forms of these lexemes illustrate this process of vowel deletion. Note that these two lexemes, being place names for two major locations in Vanuatu, are widely used in everyday conversation by Lelepa speakers outside of their language group. Interestingly, when Lelepa speakers use these words in a different language, such as Bislama or English, this process does not occur and the words surface as ['le.le.ˌpa] and [mɐ.ˌŋa.li.'lju], which is the pronunciation used in those other languages.

2.6 Orthography

The orthography used in this study is largely based on the orthography designed by the missionary Peter Milne based in Nguna, which is still in use today. The main feature of that orthography is the use of characters with tildas to represent the labial-velars. These graphemes have been adopted in a number of Vanuatu languages which have comparable phonemes (e.g.

South Efate and Nguna). As seen in table 2.13, most phonemes are represented phonetically except for the labial-velar stops /k͡pʷ/ which is represented as <p̃>, the labial-velar nasal /ŋ͡mʷ/ is represented as <m̃>, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented as <g>, the palatal /j/ is represented as <i>, and the labial-velar glide /w/ is represented as <w>. Phonemic vowel length is represented by the digraph <aa>.

phoneme	grapheme	phoneme	grapheme
/k͡pʷ/	<p̃>	/i/	<i>
/p/	<p>	/e/	<e>
/t/	<t>	/a/	<a>
/k/	<k>	/aa/	<aa>
/f/	<f>	/o/	<o>
/s/	<s>	/u/	<u>
/ŋ͡mʷ/	<m̃>		
/m/	<m>		
/n/	<n>		
/ŋ/	<g>		
/l/	<l>		
/r/	<r>		
/w/	<w>		
/j/	<i>		

Table 2.13. Phonemes/graphemes correspondences

Phonemic vowels in pretonic and final position (see 2.5.1) are always represented in the orthography, because their occurence in speech is conditioned by inter-generational variation rather than by phonological constraints. Alternative representations have been avoided so that learners do not need to learn several representations of the same word. In contrast, the final consonants of verbs participating in final consonant loss are never written when not pronounced (see 3.3.5). Epenthetic segments are not represented, except for borrowings.

Chapter 3 — Morphology

3.1 Introduction

Lelepa morphology mostly concerns nouns and verbs, and presents inflectional and derivational processes. As expected for an Oceanic language, Lelepa comprises possessive marking on nouns, valency and participant reference marking on verbs, as well as nominalisation strategies. Reduplication is present but is only a minor process. A distinction of typological interest is the contrast between nominalisation and substantivisation (after Lemaréchal 1989). The former derives nouns from verbs, while the latter derives referential noun phrases from non-referential lexemes such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, determiners and possessives. Substantivisation is not widely reported in Oceanic languages but has been described in the Vanuatu language Mwotlap (François 2001) and in the non-Oceanic Austronesian languages Palauan (Lemaréchal 1989:39) and Tagalog (Lemaréchal 1989:21). It is also present in Indo-European languages such as Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993). The chapter is organised in three main parts: noun morphology, which is inflectional, is discussed in 3.2, while verb morphology, which involves both inflectional and cliticisation processes, is discussed in 3.3. Section 3.4 discusses derivational processes such as nominalisation in 3.4.1 and substantivisation in 3.4.2. The formation of locational nouns is discussed in 3.4.3, and that of ordinal adjectives in 3.4.4. Finally, reduplication is discussed in 3.4.5.

3.2 Noun morphology

The two main inflectional operations found on nouns are possessive suffixation (3.2.1) and article prefixation (3.2.2). Nominal compounding is discussed in 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Nouns and possessive morphology

Nouns can be grouped in two subclasses, bound and free, according to their morphological behaviour in possessive constructions, as seen in table 3.1:

Noun class	Morphological behaviour
Bound nouns	Can take possessive suffixes
Free nouns	Never take possessive suffixes

Table 3.1. Noun categories according to possession

Bound nouns encode body parts, kin terms and some part of wholes and are recognised on their ability to occur in the type of possessive construction shown in (1) (see also 6.3.1). While kin terms must occur in possessive constructions (see 4.2.4), this is not a requirement for other bound nouns. Bound nouns occur in possessive constructions in which the possessor is directly encoded as a suffix on the possessed noun, as in (1). In this example, the suffix *-m̃a* '2SG.POSS' encodes the possessor of *natu* 'leg' for person and number:

(1) Oooo, napis toa nge e=to **natu-m̃a**, ku=kano suara.
oh cheek chicken DEF 3SG.S=IPFV leg-2SG.POSS 2SG.S=cannot walk
'Oh, (when) chicken cheeks (i.e. a type of skin infection) were on your leg, you couldn't walk.'

In contrast, free nouns cannot take possessor suffixes. Their pronominal possessor is encoded by a free possessive pronominal. This is shown in (2) and (3): in (2), the possessed noun *toa* 'chicken' is followed by the free possessive pronominal *nag* '2SG.POSS', while (3) is ingrammatical as *toa* can never take a possessor suffix:

(2) A=pnak **toa** **nag**.
1SG.S=steal chicken 2SG.POSS
'I stole your chicken.'
[elicited]

(3) *A=pnak **toa-m̃a**
1SG.S=steal chicken-2SG.POSS
'I stole your chicken.'
[elicited]

It is important to note that bound nouns do not require a suffix to encode the possessor, to teh exception of obligatorily possessed kin terms which always occur with a possessor suffix (see 4.2.4). In (4), *natu* 'leg' is followed by a lexical noun encoding the possessor of the leg:

(4) Ar=to, na-mu-na e=kat panei mu gor **natu ofa** wara.
3DU.S=stayN.SPEC-go.in-NMLZ 3SG.S=CERT COME go.in cover leg heron here
'They stayed, then the tide came in and covered the legs of the heron up to here.'

Further, bound nouns are not required to occur in a possessive construction, to the exception of obligatorily possessed kin terms. In (5), *nɲ̃ou* 'head' occurs in a possessive construction similar to the one in (1): it takes a possessive suffix encoding a third person singular possessor. In (6), it is followed by the ordinal adjective *ke-rua* 'ORD-two' and does not occur in a possessive construction. Note that *nɲ̃ou* can refer to a body part, but also to the top part of an object as in (5) and (6), in which it refers to the topsides of a mat:

(5) Tu=ga fat **nɲ̃ou-na** gafea.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR make:IRR head-3SG.POSS IRR.be.first:IRR
'We will do its topsides first.'

(6) Mala **nɲ̃ou** ke-rua e=ga nou,
time head ORD-two 3SG.S=IRR be.finished
'When the second topside is finished,'

The category of free nouns is illustrated by *rarua* 'canoe'. It occurs unpossessed in (7), possessed with a pronominal possessor in (8), but would be ungrammatical if possessed with a possessor suffix as in (9):

(7) Ur=seiki **rarua**, ur=put nlai naara.
3PL.S=push canoe 3PL.S=pull sail 3PL
'They pushed the canoe, they pulled their sail.'

(8) Ɲ̃a=fa ɲ̃rae **rarua** **aginta**!
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR split canoe 1PL.INCL.POSS
'You'll break our canoe!'

(9) *Ɲ̃a=fa ɲ̃rae **rarua-gta**!
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR split canoe-1PL.INC.POSS
'You'll break our canoe!'
[Elicited]

Table 3.2 shows that bound nouns tend to refer to body parts (including body products and other elements associated to the self), some kinship terms and some parts of wholes. The table also shows that bound nouns referring to body parts and products are, for the most part, *na*-initial. This is also the case with parts of inanimates' wholes. In contrast, kin terms are not *na*-initial, which is expected given that no article was reconstructed for human common noun in Proto Oceanic (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:70). See 3.2.2 and 4.2.2 for more on *na*-initial nouns:

Body parts		Parts of wholes		Kin terms	
ñ̪ou-na	'head-3SG.POSS'	*naul-la*	'leaf-3SG.POSS'	*sul-la*	'grandchild-3SG.POSS'
namata-na	'eye-3SG.POSS'	*nlak-na*	'stump-3SG.POSS'	*a-ti-na*	'KIN-maternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'
nar-ra	'hand-3SG.POSS'	*nran-na*	'branch-3SG.POSS'	*a-pu-na*	'KIN-maternal.gdfather-3SG.POSS'
nalkop-na	'liver-3SG.POSS'	*nakiat-na*	'boom-3SG.POSS'	*gore-na*	'sister-3SG.POSS'
nlas-na	'genitals-3SG.POSS'	*nfarke-na*	'deck-3SG.POSS'	*p̃al-la*	'brother-3SG.POSS'
nfat-na	'bone-3SG.POSS'	*nafrat-na*	'rafter-3SG.POSS'	*p̃el-la*	'mother-3SG.POSS'
nra-na	'blood-3SG.POSS'			*a-lo-na*	'KIN-maternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'
ntai-na	'poo-3SG.POSS'			*a-tu-na*	'KIN-paternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'
name-na	'urine-3SG.POSS'			*tam̃asm̃a-na*	'paternal.aunt-3SG.POSS'
mul-la	'skin-3SG.POSS'			*tu-na*	'sister.in.law-3SG.POSS'
nalo-na	'voice-3SG.POSS'			*ntawi-na*	'brother.in.law-3SG.POSS'

Table 3.2. Bound nouns

In contrast, free nouns encode all other referents. As seen in table 3.3, free nouns encoding human referents, names of natural species and other natural items, common objects, place/personal names and nouns encoding other referents can be *na*-initial or not.

Humans	Natural world	Common objects	Place and personal names	Other
nagrun	*napaga*	*naala*	*Napar*	*nafarkal*
'woman'	'banyan tree'	'basket'	'personal name'	'bush spirit'
nanoai	*nakafka*	*naape*	*Narop*	*nafsana*
'man'	'malay apple tree'	'war club'	'personal name'	'language'
nkarkik	*nagul*	*namit*	*Namuan*	*naforfor*
'children'	'goatfish'	'mat'	'personal name'	'bundle'
nafinta	*namka*	*nagao*	*Naktaf*	*nakai*
'silent person'	'moray eel'	'tongues'	'place name'	'traditional story'
naota	*naplasa*	*nafie*	*Natapao*	*nmas*
'chief'	'reef crevasse'	'wrapping leaf'	'place name'	'season'
marka	*elo*	*kerak*	*Tareinuwa*	*patera*
'old man'	'sun'	'canoe prow'	'personal name'	'top'
fterki	*kura*	*fefe*	*Maina*	*pai*
'married woman'	'tree sp.'	'oven cover'	'personal name'	'secret'
kano	*lopu*	*for*	*Leitot*	*palua*
'man'	'bamboo'	'k.o.basket'	'personal name'	'cavity'
tatau	*aru*	*farea*	*Katoa*	*sla*
'baby'	'rainbow runner'	'chiefly house'	'place name'	'time'
	rakua	*kapua*	*Alpat*	*faofao*
	'crab'	'laplap'	'place name'	'title'

Table 3.3. Free nouns

Free nouns cannot take possessor suffixes, as shown in (9). In contrast, bound nouns can take suffixes or free possessive pronominal to encode the possessor, depending on whether or not the possessive relationship is alienable or not, as shown in (10) and (11) with the bound noun *nagi* 'name'. In (10), the possessor and possessum are closely linked: there is a single person in the world holding the name *Steven Mariofa*. This is marked by directly suffixing *nagi* with the possessor suffix *–go* '1SG.POSS':

(10) Konou, **nagi-go** Steven Mariofa.
1SG name-1SG.POSS p.name p.name
'Me, my name is Steven Mariofa.'

In contrast, in (11) the possessive relationship is different: *nagi aginta* refers to the name *Munalpa* that is shared within a group of people.[1] While the speaker says that he bears the name *Munalpa*, he also conveys that this name is not inalienable, as *nagi* is followed by the free possessive pronoun *aginta* '1PL.INCL.POSS':

[1] In Lelepa, traditional names such as *Munalpa* are passed from one person to the next and reflect status. Individuals change names several times in the course of their life as they change status. In contrast, Christian names such as *Steven* are kept by their bearers for their whole life and do not reflect changes in status.

(11) Konou, nagi konou, a=pi Munalpa. **Nagi aginta** Kastom.
1SG name 1SG 1SG.S=COP p.name name 1PL.INCL.POSS Kastom
'Me, my name, I am Munalpa. (This is) our customary name'

3.2.2 The residual article *n(a)-*

Two prefixes of the form *na-* occur on nouns and verbs. Their functions are different: on nouns, *na-* marks the referent as non-specific and is an article. In contrast, when occurring on verbs, *na-* derives nouns and is a nominaliser. The functions of the article *na-* are discussed here while the nominaliser *na-* is discussed in 3.4.1.2.

Two articles, **na* and **a*, have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Crowley 1985). **Na* is reflected in Lelepa since about 43% of nouns in the corpus are *na*-initial. While *na* is often fossilised, with a few nouns it is inflectional. In this case, nouns can drop their initial *na-* in two circumstances: when they occur in compounds, and when they mark a specific referent. A specific referent is a particular entity in the world, while a non-specific referent is a class of objects. The nouns in table 3.4 occur with *na-* to mark a non-specific referent and drop it to signal that their referent is specific. For these nouns, *na-* is analysable as a marker of non-specificity. However, since the great majority of *na*-initial nouns do not show this alternation (see 4.2.2), *na-* is not posited as a productive non-specific article across the category of Lelepa nouns.

Specific nouns		Non-specific nouns	
sum̃a	'house'	*na-sum̃a*	'N.SPEC-house'
grun	'woman'	*na-grun*	'N.SPEC-woman'
mul-la	'skin-3DG.POSS'	*na-mul-la*	'N.SPEC-skin-3DG.POSS'
sul-la	'grandchild-3SG.POSS'	*na-sul-la*	'N.SPEC-grandchild-3SG.POSS'
mtapus	'orphan'	*na-mtapus*	'N.SPEC-orphan'
magfai	'half'	*na-magfai*	'N.SPEC-half'
m̃oru	'hole'	*na-m̃oru*	'N.SPEC-hole; deepness'
p̃lasa	'reef crevasse'	*na-p̃lasa*	'N.SPEC-reef.crevasse'
lak	'stump'	*n-lak*	'N.SPEC-stump'

Table 3.4. Nouns showing *na-initial* alternations

The alternation is shown in examples (12) to (17). In (12), *na-sum̃a* 'N.SPEC-house' has a non-specific referent, as it refers to the class of objects known as houses. In contrast, in (13) the initial *na-* is dropped and *sum̃a* 'house' refers to a specific house, that of the mother and her son:

(12) Naara ur=lakae ur=po pat **na-suñ̃a** tapla.
3PL 3PL.S=see 3PL.S=SEQ make N.SPEC-house like this
'They realised that they would make houses like this.'

(13) Tetei nae e=po slat=ia pa-ki **suñ̃a** pa.
mother 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=SEQ carry=3SG.O go-TR house GO
'Then, his mother took him home.'

Similarly in (14), *nagrun* refers to a property of the referent of *tkalpa* 'first born' rather than to a particular woman in the world, so the referent of *nagrun* is viewed as non-specific:

(14) Tkalpa agnou e=pi **na-grun**.
first.born 1SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-woman
'My first-born is a woman.'
[elicited]

In contrast, in (15) *grun* occurs without *na-* and encodes a specific referent. In addition, it also occurs with *nge* marking the referent as definite:

(15) E=lo wia-ki **grun** **nge** e=to taakae.
3SG.S=look be.good-TR woman DEF 3SG.S=IPFV dance
'He was interested in the woman who was dancing.'

In (16), the referent of *na-mtapus* 'N.SPEC-orphan' is non-specific and encodes a quality of the referent of *e=* '3SG.S' and *nae* '3SG', rather than encoding the same referent:

(16) Nae, e=pi **na-mtapus.**
3SG 3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-orphan
'As for him, he is an orphan.'
[Elicited]

In contrast, the referent of *mtapus* in (17) is specific. It does not denote a class of referents like *namtapus* does in (16), but has a specific referent in the real world:

(17) **Mtapus** e=plo wan matur.
orphan 3SG.S=STILL lie sleep
'The orphan is still asleep.'
[Elicited]

When they drop *na*, the nouns in table 3.4 do not show a generalised behaviour. For instance, (16) and (17) showed that *namtapus* and *mtapus* can occur with no NP modifiers. However, this is not the case with *nagrun* and *grun*. While *nagrun* is able to head NPs without modifiers as in (14), *grun* is analytically bound and needs to occur with a syntactic formative such as a determiner such as in (15) and (18):

(18)

Grun	**wa-n**	ku=pat=ia	pan	pa,	e=kat	pa-ki	sei	pa?
woman	DEM-DIST	2SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ	GO	GO	3SG.S=CERT	go-TR	where	GO

'That woman you went out with for a while, where did she go?'

Example (19) shows that *grun* cannot head NPs without modifiers:

(19)

*Grun	ku=pat=ia	pan	pa,	e=kat	pa-ki	sei	pa?
woman	2SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ	GO	GO	3SG.S=CERT	go-TR	where	GO

'The woman you went out with for a while, where did she go?'
[Elicited]

The other instance in which *na-* is dropped is in compounds. There are two types of nominal compounds in the language, compound words and phrasal compounds (see 3.2.3). While each type differs, they also share certain properties such as dropping the *na* of some *na*-initial nouns involved in compounding. In (20), *grun* occurs with the adjectival verb *kiki* 'be small' to form the compound word *grunkiki* 'girl':

(20)

E=loɲa=e	se	e=pi	**grunkiki**	wia.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ	COMP	3SG.S=COP	girl	be.good

'He saw that she was a lovely girl.'

In (21), *mtapus* is used to form the phrasal compound *kanokiki mtapus* 'orphan boy':

(21)

Tena,	e=pi	kanokik	**mtapus**	skei.
SBST.DEM	3SG.S=COP	boy	orphan	INDEF

'As for this one, he is an orphan boy.'
[Elicited]

It is worthwhile recalling here that the article system reconstructed for Proto Oceanic includes the forms **na* and **a* (Crowley 1985). Exactly what both of these forms marked, and in which environments they occurred is currently unclear (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:70-72). While Lelepa has reanalysed *na-* in the productive process of nominalisation (see 3.4.1.1), it shows

historical remains of POc **na* in the marking of non-specificity.[2] Crowley (1985) proposed a typology of Oceanic languages according to the way they reflect the POc **na*/**a* alternation. Lelepa fits the following type (Crowley 1985:161): "a residual, non-productive system, involving a morphologically fused reflex of **na* or **a*, which is attached only before some nouns, and is possibly separable with some nouns, and is used only in some marginal constructions."

3.2.3 Nominal compounding

Compounding happens when two or more roots/lexemes are juxtaposed to form a single stem/word. There are two types of nominal compounds: compound words and phrasal compounds.[3] The main criterion distinguishing both types is phonological: while compound words form a single phonological word (see 2.4.3.2), the nouns used to form phrasal compounds keep their status as independent phonological words. Thus in (22), *kanokiki* 'boy' is a compound word while *marka naota* 'old chief' is a phrasal compound:

(22)	kano-kiki man-be.small	[ˌka.no.ˈkikʲ]	'boy'
	marka naota old.man chief [elicited]	[ˈmar.kɐ ˈnaŏ.tɐ]	'old chief'

Example (22) also shows that phrasal compounds are formed with nouns, while compound words are formed with a noun and a modifier taken from a variety of word classes: *Kanokiki* is formed with the noun *kano* and the intransitive verb *kiki* 'be small', while *marka naota* is formed with two nouns. Both *kanokiki* and *marka naota* are endocentric: they refer to an item that is part of a larger class referred to by one of the elements of the compound (Aikhenvald 2007:30). Thus *kanokiki* refers to a member of the class of men, while *marka naota* 'old chief' is a kind of chief. While the majority of compounds in the language are endocentric, there are a

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[2] The language also has a locative proclitic *a=* 'LOC' (see 3.4.3) which likely reflects the POc local/temporal preposition **i* (Ross 1998b, Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:87) rather than the article **a*.

[3] There are also non-nominal compounds, which are mostly lexicalised and non-productive. The adverb *malmauna* 'now' is a combination of *mala* 'time' and *mauna* 'every', *mauna* being a combination of the adverb *mau* 'all' and the nominaliser *-na*. Note that a number of morphophonological processes occur with this compound: *mala* is reduced to *mal*, and the compound is a single phonological word. It is also not semantically compositional. Finally, some word class derivation occurs as well, as the elements of the compound belong to different word classes from the compound itself.

few exocentric compounds, which differ in that they 'denote something which is different from either of their components' (Aikhenvald 2007:30). An example of this is *nm̃atrai* 'backside', formed with the nouns *nm̃at* 'back' and *rai* 'face'.

Morphologically, compounds consist of juxtaposed lexemes with no intervening morpheme. While both types of compounds are formed in this way, certain possessive constructions consist of two juxtaposed nouns as well, like phrasal compounds. Section 3.2.3.2 will discuss criteria to distinguish phrasal compounds from such possessive constructions.

Each type of compound is discussed in turn, using Aikhenvald's (2007) four criteria to identify compounding processes across languages: phonological unity, morphological unity, morphosyntactic unity and semantic compositionality. While these criteria are useful, they are not all equally relevant to describing nominal compounding in Lelepa. For instance, phonological unity is a property of compound words only.

3.2.3.1 Compound words

Compound words are found predominantly in the class of nouns. Compounds belonging to other word classes are briefly discussed at the end of this section. Compound words form a single phonological word, a common property of compounds across languages (Aikhenvald 2007:25). Table 3.5 shows that compound words are formed with a noun contributing the main referential information, and with another element modifying the noun, generally denoting a quality of the referent. Frequently, this modifier is an intransitive verb, as seen with the pair *kanokiki* 'boy' and *kanotaare* 'white man, Westerner': *kano* 'man' is a noun, and both *kiki* 'be small' and *taare* 'be white' are intransitive verbs. However, the modifier can also be a noun, as shown with *urantas* 'lobster' and *uranuwai* 'freshwater prawn': *ura* 'prawn' is a noun, as are *ntas* 'sea' and *nuwai* 'water, river'. Similarly, in *nm̃atrai* 'back side', both *nm̃at* 'back' and *nrai* 'face' are nouns. As expected cross-liguistically (Aickhenvald 2007:26), compound words also follow a fixed order, which in Lelepa is head-modifier. Compounds are most often made of two elements. Notice that *sòup̃oumíla* 'red-headed honeyeater' is made up of three elements: its internal struture consists of the lexemes *sou* 'honeyeater', *np̃ou* 'head' and *mila* 'red'. Note that *np̃ou* loses initial *n-* in the compounding process. No compounds with four elements or more are known.

Compound	Gloss	Formation	
kànotáare	'white person'	*kano* 'man' + *taare* 'be white'	noun + verb
kànokíki	'boy'	*kano* 'man' + *kiki* 'be small'	noun + verb
grunkíki	'girl'	*grun* 'woman' + *kiki* 'be small'	noun + verb
sòupoumíla	'red-headed honeyeater'	*sou* 'honeyeater'+*npou* 'head'+*mila* 'be red'	noun + verb
nàlgurfráu	'needlefish'	*nalgur* 'mouth' + *frau* 'be long'	noun + verb
nàlgurmít	'barracuda'	*nalgur* 'mouth' + *mit* 'be short'	noun + verb
fòrpagón	'k.o.basket'	*for* 'k.o.basket' + *pagon* '?'	noun + verb
mantúa	'flying fox'	*maanu* 'bird' + *tua* '?'	noun + verb
màn̄kurkúr	'cave bat'	*maanu* 'bird' + *kurkur* '?'	noun + verb
nkarkík	'children'	*nkar* '?' + *kiki* 'be small'	noun + verb
tùmamláksa	'green jobfish'	*tuma* '?' + *mlaksa* 'be blue, green'	noun + verb
neikmláksa	'parrotfish'	*neika* 'fish' + *mlaksa* 'be blue, green'	noun + verb
neikmáeto	'unicornfish'	*neika* 'fish' + *maeto* 'be angry'	noun + verb
ùrantás	'lobster'	*ura* 'prawn' + *ntas* 'sea'	noun + noun
ùranuwái	'freshwater prawn'	*ura* 'prawn' + *nuwai* 'river'	noun + noun
nmatrái	'backside'	*nmat* 'back' + *rai* 'face'	noun + noun

Table 3.5. Compound words: nouns

Some compound words are fully analyzable and semantically compositional: *kanotaare* 'white person', *kanokiki* 'boy' and *grunkiki* 'girl' are formed with lexemes which can otherwise function on their own and the overall meaning of these compounds is predicted from the meaning of each element. Other compounds, such as *nalgurmit* 'barracuda' and *nalgurfrau* 'needlefish' are also fully analyzable, but their degree of semantic compositionality is less: nothing in the meaning of their elements refers to fish species. Yet the meaning of the compound does refer to important characteristics of these fish: barracuda have a short snout while needlefish have a long one.

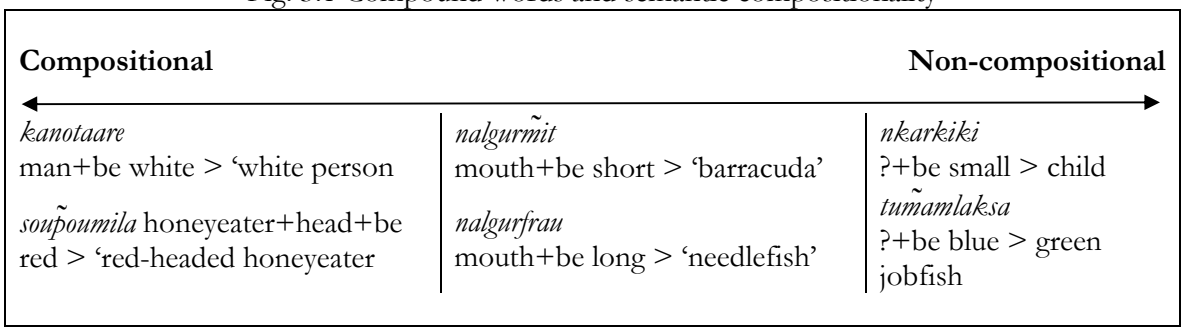
In contrast, some compounds are not fully analyzable: *forpagon* 'k.o.basket' is made up of the noun /*for*/ 'k.o.basket' and the form /*pagon*/ '?' not attested to occur on its own. This is also the case of *mantua* and *mankurkur*, which refer to flying species formed with the noun *maanu* 'bird' and a second element not attested elsewhere. Although these compounds are not semantically compositional, they are still endocentric, as part of their meaning does refer to a particular class of referents, such as baskets and flying species.[4] Sometimes, in non-analyzable compounds, it is the first element that is not attested as a meaningful morpheme. In *nkarkiki* 'children' and *tumamlaksa* 'green jobfish', *nkar* and *tuma* are not attested on their own, while the

[4] Note that compounding is not relevant to all referents belonging to semantic classes such as birds or baskets: names for many bird species such as *maala* 'Circus approximans', *puasa* 'peregrine falcon' and *laaka* 'kingfisher' are not compounds formed with *maanu*.

intransitive verbs *kiki* 'be small' and *mlaksa* 'green, blue' refer to a particular characteristic of their referent: *tum̃amlaksa* have a silvery-blue color and *nkarkiki* are small.

The discussion above has shown that semantic compositionality is not a general property of all nominal compound words in Lelepa. The compounds in table 3.5 suggest that semantic compositionality can be regarded as a continuum, from fully compositional compounds such as *kanotaare* 'white man' to other compounds such as *nkarkiki* which are not fully analyzable and so are non-compositional. Other compounds, such as *nalgurm̃it* 'barracuda', sit somewhere in the middle in this continuum: they are neither fully compositional nor fully non-compositional. This is schematised in fig. 3.1:

Fig. 3.1 Compound words and semantic compositionality



Finally, note that some compound words are not nominals, but adverbs and numerals. They are exemplified in table 3.6:

Compound	Gloss	Formation	Word class
slaféa	'before'	*sla* 'time' (noun) + *fea* 'be first' (adjectival verb)	adverb
malféa	'before'	*mala* 'time' (noun) + *fea* 'be first' (adjectival verb)	adverb
màlangéa	'then'	*mala* 'time' (noun) + *ngea* 'DEF' (determiner)	adverb
tàplangéa	'like.this'	*tapla* 'like.this' (verb) + *ngea* 'DEF' (determiner)	adverb
malmáuna	'now'	*tapla* 'like.this' (verb) + *mauna* 'all' (adjective)	adverb
warmáuna	'everywhere'	*waraa* 'here' (adverb) + *mauna* 'all' (adjective)	adverb
sragmáuna	'everything'	*srago* 'things' (noun) + *mauna* 'all' (adjective)	adverb
skimau	'one'	*skei* 'INDEF' (determiner) + *mau* 'all' (verb)	numeral

Table 3.6. Compound words: non-nominals

3.2.3.2 Phrasal compounds

Recall that phrasal compounds are distinguished from compound words as they do not form a single phonological word. Instead, each element of a phrasal compound is a phonological

word, as seen in table 3.7. These compounds are most frequently formed with two nouns, but there are examples such as *nafasana tap* 'gospel', *nafsana matua* 'folktale' and *nasum̃a tap* 'church' which are made up of a noun and a verb. The elements of phrasal compounds follow the same fixed order as compound words: the head occurs first and the modifier follows.[5] Phrasal compounds are also endocentric. For instance, *nafsana matua* 'folktale' and *nafsana tap* 'gospel' refer to two kinds of talk: a folktale is an old talk, while the gospel is a taboo, or sacred, talk.

Compound	Gloss	Formation	
márka náota	'honourable chief'	*marka* 'old man' + *naota* 'chief'	noun + noun
márka Pákotau	'the old Pakotau'	*marka* 'old man' + *Pakotau* 'p.name'	noun + noun
márka tuáma	'male ogre'	*marka* 'old man' + mutuama 'ogre'	noun + noun
ftérki tuáma	'female ogre'	*fterki* 'married woman' + *mutuama* 'ogre'	noun + noun
ftérki Leitót	'the old Leitot'	*fterki* 'married woman' + *Leitot* 'p.name'	noun + noun
tatáu tkálpa	'first born baby'	*tatau* 'baby' + *tkalpa* 'first born'	noun + noun
tatáu tkárki	'last born baby'	*tatau* 'baby' + *tkarki* 'last born'	noun + noun
nán-na nanoái	'his male child'	*nan-na* 'offspring-3SG.POSS + *nanoai* 'man'	noun + noun
nagí-go te=táare	'my Christian name'	*nagi-go* 'name-1SG.POSS' + *te=taare* 'SBST=be white'	noun + noun
noána m̃áp̃e	'Tahitian chestnut'	*noana* 'fruit' + *nam̃ap̃e* 'Tahitian chestnut tree	noun + noun
kál kás	'wooden digging stick'	*kal* 'digging stick' + *nkas* 'tree'	noun + noun
np̃óu fátu	'ridge top'	*np̃ou* 'head' + *nfatu* 'ridge'	noun + noun
srágo ntás	'seafood'	*srago* 'things' + *ntas* 'sea'	noun + noun
srágo nafkál	'weapons'	*srago* 'things' + *na-fkal* 'NMLZ=fight'	noun + noun
nafsána matúa	'folktale'	*nafsana* 'language' + *matua* 'old'	noun + verb
nafsána táp	'gospel'	*nafsana* 'language' + *tap* 'be.taboo'	noun + verb
nasúm̃a táp	'church'	*nasum̃a* 'house' + *tap* 'be.taboo'	noun + verb

Table 3.7. Phrasal compounds

It is necessary to distinguish phrasal compounds from certain constructions involving nominals, in particular possessive constructions which involve two juxtaposed nouns (see 6.4.1). The phrasal compounds in (23) are structurally similar to the possessive constructions in (24): they are made up of two juxtaposed nouns and each noun receives its own primary stress.

[5] Note that the compounds *marka tuama* 'male ogre' and *fterki tuama* 'female ogre' could be interpreted as following a reversed order, with *tuama* 'ogre' contributing the main referential information, while *marka* 'old.man' and *fterki* 'married woman' modify *tuama* by encoding a particular characteristic of the referent.

Note that there is no possessive relationship between the elements, as the starred translations show:

(23) márka + Pakotáu > márka Pakotáu
old.man p.name
'the old Pakotau' / *Pakotau's old man

ftérki + Leitót > ftérki Leitót
married.woman p.name
'the old Leitot' / *Leitot's married woman

nráu + kapúa > nráu kapúa
Heliconia laplap
'Heliconia leaf used to wrap laplap' / *The laplap's leaf
[elicited]

In contrast, the referents of the nouns of each pair in (24) are in a possessive relationship. In these examples, the possessor noun follows the possessum noun:

(24) nɸóu nagrún
head woman
'The woman's head'

náɸa ófa
neck heron
'The heron's neck'

mélu nkásu
shade tree
'The tree's shade'

nmal nkásu
trunk tree
'The tree's trunk'
[elicited]

Evidence for distinguishing phrasal compounds in (23) from possessive constructions in (24) is found in the morphological reduction of one of the nouns in the compound. When one of the nouns in the compound is a *na*-initial noun (see 3.2.2 and 4.2.1), the *na* is dropped and both elements remain phonological words. This is shown in (25):

(25)	noána fruit	+	nkásu tree 'fruit of tree'	>	noána kásu
	kál digging stick	+	nkásu tree	>	kál kásu 'wooden digging stick'
	noána fruit [elicited]	+	naɱ̃áp̃e tahitian.chestnut.tree	>	noána ɱ̃áp̃e 'tahitian chestnut'

Morphological reduction is also attested with some other nouns. In (26), *mutuama* 'ogre' is reduced to *tuama*. Similarly to the reduced nouns in (25), *tuama* is not attested to occur on its own:

(26)	márka old.man	+	mutuama ogre	>	márka tuáma 'male ogre'
	ftérki married.woman [elicited]	+	mutuama ogre 'female ogre'	>	ftérki tuáma

This illustrates Aikhenvald's (2007:26) criterion of morphological unity: compounds are morphological units with regular rules applying to it, such as the occurrence of linker morphemes between their elements, or conversely the absence of such markers. Lelepa compounds reflect the latter, as no linking morpheme is needed to form a compound. Another type of possessive construction involves two nouns with a possessive enclitic intervening between them (see 6.4.2 and 6.4.3). Phrasal compounds can be distinguished from such possessive constructions as they are simply juxtaposed. Thus the compound *marka naota* 'honourable chief' can be distinguished from the possessive construction *marka=n slafea* 'old men of before; ancestors'. While *marka naota* has no morpheme linking its elements, the possessive enclitic *=n* 'POSS:NH' occurs between *marka* 'old man' and *slafea* 'before'. Table 3.8 distinguishes phrasal compounds from such possessive constructions:

Phrasal Compounds		Possessive constructions	
marka naota	'male ogre'	*marka=n slafea*	'old men of before, ancestors'
fterki tuama	'female ogre'	*fterki=n Fatum̃a*	'the old woman from Fatum̃a'
nagi-go te=taare	'my European (Christian) name'	*nagi=n Presbyterian Jioj*	'the name of the Presbyterian Church'
kanotaare	'white person'	*kano=n Aguna*	'the man from Nguna'
nafsana matua	'folktale'	*nafsana=n Franis*	'the language of France'
nafsana tap	'gospel'	*nafsana=g te=taare*	'the language of white people'
nasum̃a tap	'church'	*nasum̃a=n lamned*	'the lemonade factory'

Table 3.8. Contrasting phrasal compounds and possessive constructions

3.2.3.3 Summary of properties of nominal compounds

Table 3.9 sums up the properties of Lelepa compounds, showing properties that are shared across both types of compounds, as well as those that are specific to each type. Although identity of word class is listed, recall that phrasal compounds tend to be formed by two nouns while compound words tend to be formed by a noun and a verb, and that there are examples in each type of compound not following these tendencies. Compound words get a 'sometimes' value for semantic compositionality, as this property is not reflected by all compound words (see fig. 3.1).

Properties	Compound words	Phrasal compounds
Phonological unity Compounds form a single phonological word.	yes	no
Semantic compositionality The meaning of compounds is predicted from the meaning of their elements.	sometimes	yes
Identity of word class The elements of compounds belong to the same word class.	sometimes	sometimes
Morphological unity The elements of compounds are juxtaposed without linking morpheme.	yes	yes
Fixed constituent order The order of the elements tends to be HEAD-MODIFIER.	yes	yes
Syntactic elaboration Compounds are heads of NPs	yes	yes

Table 3.9. Properties of Lelepa compounds

3.3 Verb morphology

3.3.1 Word boundaries in the verb complex

The verb complex is made up of multiple elements (chapter 9, fig. 9.1). It has two obligatory elements, a subject proclitic and a verb stem, which may combine with a number of optional elements such as mood, aspect and negation particles, auxiliaries, serial verbs, post-verbs and enclitics encoding objects and obliques. In addition, a benefactive phrase, which is a prepositional phrase introducing a beneficiary, can also occur between the subject proclitic and the main verb (see 7.5.3). The occurrence of these optional elements can greatly increase the morphological load of the verb complex. This presents a challenge for morphological analysis and particularly when determining word boundaries within this constituent. The question of word boundaries in itself is often challenging due to the lack of clarity conveyed by the notion of *word* (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:34-35). The purpose of this section is to determine word boundaries in the verb complex, by looking at how the phonological word interacts with the verb complex. Recall from 2.4.3.4 that the phonological word in Lelepa is determined by stress, and that primary stress falls on the penultimate mora of a word, while secondary stress is assigned to every second syllable to the left. This rule does not provide for a limit in the number of syllables a phonological word can have, and the verb complex, with its potential complexity, is an interesting domain in which to investigate the length of the phonological word. In (27) to (30), the verb complex only consists of the obligatory subject proclitic and verb root. These examples comprise two to six syllables, the first one associated with the subject proclitic, while the others are associated to the verb root. As they receive a single primary stress, these examples form a single phonological word:

(27) [e.ˈpan]
E=pan.
3SG.S=go
‘(S)he went.’
[elicited]

(28) [ˌa.ma.ˈtu.rŭ]
A=maturu.
1SG.S=sleep
‘I slept.’
[elicited]

(29) [ˌe.ma.ˌkɛn.kə.ˈnis]
E=makenkini=s.
3SG.S=be.itchy=3OBL
'He was itchy because of it.'
[elicited]

(30) [ˌku.ma.ˌro.gə.ˈni.jɐ]
Ku=maroa-ki-nia.
2SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ
'You think about it.'
[elicited]

In (31) to (33) the verb complex is more complex, with the addition of the particles *ga* 'IRR' in (31), *kat* in (32) and *plo* 'STILL' in (33). In these examples the verb complex has three elements forming two phonological words. Note that the subject proclitic forms a phonological word with whatever particle follows, while the verb forms a phonological word on its own (phonological word boundaries are marked with '//'):

(31) ['e.ŋɐ// 'to]
E=ga to.
3SG.S=IRR stay
'It will stay.'
[elicited]

(32) [e.ˈkat// 'to]
E=kat to.
3SG.S=CERT stay
'(S)he stayed (for sure).'
[elicited]

(33) ['e.plŏ// 'laŏ.tu]
E=plo laotu.
3SG.S=still stand
'It was still standing.'
[elicited]

In (34), the verb complex consists of three distinct morphemes, and differs from (31) to (33) in that it has no preverbal material apart from the subject proclitic. The subject proclitic attaches to whatever follows, here the verb root:

(34) [k͡pɐ.ˈsu// pan.ˈme.ĭ]
Ña=sua panmei.
2SG.S:IRR=go.down COME
'Come down.'
[elicited]

Example (35) is still more complex and consists of the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S', the verb *maturu* 'sleep', the aspect particle *plo* 'STILL' and the auxiliary *wane* 'IPFV'. This example forms three phonological words: the subject proclitic forms a phonological word with the aspectual particle *plo*, while the auxiliary and main verb each form a phonological word on their own:

(35) ['e.blŏ// 'wan// ma.'tur]
E=plo wane maturu.
3sg.s=still lie sleep
'(S)he was still sleeping.'
[elicited]

In example (36) there are three preverbal elements, the subject proclitic *ku*= '2SG.S', the auxiliary *tae* 'able' and the benefactive pronoun *magnou* '1SG.BEN'. This is followed by the complex verb *patpunu* 'kill' and an object NP. There are four phonological words in this example, and similarly the subject proclitic forms a phonological word with the next morpheme, while the following morphemes form phonological words on their own:

(36) [ku.'taj// mɐŋ.'now// pɐt.'pʉn// 'o.vɐ]
Ku=tae magnou pat punu ofa?
2SG.S=able 1SG.BEN make kill heron
'Can you kill Heron for me?'

The following observations can be made about the phonological shape of the verb complex. First, it typically forms more than one phonological word unless it is made up of just a subject proclitic and a verb root. Second, subject proclitics are phonologically bound to the left edge of the immediately preceding morpheme. Third, morphemes other than subject proclitics/object markers are phonologically independent, even if they are a single syllable in length. Finally, verbs form phonological words with their affixes and clitics (including subject proclitics and object markers) and can form compound words with serial verbs (see 10.4.1).

3.3.2 Object marking morphophonology

Objects can be realised by bound person markers on transitive verbs (see 9.4.3.1). Depending on the shape of the verb root and of the object pronominal, the following processes happen: final vowel deletion, pretonic vowel reduction and deletion, and [j] epenthesis. While similar processes occur at the phonological level on monomorphemic forms (see 2.5.1), the situation

with object marking is complex and requires describing these processes as part of the verbal morphology.

3.3.2.1 Object marking on *ki*-ending verbs

Object marking on these verbs is fairly straightforward as the shape of the root does not vary. Suffixes encoding second person singular (*-go* '2SG.OBJ') and third person singular and plural (*-nia* '3SG.OBJ' and *-ra* '3PL.OBJ') have a high frequency in the textual corpus. In contrast, all other suffixes (*-ou* '1SG.OBJ', *-mu* '2PL.OBJ', *-wou* '1SG.OBJ', *-gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ', *-gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ') are much less common in texts. Thus elicited and textual data have been included in the dataset. Table 3.10 summarises the different processes. Object suffixes attaching to *ki*-ending roots can be of the following shapes: VV, CV, CVV, CVC and CCV. Cells marked with 'X' mean that the suffix simply attaches to the root without any notable process happening. FVD stands for final vowel deletion, and PVD for pretonic vowel deletion. The pretonic vowel is always /i/, the final vowel of the verb root.

Shape of object suffix					
VV *-ou* '1SG.OBJ'	**CV** *-go* '1SG.OBJ' *-mu* '1SG.OBJ' *-ra* '1SG.OBJ'	**CVV** *-nia* '3SG.OBJ'	**CVV** *-wou* '1SG.OBJ'	**CVC** *-gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ'	**CCV** *-gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ'
[j] insertion	optional FVD	pretonic vowel reduced to [ə]	PVD	PVD	X

Table 3.10. Morphophonological processes with *ki*-ending verbs

With VV suffixes, an epenthetic [j] is added at the morpheme boundary. Note that glide epenthesis also happens at the phonological level (see 2.5.2.2):

(37) [ˌe.pɐw.ˌse.ki.'jows]
E=paoseki-ou=s
3SG.S=ask-1SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'He asked me about it.'
[elicited]

With CV suffixes, the final vowel is optionally deleted. This is shown in (38) with the verb *rm̃aki* 'bark' hosting the suffix *–go* '2SG.OBJ':

(38) [ˌɛr.ŋ͡mʷɐ.ˈki.ŋo]~ [ˌɛr.ŋ͡mʷɐ.ˈki.ŋ]
E=rm̃aki-go
3SG.S=bark-2SG.OBJ
'It barked at you.'
[elicited]

Although they have the same CVV shape, *-nia* '3SG.OBJ' and *-wou* '1SG.OBJ' behave differently. Before *-wou* the pretonic vowel is deleted while before *-nia* it is reduced to [ə]. This can be explained by the differences in sonority between /n/ and /w/. As a glide, /w/ has a higher sonority than the nasal /n/,[6] and can take the place of the deleted vowel as in (39), in which the verb *l̃poki* 'send' has has its final /i/ deleted:

(39) [ur.l̩.k͡pʷok.ˈwo.ŭ 'na.u.re]
Ur=lp̃ok-wou naure
3PL.S=send-1SG.OBJ island
'They sent me to the island.'
[elicited]

In contrast, a full deletion of the vowel preceding *-nia* would create a heterosyllabic consonant sequence. Although heterosyllabic /kn/ sequences are attested, they do not occur at morpheme boundaries as shown in (40) but can occur within roots as in (41):

(40) [er.ˌŋ͡mʷa.kəˈni.jɐ] *[ˌer.ŋ͡mʷak.ˈni.jɐ]
E=rm̃aki-nia
3SG.S=bark-3SG.OBJ
'It barked at me.'
[elicited]

(41) ['fak.nɐ]
Fakna.
p.name
'Fakna'

Pretonic vowel deletion also occurs when the CVC suffix *–gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ' attaches to *ki*-ending verbs such as *rm̃aki* 'bark':[7]

[6] See 2.5.2.1 for a discussion of the sonority hierarchy.
[7] Note that in this example, the orthographic form chosen to represent this verb is *rm̃ak*, not *rm̃aki*. While *rm̃aki* is the underlying form, choosing it in this particular context would not reflect the vowel deletion process presently discussed.

(42) [er.ˌŋm͡ʷak.ˈŋam]
E=rm̃ak-gam
3SG.S=bark-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'It barked at us.'
[elicited]

Finally, with the CCV suffix *–gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ', the final vowel of the root is regularly stressed and cannot be reduced or deleted. The final vowel of the inflected verb cannot be deleted either, as this would create a prohibited cluster in coda position:

(43) [ˌɛr. ŋm͡ʷɐ.ˈkiŋ.tɐ] *[ˌɛr. ŋm͡ʷɐ.ˈkiŋt]
E=rm̃aki-gta
3SG.S=bark-1PL.INCL.OBJ
'It barked at us.'
[elicited]

3.3.2.2 Object marking on non *ki*-ending verbs

Non *ki*-ending verbs vary in the shape of their final syllable and can be V-final, VV-final or C-final. In addition, some object enclitics have a number of allomorphs (see 9.4.3.3). Table 3.11 summarises the different processes happening for each possible combination of root and enclitic. Cells are coded following the same notation as in table 3.10, with the addition of 'n/a' (not applicable) meaning that the particular combination of root with enclitic does not occur. The two main processes are optional final vowel deletion and pretonic vowel deletion.

Shape of root	**Shape of object enclitic**				
	V *=e* '3SG.OBJ' *=a* '3SG.OBJ'	**VV** *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' *=ea* '3SG.OBJ'	**CV** *=ko* '2SG.OBJ' *-na* '3SG.OBJ' *=mu* '2PL.OBJ' *=ra* '3PL.OBJ'	**CVC** *=gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ'	**CCV** *=gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ'
V-final	X	n/a	optional FVD	PVD	X
VV-final	optional FVD	n/a	X	X	[ə] epenthesis
C-final	n/a	optional FVD	X	X	[ə] epenthesis

Table 3.11. Morphophonological processes with non *ki*-ending verbs

With V-final roots taking a V enclitic such as *=e* '3SG.OBJ', no process occurs:

(44) [ˌe.lo.ˈk͡pʷa.e]
E=loŋ̃a=e
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ
'She saw it.'

In contrast, when V-final roots take a CV enclitic, optional final vowel deletion occurs, as seen in (45) and (46):

(45) [ˌe.lo.ˈk͡pʷakˀ]~[ˌe.lo.ˈk͡pʷa.ko]
E=loŋ̃a=ko
3SG.S=see=2SG.OBJ
'He saw you.'
[elicited]

(46) [e.ˌpit.lɐ.ˈkan]~ [e.ˌpit.lɐ.ˈka.nɐ]
E=pitlaka-na
3SG.S=have-3SG.OBJ
'He has it.'

When V-final roots take the CVC enclitic =*gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ', pretonic vowel deletion occurs:

(47) [e.lok͡pʷ.ˈŋam]
E=loŋ̃=gam
3SG.S=see=1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'He saw us.'
[elicited]

Finally, no process occurs when the V-final roots host the CCV enclitic =*gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ':

(48) [e.lo.ˈk͡pʷaŋ.tɐ]
E=loŋ̃a=gta
3SG.S=see=1PL.INCL.OBJ
'He saw us.'
[elicited]

With VV-final roots hosting V enclitics, optional final vowel deletion occurs. This is shown in (49) with the verb *slae* 'help' and the enclitic =*a* '3SG.OBJ':

(49) [ɛs.'laĕ.ɐ]~[ɛs.'laĕ]
E=slae=a
3SG.S=help=3SG.OBJ
'He helped him/her.'
[elicited]

When VV-final roots host the CCV enclitic =*gta* '1PL.INCL.OBJ', an epenthetic [ə] is inserted between the consonants of the enclitic, as seen in (50):

(50) [es.ˌlaĕ.ŋə.ta]
E=slae=ŋta
3SG.S=help=1PL.INCL.OBJ
'He helped us.'
[elicited]

In contrast, no process happens when these roots host other enclitics. This is shown in (51) with the CV-final =*ra* '3PL.OBJ' and in (52) with the CVC =*gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ':

(51) [ɛs.'laĕ.rɐ]
E=slae=ra
3SG.S=help=3PL.OBJ
'He helped them.'
[elicited]

(52) [ˌɛs.laĕ.'ŋam]
E=slae=ŋam
3SG.S=help=1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'He helped us.'
[elicited]

With C-final roots, optional vowel deletion occurs when the verb hosts a VV-enclitic. This is shown in (53) with *psak* 'elevate' hosting =*ea* '3SG.OBJ':

(53) [ˌep.sɐ.'ke]~[ˌep.sɐ.'ke.ɐ]
E=psak=ea
3SG.S=elevate=3SG.OBJ
'He elevated him.'
[elicited]

With the CCV enclitic =*gta*, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the consonants of the enclitic. This is to avoid the prohibited onset cluster */ŋt/ which presents a sonority reversal (see 2.5.2.1):

(54) [ˌe.pɐr.ˈkat.ŋəta]
E=parkat=ŋta
3SG.S=catch=1PL.INCL.OBJ
'He caught us.'
[elicited]

With other enclitics such as the CV *=ra* and *=ko*, the CVC *=gam* and the CCV *=gta*, no process occurs. This is shown in (55) to (56) with the verbs *psak* 'elevate' and *parkat* 'catch':

(55) [ep.ˈsak.rɐ]
E=psak=ra
3SG.S=elevate=3PL.OBJ
'He elevated them.'
[elicited]

(56) [e.ˌpar.kɐt.ˈŋam]
E=parkat=ŋam
3SG.S=catch=1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'He caught us.'
[elicited]

Note that in the case of two same consonants occurring at morpheme boundaries, the final consonant of the root is unreleased if it is a stop (e.g. /k/), as in (57). Otherwise, the two same consonants are realised as a geminate, as in (58):

(57) [ɛp.ˈsakˈ.ko]
E=psak=ko
3SG.S=elevate=2SG.OBJ
'He elevated you.'
[elicited]

(58) [ˌɛl.k͡pʷa.ˈŋorːɐ]
E=lp̃agor=ra
3SG.S=enclose=3PL.OBJ
'He enclosed them.'

3.3.3 Transitivisation with *–ki* 'TR'

Transitivisation is the main valency-changing process in the language, and consists of the suffixation of *–ki* 'TR' on intransitive verbs (see 8.7.1). Roots transitivised with *–ki* can be either vowel-final or consonant-final, as shown in table 3.12:

Intransitive roots		Derived transitives	
fa/pa	'go:IRR/:R'	*fa-ki/pa-ki*	'go to:IRR/:R'
lua	'vomit'	*lua-ki*	'vomit s.t'
pea	'first'	*pea-ki*	'precede s.o/s.t'
false/palse	'paddle'	*false-ki/palse-ki*	'paddle s.t'
põl	'blink'	*põl-ki*	'close (eyes)'
regreg	'hum'	*regreg-ki*	'hum s.t (song, tune)'

Table 3.12. Transitivisation with *-ki*

There are a number of cases in which final /i/ of *-ki* is either reduced of deleted. The main criteria governing the realisation of this vowel are stress and whether the object is realised as a full NP or a pronominal suffix.[8] Deletion does not occur when final /i/ is in stressed position or when the object is realised with a suffix. In (59), *wia* 'be good' is unsuffixed. In this situation, optional vowel deletion occurs:

(59) [e.'wi]~ [e.'wi.jɐ]
E=lag, 'gaio, e=wia.'
3SG.S=say fine 3SG.S=be.good
'He said, 'fine, that's good.'

In contrast, when *wia* is transitivised with *–ki* and followed by an object NP, stress moves from /i/ to /a/. As the final /i/ of the suffix is now in final position, it is often deleted (see 2.5.1):

(60) Ur=kut taon=ia to,
3PL.S=CERT bake=3SG.OBJ STAT

[ˌur.kut.ˌtaj.wi.'jak]
kan naara ur=kut tae **wia-ki** mala
but 3PL 3PL.S=CERT know be.good-TR time

ur=ga fkus=ia=s na to.
3PL.S=IRR unwrap=3SG.OBJ=3OBL DEM STAT
'They baked it, but they know well when to unwrap it.'

When the object is realised by an object suffix, it attaches to *–ki* and a longer phonological word is created. In this case, the transitivised verb is *ki*-ending and there are several options for the realization of /i/ of *–ki* (see 3.3.2.1).

[8] Objects are either realised with an NP, or with a pronominal suffix or enclitic, but not by both (see 7.4.1.2).

3.3.4 Relic transitivisation with *–e* 'TR'

This is a minor type of transitivisation applying to verbs denoting bodily excretions. Such verbs are intransitive and can be transitivised with *–e* in addition to the *–ki* transitivisation discussed in 3.3.3. Verbs of bodily excretion such as *sura* 'defecate' take an object denoting the product of the excretion when they are suffixed with *–ki*, as in (61). In contrast, their object denotes the location of the excretion when they are suffixed with *–e*, as in (62):

(61) A=sura-**ki** **nra**.
1SG.S=defecate-TR blood
'I shat blood.'
[elicited]

(62) Kusue e=sura-**e** **nm̃at=n** **fonu**.
rat 3SG.S=defecate-TR back=POSS:NH turtle
'The rat shat on the turtle's back.'
[elicited]

Not all verbs of bodily excretion reflect this alternation in the same way. Similarly to *sura*, the intransitive *mea* 'urinate' needs to be derived with *–ki* when taking an object denoting the product of the urination:

(63) A=mea-**ki** nra.
1SG.S=urinate-TR blood
'I urinated blood.'
[Elicited]

However, to encode the location of the urination, *mea* is not transitivised but hosts the oblique enclitic, as seen in (64). In this case, it remains intransitive:

(64) Faatu na, a=mea=**s**.
stone DEM 1SG.S=urinate=3OBL
'As for this stone, I urinated on it.'
[Elicited]

This alternation closely reflects the alternation between the Proto-Oceanic suffixes **-i* and **-akin[i]*, which have been reconstructed as respectively marking a location and a product with verbs of bodily excretion (Evans B. 2003:235). Note that these two suffixes occurred on a larger number of POc verbs and marked a number of object roles according to the type of

verb they occurred with (motion verbs, verbs of speech and cognition, etc). Lelepa reflects this alternation with verbs of bodily excretion, but not with others.

3.3.5 Final consonant loss alternation

This alternation is a legacy of final consonant loss on verbs. Some transitive and ambitransitive roots alternate between a full form (consonant-final) and a reduced form (vowel-final). Roots occur in their reduced form if their object is an NP, or if they occur in first position in serial verb constructions. In contrast, they occur in their full form when they host an object enclitic. Thus the final consonant of these verbs is preserved in word-internal position. Table 3.13 exemplifies verb roots undergoing this process, and shows that the final consonant of these roots varies in shape between /s/, /t/, /f/, /n/.

Ambitransitives		**Transitives**	
with object NP	**with object enclitic**	**with object NP**	**with object enclitic**
pau namĩt 'weave a mat'	*pau**s**=ia* 'weave=3SG.OBJ'	*ptag* 'ask'	*ptag**f**=ia* 'ask=3SG.OBJ'
lega nalegana 'sing a song'	*lega**t**=ia* 'sing=3SG.OBJ"	*sao nuwai* 'spoon out water'	*sao**f**=ia* 'spoon=3SG.OBJ'
		to rarua 'push a canoe'	*to**f**=ia* 'push=3SG.OBJ'
		fu rarua 'pull a canoe'	*fu**t**=ia* 'pull=3SG.OBJ'
		kul 'cover'	*kul**t**=ia* 'cover=3SG.OBJ'
		p̃a 'hit'	*p̃a**t**=ia* 'hit=3SG.OBJ'
		ske faatu 'remove stones with tongs'	*ske**t**=ia* 'remove.w.tongs=3SG.OBJ'
		sla nkas 'carry a stick'	*sla**t**=ia* 'carry=3SG.OBJ'
		ma kapua 'grate laplap'	*ma**n**=ia* 'grate=3SG.OBJ'
		su nasusuna 'wear clothes'	*su**n**=ia* 'wear=3SG.OBJ'

Table 3.13. Verbs alternating between a full and reduced form

Related and similar phenomena are well-known in Oceanic languages and have been referred to as the "thematic consonant" problem (See Hale 1973 for Maori, Lichtenberk 1983 for Manam, Lichtenberk 2001 for Manam and Toqabaqita, Pawley 2001 for an historical account and Blevins 2004 for a phonological problematisation). Pawley states that in Polynesian languages the final consonant of roots surfaced when suffixes occurred on these roots (Pawley 2001:196). Synchronically, Lichtenberk analyses these final consonants as "empty morphs" which are neither part of the root nor the suffix in Manam and Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 1983:153; 2001:145).

Lelepa reflects the historical analysis advanced by Pawley, since the final consonant of these verbs is unpredictable and surfaces when it is not in word-final position (see also Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:44-45 for an explanation of the unpredictability of this consonant in Oceanic transitive alternations). However, in contrast to Manam and Toqabaqita, it is best to regard these consonants as part of the root in Lelepa, because there is no rule in the language preventing consonant-final roots.

In Lelepa, this alternation encodes no semantic distinction. Compare the ambitransitive *legat* functioning intransitively in (65) and transitively in (66) and (67). Final *t* only occurs when the verbs host an object enclitic, and does not occur elsewhere. This shows that the alternation does not mark transitivity, since the full form occurs in contexts with opposite transitivity values, such as in (65) and (66). The alternation is thus purely morphophonological:

(65) E=to se e=to **lega**.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=IPFV sing
'He remained and sang.'

(66) E=to **lega** naleganakiki sa nge pa-ki wita.
3SG.S=IPFV sing song small bad DEF go-TR octopus
'He was singing the very short song to the octopus.'

(67) Malange e=**legat**=ia pan pan pa e=ga nou,
then 3SG.S=sing=3SG.OBJ GO GO GO 3SG.S=IRR be.finished
'Then he sang it on and on until done,'

3.4 Derivational morphology

3.4.1 Nominalisation

There are two nominalising processes in Lelepa. Nominalisation with *n(a)-...-na* is a very productive strategy (see 3.4.1.1). On the other hand, *na-* nominalisation is limited and vestigial (see 3.4.1.2).

3.4.1.1 Productive nominalisation: *na-...-na*

This process derives nouns from verbs. Verb roots take the vestigial non-specific article *n(a)-* 'N.SPEC' and the nominaliser *-na* 'NMLZ' to become derived nouns. This process is highly productive and applies to all classes of verbs, including the copula *pi* 'COP'. Deverbal nouns resulting from this process have a similar distribution to other nouns and are *n(a)-* initial. Table 3.13 below gives examples of verbs from the main subclasses with corresponding derived

nouns. It also shows that it is possible for verbs to be nominalised with their object NPs. For instance, a verb and object such as *fa-ki maket* 'go-TR market > go to the market' is nominalised as *na-fak maketi-na* 'N.SPEC-go-TR market-NMLZ > going to the market'. The resulting nouns refer to activities in which the verb has a fairly limited semantic content, while the object specifies the activity. Given that this pattern is not attested with verbs other than *fa-ki* 'go-TR', this could suggest that it is some kind of object incorporation rather than a syntactic combination of V+NP.

Since the nominaliser attaches to verbs as well as their object NPs, it could be regarded as an enclitic instead of a suffix. However, because these objects are simple NPs, *-na* is not attested to attach to other NP modifiers. Thus it is regarded as a suffix.

Finally, with verbs participating in stem-initial mutation (see 11.2.2), the *f*-initial forms are the base for nominalisation. This is shown with the verbs *felea* 'argue:IRR', *folo* 'lie:IRR', *faami* 'eat:F', *fa-ki* 'go:IRR-TR'.

	verb	gloss	derived noun	gloss
intransitives	*sa*	'be bad'	*nsana*	'bad thing'
	felea	'argue:IRR'	*nafeleana*	'argument'
	folo	'lie:IRR'	*nafolona*	'lie'
	fsa	'speak'	*nafsana*	'language; talk; story'
	kasua	'be strong'	*nakasuana*	'strength'
	lo (redup.)	'look'	*nalolona*	'view; opinion'
	maeto	'be angry'	*namaetona*	'anger'
	maroa	'think'	*namaroana*	'thought'
	m̃oli	'be alive'	*nam̃oliena*	'life'
	nou	'be finished'	*nanouna*	'end'
	sale	'dance'	*nsalena*	'dance ceremony'
	soki	'smoke'	*nasokina*	'smoke'
	sua	'face; experience'	*nasuana*	'situation'
	sura	'shit'	*nasurana*	'need for shitting'
	tina	'be pregnant'	*natinana*	'pregnancy'
	to	'stay'	*natona*	'existence'
	tum̃alua	'leave'	*natum̃aluana*	'departure'
ambitransitives	*faami*	'eat'	*nafaamina*	'food supplies; feast'
	lega	'sing'	*nalegana*	'song'
	munu	'drink'	*namununa*	'drinking'
	raika	'spear fish'	*naraikana*	'spear fishing'
	fsa pseik	'teach'	*nafsa pseikina*	'training'
	tagi	'weep'	*natagina*	'complaint'
	trausi	'recount'	*natrausina*	'story'
	weswesi	'work'	*nawesina*	'job'
	fiaso	'to call'	*nafiasona*	'call'
transitives	*lop̃a*	'see'	*nalop̃ana*	'view'
	tfagi	'line up; build'	*natfagina*	'building'
	mraki	'lead; accompany'	*namrakina*	'party'
verb + object	*fak maket*	'go to the market'	*nafak maketina*	'going to the market'
	fak namlas	'go to the bush'	*nafak namlasina*	'going to the bush'
	fak skul	'go to school'	*nafak skuluna*	'education'
copula	*fi naota*	'be a chief'	*nafinaotana*	'chiefly council'

Table 3.14. *na-...-na* nominalisation

Deverbal nouns resulting from this process have the same properties as any other noun. They head NPs functioning as arguments of verbs, and can be subjects as in (68) and (69), and objects as in (70) and (71):

(68) **Na-faami-na** e=tika-ki-ra nagsange.
N.SPEC-eat-NMLZ 3SG.S=be.absent-TR-3PL.OBJ then
'There was no food for them at the time.'

(69) **Na-lo~lo-na** nge e=to panei
N.SPEC-look~look-NMLZ DEF 3SG.S=IPFV COME

kasem tag=n nagrun malmauna.
Until time=POSS:NH woman now
'The view has been going on until the time of the women of today.'

(70) Tu=pat **na-ftauri-na**, tu=pat **na-faami-na**.
1PL.INCL.S=make N.SPEC-marry-NMLZ 1PL.INCL.S=make N.SPEC-eat-NMLZ
'We organise a wedding, we make a feast.'

(71) Nkapu nge e=kat taᵱargor **na-maeto-na** nge.
wood DEF 3SG.S=CERT cover N.SPEC-angry-NMLZ DEF
'The wood covered the anger.'

Deverbal nouns can occur in equative clauses with the copula *pi* 'COP' as in (72) and (73):

(72) E=mro pi **na-loᵱa-na** fau skei.
3SG.S=AGAIN COP N.SPEC-see-NMLZ new INDEF
'It is a new opinion.'

(73) Na-trausi-na na, e=pi **na-trausi-na** skei naloni
N.SPEC-talk-NMLZ DEM 3SG.S= COP N.SPEC-talk-NMLZ INDEF about

tama-ti-ra skei.
DYAD- maternal.gdmother-3PL.POSS INDEF
'As for this story, it is a story about a grandmother and her granddaughter.

Deverbal nouns also head NPs introduced by prepositions. In (74), the head *nafeleana* 'dispute' is modified by the adjective *kiki* 'be small', and the possessive pronominal *naara* '3PL.POSS'. The whole NP is in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *naloni* 'about':

(74) Kan **naloni** **na-felea-na** **kiki** **naara**, ar=tuᵱma-ra pa-ki-ra.
but about N.SPEC-argue-NMLZ be.small 3PL.POSS 3PL.S=RR-3SG.POSS go-TR-3PL.OBJ
'But regarding their little dispute, they had a go at each other.'

Similarly, in (75) the deverbal noun *naftaurina* 'wedding' functions as an NP within the PP headed by the preposition *raki* 'towards'.

(75) Naɱ̃it nge, teɱ̃ol, e=pi tena taos=ia
mat DEF SBST.only 3SG.S=COP SBST.DEM like=3SG.OBJ

ur=to tae pat=ia **raki** **na-ftauri-na**.
3PL.S=IPFV able make=3SG.OBJ towards N.SPEC-get.married-NMLZ
'This mat, the only one, it is the one thus they make for weddings.'

Example (76) shows that deverbal nouns can be heads of possessive phrases: *nafak maketina* is head of the pharse *nafak maketinag tematua agnem* 'the going to the market of our elders':

(76) A=ga traus **na-fa-k** **maketi-na**=g te=matua agnem.
1SG.S=IRR talk N.SPEC-go-TR market-NMLZ=POSS:H SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS
'I will talk about the going to the market of our elders.'

3.4.1.2 Vestigial nominalisation: *n(a)-*

The other nominalisation process involves the prefixation of the nominaliser *na-* 'NMLZ'. Table 3.14 gives most known instances of this process and shows that there is a tendency for these deverbal nouns to denote natural phenomena:

Verb root		Deverbal noun	
saru	'sound'	*na-saru*	'earthquake'
tafara	'break (of waves)'	*n-tafara*	'wave'
aleati	'be.day'	*n-aleati*	'day'
malog	'darken (of night)'	*n-malogo*	'darkness'
p̃area	'dream'	*na-p̃area*	'dream'
mea	'urinate'	*na-mea*	'urine'

Table 3.15. *n(a)-* nominalisation

Earlier in this chapter some nouns were shown to take the homophonous article *na-* to mark the non-specificity of their referent. This begs the question of whether *n(a)-* as a noun prefix and *na-* as a nominalising verb prefix are the same morpheme. In the nominalisation process, *na-* is a derivational operator with empty semantics, in contrast to the article *na-* which is an inflectional operator marking non-specificity for a very limited subset of nouns (see 3.2.2). Both morphemes have a different distribution and a different function, thus two distinct processes involving two different morphemes are recognised:

- The article *n(a)-* marks nouns as non-specific, but the alternation is unpredictable and attested for a few nouns only;

- The nominaliser *n(a)-* occurs on verbs and is derivational in nature. It is also not predictable and only attested with a handful of verbs.

Some forms from table 3.14 are exemplified below. In (77), both the verb *tafara* 'break (of waves)' and its nominalised form *n-tafara* 'NMLZ-break > wave' occur:

(77) Mãata e=loña=e se **n-tafara** e=kat **tafara** pi ña̱ela,
snake 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP NMLZ-break 3SG.S=CERT break COP big

e=to se e=to lega.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=IPFV sing
'The snake saw that the waves were breaking a lot, he stayed while he was singing.'

In (78), the nominalised form *nañarea* 'dream' occurs:

(78) Ur=kut seisei tapla, ur=to psru~sruki, e=to rki-ra naa...
3PL.S=CERT meet like.this 3PL.S=IPFV speak~INT 3SG.S=IPFV tell-3PL.OBJ HESIT

na-ña̱rea nae.
N.SPEC-dream 3SG.POSS
'They had a meeting, they talked and talked, he was telling them about his dream.'

3.4.2 Substantivisation: *te* 'SBST'

Substantivisation (Lemaréchal 1989) is a distinct process from nominalisation. It has a broader scope and its function is to create referential phrases, rather than strictly deriving nouns. In Lelepa, the substantiviser *te* attaches to lexemes belonging to the following word classes: verbs, adjectives, adverbs, possessives, numerals and determiners. This results in a large class of referential lexemes that I call substantives. Substantives are nominals with similar referential properties to that of nouns and pronouns, although not all substantives encode person and number as many pronouns and pronominals do. Substantives that are derived from verbs, adjectives, adverbs and numerals have the same syntactic distribution as nouns: they occur as heads of NPs and take the NP modifiers which may occur with nouns. *Te* behaves like a clitic with some hosts (verbs, numerals, adjectives) while it is fused to other morphemes (determiners, possessives, adverbs). Verbs, numerals and adjectives are lexical units. *Te* attaches to them and in the case of transitive verbs taking an object, *te=* substantivises the whole verb and object phrase, so it is regarded as a clitic. However, with formatives such as determiners, possessives, and adverbs, *te* cannot be regarded as a proclitic because these morphemes do not

have lexical content.[9] Two different representations are used to reflect this behaviour. With the verb *kiki* 'be small', *te* is represented as a proclitic, and with the demonstrastive *na* 'DEM' it is fused to it, with the gloss combining that of *te* 'SBST' and *na* 'DEM':

te with verbs, numerals, adjectives:	*te* with determiners, possessives, adverbs:
te=kiki	tena
SBST=be.small	SBST.DEM
'the small one'	'this one'

An alternative analysis would be to regard *te* as a relativiser. However, the language has the relativiser *na* 'REL' (see 5.4.5, 12.6), and crucially, substantives can take relative clauses, as will be shown below. In (79), the numeral *rua* 'two' takes *te*= to form the substantive *terua*, which can be translated as 'these two'. The substantive is then modified by the adjectival verb *kiki* 'be small' and the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS', showing that it is able to take noun modifiers and head an NP:

(79) **Te=rua** **kiki** **agnou** naara ar=to raika pan pan pa,
SBST=two be.small 1SG.POSS 3PL 3DU.S=IPFV spearfish GO GO GO
'My two little ones were spearfishing on and on,'

Substantives derived from pronominals and determiners have the same distribution as pronouns as they take the place of NPs. They are thus better regarded as pronouns than nouns. In (80), *tena* is formed with the demonstrative *na* 'DEM' and functions as a demonstrative pronoun:

(80) **Tena** e=pitlaka natp̃an na-e!
SBST.DEM 3SG.S=have thorn DEM-ADD
'This one has got these thorns!'

Forms combining with *te* never encode a referent in their underived form. They include most word classes, but crucially, not nouns and pronouns. Nouns and pronouns are inherently referential as they can stand on their own to encode a referent, thus they are not expected to occur with *te*.[10] For a large part, substantives have animate referents, although this tendency is

[9] Note that in some langauges such as Indonesian, determiners have lexical content.
[10] Note that the closely related language South Efate has a nominalising determiner *te-* with similar functions. In this language *te-* can occur with a few nouns to form non-specific and indefinite nouns (Thieberger 2006:139). This is not attested in Lelepa.

not as prominent for *te* + possessives and *te* + determiners as it is for *te*= + verbs. Note that some substantives have a lexicalised meaning and have been included as headwords in the dictionary. Some examples are given in table 3.16:

Substantive	Formation	Gloss	Definition
tematua	*te=matua*	'SBST=be.old'	'ancestors'
temraki	*te=mraki*	'SBST=lead'	'members of the chiefly council, leaders'
tetaare	*te=taare*	'SBST=be.white'	'westerners, white people'
teloa	*te=loa*	'SBST=be.black'	'Ni-Vanuatu, black people'

Table 3.16. Lexicalised substantives

3.4.2.1 *te=* + verbs

Verbs can take the substantiver *te*= to derive nouns encoding referents whose characteristics can be denoted by such verbs. Members of all verb classes can host *te*=, except the copula. However, note that most collocations of *te*=+verb involve intransitive verbs, as seen in table 3.16. The table also shows that it is possible for a verb and its object to form a substantive, as seen with *te=rog nalotuna* 'Christian'. It is formed with the transitive verb *rogo* 'feel, hear' which is followed by the nominalised form *na-lotu-na* 'N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ > worship'. The substantiviser *te*= is then hosted by the verb to form a compound noun.

	Verb	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
intransitives	*loa*	'be black'	*te=loa*	'black one'
	laapa	'be many'	*te=laapa*	'many people'
	taare	'be white'	*te=taare*	'white one; white people'
	matua	'be old'	*te=matua*	'elders'
	mramra	'lead, reign'	*te=mramra*	'leader'
	fea	'be first:IRR'	*te=fea*	'first one'
	lotu	'worship; pray'	*te=lotu*	'religious person'
	fnau	'teach, preach'	*te=fnau*	'teacher, pastor'
	m̃ulm̃ul	'be round'	*te=m̃ulm̃ul*	'round one'
	ftaur	'marry'	*te=ftaur*	'married couple'
	mlap	'be last'	*te=mlap*	'last one'
	kasua	'be strong'	*te=kasua*	'strong one'
	frau	'be long'	*te=frau*	'long one'
ambitransitives	*faam*	'eat'	*te=faam*	'the one who eats'
transitives	*slae*	'help'	*te=slae*	'helper'
	mrak	'lead; accompany'	*te=mrak*	'leader'
	rog nalotuna	'experience Christianity'	*te=rog nalotuna*	Christian

Table 3.17. Substantives

Substantives formed with intransitive verbs are exemplified in (81) and (85). In (81), *p̃ata* 'be.different' is substantivised with *te=* to refer to different, other people outside of one's family:

(81) Mali tu=laka **te=p̃ata** tapla, tu=kat raus=ra pa.
when 1PL.INCL.S=see SBST=be.different like.this 1PL.INCL.S=CERT follow=3PL.OBJ GO
'When we see other people, we follow them (i.e. when we become adults and leave the family).'

In (82), *mramra* 'rule' yields the form *temramra* 'ruler':

(82) E=lag pi natam̃ol p̃el skei n-e=pi **te=mramra**.
3SG.S=MAYBE COP person big INDEF REL-3SG.S=COP SBST=rule
'He may be an important person who is a ruler.'

In (83), *laapa* 'be.many' is substantivised to refer to a large group of people, while in (84) *te=p̃arik* 'SBST=be.few' is formed with *p̃arik* 'be few' and refers to a small number of people:

(83) A=po to se **te=laapa,**
1SG.S=SEQ IPFV call SBST=be.many

"kur=ga fanmei, tu=ga fat na-ftauri-na=g Rachel."
2PL.S=IRR come:IRR 1PL.INCL.S=IRR make N.SPEC-marry-NMLZ=POSS:H p.name
'Then I called many people, "you guys come, we'll do Rachel's wedding."

(84) Sisen[11] e=panei lag e=ga til nmatuna skei e=ga fat=ia,
Session 3SG.S=come PURP 3SG.S=IRR tell thing INDEF 3SG.S=IRR make=3SG.OBJ

te=p̃arik m̃ol!
SBST=be.few only
'The Session came to talk about something they would do, (but) only a few people (came)!'

Substantives and NP modifiers co-occur, which is further evidence of their noun status. In (85), the substantive *tematua* 'SBST=be old' occurs with the possessive determiner *aginta* '1pl.incl.poss' to refer to the ancestors of the current community of Lelepa speakers:

(85) So e=pa slae **te=matua** **aginta** slafea nge,
so 3SG.S=go help SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS before DEF

ur=pat nasum̃a tap ke-rua.
3PL.S=make house be.taboo ORD-two
'So he went and helped our elders at that time, they built the second church.'

Less commonly, substantives are formed with transitive and ambitransitive verbs. In (86) the ambitransitive verb *faam* 'eat' is derived as the noun *tefaam* 'feeder; eater'. In this example *tefaam* refers to fish which come close to the shore to feed at dawn and dusk, so that it is a good time to spear them:

(86) E=ga fanei pa faam e=go wia,
3SG.S=IRR come go eat 3SG.S=IRR be.good

te=faam e=go wia p̃a=lao=ea.
SBST=eat 3SG.S=IRR good 2SG.S:IRR=spear-3SG.OBJ
'They will come to feed and it will be good, the feeding ones will be right for you to spear.'

Transitives can occur with their object to form a substantive. In (87), the substantive *temrak nalotuna* 'church leader'[12] is derived from the transitive verb *mrak* 'lead, accompany' and its object *nalotuna* 'worship'[13]:

[11] *Sisen* is a Bislama loan translated as Session. It refers to the elders of a Presbyterian Church congregation. In this sentence, it refers to a group of Presbyterian Church elders who conducted a general meeting that few people attended.

(87) **Te=mraki** **na-lotu-na**, ur=ga fsa wia-ki-ra nasuñma tap.
SBST=lead N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ 3PL.S=IRR speak be.good-TR-3PL.OBJ house be.taboo
'As for the church leaders, they will bless them in the church.'

3.4.2.2 *te=* + adjectives

Adjectives form a distinct word class (see 4.5) and can derive substantives. In (88), the adjective *mauna* 'every, all' hosts *te=* to derive the noun *temauna* 'everyone'. Note that *mauna* also occurs as an underived adjective modifying the noun *Afate* 'Efate':

(88) **Te=mauna**, A=fate A=fate **mauna**, ur=kut pa-ki na-lotu-na.
SBST=all LOC=p.name LOC=p.name all 3PL.S=CERT go-TR N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ
'Everyone, the whole of Efate, they embraced Christianity.'

Adjectives can also be derived with the ordinal prefix *ke-* 'ORD' that attaches to numerals. The resulting forms are ordinal adjectives (see 3.4.4 and 4.5). Like underived adjectives, ordinal adjectives can be substantivised, as in (89). In this example, the numeral *tolu* 'three' is used as a base to derive the ordinal adjective *ke-tolu* 'third' and the substantive *te=ke-tolu* 'the third one':

(89) Kane **te=ke-tolu**, stori **ke-tolu**, e=pi...
but SBST=ORD-three story ORD-three 3SG.S=COP

natañmol e=mag naota stat na-wesi-na.
person 3SG.S=BEN chief start N.SPEC-work-NMLZ
'But the third one, the third story, it is (about)... a person who starts jobs for the chief.'

3.4.2.3 *te* + possessives

Substantivisation also applies to two distinct possessive paradigms: possessive pronominals and the possessive enclitics *=n* 'POSS:NH' and *=g* 'POSS:H'. The process is discussed for each paradigm in turn, starting with possessive pronominals. Possessive pronominals are a special class of pronouns. While they cannot stand by themselves and occur in all NP positions, they are in complementary distribution with NPs in the POSS slot (see 5.4.3). They also occur as NP modifiers and in such cases their behaviour is similar to that of determiners. They derive full possessive pronouns with *te*, as seen in table 3.17 which lists the possessive pronominals which serve as a base and the corresponding possessive pronouns derived with *te*. Note that

[12] Note that *temraki* 'leader' occurring on its own is the appropriate form for Lelepa community members to address Lelepa chiefs sitting as part of the Lelepa Council of Chiefs during village meetings and village courts.
[13] Note that *temraki na-lotu-na* cannot be analysed as a possessive construction meaning *leaders of worship* because the possessive enclitic =n 'POSS.NH' does not occur as expected in a possessive construction (see 6.4.2). Instead, it is regarded as a substantivized compound.

the possessive pronouns are given a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss as well as an English translation to clarify their meaning. Note also that vowel-initial possessive pronominals lose their initial vowel in the cliticisation process, due to the phonological process of pretonic vowel deletion (see 2.5.1.2).

Possessive pronominals		**Possessive pronouns**	
agnou	'1SG.POSS'	*tegnou*	'SBST.1SG.POSS' > 'mine'
nag	'2SG.POSS'	*tenag*	'SBST.2SG.POSS' > 'yours (SG)'
nae	'3SG.POSS'	*tenae*	'SBST.3SG.POSS' > 'his'
agnem	'1PL.EXCL.POSS'	*tegnem*	'SBST.1PL.EXCL.POSS' > 'ours (EXCL)'
aginta	'1PL.INCL.POSS'	*teginta*	'SBST.1PL.INCL.POSS' > 'ours (INCL)'
agmu	'2PL.POSS'	*tegmu*	'SBST.2PL.POSS' > 'yours' (PL)'
naara	'3PL.POSS'	*tenaara*	'SBST.2PL.POSS' > 'theirs'

Table 3.18. Possessive pronominals and possessive pronouns

Examples (90) to (92) show derived possessive pronouns functioning as complements of the copula *pi* 'COP':

(90) Tus na e=ti pi **tenag** mau.
book DEM 3SG.S=NEG COP SBST.2SG.POSS NEG2
'This book is not yours.'
[elicited]

(91) Nasuña kiki na,e=pi **tegnou**,
house small DEM 3SG.S=COP SBST.1SG.POSS

nasuña p̃ela n=e=mato, e=pi teg Namuan.
house big REL=3SG.S=stay.long 3SG.S=COP SBST.POSS:H p.name
'This small house, it is mine, and that big house, it is Namuan's.'
[elicited]

(92) Namuan e=ma tena, e=pi **tenaara.**
p.name 3SG.S=grate SBST.DEM 3SG.S=COP SBST.3PL.POSS
'Namuan grated this one, it is theirs.'
[elicited]

In addition to possessive pronominals, the language also has two possessive enclitics. These occur in possessive constructions in which both the possessor and the possessum are encoded by lexical NPs. The distribution of these enclitics is based roughly on a human/non human distinction: with a human possessor, =*g* 'POSS:H' occurs on the possessum, while the

possessum is marked with =*n* 'POSS:H' if the possessor is non-human (see 6.4.2, 6.4.3). In (93), the possessor *Masogo* has a human referent and the possessum is marked with =*g*:

(93) Wara, e=pi **eria=g** **Masogo,**
here 3SG.S=COP area=POSS:H p.name

ta=to wuru=s panmei.
1DU.INCL.S=IPFV pass=3SG.OBJ COME
'Here, it is Masogo's area, we are passing through it.'

In contrast, in (94) the possessor *aleat* 'middle.day' is non-human, and the possessum is marked with =*n*:

(94) Ur=kut to pat **nafnaga=n** **aleati**.
3PL.S=CERT IPFV make food=POSS:NH middle.day
'They are preparing the food for lunch.'

These possessives combine with the substantiviser *te* to form the possessive pronouns *ten* 'SBST.POSS:NH' and *teg* 'SBST.POSS:NH', which takes the place of the possessed noun in examples such as (93) and (94). Table 3.18 presents both enclitics and their corresponding substantives. In the table, 'X' corresponds to the possessor. Note that *ten* and *teg* cannot occur by themselves and are always followed by a possessor noun.

Possessive enclitics		**Substantives**	
=*n*	'POSS:NH'	*ten*	'SBST.POSS:NH' > 'the one of (X)' (X is a non-human possessor)
=*g*	'POSS:H'	*teg*	'SBST.POSS:H' > 'the one of (X)' (X is a human possessor)

Table 3.19. Possessive enclitics and their corresponding substantives

In (95) and (96), *ten* occurs as the possessor NPs have a non-human referent:

(95) Kane kinta tu=laapa,
but 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.S=be.many

kinta **ten** natkona tu=laapa.
1PL.INCL SBST.POSS:NH village 1PL.INCL.S=be.many
'But we are many, us from the village we are many.'

(96) Ur=to=pat suk~suk nafnag e=pi **ten** gotfan
3PL.S=IPFV=make tight~INT food 3SG.S=COP SBST.POSS:NH afternoon

go e=pi **ten** matmai.
and 3SG.S=COP SBST.POSS:NH tomorrow
'They are preparing food for tonight and tomorrow.'

In contrast, *teg* occurs in (97) as the possessor noun *Rachel* has a human referent:

(97) A=ga maginta til=ia=s, taos **teg** Rachel,
1SG.S=IRR 1PL.INCL.BEN tell=3SG.OBJ=3OBL like SBST.POSS:H p.name

a=pitlaka m̃latig... e=ova wan andred taosen.
1SG.S=have close 3SG.S=be.over one hundred thousand
'I will recount it for us, like for Rachel's, I had about… it was over a hundred thousand.'

3.4.2.4 *te* + determiners

Te combines also with the determiners *nge* 'DEF', *na* 'DEM', *wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' and *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST'[14] to derive demonstrative pronouns which contrast in definiteness and spatial distance, as encoded in the base forms (see 4.6.2, 4.12). Demonstrative pronouns and their base are shown in table 3.19. Note that *tewa* is not attested:

Determiners		Demonstrative pronouns	
nge	'DEF'	*tenge*	'SBST.DEF'
na	'DEM'	*tena*	'SBST.DEM'
wa	'DEM'	-	-
wa-s	'DEM-PROX'	*tewa-s*	'SBST.DEM-PROX'
wa-n	'DEM-DIST'	*tewa-n*	'SBST.DEM-DIST'

Table 3.20. Determiners and demonstrative pronouns

Tena and *tenge* contrast in the type of referents they encode: *tena* refers to 'concrete' referents while *tenge* refers to 'abstract' ones. Concrete referents are part of the concrete world, and comprise humans, animals, objects, inanimate beings and natural phenomena. In contrast, abstract referents comprise situations, events, discussions, stories, thoughts, and so on. Note that the determiners *na* and *nge* denote all kinds of definite referents, whether they are concrete or abstract. Thus there is a certain amount of semantic divergence between the determiners and the derived pronouns. In (98) *tenge* 'SBST.DEF' refers to the story that was just told:

[14] *Te*= is not attested to combine with the indefinite determiner *skei* 'INDEF'.

(98) **Tenge**, e=nou warange.
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=be.finished there
'As for this one, it is finished there.'

In (99), *tenge* refers to a situation experienced by M. Murray, a missionary envoy sent to Vanuatu to look for eligible places to establish missions. Malaria caused a serious health problem for migrants and locals alike, and when the missionary found out that Lelepa had a low malaria risk, he realised that the island would be a good place to establish a mission:

(99) Nlakan **tenge**,
because SBST.DEF

M.Murray nge e=loῆa=e lag, "oo, wari na e=pi nali wia."
p.name DEF 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ say oh place DEM 3SG.S=COP place be.good
'Because of this, M. Murray realised, "oh, this place is a good place."'

In (100), *tenge* refers to a matter which prompted a meeting:

(100) Te=laapa ur=mato seisei gor **tenge** mato.
SBST=be.many 3PL.S=stay.long meet cover SBST.DEF STAT
'Many people were meeting about this.'

In contrast, *tena* encodes concrete referents. Note that it is the most common demonstrative pronoun in the corpus. In (101), it refers to a mat that was woven and decorated with chicken feathers:

(101) **Tena**, ur=pat nmῆau toa=s.
SBST.DEM 3SG.S=make feather chicken=3OBL
'As for this one, they attached chicken feathers to it.'

In (102), *tena* has a human referent. Note that *tena* does not mark number, as it can encode referents that are singular as in (101) and plural as in (102):

(102) **Tena** ur=panei malange, ur=panei ῆalgat=ia.
SBST.DEM 3PL.S=come then 3PL.S=come open=3SG.OBJ
'These people came at that time, they came to open it.'

Tena also has the ability of taking relative clauses (see 5.2.2), as in (103). This is evidence that *te* is not a relativiser, as seen by the fact that *tena* is followed by a relativiser introducing the relative clause, like any NP taking a relative clause:[15]

(103) E=pitlaka **tena** n=ur=tuñalua naara Wako.
3SG.S=have SBST.DEM REL=3PL.S=leave 3PL p.name
'There were those who left those in Wako.'

The demonstrative pronouns *tewa-s* 'SBST.DEM-PROX' and *tewa-n* 'SBST.DEM-DIST' are formed with the spatial demonstrative *wa* 'DEM' and the suffixes *-s* 'PROX' and *-n* 'DIST'. *Wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' modifies nouns whose referents are close to the speaker, while *wa-n* 'DEM=DIST' modifies nouns whose referents are distant from the speaker (see 4.12.2.2). Similarly to *tena*, *tewas* and *tewan* encode concrete referents rather than abstract ones:

(104) Ña=mun **tewa-s**!
2SG.S:IRR=drink SBST.DEM-PROX
'Drink this one (close to me)!'
[Elicited]

(105) E=lag e=ga fat Kastom pa-ki misi
3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR make:IRR Kastom go-TR misionnary

nlakan e=ña punu **tewa-n**.
because 3SG.S=hit dead SBST.DEM-DIST
'He said that he would do a reconciliation ceremony with the missionary because he had killed that one.'

3.4.2.5 *te=* + numerals

Te also combines with numerals to form nouns encoding the number of their referent. These substantives are better analysed as nouns rather than pronouns as they regularly occur with noun modifiers such as adjectives and determiners. In (106), *te=rua* 'SBST=two' is modified by the adjectival verb *kiki* 'be.small':

(106) **Te=rua** **kiki** ar=mato taafa to.
SBST=two be.small 3DU.S=stay.long inlandwards STAT
'The two little ones were inland.'

In (107), *terua* occurs with the demonstrative *na* 'DEM':

[15] Note that relativisers cannot be stacked in Lelepa (see 12.6.1)

(107) **Te=rua** **na,** ar=pi kapenta na ar=atlake=s.
SBST=two DEM 3DU.S=COP carpenter REL 3DU.S=start=3SG.OBJ
'As for these two, they were the carpenters who started it.'

In (108), *terua* occurs with the definite *nge* 'DEF':

(108) **Te=rua** **nge,** nagi-ra e=pi laua naaram ofa.
SBST=two DEF name-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=COP cardinal.fish and heron
'As for these two, their names are Cardinal Fish and Heron.'

3.4.2.6 *te* + adverbs

There are only a few examples of combinations of *te* with adverbs in the data (see 4.7). When *te* combines with adverbs, the substantives encode referents with the semantic characteristic denoted by the particular adverb it occurs with. In (109), the phrasal adverb *m̃ol* 'just; only' (see 4.7.1.2) combines with *te* to form *tem̃ol* 'SBST.only'. This form is used frequently in the language to mean the equivalent of English 'that's enough' or 'fine'. In this example, the speaker comments on the difficulty of extracting a yam from the ground because the soil is very sticky, while recognising that this task went well:

(109) Ku=laka=e? Ntan e=pu suk=ia, kane e=pi **tem̃ol**.
2SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ soil 3SG.S=pull tight=3SG.OBJ but 3SG.S=COP SBST.just
'You see? The soil is holding it tightly, but it's fine.'

In (110), the speaker reports a heated conversation in which his father disagreed with his idea to travel abroad. He shows his father that he will not discuss the matter further by using *tem̃ol*:

(110) E=lag, "Nag ku=ti tae na-fsa-na mau,
3SG.S=say 2SG 2SG.S=NEG know N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ NEG2

se ku=lag p̃a=fa?"
while 2SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR

A=lag, "**Tem̃ol**, a=ga fa."
1SG.S=say SBST.just 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR
'He said, "you don't know the language, and at the same time you say you will go?"
I said, "Enough, I'll go."'

In (111), the adverb *mau* 'all'combines with *te* to give *temau* 'SBST.all':

(111) Tenge, e=pi na-maroa-na kiki
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-think-NMLZ be.small

a=msau-na lag a=mro rki kinta=s. **Temau**.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=AGAIN tell 1PL.INCL=3SG.OBJ SBST.all
'This, this is the modest idea I wanted to share between us. That's all.'

3.4.2.7 *te* + topic particle

The particle *wei* 'TOP' marks contrastive topic. In (112), *tewei* 'SBST.TOP' encodes its referent for contrastive topic. Note that it follows *kinta* '1PL.INCL' and has the same referent:

(112) Go a=rki kinta=s, kinta **tewei** laapa,
and 1SG.S=tell 1PL.INCL=3SG.OBJ 1PL.INCL SBST.TOP many

e=pi na-loŋa-na agnou.
3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-see-NMLZ 1SG.POSS
'And I tell it to us, as for us lot, this is my view.'

In (113) *tewei nge* 'SBST-TOP DEF' refers to the story that was just told, marking it for contrastive topic as well:

(113) So, e=pi **tewei** **nge,**
so 3SG.S=COP SBST.TOP DEF

a=msou-na a=rki kumu=s nkarkiki.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=tell 2PL=3SG.OBJ children
'So this is it, which I wanted to tell you children.'

3.4.3 Locative *a=*

The locative proclitic *a*= derives locational nouns. It combines with common nouns (see 4.2.2), place names (see 4.2.3) and directionals (see 4.9) when the referent of the derived locational noun is in the role of location. In (114) *a*= attaches to the place name *Tuktuk*:

(114) Marka nae, nae e=mato **A=tuktuk** to.
old.man 3SG.POSS 3SG 3SG.S=stay.long LOC=p.name STAT
'As for her husband, he lived in Tuktuk.'

In contrast, in (115) *Tuktuk* is not in the role of location and occurs underived:

(115) Marka naota ten **Tuktuk**, nagi-na e=pi M̃aseiɲ̃og.
old.man chief SBST.POSS:NH p.name name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP p.name
'AS for the chief from Tuktuk, his name was M̃aseiɲ̃og.'

In (116), *a*= occurs on the directional *uta* 'landwards' and forms the locational noun *a=uta* 'LOC=landwards' which refers to the shore:

(116) E=wia, a=kano to **a=uta** to, a=ti m̃asko mau.
3SG.S=be.good 1SG.S=cannot stay LOC=landwards STAT 1SG.S=NEG be.clear NEG2
'That's fine, I cannot stay on the shore, I am not clean.'

In (117), *a*= occurs on the directional *lag* 'upwards' to form the locational noun *a=lag* 'LOC=upwards' which refers to the roof of a house:

(117) Go **a=lag** nag-na, ur=pat=ia, e=pi nasum̃a nous.
and LOC=up ASS-3SG.POSS 3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=COP house wild.cane
'And as for its roof, they made it, it was a wild cane house.'

Some common nouns can take the locative proclitic when they are in the role of location. In (118) *sum̃a* 'house' hosts *a*= as it has the role of location:

(118) E=to **a=sum̃a** to.
3SG.S=stay LOC=house STAT
'He is at the house.'
[elicited]

It was shown that *sum̃a* can also be prefixed with the residual article *na-* 'N.SPEC' to give the common noun *na-sum̃a* 'N.SPEC-house' (see 3.2.2). The distinction between *na-sum̃a* 'N.SPEC-house' and *a=sum̃a* 'LOC-house' reflects the distinction between common and local nouns reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Ross 2004b:184),[16] and found in many modern Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:37). However, a subclass of local nouns is not established for Lelepa, since locational nouns are obtained after derivation with *a*= 'LOC'.

[16] It is possible that Lelepa *a*= 'LOC' reflects the POc locative preposition **i* (Ross 2004b). Although this is difficult to ascertain since the phonetic shape of *a* and *i* is rather different, consider the fact that in closely related languages, the cognates of Lelepa forms which occur with locative *a*= are *e* initial. Thus in South Efate one finds *elau* 'on the shore', *esum̃* 'at the house' and *Efat* 'Efate', which are clearly cognates with Lelepa *alau* 'on the shore', *asum̃a* 'at the house' and Afate 'Efate'. Since *e* is phonetically closer to *i*, this makes this hypothesis slightly stronger, along with the fact that *a*= has a similar syntactic distribution to **i*.

Locational nouns such as *Atuktuk* 'in Tuktuk', *auta* 'on the shore' and *asum̃a* 'at the house' form a class of derived nouns, but there are no underived local nouns in the language.

3.4.4 Ordinal *ke-*

The ordinal prefix *ke-* occurs on numerals to derive ordinal adjectives (see 4.5). This is shown in examples (119) to (121), in which *kerua* 'second', *ketolu* 'third' and *kelima* 'fifth' modify nouns:

(119) Ur=to pa naleati **ke-rua** e=kat pa.
3PL.S=stay GO day ORD-two 3SG.S=CERT go
'They stayed until after the second day.'

(120) Tu=mro suara sla **ke-tol** pan pa,
1PL.INCL.S=again walk time ORD-three GO GO

tu=panei pa-ki liga wara skimau nge.
1PL.INCL.S=come go-TR out here be.one DEF
'We walk again for the third time, and we end up in the same place.'

(121) Ur=tfag nasum̃a tap **ke-lima** nge.
3PL.S=build house be.taboo ORD-five DEF
'They built the fifth church.'

Note that *skei* 'INDEF' cannot take the ordinal prefix to derive **ke-skei* to express the meaning 'first'. Instead, the intransitive verb *fea* 'be.first' is used, as in (122) in which it modifies the noun *rarua* 'canoe':

(122) Namta nag e=ga to rarua **fea** nge.
eye 2PL 3SG.S=IRR stay canoe be.first DEF
'Your eye should be on the first canoe.'

3.4.5 Reduplication

In contrast to other Vanuatu languages, reduplication is a minor and non-productive process in Lelepa. Examples of languages in which reduplication is widespread are Lewo (Early 1994:136), Nahavaq (Dimock 2009:145), Naman (Crowley 2006:120), Mavea (Guérin 2008:128), Araki (François 2002:37), Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:132), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:341), and Mwotlap (François 2003:3), amongst others. As seen in table 3.20, reduplication has two main functions in Lelepa: it can be derivational or non-derivational. The main function

of non-derivational reduplication is intensification. Thus, *m̃ala* 'be.clear' is reduplicated as *m̃alm̃ala* 'be very clear', and *skei* 'one; INDEF' as *skeskei* 'single'. In this type of reduplication the base and the reduplicant belong to the same word class. In contrast, the functions of derivational reduplication are diverse. However, two main patterns appear: nominalisation/verbalisation on the one hand, and valency change (including reflexivisation) on the other. Nominalisation derives nouns such as *sisi* 'rifle' from the transitive verb *si* 'shoot, blow'. Valency change can be an increase in the valency, such as with *lo* 'look' and *lolo* 'look for', or a decrease, with pairs such as *sel* 'sew' (transitive) and *selsel* 'sew' (intransitive):

Non-derivational			Derivational		
Base	**Reduplicant**	**Function**	**Base**	**Reduplicant**	**Function**
m̃ala 'be.clear'	*m̃alm̃ala* 'be.very clear, be.naked'	Intensification	*si* 'shoot'	*sisi* 'rifle'	Nominalisation
suk 'tighten'	*suksuk* 'tighten a lot'		*p̃aro* 'idiot'	*p̃arp̃aro* 'be.careless'	Verbalisation
skei 'one; INDEF'	*skeskei* 'single'		*taliop* 'turn around'	*tataliop* 'turn on itself'	Reflexivisation
psruki 'talk'	*psrusruki* 'talk a lot'		*sel* 'sew' (transitive)	*selsel* 'sew' (intransitive)	De-transitivisation
naure 'island'	*naureure* 'each island'		*lo* 'look'	*lolo* 'look for'	Transitivisation

Table 3.21. The functions of reduplication

In (127), the intransitive verb *m̃ala* 'be.clear' occurs. In (123), the reduplicant *m̃alm̃ala* 'be.very clear; be naked' shows the intensification in meaning from 'be clear' to 'be very clear':

(127) E=kat **m̃ala** wara skei.
3SG.S=CERT be.clear place INDEF
'It was clear in one place.'

(123) Nkas kiki sa nge se e=to wara **m̃al~m̃ala** nge to,
wood be.small very DEF too 3SG.S=stay place RED~be.clear DEF STAT

e=to fe=a.
3SG.S=IPFV count-3SG.OBJ
'As the little bits of wood are on a very clear place, he counts them.'

Examples (124) and (125) show the nominalisation function of reduplication. In (124), *si* 'shoot' functions as a transitive verb hosting the object enclitic *=ko* '2SG.OBJ', while in (125) the reduplicant *sisi* 'rifle' is a derived noun:

(124) Konou, a=**si**=ko.
1SG 1SG.S=shoot=2SG.OBJ
'As for me, I shot you.'
[elicited]

(125) Tu=sla walaa kite tu=sla **sisi**,
1PL.INCL.S=carry spear or 1PL.INCL.S=carry rifle

tu=p̃a punu=ea nmatuna na tu=slat=ia pa.
1PL.INCL.S=hit dead=3SG.OBJ thing REL 1PL.INCL.S=carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'We bring a spear or we bring a rifle, we kill it with the thing we brought.'

Finally, note that there are a number of forms which appear to be reduplicated but are synchronically non-analysable. Examples are:

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
fafatu	'trust'	*gugu*	'bad weather'
flafla	'be.stuck'	*krukru*	'pedal'
fugofugo	'get up early'	*laelae*	'happy'
gaegae	'pant'	*raerae*	'beautiful'

Table 3.22. Non-analysable reduplicated form

Chapter 4 — Word Classes

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the morphosyntactic classes of words in Lelepa. The classification is established by looking at the syntactic distribution of members of each class and the inflectional and derivational operations they partake in. Sixteen word classes are identified in the language, with major open classes such as nouns (4.2) and verbs (4.3), and minor closed classes such as pronouns (4.6), adverbs (4.7), numerals (4.10), and determiners (4.12), amongst others. Typologically notable classes include post-verbs (4.4), a small class of adjectives (4.5), and the class of directionals (4.9). A common phenomenon in the language is heterosemy (Persson 1988, Lichtenberk 1991, Enfield 2006). It is manifested by a number of formally identical and semantically closely related words which belong to several word classes. An example is the pair *tuagoto/tuagoto*: the former is an intransitive verb meaning 'to cross', and the latter a noun referring to the crossbeams of a roof. Since Lelepa has a word class system strongly based in syntactic distribution, such pairs do not mean that the classes of nouns and verbs are not well established, but that heterosemy is present in the language.

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 The class of nouns

This section aims at delimiting the category of nouns. The main criterion for noun class membership is that nouns occur as heads of NPs. Nouns head NPs which function as core and oblique arguments of a predicate, as well as adjuncts which may or may not be introduced by a preposition. The major criterion distinguishing nouns from verbs in the language is that nouns do not function predicatively and thus do not occur with subject proclitics (see 4.3, 7.4.1.1). Criteria used in assigning lexemes to the class of nouns are summarised in Table 4.1 below:

Nouns	**Nouns occur as heads of NPs functioning as:**
	• Direct core arguments of a predicate • Oblique arguments of a predicate • Adjuncts introduced or not by a preposition
	Nouns may satisfy some or all of the following optional criteria:
	• Be modified by the pre-head modifier *sara* 'each' • Be determined with the determiners *skei* 'INDEF', *nge* 'DEF', *na* 'DEM' • Be modified by adjectives and adjectival verbs • Occur in a possessive construction • Be quantified by numerals or other forms used in quantification in the NP[1] • Be specified by a relative clause

Table 4.1. Criteria establishing the class of nouns

The different syntactic positions nouns occur in are exemplified in (1) to (5). In (1), the noun *marka* 'old man' is the only argument of the intransitive verb *maturu* 'sleep'. It heads an NP and occurs with the definite determiner *nge* 'DEF':

(1) **Marka** nge e=wan maturu.
old.man DEF 3SG.S=IPFV sleep
'The old man was sleeping.'
[elicited]

In (2) the nouns *natamõl* 'person, people' and *namul-la* 'skin-3SG.POSS' head two NPs functioning as core arguments of the complex predicate *kano pa lwa* 'cannot remove'. *Natamõl* is the head of the subject NP. *Namulla* is inflected for possession[2] and is the head of the object NP:

(2) **Natamõl** e=kano pa lwa **namul-la**.
people 3SG.S=cannot go remove skin-3SG.POSS
'People cannot remove their skin.'

Nouns also head NPs functioning as oblique arguments. In Lelepa oblique NPs are not formally marked, and follow the intransitive verb or the object. They generally encode locations, instruments and themes. In (3) the noun *srosro* 'round-bladed long adze' occurs as an

[1] There is no class of quantifiers in Lelepa. Quantification is achieved by numerals, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.
[2] This inflection reflects a common feature of Oceanic languages which have a category of nouns inflecting for possession (see 3.2.1).

oblique NP with the role of instrument. It simply follows the object NP headed by *naokon luku* 'hull's interior':

(3) A=pat paksaki naoko=n luku nag-na **srosro**,
1SG.S=make clean mouth=POSS:NH hole ASS-3SG.POSS k.o.adze
'I cleaned the inside of the hull with the round-bladed long adze,'

Finally, nouns also head NPs functioning as adjuncts. Adjuncts add peripheral information to the event expressed by the predicate, for instance by expressing the manner in which an action is performed or by locating an event in time or space. In contrast to obliques, they are not subcategorised for by the verb. In (4), the noun *tuei* 'long ago' functions as an adjunct locating in time the event expressed by the predicate *to* 'stay':

(4) **Tuei**, m̃aata naaram wita ar=to,
long.ago snake and octopus 3DU.S=stay
'Long ago, the snake and the octopus stayed,'

Adjuncts also differ from obliques in that they can be introduced by a preposition. In (5) the noun *nagi* 'name' heads an NP introduced by the preposition *pae* 'SOURCE':

(5) E=msau-na lag e=ga fat hae skul gaskei,
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR make high school IRR.INDEF

pae **nagi**=n Presbyterian Jioj.
SOURCE name=POSS:NH Presbyterian Church
'He wanted to make a high school, in the name of the Presbyterian Church.'

About half of the nouns (43% in the current corpus) are *n(a)*-initial, not including deverbal nouns which all occur with the article *n(a)*- (see 3.2.2, 3.4.1). Rather, the fact that many underived nouns are *n(a)*-initial results from the fusion of the POc article **na* as part of these nouns, a well established scenario for languages of the Southern Oceanic subgroup (Lynch 2001). In Lelepa, evidence that initial *n(a)* is a reflex from POC **na* is found in the fact that it behaves as an article for some nouns and in some contexts (see 3.2.2). Since over half of the nouns are not *na*-initial, this does not constitute a sufficient criterion to establish the class of nouns. Table 4.2 shows some *na*-initial nouns. They do not share any exclusive morphosyntactic features and represent a diverse range of semantic domains, and so cannot be recognised as a grammatical subclass of nouns.

Body parts & products	Humans	Fish	Plants	Others
nm̃au 'head'	*natam̃ol* 'person'	*neika* 'fish'	*napaga* 'banyan tree'	*nasogo* 'rubbish'
npat 'tooth'	*nagrun* 'woman'	*nagp̃a* 'moray eel'	*naptau* 'breadfruit'	*nasum̃a* 'house'
nm̃at 'back'	*nkarkik* 'child'	*nagul* 'goatfish'	*nawi* 'yam'	*nap̃a* 'creek'
ntae 'excrement'	*naota* 'chief'	*napele* 'sardine'	*noas* 'island cabbage'	*namos* 'outside (of sea)'
narimta 'tears'	*nerue* 'twins'	*nalgos* 'leaf fish'	*nati* 'banana'	*nafarkal* 'bush spirit'

Table 4.2. Some *na*-initial nouns classified by semantic domain

Being *na*-initial is not a sufficient criterion for establishing subclasses of common and proper nouns either. Most *n(a)*-initial nouns are not personal names and place names. This tendency is explained historically, since the POc article **na* marked common non-human nouns, which excluded place names (Crowley 1985). However, there are still about 3% of *na*-initial nouns which are indeed place and personal names (for instance the place name *Naktaf* and the personal names *Nafet* and *Nap̃ar*). Recall also that productive instances of *na*-marking are observed in nominalisation (see 3.4.1) and the marking of genericity (see 3.2.2). Thus, while *na*-marking is a feature of the nominal domain, it does not offer a morphosyntactic or semantic criteria establishing a class or subclass of nouns.

4.2.2 Common and proper nouns

Proper nouns include personal and place names, while common nouns include all other nouns. Proper nouns cannot take possessive suffixes, but since this is also the case of many common nouns, it is not a distinctive criterion for establishing a proper noun subclass. More importantly however, proper nouns cannot occur with the indefinite determiner *skei* 'INDEF', which sets them apart from common nouns. In (6), *skei* occurs with the dyadic kin term *tamatira* 'DYAD.mat.gdmother-3sg.POSS' to mark the referent of the NP as indefinite. Note that *tamatira* is mentioned for the first time in the narrative and for this reason it needs to be marked as indefinite:

(6) Tama-ti-ra **skei** ar=to taafa nm̃ou n-taafa.
DYAD.mat.gdmother-3sg.POSS INDEF 3DU.S=stay inlandwards head NMLZ-inlandwards
'A grandmother and her granddaughter lived inland, on top of the hill.'

In (7), the personal names *Mantae* and *Matakutalo* also occur as first mention in the text, however they occur with no determiner. Example (8) shows that it is ungrammatical for them to occur with *skei*, which is expected as their referents are inherently definite:

(7)
E=pitlak	**Mantae,**	**Matakutalo,**
3SG.S=have	p.name	p.name

naara	wei	na	ar=raus=ra	panmei.
3PL	TOP	DEM	3DU.S=follow=3PL.OBJ	COME

'Here are Mantae, Matakutalo, they (two) are the ones following them.'

(8)
*E=pitlak	**Mantae**	**skei,**	**Matakutalo**	**skei,**
3SG.S=have	p.name	INDEF	p.name	INDEF

naara	wei	na	ar=raus=ra	panmei.
3PL	TOP	DEM	3DU.S=follow=3PL.OBJ	COME

'Here are Mantae, Matakutalo, they (two) are the ones following them.'
[elicited]

Note that proper nouns can co-occur with other determiners such as *nge* 'DEF' and *na* 'DEM', like all common nouns. Although this is not common in the corpus, it is not surprising as proper nouns are inherently definite, and compatible with the definite *nge* 'DEF' but not with the indefinite *skei*. In (9) the place name *matnarfarfa* occurs with *nge*:

(9)
Matnarfarfa	**nge,**	nagi-na	e=rua:	Matnarau,	Matnarfarfa.
p.name	DEF	name-3SG.POSS	3SG.S=two	p.name	p.name

As for Matnarfarfa, it has two names: Matnarau, Matnarfarfa.

In (10) the personal name *Narop* occurs with the demonstrative *na* 'DEM'. In this example, the speaker is commenting on several men working on a dugout canoe at the same time and performing the same task of shaping the stern and prow. As he needs to individuate the referent of *Narop* amongst the other men, he uses the demonstrative *na* while pointing at him:

(10)
Ur=to	uɲanakono=s,	**Narop**	**na**	e=uɲanakono=s.
3PL.S=IPFV	shape=3SG.OBJ	p.name	DEM	3SG.S=shape=3SG.OBJ

'They are shaping it, Narop here shapes it.'

4.2.3 Place names

Place names can be marked with the locative proclitic *a*= 'LOC' when in the role of location (see 3.4.3). In (11), the place name Moso 'p.name' occurs unmarked as it is not in the role of location but in that of possessor. In contrast, (12) it has the role of location and occurs with the locative *a*=:

(11) Ten **Moso** ur=panei.
SBST.POSS:NH p.name 3PL.S=come
'Those from Moso came.'

(12) E=pat na-wesina taos=ia **A=moso**.
3SG.S=make ART-work-NMLZ like=3SG.OBJ LOC=p.name
'He did work like this in Moso.'

Since *a*= can occur with place names, directionals and other nouns (see 3.4.3), it is not a reliable criterion to establish a subclass of place names. In addition, some place names are *a*-initial, as shown in table 4.3. These nouns are not attested to occur without initial /a/, thus it is likely that initial /a/ reflects the locative proclitic which has been fused to the roots at an earlier stage of the language. Synchronically, these nouns are considered as *a*-initial:

***a*-initial place names**			
Artoka	'Artoka, Hat Island'	*Alpat*	'Alpat'
Akoto	'Akoto'	*Allaapa*	'Lelepa'

Table 4.3. Place names with fused location prefix

One example of *a*-initial place name is *Artoka* 'p.name'. It functions as an object in (13), as an oblique in (14) and occurs in a prepositional phrase in (15). Note that *Artok* never occurs as **rtok*:

(13) Malmauna ku=pa-ki **Artoka** pan, ku=laka m̃aata laapa.
now 2SG.S=go-TR p.name go 2SG.S=see snake be.many
'Nowadays you go to Artoka, you see lots of snakes.'

(14) Nae, mutuama nge, e=to **Artoka** to.
3SG ogre DEF 3SG.S=stay p.name STAT
'As for him, the ogre, he lived in Artoka.'

(15) Narua nmat e=put=ia pa raki **Artoka** pa.
current low.tide 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ GO towards p.name GO
'The low tide's current pulled him away towards Artoka.'

4.2.4 Obligatorily possessed kin terms

4.2.4.1 Basic kin terms

Kin terms (see table 4.4) form a separate subclass of bound nouns on the basis that they are obligatorily possessed, in contrast with other bound nouns which can function bare (see 3.2.1). A number of unusual features are found with kin terms. First, some of them take the prefix *a-* 'KIN' whose functions are currently not well known (see '*a*-prefixing' column in table 4.4). This prefix does not encode possessors, since kin terms obligatorily take possessor-indexing suffixes, as in *a-ti-na* 'KIN-maternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'. Second, some kin terms such as *a-na-fa* 'KIN-3SG.POSS-father' index their possessor with a prefix of the same form as the possessor-indexing suffixes. Finally, some kin terms such as *a-na-smam-na* 'KIN-3SG.POSS-paternal.aunt-3SG.POSS' mark the possessor twice, with the same possessor-indexing forms occuring as prefix and suffix.

***a-* prefixing**		**non *a*-prefixing**	
a-ti-na	'KIN-maternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'	*sul-la*	'grandchild-3SG.POSS'
a-pu-na	'KIN-maternal.gdfather-3SG.POSS'	*gore-na*	'sister-3SG.POSS'
a-lo-na	'KIN-maternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'	*p̃al-la*	'brother-3SG.POSS'
a-tu-na	'KIN-paternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'	*p̃el-la*	'mother-3SG.POSS'
a-ta-na	'KIN-great.uncle-3SG.POSS'	*top-na*	'paternal.gdfather-3SG.POSS'
a-ke-na	'KIN-great.great.uncle-3SG.POSS'	*tu-na*	'sister.in.law-3SG.POSS'
a-na-ota	'KIN-husband-3SG.POSS'	*tawi-na*	'same.generation.in.law-3SG.POSS'
a-na-grun	'KIN-woman-3SG.POSS'	*nan-na*	'child'
a-na-fa	'KIN-3SG.POSS-father'	*m̃o-na*	'taboo.in.law-3SG.POSS'
a-na-smam-na	'KIN-3SG.POSS-paternal.aunt-3SG.POSS'		
a-na-mam-na	'KIN-3SG.POSS-paternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'		

Table 4.4. Obligatorily possessed kin terms

This shows that Lelepa kin terms present some typological interest within Oceanic languages: while most of them index their possessor with a suffix, a few are only prefixing, while another few take redundant possessor marking with both a prefix and a suffix. Suffixing-only kin terms (see 'non *a*-prefixing' column in table 4.4) do not take the *a-* prefix and index their possessor with suffixes, following the usual pattern. On the other hand, prefixing-only kin terms take the

kin prefix followed by a possessor-indexing prefix. Finally, two known kin terms, *a-na-smam-na* 'KIN-3SG.POSS-paternal.aunt-3SG.POSS' and *a-na-mam-na* 'KIN-3SG.POSS-paternal.uncle-3SG.POSS', show redundant marking of the possessor. Possessor-indexing prefixes are not common in Oceanic languages, in which the expected pattern for nouns inflecting for possession is to take suffixes. However, in addition to Lelepa, exceptions to this are West Fijian (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:42), and the closely related Nguna, which has *a-* prefixing kin terms taking possessor-indexing prefixes (Schütz 1969:45). Textual examples of prefixing and suffixing kin terms are given in (16) and (17):

(16)

Kanokiki,	mamei	nae	naaram	teteinae	ar=lag,	
Boy	father	3SG.POSS	and	mother	3SG.POSS	3DU.S=say

a-m̃a-ota	e=to	p̃ag,	
KIN-2SG.POSS-husband	3SG.S=stay	inside	

p̃a=fa	lop̃a=e	p̃ag.
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR	see=3SG.OBJ	inside

'As for the boy, his father and mother said, "your husband is inside, go see him inside."'

(17)

Tama-ti-ra	nge	ar=mato=s	to,
DYAD-mat.gdmother-3PL.POSS	DEF	3DU.S=stay.long=3OBL	STAT

ar=pi	fterki	naaram	**sul-la**,	kanokiki	skei,
3DU.S=COP	woman	and	grandchild-3SG.POSS	boy	INDEF

ar=mato	pan	pa,
3DU.S=stay.long	GO	GO

'The grandmother and her grandchildren lived there, they were a woman with her grandchild, a boy, they lived there on and on,'

Obligatorily possessed kin terms are disappearing from the language, as they are particularly rare in the textual corpus and many of those presented in table 4.4 were obtained through elicitation with older speakers. Kin terms are being replaced by vocatives (see table 4.5) such as *mamei* 'dad; father', *tetei* 'mum; mother' or *taatua* 'grandma; paternal grandmother'. Such vocatives function like free common nouns as they do not take possessor-indexing suffixes. It is apparent that they are etymologically related to kin terms, as they often consist in the partial or total reduplication of the kin term root, with the addition of a final *a* and a vowel change in

the first syllable in some cases. Note that *mamei* and *tetei* are not derived through this reduplication process.[3]

Vocatives		Corresponding kin terms	
taatia	'maternal.gdmother'	*a-ti-na*	'KIN-maternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'
paapua	'maternal.gdfather'	*a-pu-na*	'KIN-maternal.gdfather-3SG.POSS'
lolo	'maternal.uncle'	*a-lo-na*	'KIN-maternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'
taatua	'paternal.gdmother'	*a-tu-na*	'KIN-paternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS'
mamei	'father'	*a-na-fa*	'KIN-3SG.POSS-father'
tetei	'mother'	*p̃el-la*	'mother-3SG.POSS'
mimia	'paternal aunt'	*a-na-smam-na*	'KIN-3SG.POSS -paternal.aunt-3SG.POSS'
tata	'great uncle'	*a-ta-na*	'KIN-great.uncle-3SG.POSS'
keekea	'great.gdfather'	*a-ke-na*	'KIN-great.gdfather-3SG.POSS'
		a-na-mam-na	'KIN-3SG.POSS -paternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'

Table 4.5. Vocatives replacing kin terms

4.2.4.2 Dyadic kin terms

Dyadic kin terms function like any other noun in the NP: they head NPs and can take the modifiers occurring in the NP. They represent a typologically interesting feature of the language but are also falling out of use, like the kin terms discussed above. Dyadic kin terms refer to a group of individuals in a kin relationship which can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. In a symmetrical relationship, all members are in an identical relationship with each other and call each other by the same term (eg. brothers). In contrast, in an asymetrical relationship, members cannot call each other with the same term (eg. father-son, uncle-nephew). Dyadic kin terms are seldom described in the Oceanic literature, although they have been recorded in langages such as South Efate (Thieberger 2006), Nêlêmwa (Bril 2002), Mwotlap (François 2001), Nggela (Fox 1955), Drehu (Tryon 1967), and Roviana (Waterhouse 1928). In contrast, they are well known in the literature on Australian languages (Merlan and Heath 1982, Evans N. 2003). Lelepa dyadic kin terms are shown in table 4.6. They are formed with an obligatorily possesssed kin term as the root taking the dyadic prefix *tama-* 'DYAD' and a possessor-indexing affix. If the root takes a possessor-indexing suffix, *tama* is directly prefixed to the root, while it attaches to the possessor-indexing prefix if the root is prefixing.

[3] It is possible that *mamei* is derived from *mam-* 'paternal uncle'.

Suffixing kin terms		Prefixing kin terms	
tama-ti-ra	'DYAD-maternal.gdmother-3PL.POSS' > 'maternal gdmother and grandkids'	*tama-ra-ota*	'DYAD-3PL.POSS-husband' > 'married couple'
tama-tu-ra	'DYAD-paternal.gdmother-3PL.POSS' > 'paternal gdmother and grandkids'	*tama-na-fa*	'DYAD-3SG.POSS-father' > 'father/parents and children'
tama-top-ra	'DYAD-paternal.gdfather-3PL.POSS' > 'paternal gdfather and grandkids'	*tama-ra-s̃mam-ra*	'DYAD-3PL.POSS-paternal.aunt' > 'paternal aunts'
tama-pu-ra	'DYAD-maternal.gdfather-3PL.POSS' > 'maternal gdfather and grandkids'		
tama-p̃el-ra	'DYAD-mother-3PL.POSS' > 'mother and children'		
tama-p̃al-ra	'DYAD-brother-3SG.POSS' > 'brothers'		
tama-gor-ra	'DYAD-sister-3PL.POSS' > 'sisters'		
tama-lo-na	'DYAD-maternal.uncle-3SG.POSS'		
tama-tawi-na	'DYAD-same.generation.in.law-3SG.POSS'		
tama-m̃o-ra	'DYAD-taboo.in.law-3SG.POSS'		

Table 4.6. Dyadic kin terms

Textual examples of dyadic kin terms are give below:

(18) **Tama-p̃al-ra** **skei** ar=mato A=siwo warampa.
DYAD-brother-3PL.POSS INDEF 3DU.S=stay.long LOC=p.name there.forward
'Two brothers lived in Siwo there.'

(19) E=pitlak natkon nge e=mato,
3SG.S=have village DEF 3SG.S=stay

se e=pitlaka **tama-ra-ota** skei ur=mato=s to.
while 3SG.S=have DYAD-3PL.POSS-husband INDEF 3PL.S=stay.long=3OBL STAT
'There was the village, and there was a couple living in it.'

(20) Na-trausi-na na, e=pi na-trausi-na skei naloni
ART-talk-NMLZ DEM 3SG.S= COP ART-talk-NMLZ INDEF about

tama-ti-ra skei.
DYAD- maternal.gdmother -3PL.POSS INDEF
'As for this story, it is a story about a grandmother and her granddaughter.

4.3 Verbs

Alongside nouns, verbs form the other major open word class, and can be defined by their obligatory occurence with subject proclitics. This is a feature shared by all subclasses of verbs, while other morphosyntactic characteristics such as occurence with object pronominals, TAM markers, post-verbs and auxiliaries are more restricted. As seen in table 4.6, there are four main subclasses of verbs: intransitive, ambitransitive, transitive and ditransitive. In addition, the copula pair *fi*/*pi* 'be:IRR/R' is in a class of its own. Its main function is to convert a non-predicative item such as a noun into a predicate. Since the copula has other verb-like properties, it is analysed as a verb (see 7.3.1). Auxiliary verbs (see 9.3.6, 10.3.2) do not represent a separate morphosyntactic subclass but do differ from other verbs in terms of valency and transitivity status. They have no valency *per se* but inherit the valency of the main verb. Note that some verbs in the table have *f*-initial and *p*-initial forms which are distributed according to the mood and transitivity of the clause (see 11.2.2).

Verb subclasses	Examples	Morphosyntactic tests
Intransitives	*fanei/panei* 'come:IRR/:R' *false/palse* 'paddle:IRR/:R' *len* 'be straight'	• Obligatorily occur with a subject proclitic • Class 1 can be transitivised with *–ki* 'TR' • Underived, cannot take an object • Underived, can take an oblique
Ambitransitives	*faam/paam* 'eat:F/:P' *rm̃aki* 'bark'	• Obligatorily occur with a subject proclitic • Function underived with or without an object • Function underived with or without an oblique
Transitives	*fat/pat* 'make:IRR/:R' *farus/parus* 'drill:IRR/:R' *p̃olki* 'fold'	• Obligatorily occur with a subject proclitic • Require an object argument • The pronominal object is encoded with a personal pronoun or object enclitics from the paradigm given in 8.4.3.1
Ditransitives	*tua* 'give' *rki* 'tell' *paoseki* 'ask'	• Obligatorily occur with a subject proclitic • Require two object arguments
Copula	*fi/pi* 'be:IRR/R'	• Obligatorily occur with a subject proclitic • Cannot take object enclitics • Used to form equative clauses
Auxiliaries	*fa/pa* 'go:IRR/:R' *fanei/panei* 'come:IRR/:R' *to* 'IPFV' *fea/pea* 'be.first:IRR/:R'	• Obligatorily occur with a main verb • Benefactive phrase separates main verb and auxiliary in the verb complex (see 7.5.3, 9.3.6) • In auxiliary position, cannot take object or oblique enclitics • Able to function as a main verb when not in auxiliary position

Table 4.7. Criteria establishing subclasses of verbs

In the examples below, verbs from each subclass are exemplified, and all occur with a subject proclitic. See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of verb classes, 6.3 on the copula and 8.3.6 and 9.3.1 on auxiliaries. In (21), the intransitive *panei* 'come' occurs twice, first with the subject proclitic *e*= '2SG.S' and the sequential particle *po* 'SEQ', then followed by the temporal adjunct *1937*:

(21) Kenneth Crumb e=po **panei**. Kenneth Crumb e=**panei** 1937.
p.name p.name 3SG.S=SEQ come p.name p.name 3SG.S=come 1937
'Then Kenneth Crumb came. Kenneth Crumb came in 1937.'

In (22), the ambitransitive *rm̃aki* 'bark' functions intransitively, and in (23), it takes an object enclitic without transitive derivation:

(22) Tu=to takorogo lag koria ur=ga **rm̃aki**.
1PL.INCL.S=IPFV listen COMP dog 3PL.S=IRR bark
'We are listening to the dogs who will bark.'

(23) Trak n-e=to, koria e=to **rm̃aki**=nia.
truck REL-3SG.S=stay dog 3SG.S=IPFV bark=3SG.OBJ
'As for this truck, the dog used to bark at it.'

In (24), three transitive verbs occur: *plaga* 'look.for', *wuru* 'pass' and *raus* 'follow'. *Plaga* takes the object NP *warei* 'place' while *wuru* and *raus* respectively host the object enclitic =*s* '3SG.OBJ' and =*ia* '3SG.OBJ'. These enclitics encode the same values but are formally different because *wuru* and *raus* belong to different subclasses of transitive verbs (Class 2 and Class 1, respectively). These subclasses are distinguished according to the object enclitics they require (see 8.5):

(24) Tu=kut **plaga** warei na e=**wuru**=s,
1PL.INCL.S=CERT look.for place REL 3SG.S=pass=3SG.OBJ

tu=**raus**=ia.
1PL.INCL.S=follow=3SG.OBJ
'We look for the place it passed by, we follow it.'

In (25) the ditransitive *tua* 'give' takes three required arguments (underlined): a subject encoded with the proclitic *kur*= '2PL.S', a primary object encoded with the enclitic =*gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ', and a secondary object encoded with the NP *nasum̃a gaskei* 'house IRR.INDEF' (see 7.4.1.3, 7.4.2.3 and 8.6):

(25) Kur=pitlaka na-tfagi-na wia laapa e=to Samoa to,
2PL.S=have ART-build-NMLZ be.good be.many 3SG.S=stay p.name STAT

kenem ur=msau=na lag
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=want=3SG.OBJ COMP

kur=ga **tua**=gam nasum̃a gaskei.
2PL.S=IRR give=1PL.EXCL.OBJ house IRR.INDEF
'You have lots of good buildings in Samoa, we want you to give us a house.'

In (21), *panei* occured as a main verb, while in (26), it is an auxiliary to the main verb *to* 'stay'. It contributes directional meaning:

(26) Kenem Tarei, ar=kat **panei** to tera to.
1PL.EXCL p.name 1DU.EXCL.S=CERT come stay garden STAT
'Us including Tarei, we came to stay in the garden.'

The copula is exemplified in (27):

(27) Go nasuña tap nge, e=**pi** nasuña tap ke-rua.
and house be.taboo DEF 3SG.S=COP house be.taboo ORD-two
'And as for this church, it was the second church.'

4.4 Post-verbs

Post-verbs form a small, closed class and at first sight appear to be verbs. However, they cannot take a subject proclitic or function as main verbs. They are optional and occur immediately after the main verb and before objects. All known post-verbs are given in table 4.8. Their semantics are discussed in 11

Post-verbs					
gor	'block'	*punu*	'dead'	*lwa*	'removed'
pkout	'completely'	*suk*	'tight'	*paksaki*	'clean'

Table 4.8. Post-verbs

In (28), the post-verb *pkout* 'completely' occurs after the verb *net* 'plane' and hosts an object enclitic. In the first clause, *net* is followed by the clause-final particle *pa* marking the event as durative; while in the second clause it is followed by the post-verb *pkout* marking the event as completive:

(28) E=ga net=ia pa, e=ga net **pkout**=ia.
3SG.S=IRR plane=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=IRR plane completely=3SG.OBJ
'He will plane it on and on, he will plane it completely.'

Example (29) shows that *pkout* is ungrammatical in main verb position:

(29) *E=ga **pkout**=ia.
3SG.S=IRR completely=3SG.OBJ
'He will complete/finish it.'
[elicited]

While post-verbs cannot function without a main verb, they retain a certain independence from verbs in that they select their own allomorph of the third person singular object enclitic.

The distribution of object enclitic allomorphs is a complex issue (see 9.4.3). Table 4.9 shows that post-verbs, rather than verbs, condition the distribution of object enclitic allomorphs: for instance, the transitive verbs *paam* 'eat', *pnak* 'steal' and *malki* 'not want' take different allomorphs of the third person singular object enclitic. However, when they occur with the post-verb *pkout*, the only third person allomorph that can be selected is *=ia*, which shows that the post-verbs, rather than the verbs, determine the form of the object enclitic.

Verb class	**verb+3SG.OBJ**	**gloss**	**verb+post-verb+3SG.OBJ**	**gloss**
Intransitive	*lo* *fsa*	'look' 'speak'	*lo suk=ia* *fsa suk=ia*	'examine it carefuly' 'discuss it'
Ambitransitive	*paam=ia* *pnak=ea*	'eat:P=3SG.OBJ' 'steal=3SG.OBJ'	*paam pkout=ia* *pnak pkout=ia*	'eat it completely' 'steal them all'
Transitive	*kult=ia* *mal-ki-nia*	'cover it' ' not want it'	*kult gor=ea* *mal pkout=ia*	'cover it all' 'not want it at all'

Table 4.9. Allomorphs of 3SG.OBJ on verbs and post-verbs

Post-verbs combine with intransitives to form a transitive predicate: in this situation they serve as a valency-increasing device. In (30), *lo* 'look' functions intransitively. In contrast, in (31) it is followed by the post-verb *suk* in a transitive predicate:

(30) A=msau-na lag a=ga **lo**.
1SG.S=want=3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR see
'I want to do some sightseeing.'

(31) Ur=**lo** **suk=ia** takanei e=to pat=ia.
3PL.S=see tight=3SG.OBJ how 3SG.S=IPFV make=3SG.OBJ
'They carefully looked how he was making it.'

They also occur with ambitransitives such as *paam* 'eat:P'. The object enclitic allomorph remains the same whether it is hosted by the verb as in (32) or the post-verb *pkout* as in (33), because both *paam* and *pkout* 'completely' select the same allomorph of this enclitic:

(32) E=to **paam=ia**,
3SG.S=IPFV eat=3SG.OBJ

fonu e=to raki=nia nlaka=n nrau pa.
turtle 3SG.S=stay precede=3SG.OBJ trunk=POSS:NH tree.sp GO
'He was eating it, and the turtle was waiting for him by the dragon plum tree.'

(33) A=**paam** **pkout** kapu na ur=kot=ia to tebol to,
1SG.S=eat completely laplap REL 3PL.S=serve=3SG.OBJ stay table STAT

a=**paam** **pkout=ia**.
1SG.S=eat completely=3SG.OBJ
'I completely ate the laplap they served on the table, I completely ate it.'
[elicited]

In contrast, the ambitransitive *pnak* takes the allomorph *=ea* '3SG.OBJ' as seen in (34), but when it combines with *pkout* as in (35), the allomorph hosted by the post-verb is *=ia*, giving *pnak pkout=ia* 'spread over it' and not **pnak pkout=ea*:

(34) A=pnak=**ea**
1SG.S=steal=3SG.OBJ
'I stole it.'
[elicited]

(35) A=pnak pkout=**ia**
1SG.S=steal completely=3SG.OBJ
'I stole the whole of it.'
[elicited]

Similarly, while *kult* 'spread' hosts *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' in (36), when it combines with the post-verb *gor* 'block' the output is *kult gor=ea* 'cover it all' as in (37) and not **kult gor=ia*:

(36) Ña=kult=**ia**
2SG.S:IRR=spread=3SG.OBJ
'Spread it.'
[elicited]

(37) Ña=kul gor=**ea**
2SG.S=spread cover=3SG.OBJ
'Cover it.'
[elicited]

Since post-verbs are not verbs, a sequence comprised of a verb and a post-verb is not analysed as a serial verb construction (SVC). Serial verb constructions are a sequence of verbs, and each verb making up a serial verb construction is able to function separately as a main verb.

However, post-verbs constructions are grouped together with SVCs under the term *complex predicates* (see chapter 10).

4.5 Adjectives

Many semantic concepts such as size, colour, value and age are expressed in Lelepa by stative intransitive verbs, which I call adjectival verbs following Ross 1998a (see 8.3.3). In addition, Lelepa has a class of 'true' adjectives which can only function as noun modifiers. In contrast, adjectival verbs can head intransitive predicates and also have the ability to modify nouns. This is shown in (38) and (39) with the intransitive verb *kasua* 'be.strong; be.hard'. In (38), *kasua* is the main verb. It occurs with the subject proclitic *e=* '3SG.S', the modality particle *kat* 'CERT' and the negator *ti* 'NEG':

(38) E=kat ti **kasua** mau.
3SG.S=CERT NEG be.strong NEG2
'She wasn't strong anymore.'

In contrast, in (39) it occurs within a NP, modifying the head noun *mala* 'time':

(39) Malange, e=pi mala **kasua**.
then 3SG.S=COP time be.strong
'Then, it was a hard time.'

Like adjectival verbs, Lelepa adjectives express semantic concepts typically expressed by adjectives in languages such as English. Their morphosyntactic properties are summarised in table 4.9, with the most distinctive criteria being that they neither occur as heads of NPs (contrarily to nouns) nor as heads of predicates (contrarily to verbs). Lelepa adjectives only function to modify nouns:

Adjectives	**Distinction from nouns**	• Modify nouns attributively • Can be modified by other adjectives/intransitive verbs in an adjective phrase • Need to be derived with *te*= 'SBST' to function as nouns • Cannot function as heads of NPs • Cannot take possessive suffixes • Cannot take modifiers occurring in the NP
	Distinction from verbs	• Cannot function as head of a predicate • Cannot take subject proclitics

Table 4.10. Criteria establishing the class of adjectives

The distribution of adjectives is shown in (40)-(43) with *rgona* 'huge'. In (40) *rgona* occurs in adjective position, modifying the head noun, while (41) and (42) show that it cannot occur in predicate and NP positions:

(40) E=pi mãata **rgona**.
3SG.S=COP snake huge
'It was a huge snake.'

(41) *Mãata e=**rgona**.
snake 3SG.S=huge
'The snake was huge.'
[elicited]

(42) *Mãata e=pi **rgona**.
snake 3SG.S=COP huge
'The snake was huge.'
[elicited]

However, when adjectives take the substantiviser *te*= 'SBST' (see 3.4.2.2), they become derived nouns and head NPs as in (43):

(43) E=pi **te=rgona**.
3SG.S=COP SBST=huge
'It was a huge one.'
[elicited]

Similarly, in (44), the adjective *p̃ata* 'different' hosts *te*= and becomes the derived noun *tep̃ata* 'other'. It heads an NP and is marked for indefiniteness by *skei* 'INDEF', showing that de-adjectival nouns behave like other nouns:

(44) Tu=loɲa **te=ɲata** skei, tu=kat raus=ra pa.
1PL.INC.S=see SBST=different INDEF 1PL.INCL.S=CERT follow=3PL.OBJ GO
'We see others, we follow them.'

Underived adjectives form a small closed class with thirteen known members. They are presented in table 4.10, according to Dixon's (1977b) semantic types. Based on data from eighteen languages (including English), Dixon found that in languages with an open class of adjectives such as English, seven semantic types were reflected in their adjective class: dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed (Dixon 1977b:31). However, he also found that languages with a small closed class of adjectives, like Lelepa, tend to distribute the semantic types across the range of word classes present in such languages. Thus in Lelepa, only three of Dixon's semantic types are reflected in the adjective class (dimension, physical property, age) while the others (colour, human propensity, value and speed) are reflected by the classes of verbs and adverbs, respectively: *taare* 'be white', laelae 'be happy' and *wia* 'be good' are intransitive verbs while *m̃rafrafe* 'quickly; fast' is an adverb. Note that *mauna* 'all; every' does not reflect any the seven semantic types, and could possibly belong to another type labelled 'quantity'.

Dimension		Physical property		Age		Other	
rgona	'huge'	*memi*	'ripe'	*fao*	'new'	*mauna*	'all; every'
		ftes	'different'	*troi*	'young (male)'		
		ɲata	'different'	*m̃askosko*	'mature'		
		naruru	'cold'				
		fenu	'roasting'				

Table 4.11. Underived adjectives

However, the adjective class is in reality much larger when derived adjectives are taken into account. They are derived from numerals with the suffix *ke-* 'ORD' and are used to express the ordinal position of the noun they modify. These ordinal adjectives have the same distribution as underived adjectives, while numerals have their own (see 4.10). Derived adjectives are examplified in table 4.12. They form a large subset of the adjective class and include all *ke-*derived ordinals:[4]

[4] There is no *ke*-derived ordinal expressing the meaning 'first'. Instead, this is done with the adjectival verb *fea/pea* 'be.first:IRR/R'.

Derived adjectives			
kerua	'second; other'	*kelatsa*	'sixth'
ketolu	'third'	*kelarua*	'seventh'
kefati	'fourth'	*kelatolu*	'eigth'
kelima	'fifth'	*kelfot*	'ninth'

Table 4.12. Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives can only function as noun modifiers and are unable to function predicatively or as NPs. In (45), *kerua* 'second' and *ketolu* 'third' occur in two distinct NPs to modify the heads *faatu* 'stone':

(45) Faatu **ke-rua** se e=plo to, faatu **ke-tolu** se
stone ORD-two too 3SG.S=still stay stone ORD-three too

e=plo to, e=mro ske lwa faatu pan pan pa...
3SG.S=still stay 3SG.S=AGAIN pick removed stone GO GO GO
'At the second stone he was still there, at the third stone he was still there, she kept on removing the stones on and on...'

In contrast, *kerua* cannot occur as a verb in (46) nor as a noun in (47), but can be derived into a noun with *te=* 'SBST' as in (48). This test is the same as the one given above with the underived adjective *rgona* 'huge' in (40) to (42). It shows that derived adjectives have the same distribution as underived ones, and thus are regarded as members of the adjective class:

(46) *Faatu e=**ke-rua**.
stone 3SG.S=ORD-two
'The stone is second.'
[elicited]

(47) *Faatu e=pi **ke-rua**.
stone 3SG.S=COP ORD-two
'The stone is second.'
[elicited]

(48) Faatu e=pi **te=ke-rua**.
stone 3SG.S=COP SBST=ORD-two
'The stone is the second one.'
[elicited]

Like in (48), in (49) the derived adjective *kelatsa* 'sixth' is further derived with the clitic *te=* 'SBST'. The derived noun *tekelatsa* 'the sixth one' heads a subject NP and is modified by the possession pronominal *nag-na* 'ASS-3SG':

(49) Nkas kiksa nge, e=ga latsa, kane nkas kiksa nge;
wood very.small DEF 3SG.S=IRR six but wood very.small DEF

te=ke-latsa nag-na e=pueli.
SBST=ORD-six ASS-3SG 3SG.S=not.exist
'As for the very small pieces of wood, they should be six, but the very small pieces of wood; the sixth one of them is gone.'
[elicited]

4.6 Pronouns

Pronouns are often defined as taking the place of NPs (Dryer 2007c:151, Schachter and Shopen 2007:24). However, Lelepa pronouns are also able to take certain NP modifiers, and head a particular NP subtype that I refer to as NP_{PRO} (see 5.2.2). Pronouns are more restricted than nouns in the array of NP modifiers they can take, as they can only occur with determiners and relative clauses. It could be argued that Lelepa pronouns are nouns, but of a more restricted type. However, they are analysed as a separate word class because they call for their own particular NP structure (NP_{PRO}), and mark their referent for person and number, a property that is not observed with nouns. There are three subclasses of pronouns in the language: personal pronouns (see 4.6.1), demonstrative pronouns (see 4.6.2), and benefactive pronouns (see 4.6.3). In addition, there are several pronominal paradigms which do not have the syntactic properties of these pronouns: they do not replace NPs and cannot be heads of NP_{PRO}s. These include subject proclitics (see 6.4.1.1), object enclitics and suffixes (see 6.4.1.2) and possessor-indexing suffixes (see 6.3.1).

4.6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns (table 4.13) encode their typically human referent for person and number. It is possible for non-human referents to be expressed by personal pronouns when such referents are treated like humans, for instance in traditional narratives in which animals or natural features are anthropomorphised characters. First person distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive referents, as is extremely common in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35). Number distinguishes between singular and plural:[5]

[5] Subject proclitics additionally encode dual (see 5.4.1.1).

	SG	PL
1INCL	-	*kinta*
1EXCL	*konou*	*kenem*
2	*nag*	*kumu*
3	*nae*	*naara*

Table 4.13. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns replace NPs or head NP_{PRO}s. They function as subjects, objects and oblique arguments, and can also be left-dislocated to mark contrastive topic (see 7.6.2). Additionally, a possibly recent use of personal pronouns is to encode possessors (see 6.3.2). In subject and left dislocated positions, pronouns co-occur with obligatory subject proclitics (see 5.5.2.1, 5.5.2.2), so the referent of the subject is encoded twice in these utterances.[6] In these situations the referent of both pronominals is emphasised, thus these pronouns also have pragmatic functions (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35). In (50), *konou* '1SG' is in subject NP position (see 7.6.1). Note that it is co-referential with the subject proclitic *a*= '1SG.S':

(50) Ae, **konou** a=msau-na lag a=ga fa.
hey 1SG 1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR
'Hey, I want to go.'

In (51), *konou* functions as an object:

(51) Malmauna, ña=liko suk~suk **konou**,
now 2SG.S:IRR=hold tighten~RED 1SG

nlakan nataṁol ur=laapa.
because people 3PL.S=be.plenty
'Now, hold on to me tight, because there are lots of people.'

In (52), *konou* occurs in a left-dislocated position and marks its referent for contrastive topic:

(52) Ña=to. **Konou**, a=ga kat sak pan.
2SG.S=stay 1SG 1SG.S=IRR CERT go.up GO
'You will stay. As for me, I will go up.'

In (53), *konou* occurs as the head of an NP_{PRO}. It is modified by the demonstrative *na* 'DEM' and the whole NP occurs in left-dislocated position:

[6] This is only true of left-dislocated personal pronouns which share their referent with the subject of the clause.

(53) **Konou** **na**, Munalpa, a=ga mro til na-trausi-na ke-rua skei.
1SG DEM p.name 1SG.S=IRR AGAIN tell ART-tell-NMLZ ORD-two INDEF
'As for me here, Munalpa, I will tell a second story.'

In (54) *konou* '1SG' encodes the possessor of *nɸ̃ou* 'head':

(54) E=lag "ee, a=rog=ea a=msak. Nɸ̃ou **konou** e=ptunu."
3SG.S=say no 1SG.S=feel=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=sick head 1SG 3SG.S=be.sore
'She said, "well, I feel sick. My head is sore."'

4.6.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are four demonstrative pronouns (see table 4.14). They are formed with the substantiviser *te* 'SBST' (see 3.4.2) and the determiners *na* 'DEM', *nge* 'DEF' and *wa* 'DEM'. *Tena* 'SBST.DEM' and *tenge* 'SBST.DEF' encode concrete and abstract referents respectively (see 3.4.2.4). Concrete referents are humans, animals, objects, natural features and all other referents in the concrete world. As for abstract referents, they comprise feelings, ideas, thought, discussions, etc. As for *tewa-s* 'SBST.DEM-PROX' and *tewa-n* 'SBST.DEM-DIST', they are used in spatial reference contexts, and contrast with each other as they combine with the proximal and distal suffixes *-s* 'PROX' and *-n* 'DIST' to mark proximity of their referent relative to the speaker.

Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns		**Spatial demonstrative pronouns**	
tena	'SBST.DEM'	*tewa-s*	'SBST.DEM-PROX'
tenge	'SBST.DEF'	*tewa-n*	'SBST.DEM-DIST'

Table 4.14. Demonstrative pronouns

4.6.2.1 *tena* 'SBST.DEM'

The demonstrative pronoun *tena* 'SBST.DEM' is equivalent to English 'this/these one(s)'. It has the same deictic function as the demonstrative *na* 'DEM', which is to designate items, but differs in that it has an anaphoric function. Similarly to personal pronouns, *tena* can take the place of an NP or head an NP_{PRO}. Note that it only refers to third person referents, which can be either singular or plural. In (55), *tena* encodes a third person singular subject and in (56) a third person plural subject:

(55) **Tena** e=mro magnem pi pasta to.
SBST.DEM 3SG.S=again 1PL.EXCL.BEN COP pastor STAT
'This one remained pastor for us.'

(56) **Tena** ur=pa mnaara lao, ur=pi nalaklak.
SBST.DEM 3PL.S=go 3PL.BEN plant 3PL.S=COP white-eye
'As for those who went to plant (garden produce) for them, they are the white-eyes.'

4.6.2.2 *tenge* 'SBST.DEF'

Tenge is formed with the substantiviser *te* and the definite determiner *nge* 'DEF'. Like *tena,* it encodes third person referents but differs in that its referent tends to be singular. As expected from the combination with *nge*, the referent of *tenge* is definite. However, it has the additional property of encoding abstract referents. In (57), *tenge* is in subject position. It refers to the end of the narrative told by the speaker:

(57) Okay, **tenge** e=lagpi namta põaga=n stori agnou
okay SBST.DEF 3SG.S=maybe COP eye inside=POSS:NH story 1SG.POSS

mala a=mato nfano naara to.
when 1SG.S=stay.long country 3PL.POSS STAT
'Okay, this may be the end of my story, when I lived in their country.'

In (58), *tenge* is in left dislocated position. It encodes a third person referent that is also the subject of the equative clause:

(58) **Tenge**, e=pi na-wesi-na agnou.
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=COP ART-work-NMLZ 1SG.POSS
'This, it was my job.'

In (59), *tenge* is in object position. Its encodes an event, namely a murder:

(59) Na-fsa-na e=pa-ki-ra pa,
ART-speak-NMLZ 3SG.S=go-TR-3PL.OBJ GO

ur=sfa pan lag ur=loõpa **tenge**, e=põa-punu=ea to.
3PL.S=run GO PURP 3PL.S=see SBST.DEF 3SG.S=hit-kill=3SG.OBJ STAT
'The news got to them, they went quickly to see this, he had killed him.'

4.6.2.3 Spatial demonstratives *tewas* and *tewan*

The demonstrative pronouns *tewa-s* 'SBST.DEM-PROX' and *tewa-n* 'SBST.DEM-DIST' are used as spatial demonstratives. They encode a particular referent in the world as well as the spatial

proximity between this referent and the speaker. *Wa* is a demonstrative determiner which occurs either bare or takes *-s* and *-n*, but note that **tewa* is not attested. In (60), *tewas* occurs in object position and refers to a yam. Note also that *-s* occurs on the NP *narp̃an wara-s* 'side here-PROX' which refers to the place the referent of *tewas* is located, that is, on the side close to the speaker:

(60)	Ña=mro	kil	**tewa-s**	narp̃an	wara-s	to.
	2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN	dig	SBST.DEM-PROX	side	here-PROX	STAT
	'Dig this one close to me, on this side here close to me.'					

4.6.3 Benefactive pronouns

These pronouns (see table 4.15) occur in benefactive phrase position within the verb complex. The benefactive phrase is dedicated to encoding participants with the role of beneficiary (see 7.5.3), which can be encoded either by a prepositional phrase introduced by the benefactive preposition *mag* 'BEN' (see 4.8.1.3), or by benefactive pronouns. Table 4.14 shows that benefactive pronouns are etymologically related to the benefactive preposition. So much so that a morphological analysis is possible for some forms, such as the first person singular *magnou* '1SG.BEN' and all plural forms except for third person. For these forms, the preposition *mag* can be segmented from a bound suffix encoding the beneficiary in person and number. However, since this is not possible for every form in the table, it is best to analyze them as invariable forms that are part of a pronominal paradigm.

	SG	**PL**
1INCL	-	*maginta*
1EXCL	*magnou*	*magnem*
2	*mnag*	*magmu*
3	*mnae*	*mnaara*

Table 4.15. Benefactive pronouns

Examples (61) and (62) exemplify some benefactive pronouns:

(61) E=pai=a paki kotor nae,
3SG.S=pack=3SG.OBJ to k.o.basket 3SG.POSS

e=**magnou** pai namagfai kiki pa-ki paik.
3SG.S=1SG.BEN pack half small to bag
'She packed it in her gardening basket, and she packed the smaller half in the bag for me.'

(62) Ur=**mnaara** nmaoleki naɱit nge.
3PL.S=3PL.BEN spread mat DEF
'They spread the mat for them.'

4.7 Adverbs

Traditionally, adverbs are defined as modifiers of verbs. However, it is common for linguistic descriptions to show that adverbs also modify other word classes, except nouns. In such descriptions, adverbs are often organised in several subclasses according to scope, which can be phrasal or sentential. Schachter and Shopen (2007:20) define adverbs as follows:

> Adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. The notional range of adverbs varies with the type of constituent modified. Sentence modifiers, for example, commonly express the speaker's attitude towards the event being spoken of; modifiers of verbs or verb phrases commonly express time, place, direction, manner, etc.; and modifiers of adjectives and adverbs commonly express degree.

This definition recognises that adverbs have diverse characteristics. It also states the possibility for adverbs to be organised in several classes in a given language. Table 4.16 lists criteria defining Lelepa adverbs against other major syntactic classes of the language:

	Distinction from nouns	Distinction from verbs	Distinction from post-verbs	Distinction from adjectives	Distinction from directionals
Adverbs	• Cannot head NPs • Cannot take NP modifiers	• Cannot take subject proclitics	• Adverbs cannot host object enclitics • Some adverbs occur pre- and post-verbally	• Cannot modify nouns	• Cannot take the locative enclitic *a*= 'LOC' which derives locational nouns

Table 4.16. Criteria defining the class of adverbs

There are two main subclasses of adverbs, phrasal and sentential: phrasal adverbs occur in the verb complex and have scope over the verb, and sentential adverbs occur outside of the verb complex and have scope over whole sentences. Phrasal adverbs are divided in four subclasses: pre-verbal, post-verbal, pre- and post-verbal, and spatial. Sentential adverbs are organised in the subclasses of temporal and manner adverbs. Lelepa adverbs cover an expected semantic field: there are adverbs of manner, such as *m̃rafrafe* 'quickly' and *malua* 'later; slowly'; adverbs of value such as *pkate* 'too much' and *sarik* 'slightly'; and temporal adverbs such as *sral* 'often', and *malmauna* 'now'. There are also spatial adverbs belonging to the phrasal adverb subclass, such as *wara* 'here', *wara-s* 'here-PROX', *warampa* 'there.forward', and *warampa-n* 'there.forward-DIST'.

Phrasal adverbs				Sentential adverbs	
Pre-verbal	**Post-verbal**	**Pre- & post-verbal**	**Spatial**	**Temporal adverbs**	**Manner adverbs**
pkate 'too much'	*kasu* 'too much' *sarik* 'a.little' *m̃rafrafe* 'quickly; fast' *m̃latig* 'close' *m̃oli* 'just; only' *taplange* 'like.this'	*malua* 'later; slowly' *lasla* 'directly; over' *mau* 'all; LIM'	*wara* 'here' *wara=s* 'here=PROX' *wara=e* 'here=ADD' *ware* 'there.sideways-MED' *ware=n* 'there.sideways=DIST' *warampa* 'there.forward' *warampa=n* 'there.forward-DIST' *warange* 'there'	*sral* 'always' *malmauna* 'now' *malange* 'at that time; then' *nagsange* 'at that time; then' *mesa* 'today' *matmai* 'tomorrow' *nanou* 'yesterday' *nanos* 'before yesterday'	*tapla* 'thus; like this'

Table 4.17. Adverbs

4.7.1 Phrasal adverbs

Phrasal adverbs occur in the verb complex, before clause-final particles encoding aspect and direction. These particles mark the end of the basic clause while adjuncts follow and form part of the extended clause (see 7.1.2, 10.6). Fig. 4.1 shows the position of each subclass of phrasal adverbs. *Pkate* 'too much' is the only adverb restricted to a pre-verbal position, while several adverbs (eg. *kasu* 'too much', *sarik* 'a little') only occur post-verbally. In addition, some adverbs are able to occur in both positions (eg. *malua* 'later; slowly). Finally, spatial adverbs occur post-verbally, but follow object and obliques.

Fig. 4.1 Position of phrasal adverbs in the verb complex

SUBJECT PROCLITIC	Pre-verbal adverb	VERB	Post-verbal adverb	OBJECT/OBLIQUE NP	Spatial adverb	CLAUSE-FINAL PARTICLE

Adverbs have fluid properties: some phrasal adverbs can occur in the noun phrase provided that they modify an adjective or adjectival verb, and a few others have verb-like properties,

such as the ability to take the transitiviser *–ki* 'TR' (see 4.7.1.2). Due to heterosemy, some forms occur both as spatial adverbs and arguments of verbs (see 4.7.1.4).

4.7.1.1 Pre-verbal phrasal adverbs

The adverb *pkate* 'too much' occurs immediately before the verb to encode degree. There are few restrictions as to which verb it can modify, as it occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs, and verbs denoting activities and states. It is not attested, however, with non-durative verbs (i.e telic and punctual verbs). In (63) it occurs with the stative intransitive *pka* 'be.swollen':

(63) Nmarta-na e=**pkate** pka, nmarta-na e=ptunu.
belly-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=too.much be.swollen belly-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=sore
'His belly was too swollen, his belly was sore.'

In (64) it occurs twice, first with the active intransitive *palse* 'paddle', and then with the ambitransitive *paaam*. Note that in both clauses it follows the modal marker *lag*, showing that the adverb occurs immediately before the verb:

(64) E=lag **pkate** palse,
3SG.S=MAYBE too.much paddle

e=lag **pkate** paam kapua nge.
3SG.S=MAYBE too.much eat:P laplap DEF
'Maybe he paddled too much, maybe he ate too much of the laplap.'

In (65) it occurs with the transitive *msau* 'want':

(65) A=**pkate** msau-na.
1SG.S=too.much want-3SG.OBJ
'I want him/her/it so bad.'
[elicited]

So far, examples have shown *pkate* modifying verbs. However *pkate* can also have scope over material following the verb. In (66), it modifies the adverb *m̃rafafe* 'quickly', which is expected for a value adverb:

(66) A=**pkate** faam m̃rafrafe.
1SG.S=too.much eat:F quickly
'I ate too quickly.'
[elicited]

In addition, it can also modify other post-verbal material such as objects, as in (67):

(67) Ur=**pkate** psruki na-fsa-na laapa.
3PL.S=too.much speak ART-speak-NMLZ be.many
'They spoke too many languages.'

4.7.1.2 Post-verbal phrasal adverbs

Post-verbal adverbs express manner and degree. With intransitive verbs, they occur after the verb, as in (68) to (70):

(68) E=prau **kasu**
3SG.S=be.long too.much
'It is too long.'
[elicited]

(69) Ta=ga to **sarik**.
1DU.INCL.S=IRR stay a.little
'Let's stay a little.'

(70) Artoka se e=to **m̃latig**.
p.name too 3SG.S=stay close
'Artoka too was close.'

In (71), the phrasal adverb *m̃ol* 'only' occurs after the verb, and is followed by *tapla* 'like.this', a sentential adverb which can also function as a phrasal adverb, as seen in this example:

(71) Ur=kut to **m̃ol** **tapla** to.
3PL.S=CERT stay only thus STAT
'They just stayed like that.'

If an intransitive verb takes an oblique argument, the adverb occurs immediately after the verb and before the oblique. This is shown in (72), in which *kasu* hosts the enclitic *=s* '3OBL' which encodes an oblique argument:

(72) Ur=munu **kasu=s** pa,
3PL.S=drink too.much=3OBL GO
'They drank too much of it,'

Similarly, when the verb is transitive and takes an object, these adverbs occur immediately after the verb and before the object, as seen in (73) to (75):

(73) E=to ma **m̃rafraf** kapua nge.
3SG.S=IPFV grate quickly laplap DEF
'She was quickly grating the laplap.'

In (74) and (75), the adverbs *m̃latig* 'close' and *m̃ol* 'only' occur after the verb, and take the suffix *–ki* 'TR' which derives transitive verbs. This shows that post-verbal phrasal adverbs can be incorporated into a transitive predicate and still precede the object:[7]

(74) A=ti tae palse pa **m̃latig-ki-nia** pan mau.
1SG.S=NEG can paddle go close-TR-3SG.OBJ GO NEG2
'I cannot paddle close to it.'

(75) Ña=rog **m̃ol-ki-nia,** taos Tuaraka ma ati-na.
2PL.S:IRR=feel only-TR-3SG.OBJ like p.name and mat.grandmother-3SG.POSS
'You will just hear about it, like Tuaraka and her maternal grandmother.'

Schachter & Shopen (2007:20) claim that modifiers of both adjectives and adverbs express degree. This can be seen in (76) and (77) in which the adverbs *kasu* 'too.much' *, sarik* 'slightly' and *m̃oli* 'only' combine with other adverbs and adjectives. Example (76) shows that the adverbs of value can combine, with *sarik* modifying *kasu*. In this example, *kasu* has scope over *laapa*, while *sarik* has scope over *kasu*. They both function as degree adverbs:

(76) E=to ntau **laapa** **kasu** **sarik.**
3SG.S=stay year be.many too.much a.little
'It stayed for a little too many years.'

In (77), *m̃oli* 'only' occurs in an NP and has scope over the preceding noun and adjectives. Note that *sa* functions as an intensifier of the meaning of the adjective *kik* 'small'. In this

[7] Note that both *m̃ol* and *m̃latig* cannot function as verbs, but in these examples they show some verbal behaviour as they take the transitiviser *–ki*. This suggests a verbal origin for these two adverbs.

position, it is glossed 'very'. However, it also functions as an intransitive verb meaning 'to be bad', and as an adjectival verb modifying nouns:

(77) A=paam kapua **kik** **sa** **m̃oli**.
1SG.S=eat:P laplap small very only
'I only ate a little bit of laplap.'

Similarly, the adverb *kasu* 'too much' can function as a phrasal adverb and as an adjective modifier. In (78) it has scope over the verb *to* 'stay', while in (79) it has scope over the adjectival verb *laapa* 'many'. In this latter case it is part of the adjunct NP, and does not have scope over the verb but over the adjectival:

(78) E=to **kasu** ntau laapa.
3SG.S=stay too.much year be.many
'It remained too long, for many years.'
[elicited]

(79) E=to ntau laapa **kasu.**
3SG.S=stay year be.many too.much
'It remained for too many years.'

Note that adverbs can only occur in the NP if there is an adjectival that they can modify. This is seen in (80), in which *kasu* cannot be a noun modifier:

(80) *e=to ntau **kasu**.
3SG.S=stay year too.much
'It remained for too many years.'
[elicited]

The adverb *taplange* 'like this, thus' is a combination of the adverb *tapla* and the determiner *nge* 'DEF'. Note that *nge* functions as a noun modifier, but it is also fused to other forms such as the nouns *mala* 'time' and *nagsa* 'time' to form adverbs. Semantically, *taplange* is very similar to the sentential adverb *tapla* 'like.this' (see 4.7.2.2), and for this reason it could be viewed as a variant of this adverb. However it has a different position: as a post-verbal adverb it precedes the clause-final particles. In (81) it occurs clause-finally but note that no clause-final particle occurs. In contrast, in (82) it occurs clause-internally before the particles *pan* 'GO' and *pa* 'GO', as well as in (83) before the particle *panei* 'COME':

(81) A=to=s **taplange** a=lag, 'gaio, wan a=ga llu,'
1SG.S=STAY=3OBL like.this 1SG.S=say fine if 1SG.S=IRR return
'I stayed there like this and I said, 'Fine, if I come back,'

(82) Malange e=legat=ia **taplange** pan pa e=ga nou,
then 3SG.S=sing=3SG.OBJ like.this GO GO 3SG.S=IRR be.finished
'Then he sang it like this until it would be finished,'

(83) E=to sal **taplange** panei,
3SG.S=IPFV drift like.this COME
'It was drifting, coming,'

4.7.1.3 Pre- and post-verbal phrasal adverbs

Members of this subclass can occur pre- and post-verbally. It is a small subclass, with only three known members: *malua* 'later; slowly'; *lasla* 'directly; over' and *mau* 'all; LIM'. Interestingly, these adverbs switch meaning according to the position they occur in. Recall that table 4.17 gives two glosses for these adverbs, the first corresponding to the pre-verbal position and the other corresponding to the post-verbal position. In (84) to (87) *malua* occurs pre-verbally and is glossed 'later'. It has a temporal value, denoting that the event expressed by the clause happened or will happen after a certain point in time:

(84) P̃a=fea pa loso, konou a=ga **malua** loso.
2SG.S:IRR=first:IRR go wash 1SG 1SG.S=IRR later wash
'Go wash first, I will wash later.'

(85) Konou a=kat **malua** mtarog to.
1SG 1SG.S=CERT later quiet STAT
'Later on, I kept quiet.'

(86) A=ga **malua** tua=ko=s.
1SG.S=IRR later give=2SG.OBJ=3OBL
'I will give it to you later.'

In contrast, in post-verbal position *malua* 'slowly' has scope over the verb complex and functions as a manner adverb, denoting that the event encoded in the predicate happened slowly:

(87) ur=ti faam m̃rafraf mau, ur=faam **malua**.
3PL.S=NEG eat:F quickly NEG2 3PL.S=eat:F slowly
'They didn't eat quickly, they ate slowly.'

As shown in (88), *malua* cannot function directly as a verb. However, it can be derived as a transitive verb with *–ki* 'TR', as in (89). In this case it takes the meaning 'do something slowly, with precautions':

(88) *Ña=**malua**
[elicited]

(89) Ña=**malua**-ki-nia
2SG.S:IRR=slowly-TR-3SG.OBJ
'Go slowly with it' (i.e. take precautions with it)
[elicited]

Another adverb able to occur pre- and post-verbally is *lasla* 'directly; over'. As with *malua*, these positions correspond to a distinction between aspect and manner. The pre-verbal position affects the internal temporal structure of the event with the meaning 'directly', giving an immediate reading. In (90) and (91) *lasla* occurs pre-verbally, expressing the fact that the event denoted by the predicate happened directly and without delay:

(90)	E=**lasla**	sruf	kapua	nge	pan	pan	pa,
	3SG.S=directly	suck.up	laplap	DEF	GO	GO	GO

'He sucked up the laplap directly,'

(91)	E=pa	**lasla**	loñ=gam.
	3SG.S=go	directly	see=1PL.EXCL.OBJ

'He went to see us directly.'
[elicited]

In contrast, when occurring post-verbally, *lasla* denotes the manner in which the event takes place, with the meaning 'over'. In this position it occurs with predicates denoting motion, and expresses the fact that the event went over a point in time as in (92), or in space as in (93):

(92)	Ar=pat=ia	pan	pan	pan	pa,
	3DU.S=make=3SG.OBJ	GO	GO	GO	GO

	e=ti	pa	nou	**lasla**	mau,	e=stop	mato.
	3SG.S=NEG	go	be.finished	over	NEG2	3SG.S=stop	STAT

'They built it on and on, it wasn't over, it stalled.'

(93)	E=rsug	**lasla**=s	pa.
	3SG.S=shift	over=3SG.OBJ	GO

'He shifted it over.'
[elicited]

The final adverb able to occur pre- and post-verbally is *mau* 'all; LIM'. In (94) it occurs pre-verbally with the gloss 'all', and quantifies the participant in the event:

(94)

Go	ur=po	**mau**	sak	pa-ki	namlas	pa.
and	3PL.EXCL.S=SEQ	all	go.up	go-TR	bush	GO

'And we all go up to the bush.'

On the other hand when it occurs post-verbally, it has no effect on the participants, but has a limiting effect on the activity denoted by the predicate. In this position it is glossed 'LIM':

(95)

E=to	ta	**mau**	laua,
3SG.S=IPFV	peck	LIM	cardinal.fish

laua	e=maeto-ki-nia	se	e=lag,
cardinal.fish	3SG.S=angry-TR-3SG.OBJ	while	3SG.S=say

'He was just pecking the cardinal fish, the cardinal fish was angry at him then he said,'

(96)

E=ga	fa	**mau**	wara,	e=kat	nou.
3SG.S=IRR	go:IRR	LIM	here	3SG.S=CERT	be.finished

'It will just go up to here, it is finished.'

(97)

Ar=to	lo~lo	**mau**	natul	toa
3DU.S=IPFV	look~look	LIM	egg	chicken

'They were just looking for chicken eggs.'

4.7.1.4 Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs are all related to the form *wara*, which functions as a noun meaning 'place' and an adverb meaning 'here'. The adverb *wara* 'here' is the base from which other spatial adverbs are created, by adding the suffixes *-s* 'PROX', *-n* 'DIST' and *-e* 'ADD', or with the compound *warampa*, a fused form of the full clause *wara e=mro pa* 'place 3SG.S=AGAIN go', literally 'the place that goes again'. Fig. 4.1 shows that spatial adverbs denote locations relative to the speaker or deictic centre, according to a forward/sideways directional contrast and a proximal/medial/distal distance contrast. The arrows in 4.1 show forward and sideways directions, and the deictic centre is denoted by *wara* 'here' and *wara-s* 'here-PROX'. The sideways contrasts are neutralised in a forward direction, as *warampa* and *warampan* encode both forward and diagonal directions. The proximal/medial/distal contrast is represented through the whole paradigm. Note that *-s* and *-e* add a finer distance contrast with *wara* 'here': *wara* encodes the location in which the deictic centre is located, *wara-s* a location closer to the speaker than to the addressee, and *wara-e* a location closer to the addressee.

Fig. 4.2. Spatial adverbs

			warampa-n 'there.forward-DIST' ^ *warampa* 'there.forward' ^					
ware-n 'there.sideways -DIST'	<	*ware* 'there.sideways'	<	*wara* 'here' *wara-s* 'here-PROX' *wara-e* 'here-ADD'	>	*ware* 'there.sideways'	>	*ware-n* 'there.sideways -DIST'

In (98), *wara* functions as an oblique argument of the intransitive verb *to* 'stay', while in (99) it also occurs as part of the oblique NP *narp̃an waras* 'this side here' (close to me). In both examples, evidence for its position as a post-verbal phrasal adverb is given by the following particle *to* 'STAT':

(98) Nag p̃a=fa, konou a=ga to **wara** to.
2SG 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR 1SG 1SG=IRR stay here STAT
'You go, I will stay here.'

(99) P̃a=mro kil tewa-s narp̃an **wara-s** to.
2SG.S=again dig SBST.DEM-PROX side here-PROX STAT
'Dig this one (close to me) on this side here (close to me).'

In (100), *wara-e* 'here-ADD' occurs to denote a place closer to the addressee than to the speaker:

(100) P̃a=ta nous wara-e,
2SG.S:IRR=cut wild.cane here-ADD

p̃a=lo parkat m̃aata skei e=to=s to,
2SG.S:IRR=look catch snake INDEF 3SG.S=stay=3OBL.STAT

e=pi m̃aata tap.
3SG.S=COP snake be.taboo
'You will cut wild cane there (close to you), be careful of a snake that lives there, it is a taboo snake.'

In (101), *ware* 'there.sideways' occurs as an oblique argument after the object NP *namos* 'outside.seas':

(101) E=pitlaka lans skei na e=to gad namos **ware.**
3SG.S=have speedboat INDEF REL 3SG.S=IPFV guard ouside.sea there.sideways
'There was a boat which was patrolling the outside seas (in a sideways direction).'

Examples (102) to (104) show the position of *ware-n* 'there.sideways-DIST'. In (102) it occurs as an oblique of the verb *to* 'stay':

(102) A=pañosko nmatuna skei e=to **ware-n** to.
1SG.S=find something INDEF 3SG.S=IPFV there.sideways-DIST STAT
'I found something which stayed there.'

In (103) it also occurs as an oblique following the directional *taafa* 'inlandwards' which also functions as an oblique of the intransitive verb *to* 'stay':

(103) Fterki e=to=s tapla, e=to taafa **ware-n,**
married.woman 3SG.S=stay=3OBL like.this 3SG.S=stay inlandwards there.sideways-DIST

e=sok.
3SG.S=jump
'The woman stayed there like this, she stayed inland there (in a sideways direction, in a distal location), she jumped.'

In (102) and (104) *waren* precedes the particles *to* 'STAT' and *pan* 'GO', which is evidence for its position inside the basic clause:

(104) Wan ña=wan palse wuru a=lau **ware-n** pan,
if 2SG.S=IPFV paddle pass LOC=seawards there.sideways-DIST GO
'If you paddle following the coast there (in a sideways direction, away from the deictic centre),'

Examples (105) and (106) show *warampa* 'there.forward and *warampa-n* 'there.forward-DIST'. In (105) *warampa* is an oblique following the object NP *nawi* 'yam':

(105) Tu=ga mro pa kil nawi **warampa.**
1PL.INCL.S=IRR AGAIN go dig yam there.forward
'Let's go dig yam there (in a forward direction, in a medial location).'

In (106), it functions as the object of the transitive verb *pa-ki* 'go-TR', and occurs before the particle *pa* 'GO':

(106) Tena e=pi naati, e=pa-ki **warampa-n** pa.
SBST.DEM 3SG.S=COP banana 3SG.S=go-TR there.forward-DIST GO
'These are bananas, they go up to there (in a forward direction, in a distant location).'

4.7.2 Sentential adverbs

Sentential adverbs are distinguished from phrasal adverbs since they occur in different positions. Phrasal adverbs are part of the basic clause and occurring before the clause-final particles (see fig. 4.1). In contrast, sentential adverbs occur outside the basic clause, at clausal margins. They are part of the extended clause (see 7.1.2) and follow the aspectual and directional particles when they occur to the right of the verb complex. In addition, they modify the whole clause or sentence. As seen in table 4.18, sentential adverbs can be classified along two broad semantic categories: temporal adverbs, such as *sral* and *malmauna*, and a single manner adverb, *tapla* 'like this'.

Temporal adverbs		Manner adverbs	
sral	'often'	*tapla*	'thus, like this'
malmauna	'now'		
malange	'at that time, then'		
nagsange	'at that time, then'		
mesa	'today'		
matmai	'tomorrow'		
nanou	'yesterday'		
nanos	'before yesterday'		

Table 4.18. Sentential adverbs

4.7.2.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are generally able to occur both in initial and final positions, however a few are restricted to one of these positions. In (107), *malmauna* occurs in a clause-initial position while it occurs in a final position in (108), following the clause-final aspectual particle *to* 'STAT':

(107) **Malmauna**, ur=to taki-nia,
now 3PL.S=IPFV lay.on.side-3SG.OBJ
'Now, they are making it lay on the side,'

(108) Go a=wus nae foto nagna to **malmauna**,
and 1SG.S=get 3SG photo ASS-3SG.POSS STAT now
'And I got its photo now,'

Similarly to *malmauna*, *malange* 'then, at that time' can occur both initially as in (109) and finally as in (110) and (111). In (111), note that *malange* occurs after the particle *to* 'STAT':

(109) **Malange** e=rki konou=s lag a=ga wus fok,
then 3SG.S=tell 1SG=3OBL COMP 1SG.S=IRR get fork
'Then he told me to get a fork,'

(110) TTI e=to **malange**, misi e=panei 1946 nge.
TTI 3SG.S=stay then missionary 3SG.S=come 1946 DEF
'The TTI existed then, and the missionary came in 1946.'

(111) E=to Rom to **malange**.
3SG.S=stay p.name STAT then
'It was in Rome at that time.'

The temporal adverb *mesa* 'today' occurs initially in (112) and finally in (113). In (113), *mesa* follows the particle *to* 'STAT':

(112) **Mesa**, ur=to lao~laotu nasuma tap, ur=to raki-ra
today 3PL.S=IPFV stand.up~int house be.taboo 3PL.S=IPFV precede=3PL.OBJ
'Today, they are standing in the church, they are waiting for them.'

(113) Nag ku=to pnak nanu agnou nuk to **mesa?**
2SG 2SG.S=IPFV steal coconut 1SG.POSS as.is STAT today
'Are you stealing my coconuts today?'

In contrast, some adverbs are restricted to a particular position, and occur either initially or finally. For instance, *sral* only occurs finally as in (114):

(114) E=pi naure kiki nae, e=to=s to **sral**.
3SG.S=COP island small 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=stay=obl STAT often
'It was his small island, he stayed there often.'

Nagsange 'then, at that time' is a temporal adverb which is only able to occur initially. Its meaning is very close to *malange* 'then, at that time':

(115) **Nagsange**, naara se ur=lag to munu nmaluku.
then 3PL too 3PL.S=MAYBE IPFV drink kava
'At that time, they too may have been drinking kava.'

Note that temporal adverbs share some properties with nouns (as listed in table 4.1). For instance, they can be modified by certain determiners and possessives. In (116), *mesa* 'today' is modified by the demonstrative determiner *na* 'DEM':

(116) Situesen n-e=to **mesa** na, a=to rog=ea e=sa=s.
situation REL-3SG.S=stay today DEM 1SG.S=IPFV feel=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=be.bad=3OBL
'As for the current situation, I feel that it's bad.'

In (117), *matmai* is modified by the possessive *nag-na* 'ASS-3SG':

(117) **Matmai** nag-na, ur=mro panmei.
tomorrow ASS-3SG 3PL.S=again come
'The following day, we come back.'

However, since they do not have access to most other noun properties (e.g. they cannot be modified by the pre-head modifier, nor adjectives and relative clauses, and do not have access to the whole paradigm of determiners and possessives), it is inappropriate to analyse them as nouns. They are adverbs which share some properties with nouns.

4.7.2.2 Manner adverb *tapla* 'like this; thus'

The manner adverb *tapla* 'like this; thus' is a versatile form able to occur both clause or sentence finally, as well as closer to the verb, preceding basic clause-final particles encoding aspect and direction (see 10.6). Note that it is not found preceding object and oblique arguments, so for this reason it is not analysed as a post-verbal phrasal adverb. In addition, *tapla* can also function as a verb. In (118) and (119), *tapla* occurs finally, following clause-final particles:

(118) E=mro sfa pan **tapla**, ur=sfa.
3SG.S=AGAIN run GO like.this 3PL.S=run
'He ran away again like this, they ran.'

(119) E=to se, e=pa-ki farea nae pan **tapla**,
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=go-TR trad.house 3SG.POSS GO like.this
'Then, he went to his traditional house like this,'

In (120) an (121), *tapla* occurs in a clause-internal position, after objects and obliques but before clause-final particles such as *to* 'STAT', *pa* and *pan* 'GO'. In (120), it follows the object NP *plen* 'plane' and occurs before the stative particle *to* 'STAT':

(120) Mala a=laotu plen **tapla** to,
when 1SG.S=stand.up plane like.this STAT
'When I stood up in the plane like this,'

Similarly, in (121) *tapla* follows the object NP *ntas* 'the sea' and precedes the clause-final particle *pan*:

(121) E=sok pa-ki ntas **tapla** pan,
3SG.S=jump go-TR sea like.this GO
'He jumped in the sea like this,'

In addition, *tapla* is also able to function as an intransitive verb, as in (122). However, it does not share many verbal properties, such as the ability to occur with auxiliaries, benefactive phrases, and other elements of the verb complex (see chapter 9):

(122) Nakai nge e=**tapla**.
story DEF 3sg.s=like.this
'The story is like this.'

4.8 Prepositions

Two types of prepositions are distinguished in the language, true prepositions and prepositional verbs. Both types function as heads of prepositional phrases and take an NP as complement. Prepositional phrases are adjuncts occurring at clause margins, as part of the extended clause (see 7.1.2), with the exception of the benefactive phrase which occurs pre-verbally. True prepositions are invariable and not multifunctional. In contrast, prepositional verbs also function as verbs which have grammaticalised to a certain degree to function like prepositions (see Enfield 2007 for a similar situation in Lao, and Lichtenberk 1983 for Manam). Prepositional verbs are able to have their object encoded by an NP or an object enclitic, which is in contrast with true prepositions. Table 4.19 shows both types of prepositions. Interestingly, there are twice as many prepositional verbs than true prepositions:

True prepositions		**Prepositional verbs**			
pae	'SOURCE'	*taos*	'like'	*raki*	'towards'
naloni	'about, regarding'	*paki*	'to'	*plak*	'with'
mag	'BEN'	*ne*	'COM'	*wur*	'in, on, at'
		wus	'following'	*mur*	'at'

Table 4.19. Prepositions

It has been shown for a number of languages such as Chinese (Li and Thompson 1974, Zhiqun Xing 2013), Lao (Enfield 2007) and West African languages (Lord 1973, Lord 1993) that certain types of verbs tend to grammaticalise into prepositions. This is also the case in Oceanic languages (Codrington 1885, Pawley 1973:142). Durie (1988:20) proposed that serial verb constructions have resulted in prepositional phrases following a diachronic drift. In Lelepa, certain verbs such as those in table 4.19 have taken on functions and grammatical characteristics typical of prepositions and are called prepositional verbs, following common usage in the Oceanic litterature. Such functions include the marking of direction (allative, ablative), position and location (*in, on, at*), commitative, comparison (*like*), amongst others, and grammatical characteristics include taking an NP as complement and occurring in peripheral positions in the sentence. Note that in some cases it is difficult to determine whether a particular construction involving these verbs is an instance of a prepositional phrase or of clause-chaining. Section 4.8.2 exemplifies cases of prepositional verbs in which their prepositional status is beyond doubt.

4.8.1 True prepositions

4.8.1.1 *pae* 'SOURCE'

This preposition marks its object NP as a source, as in (123), in which the source of the story (*nafsana* 'talk, language') is the elders (*tematua*):

(123) A=rogo na-fsa-na nagna **pae** te=matua.
1SG.S=feel ART-speak-NMLZ ASS-3SG.POSS SOURCE SBST=be.old
'I heard its story of it from the elders'.

The source can also be a source in time, as in (124):

(124) Go **pae** mala=n fea panmei, mala mis e=panmei,
and SOURCE time=POSS:NH first COME when missionary 3SG.S=come
'And since the olden times to now, when the missionary came,'

4.8.1.2 *naloni* 'about, regarding'

This preposition introduces an NP which gives content information about the event denoted by the predicates, or about its arguments. In (125), the NP introduced by *naloni* gives content information on the object *natrausina* 'story':

(125) A=ga fat na-trausi-na skei **naloni** nafarkal skei,
1SG.S=IRR make:IRR ART-tell-NMLZ INDEF about bush.spirit INDEF

ur=to A=fatenleg.
3PL.S=stay LOC=p.name
'I will tell a story about a group of bush spirits, they were in Fatenleg.'

In (126), *naloni* introduces an NP giving content information on the object *muf kik skei* 'a move':

(126) naara ur=pat muf kiki skei **naloni** faatu naara.
3PL 3PL.S=make move small INDEF about stone 3PL.POSS
'They made a move regarding their salaries.'

4.8.1.3 *mag* 'BEN'

The prepositional phrase signalled by *mag* refers to a participant with the role of beneficiary. It is called the benefactive phrase and has dedicated marking and a dedicated pre-verbal position (see 7.5.3). This position is unusual since adjuncts tend to occur at sentence margins. In (127), the preposition *mag* followed by the NP *fterki nge* 'the wife' forms a benefactive phrase and occurs in pre-verbal position, before the verb *slat* 'carry':

(127) E=po **mag** fterki nge slat=ia pa.
3SG.S=SEQ BEN wife DEF carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'He then carried it for the wife.'

Note that benefactive pronouns discussed earlier (4.6.3) take the place of benefactive phrases. They refer to a beneficiary participant and encode its person and number.

4.8.2 Prepositional verbs

Prepositional verbs occur in similar environments to true prepositions, at the margins of clauses and sentences. In this position, they are stripped of most of their verb properties, and do not occur with subject proclitics, TAM particles, auxiliaries, negation markers, etc. However, they keep some verbal traits in the way they realise their complement, and in their ability, for some of them like *paki* 'to', to take the transitiviser *–ki* 'TR'. Like transitive verbs, the object of prepositional verbs can be realised with an NP or a bound pronominal, a property that is not available to true prepositions. The initial position is the best diagnostic to

determine that a constituent is a prepositional phrase, as this avoids confusions with clause chains. This is shown in (128) and (129):

(128) **Taos** naṁit nge a=to til=ia,
like mat DEF 1SG.S=IPFV tell=3SG.OBJ

na-wesi-na nag-na e=taplinge.
ART-work-NMLZ ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=like.this
'Thus the mat I was talking about, its fabrication is like this.'

(129) **Paki** malange, konou a=po mro magmu mur=ia
to then 1SG 1SG.S=SEQ AGAIN 2PL.BEN bring=SG.OBJ
'Until that time, and then I bring it for you.'

When a prepositional verb follows an intransitive verb or a verb and its object, it is not straightforward to determine whether it introduces a prepositional phrase or if it functions as a verb within a serial verb or a clause chain construction. This can be tested by looking at the elements preceding that verb or prepositional verb form. If an aspectual or directional particle (see 10.6) such as *to* 'STAT', *pa* 'GO', *pan* 'GO', *panei* 'COME' or another adjunct occur before, this is evidence that the verb functions as a preposition. In (130), the directional particle *pa* 'GO' encodes motion away from the speaker/deictic centre and follows the object. It marks the end of the basic clause and is followed by the prepositional verbs *raki* 'towards':

(130) Ña=laka=e lag narua e=put=ia,
2SG.S:IRR=see=3SG.OBJ COMP current 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ

narua nmat e=put=ia pa **raki** Artoka.
current low.tide 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ GO towards p.name
'You will see that the tide pulls it away, the current of the low tide is pulling it towards Artoka.'

In (131) *raki* functions as a verb, as it occurs with a subject proclitic and the sequential particle *po* 'SEQ'. Note that it is glossed 'follow':

(131) Te=laapa ur=po sua, ur=tuṁalua pkout,
SBST=be.many 3PL.S=SEQ go.down 3PL.S=leave completely

konou a=po **raki** mau.
1SG 1SG.S=SEQ follow LIM
'Then many people went down, they all left, and then I just followed.'

Another way of recognising a prepositional phrase is when it follows another adjunct. In (132), *paki* introduces a prepositional phrase as it follows the sentential adverb *malmauna*:

(132) Ur=se konou, malmauna **paki** mesa, a=pi naota Masogo.
3PL.S=name 1SG now to today 1SG.S=COP chief p.name
'They named me, from now until nowadays, I am the chief Masogo.'

4.9 Directionals

Directionals form a small closed class. They are distinguished from nouns by their inability to head NPs when occurring underived, and from verbs by their inability to function predicatively. They also differ from adjectives by their inability to take *te* 'SBST' which derives substantives, and from adverbs as they host the locative proclitic *a*= 'LOC' to derive locational nouns. These criteria are summarised in table 4.20 below:

	Distinction from nouns	**Distinction from verbs**	**Distinction from adjectives**	**Distinction from adverbs**
Directionals	• Cannot head NPs • Cannot take NP modifiers	• Cannot take subject proclitics	• Cannot take *te* 'SBST' to derive substantives	• Take the locative enclitic *a*= 'LOC' to derives locational nouns

Table 4.20. Criteria establishing the class of directionals

All known members of this class are shown in table 4.21. Directionals are used in spatial reference and encode three distinct axes:

- The land-sea axis is encoded with *uta* 'landwards', *lau* 'seawards' and *taafa* 'inlandwards'.
- The northwest-southeast axis is encoded with *waranleg* 'northwest' and *warantan* 'southeast'. The particular orientation of this axis may be explained by natural features: the archipelago of Vanuatu is oriented along a northwest-southeast axis, and the dominant winds come from the southeast.
- The up-down axis is encoded with *lag* 'up' and *tan* 'down' to encode directions running along, which can be vertical or follow the ground.

There are three forms encoding the land-sea axis, and only two encoding the two other axes. The distinction between *uta* and *taafa* is done according to whether the deictic centre is located on land or at sea. Both *uta* and *taafa* encode the same direction, towards land. However, *uta* is

used when the deictic centre is at sea to encode a landwards direction, while *taafa* is used when the deictic centre is on land, to express a direction towards the bush and the mountains.

Land-sea axis		Northwest-Southeast axis		Up-down axis	
uta	'landwards'	*waranleg*	'northwest'	*lag*	'up'
lau	'seawards'	*warantan*	'southeast'	*tan*	'down'
taafa	'inlandwards'				

Table 4.21. Directionals

In (133) to (135) directionals occur underived to encode a particular direction. In (133) *lau* encodes a seawards direction:

(133) Tuaraka, p̃a=liko kasua, se ta=ga su pa-ki **lau**.
p.name 2SG.S:IRR=hang strong while 1PL.INCL.S=IRR go.down go-TR seawards
'Tuaraka, hold on tight as we will go down to the sea.'

In (134) *lag* encodes an upwards direction:

(134) Ku=kano mus sak panei marmar **lag**.
2SG.S=cannot dive go.up come breathe up
'You can't dive back up to breathe on top.'

In (135), the directionals *taafa* 'inlandwards' and *warantan* 'southeast' occur in two separate clauses, modifying the noun *narp̃an* 'side':

(135) Malmauna, p̃a=mro ri narp̃an **taafa** warei na,
now 2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN dig side inlandwards there DEM

ita, p̃a=mro ri narp̃an **warantan** warampa.
INTERJ 2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN dig side southeast there.forward
'Now, dig the inland side here, that's it, then dig the southeast side there.'

Directionals can take the locative proclitic *a*= 'LOC' to derive locational nouns, which distinguishes them from adverbs. This occurs when a directional is needed to encode a location, as in (136) to (141):

(136) E=ti m̃atietie wia mau, nlakan nasogo e=pi p̃el **a=uta.**
3SG.S=NEG smooth good NEG2 because rubbish 3SG.S=COP big LOC=landwards
'He wasn't nice and smooth, because there was a lot of rubbish on the beach.'

(137) E=mato los **a=uta**.
3SG.S=IPFV bathe LOC=landwards
'He was bathing on the shore.'

(138) Ur=ga kat put=ia paki **a=lau**pa.
3PL.S=IRR CERT pull=3SG.OBJ to LOC=seawards GO
'They will pull it to the shore.'

(139) E=panei rwae **a=uta** e=mro pa-ki **a=lau**,
3SG.S=come turn LOC=landwards 3SG.S=again go-TR LOC=seawards

ña=ti lao=ea mau.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG1 spear=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'It comes to turn by the shore and goes back offshore, do not spear it.'

(140) Nlag e=to si **a=lau** nge.
wind 3SG.S=IPFV blow LOC=seawards DEF
'The wind was blowing by the shore.'

(141) E=pag-ki=nia paki **a=lag**.
3SG.S=climb-TR-3SG.OBJ to LOC=up
'He climbed it to the top.'

4.10 Numerals

4.10.1 The class of numerals

Numerals are able to function predicatively like verbs, and modify nouns within the NP like adjectives and adjectival verbs. However, they form a distinct class on the basis that they take the prefix *ke-* 'ORD', which derives ordinal adjectives (see 3.4.4). Since two out of three criteria overlap with other established word classes, and only one is exclusive to numerals, a form is analysed as a numeral only when it satisfies all of these three criteria, as summarised in table 4.22 below:

Numerals	• take the prefix *ke-* 'ORD' to derive adjectives • function as heads of predicates like verbs • modify nouns like adjectives

Table 4.22. Criteria establishing the class of numerals

Numerals behave like verbs and thus can host subject proclitics and be predicative. This is shown in the first occurrence of *pati* 'four' in (142). Numerals can also modify nouns, marking

the number of the referent of a head noun. This is shown with the second occurrence of *pati* 'four' in (142) which modifies the head noun *namusak* 'driftwood':

(142) Naara ur=**pati**, ur=sla namusak **pati**.
3PL 3PL.S=four 3PL.S=carry driftwood four
'They were four, they carried four pieces of driftwood.'

Examples (143) and (144) below show numerals behaving like verbs. In (143) *rua* 'two' takes the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S' and the oblique enclitic =*s* '3OBL', both referring to *naki mãrtou* 'dry pandanus':

(143) Tu=ga fa pu naki na e=pi naki mãrtou,
1PL.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR pull pandanus REL 3SG.S=COP pandanus dry

tu=ga põra=e e=ga **rua**=s.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR split=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR two=3OBL
'We go and pull pandanus that is dry pandanus, we split it in two.' (*lit. we split it, it will be two of it*)

In (144) the numerals *fati* 'four:IRR', *rua* 'two' and *tolu* 'three' are also seen behaving like verbs as they take the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S' and irrealis particle *ga* 'IRR':

(144) Wan lag tu=ga fat na-ftauri-na,
if MAYBE 1PL.INCL.S=IRR make:IRR ART-marry-NMLZ

tu=ga lag pat=ia e=ga fi na-ftauri-na
1PL.INCL.S=IRR MAYBE make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR ART-marry-NMLZ

e=ga **fati**, e=ga **rua**, kite e=ga **tolu**, e=wia.
3SG.S=IRR four:IRR 3SG.S=IRR two or 3SG.S=IRR three 3SG.S=good
'If we organise a wedding, maybe we may make it as four weddings, or two, or three, it's good.'

In (145) and (146) below, numerals modify nouns. Example (145) shows an object NP in which the numeral *lima* 'five' modifies the head *laasa* 'container':

(145) Aliati ku=kuk lasa **lima**.
middle.day 2SG.S=cook container five
'At lunch you cooked (the contents of) five saucepans.'

Similarly in (146), the numeral *rua* 'two' modifies the head noun *kafman* 'government':[8]

[8] The NP *kafman rua* refers to the joint colonial government established by France and Great Britain which ruled Vanuatu until Independence in 1980.

(146) 1980, au=panei pitlak indipendens,
1980 1PL.EXCL.S=come have independence

au=mro panmei pi kafman **rua**,
1PL.EXCL.S=again come COP government two

aaa... kafman Vanuatu.
HESIT government p.name
'In 1980, we became independent; we became a joint government again, hum... the Vanuatu government.'

4.10.2 Counting system

Table 4.23 distinguishes counting/cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers. Counting numbers are used in counting, cardinal numbers express quantities while ordinal numbers express orderings. All counting numbers are numerals, with the exception of the determiner *skei* 'one; INDEF', which cannot take the prefix *ke-* 'ORD' to form an ordinal number. As seen in 4.5, ordinal numbers are derived adjectives formed with the prefix *ke-* 'ORD'. This is not the case of *fea* 'first:IRR' which is not regularly derived from neither *skei* nor *skimau* but is an intransitive verb. In addition, *skei* cannot express the quantity 'one' but is used in counting and as an indefinite determiner (see 4.12.1.1). *Skei* has grammaticalised and taken other functions, while retaining some functions typical of numerals, such as counting. Most cardinal numbers are numerals as well, with the exception of the intransitive verb *skimau* 'one; same', used to express the quantity one. Note that the conjunction *atmat* 'CONJ.NUM' is used in the formation of numbers above ten. The operators used in number formation are multiplication and addition: mu;tiplication is used between tens and hundreds, hundreds and thousands and up, whiel addition is used between units and higher levels.

Counting/cardinal numbers		Ordinal numbers	
skei / skimau	'one'	*fea*	'first:IRR'
rua	'two'	*ke-rua*	'second; other'
tolu	'three'	*ke-tolu*	'third'
pati/fati	'four'	*ke-fati*	'fourth'
lima	'five'	*ke-lima*	'fifth'
latsa	'six'	*ke-latsa*	'sixth'
larua	'seven'	*ke-larua*	'seventh'
latolu	'eight'	*ke-latolu*	'eighth'
lfot	'nine'	*ke-lfot*	'ninth'
ralma skei	'ten'	*ke-ralma skei*	'tenth'
ralma skei atmat skei	'eleven'		
ralma skei atmat lima	'fifteen'		
ralma tolu	'thirty'		
ralma larua	'seventy'		
ralma larua atmat lfot	'seventy-nine'		
pwontia skei	'one hundred'		
maanu skei	'one thousand'		
tefelia skei	'one million'		

Table 4.23. Numbers

Numerals above ten are formed regularly with higher components (such as tens, hundreds and thousands) preceding lower components such as units. Each numerical component forms a numeral phrase, with the head being a numeral optionally modified by another numeral which expresses the number of the head, i.e. *ralma tolu* 'ten three > thirty'. These phrases are then either linked to each other with the conjunction *atmat* or simply juxtaposed.

(147) A=ga fitlaka ntau **ralma larua atmat galima**.
1SG.S=IRR have:IRR year ten seven CONJ:NUM IRR.five
'I will be seventy-five years old.'

(148) Mesa, e=pi nalati **ralma rua atmat lima**,
today 3SG.S=COP day ten two CONJ:NUM five
'Today, it is the twenty-fifth,'

While the counting system can express high numbers, speakers tend to use Bislama numbers when expressing quantities or orderings over ten. Lelepa people are schooled in either English or French and are not formally taught the Lelepa counting system. In addition, when engaging

in economic activities outside of their langauge community they use Bislama, the vehicular language of the country. Complex number formation and higher numbers are generally known by older speakers, while younger speakers tend to be unfamiliar with high numbers such as *pwontia* 'hundred', *maanu* 'thousand' or *tefelia* and with large number formation. Some aspects of the system remain unclear, such as the use of the conjunction *atmat*, which according to some speakers is only to occur between a constituent and units, as in (149); while other speakers consider it should occur between each numeral phrase, as in (150):

(149)

pwontia	skei	ralma	lima	atmat	lima
hundred	one	ten	five	CONJ:NUM	five

'One hundred and fifty-five.'
[elicited]

(150)

pwontia	skei	atmat	ralma	lima	atmat	lima
hundred	one	CONJ:NUM	ten	five	CONJ:NUM	five

'One hundred and fifty-five.'
[elicited]

4.11 The pre-head modifier *sara* 'each, every'

This lexeme is in a class of its own, as it is the only form occurring before the head noun in an NP. Semantically, it is a distributive quantifier, either singling out items as in (151), or grouping items together in as in (152):

(151)

Taos=ia	ur=tau	**sara**	naure~ure,	Togoa,	Epi,	Paama,
like=3SG.OBJ	3PL.S=stay	each	island~RED	p.name	p.name	p.name

wus	raki	pa-ki	Santo	pan,	paki	Saot	pan.
follow	precede	go-TR	p.name	GO	to	south	GO

Thus they were in each island, Tongoa, Epi, Paama, going to Santo, and going to the South.'

(152)

E=to	panei	**sara**	Sapat,	e=to	panei.
3SG.S=IPFV	come	each	Sabbath	3SG.S=IPFV	come

'He used to come every Saturday, he used to come.'

4.12 Determiners

Lelepa has seven determiners (see table 4.24).[9] Two of these mark distinctions in definiteness and specificity of the referent, and the remaining five are demonstratives. *Skei* 'INDEF' marks a referent as indefinite and specific and contrasts with *nge* 'DEF' which marks a referent as definite and specific. The demonstratives *na* 'DEM' and *na-e* 'DEM-ADD' contrast according to person: *na* encodes a referent close to both speaker and addressee, while *nae* encodes a referent closer to the addressee. I refer to the other demonstratives as spatial demonstratives since they encode relative distance: *wa* encodes a referent located neither close nor far from the deictic centre, so it is termed 'medial', *wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' encodes a referent located close to the deictic centre and *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST' encodes a referent that is far from the deictic centre.

Indefinite/definite determiners		**Demonstrative determiners**			
skei	'INDEF'	*na*	'DEM'	*wa*	'DEM:MED'
nge	'DEF'	*na-e*	'DEM=ADD'	*wa-s*	'DEM=PROX'
				wa-n	'DEM=DIST'

Table 4.24. Determiners

4.12.1 Definite and indefinite determiners

A referent is definite when the speaker presupposes that it is accessible to the hearer, either because it has been previously introduced in discourse, or because it is part of the interlocutors' shared knowledge, or because the referent becomes accessible to the speaker as the sentence is processed, due its descriptive content. In contrast, an indefinite referent is not accessible to the hearer, because it is introduced for the first time in discourse (Payne 1997:263; Givón 2001:450; Guérin 2007:539). Thus when I say 'a man knocked on my door this morning', the referent of 'a man' is accessible to the speaker but not to the hearer: it is indefinite and the indefinite article *a* occurs with *man.* On the other hand, a specific referent is regarded as an existing entity in the universe of discourse. A non-specific or generic referent denotes the type or genus of an entity, that is, it represents a class of entities (Givón 1978:294; Guérin 2007:540).

The distribution of *skei* 'INDEF' and *nge* 'DEF' in the NP is conditioned by pragmatic factors. A noun modified with *skei* has an indefinite referent that is introduced for the first

[9] Note that the use of the term determiner does not imply a claim for the existence of a *determiner phrase* or DP constituent in the language. In this work, I opted for a more traditional NP analysis rather than using a DP analysis.

time in discourse, whereas if it is modified with *nge* the referent is definite. *Nge* is used when a previously indefinite referent needs to be marked as definite, or when a referent that was previously definite becomes the new topic. In this instance *nge* has a switch-topic marking function. NPs can lack determiners: a noun with no determiner has a definite and specific referent if it is a continuing topic, or if it is part of the speakers' common ground or world knowledge (i.e. place names, personal names, natural entities, etc). Otherwise, a noun without determiner that has not been previously introduced has a generic (or non-specific) referent. Recall also that with a few nouns, the article *na-* marks referents as generic (see 3.2.2).

4.12.1.1 Indefinite specific determiner *skei* 'INDEF'

Skei marks its referent as indefinite and specific. It is also used in counting, but not to express the quantity 'one' (*skimau* 'one' is used instead). Numerals meaning 'one' are a common source for indefinite articles: in WALS, 112 out of 214 languages with an indefinite article have an indefinite article derived from the numeral 'one' (Dryer 2013). This suggests that *skei* may have functioned as a numeral at some stage and has grammaticalised into a marker of indefiniteness. Example (153) is the opening utterance of a traditional story which takes place in a village located at the place called *Maua*. The speaker marks the NP head *natkon* 'village' with *skei* because it is the first time it is mentioned in the story:

(153) Slafea, e=pitlak natkon **skei** a=maua taafa warampa.
before 3SG.S=have village INDEF LOC=p.name inlandwards there.forward
'Before, there was a village in Maua inland there.'

The referent of *natkon* in (153) and (154) corresponds to the same entity in the world. However, in (153) it is introduced for the first time in discourse and is not previously accessible or known to the hearer. Compare this with (154) which is the following sentence in the same story: *natkon* is marked as definite with *nge*, as its referent is now accessible to both the speaker and the hearer. Note that the speaker also introduces a new referential entity with the noun *tamaraota* 'couple'. It is a first mention in the narrative and is marked as indefinite with *skei*:

(154) E=pitlak natkon **nge** e=mato,
3SG.S=have village DEF 3SG.S=stay

se e=pitlaka tama-ra-ota **skei** ur=mato=s to.
while 3SG.S=have DYAD-3PL.POSS-husband INDEF 3PL.S=stay.long=3OBL STAT
'There was the village, and there was a couple living in it.'

As seen in (153) and (154), *skei* can mark both animates and humans such as *tamaraota* and inanimates such as *natkona*. More examples of human and non-human animates marked with *skei* are given in (155) to (157):

(155) Kanokiki **skei** e=pan lag e=ga tpa ura.
boy INDEF 3SG.S=go COMP 3SG.S=IRR shoot prawns
'A boy went to shoot prawns.'

(156) Slafea, a=pi nataṁol **skei** naa... a=to pa-ki namlas.
before 1SG.S=COP person INDEF HESIT 1SG.S=IPFV go-TR bush
'Before, I was a person hmm... I used to go hunting.' (*lit. I used to go to the bush*)

(157) Ña=lo parkat ṁaata **skei** e=to=s to,
2SG.S:IRR=look catch snake INDEF 3SG.S=stay=3OBL STAT

e=pi ṁaata tap.
3SG.S=COP snake be.taboo
'Beware of a snake that stays there, it is a taboo snake.'

Examples of inanimates marked with *skei* are given in (158) to (160) below:

(158) Taxi **skei** e=panei e=msug kenem.
taxi INDEF 3SG.S=come 3SG.S=carry 1PL.EXCL
'A taxi came and took us.'

(159) Ar=paṁosko=s noana nkas **skei** e=sal panmei.
1DU.EXCL.S=find=3OBL fruit tree INDEF 3SG.S=drift COME
'We found that a fruit drifted (towards us).'

(160) A=ga til nafsana matua **skei**.
1SG.S=IRR tell talk be.old INDEF
'I will tell a folktale.'

4.12.1.2 Definite specific determiner *nge* 'DEF'

When the referent of a noun is identifiable and accessible by both the speaker and the hearer as a unique entity in the world, it is definite and specific and marked with *nge*. In contrast with

skei, *nge* is not used to mark a noun whose referent is introduced for the first time in discourse. But in (161), *nakai* 'traditional story' is marked with *nge*, although it occurs for the first time in the story the speaker is just starting to tell. The reason for this is that the referent of *nakai* is accessible to both the speaker and the hearer, as it was previously discussed between them. The speaker then presupposes that the referent of *nakai* is accessible to the hearer and marks it as definite with *nge*. In addition, the occurrence of the possessive *agnou* '1SG.POSS' also plays a role in marking the definiteness status of *nakai*:

(161) Gaio, a=ga til nakai agnou **nge**.
okay 1SG.S=IRR tell story 1SG.POSS DEF
'OK, I will tell my story.'

Nge combines with the substantiviser *te* 'SBST' to derive referential NPs (see 3.4.2.4). In such cases the resulting form *tenge* is a pronoun referring to an abstract referent (see 4.6.2.2). In (58), *tenge* refers to an earlier description of what the speaker's job was about:

(162) **Tenge**, e=pi nawesina=n sara matmai agnou.
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=COP work=POSS:NH each tomorrow 1SG.POSS
'This, it was my everyday work.'

There are a few examples in the corpus in which *nge* stands alone as a pronoun, similarly to *tenge* (see 5.3.3). In (163), *nge* occurs twice. In the first occurrence it functions as a left dislocated pronoun co-referential with the subject of the clause. In the second occurrence, it functions as a determiner marking the head noun *marka naota* 'chief' as definite:

(163) **Nge**, marka naota **nge**, e=po msau=na,
DEF old.man chief DEF 3SG.S=SEQ want-3SG.OBJ

e=po plak lwa=e se e=pa-ki Tuktuk pa.
3SG.S=SEQ accompany removed=3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=go-TR p.name GO
'Him, the chief, he wanted her and then took her out to Tuktuk.'

4.12.2 Demonstrative determiners

Lelepa demonstratives are either determiners occurring in the NP or pronouns formed with the substantiviser *te* 'SBST' (see 3.4.2.4). Five demonstrative determiners are formed with the bases *na* 'DEM' and *wa* 'DEM:MED' which host the suffixes *-e* 'ADD', *-s* 'PROX' and *-n* 'DIST'. Not all suffixes combine with both bases, which form two separate paradigms, as shown in table 4.24. *Na* 'DEM' and *na-e* 'DEM-DIST' contrast according to person: *na* marks a referent closer to

the speaker, *nae* a referent closer to the addressee. The other set of demonstratives comprises *wa* 'DEM:MED', *wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' and *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST' which encode relative distance to the deictic centre, respectively medial, proximal and distal. According to Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:38), a three-way contrast encoded in demonstratives is typical of Oceanic languages, which contrast either person (near speaker, near addressee, or near neither) or relative distance (close, medial and distal). This contrast is also found more broadly in Austronesian languages (Blust 2009:295). It is interesting to note that Lelepa encodes both types of contrast with the *na* and *wa* series.

4.12.2.1 The demonstratives *na* and *nae*

The prototypical use of demonstratives is to put an immediately accessible referent in the forefront. The use of demonstratives in such situations is often accompanied by some kind of physical gesture such as pointing (Dryer 2007c:162). This is shown in (164) to (166) with *na* 'DEM':

(164) Nawi **na** e=pi nawi taplasei, e=pi martinik?
yam DEM 3SG.S=COP yam like.what? 3SG.S=COP p.name
'What kind of yam is this yam, is it a martinik (pointing at the yam)?'

(165) Ku=lom̃asko tera **na** nag!
2SG.S=look.after.well garden DEM 2SG.POSS
'You take good care of this garden of yours! (pointing around the garden)'

(166) Bruce, Okis, te=rua kiki **na** ar=pi sulsul nae.
p.name p.name SBST=two small DEM 3DU.S=COP grandchildren 3SG.POSS
'As for Bruce and Okis, these two little ones are her grandchildren (pointing at the grandchildren).'

Dryer (2007c:162-163) points out that in most languages, demonstratives encode at least a 2-way proximal/distal contrast relative to the speaker. *Na* 'DEM' and *na-e* 'DEM-ADD' encode a different type of distance contrast: *na* denotes that the referent of the noun it modifies is relatively close to the speaker, while *nae* marks a referent as closer to the addressee than to the speaker. In (167) to (170), the enclitic *-e* 'ADD' marks the referent of the NP as closer to the addressee:

(167) Ña=to wara **na-e**.
2SG.S:IRR=stay place DEM-ADD
'Stay where you are.' (*lit. stay in this place close to you.*)
[elicited]

(168) Tarei, ña=kil niao **na-e**.
p.name 2SG.S:IRR=dig yam.sp. DEM-ADD
'Tarei, dig that yam (close to you).'

(169) Ña=kil narña**n** **na-e**,
2SG.S:IRR=dig side DEM-ADD

ña=mro kil narña**n** **na-e**paki narña**n** lau mato.
2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN dig side DEM-ADD to side seawards STAT
'Dig that side close to you, you'll dig that side close to you up to the seawards side.'

(170) Ña=wus lwa faatu lop **na-e** nag gaskimau,
2SG.S:IRR=get remove stone baking DEM-ADD 2SG.POSS IRR.one

a=ga laka=e se a=ga kat pa.
1SG.S=IRR see=3SG.OBJ while 1SG.S=IRR CERT go
'Remove one of your baking stones (close to you), I will see it and I will go.'

Demonstratives are also used to encode referents which are not available to the senses (that is, they cannot be seen or heard), but need to be individuated or made prominent. In (171), the referent of *neika* 'fish' is not visible and marked with *na* as the speaker wishes to make it prominent. Note that in the following clause *neika* is marked as definite with *nge* 'DEF', as the fish becomes the new topic of the narrative:

(171) E=malua raus neika **na**,
3SG.S=slowly follow fish DEM

neika nge, wan e=ga lo wus walaa nag,
fish DEF if 3SG.S=IRR see get spear 2SG.POSS
'It slowly follows this fish, as for the fish, if it sees your spear,'

4.12.2.2 Spatial demonstratives *wa* 'DEM:MED', *wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' and *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST'

These demonstratives encode a three-way contrast based on relative distance (proximal, medial and distal) between the deictic centre and the referent of the noun they modify. The three forms in this set are the medial *wa* 'DEM:MED', the proximal *wa-s* 'DEM-PROX' and the distal *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST'. The proximal *was* is used when the speaker wants to encode that a referent is close to the deictic centre or to themselves. The referent of the NP marked with *was* is always in sight. In (172), the speaker indicates to the hearer to dig the side of a yam mound closer to

him. Note that *was* co-occurs with the directional *taafa* 'inlandwards', which shows that the speaker is located on the inland side of the yam mound:

(172) Ña=mro panei,
2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN come

ña=tla rogo narña**n** taafa **wa-s** to.
2SG.S:IRR=lever feel side inlandwards DEM-PROX STAT
'Come, try levering the inland side (close to me).'

In (173), the speaker tells the hearer to get a digging stick that is located close to him:

(173) ña=traem wus kal**wa-s** tkan=ia,
2SG.S:IRR=try get digging.stick DEM-PROX pierce=3SG.OBJ

ña=takorog=ea=s.
2SG.S:IRR=feel=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'Please get this digging stick (close to me), (you'll) pierce it, you'll feel it with it.'

Wa is used to encode that the referent of the NP it occurs in is located at an intermediate distance, neither close nor far from the deictic centre. An additional contrast with *was* is that the referent marked with *wa* may or may not be in sight. In (174), *wa* encodes that the referent of *nuwai* 'water' is located at an intermediate distance from the deictic centre. In this example, it is in sight:

(174) Ur=panei, ur=sraper loña=e se...
3PL.S=come 3PL.S=be.surprised see=3SG.OBJ COMP

maala nae e=kat tarña**g**or nuwai **wa.**
swamp.harrier 3SG 3SG.S=CERT cover water DEM:MED
'They came, they were surprised to see that the swamp harrier covered that waterhole.'

However, it is also possible for the referent not to be in sight, as with the referent of *nalfa* 'track' in (175):

(175) Tu=plag nalfa.
1PL.INCL.S=look.for track

Nalfa fao=n plok, kite nalfa fao=n wago,
track new=POSS:NH bullock or track new=POSS:NH pig

nalfa fao **wa**.
track new DEM:MED
'We look for tracks. New tracks of bulls, or new tracks of pigs, those new tracks.'

The third demonstrative in this series is *wa-n* 'DEM-DIST'. It encodes a referent as located in a position far from the speaker/deictic centre. Like with *wa*, the referent can be in sight or not. In (176) and (177), it is in sight:

(176) Kano **wa-n** e=to mag sinoa put=ia.
man DEM=DIST 3SG.S=IPFV BEN Chinese pull=3SG.OBJ
'That guy (far from speaker) holds the genitals of Chinese people.' (*lit. that guy pulls it for the Chinese*)

(177) Moa! Nate **wa-n** ku=msau-na nisa!
INTERJ thing DEM-DIST 2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ FOC
'Here! That thing you wanted!'

It is also possible for the referent to not be in sight. In (178), the referent of *nangta wan* 'that child of ours' is not in sight, as the speaker does not know where that referent is:

(178) Kane nan-gta wa-n, e=pa-ki sei pa?
but child-1PL.INCL.POSS DEM-DIST 3SG=go-TR where GO
'But that child of ours, where did she go?'

In (179), the speaker cannot see the referent of *natam̃ol wan* 'that man' as it is located in the distant forest:

(179) Mamei, natam̃ol **wa-n** tu=lo~lo=s e=mato lag to.
father man DEM-DIST 1PL.S.INCL=look~look=3OBL 3SG.S=stay.long up STAT
'Dad, that man we're looking for lives up there.'

In (180), the referent of *neika wan* 'that fish' is also not in sight:

(180) Ku=kano lao neika **wa-n** e=panei rwae,
2SG.S=cannot spear fish DEM-DIST 3SG.S=come turn
'You cannot spear that fish that comes to turn,'

In addition to its use as a determiner, *wa* can also function as a particle occuring at the end of the basic clause (see 7.1.2, 10.6) to mark an event as being spatially close to the speaker or deictic centre. In this instance it is glossed 'THERE':

(181) Te=wei ur=to lao tapla **wa**.
SBST=TOP 3PL.S=IPFV stand like.this THERE
'These people are standing there.'

Chapter 5 – Noun Phrases

5.1 Introduction

NPs are headed by nominals, that is, nouns or pronouns. The head is the only obligatory constituent of NPs and all modifiers are optional. NPs in Lelepa are mostly left-headed, although the distributive quantifier *sara* 'each' is the one modifier that occurs before the head. Two types of NPs can be recognised in the language, according to whether they are headed by a noun (NP_N) or by a pronoun (NP_{PRO}). Each NP type has its own structure and internal order (see fig. 5.1 and fig. 5.2). After presenting the structure of the different NP types in 5.2, heads of NPs are discussed in 5.3 and modifiers in 5.4. Section 5.5 reviews the different grammatical and pragmatic functions NPs can fulfill. All NPs are in bold letters in the examples.

5.2 Noun phrases: structural overview

5.2.1 Structure of NP_N

The structure of NP_N is given in fig. 5.1. The head noun N is the only obligatory constituent of NP_N. The pre-N slot is filled by the pre-modifier *sara* 'each'. N and ADJ form a sub-unit (NP_{CORE}) comprised of the head and a following adjective phrase (see 5.2.3 and 5.4.2). The adjective phrase is formed with *Adjectivals*, a functional grouping comprised of adjectives (see 4.5) and adjectival verbs (see 8.3.3). NP_{CORE} is further specified by determiners (DET), possessive pronominals and possessive NPs (POSS), and relative clauses (RC).

Fig. 5.1 Structure of NP_N

(PREMOD) [N (ADJ)]$_{NPCORE}$ (POSS) (DET) (RC)

NP_N can simply be a noun, and has rarely more than three modifiers. In (1), NP_N is the single noun *koria* 'dog', while in (2) the two NPs are the compound nouns *natul toa* 'chicken egg' and *natul m̃aata* 'snake egg':

(1) **Koria** e=rm̃aki.
dog 3SG.S=bark
'The dog(s) bark(s)/barked'
[elicited]

(2) Wan kar=ga to lo~lo **natul** **toa**,
if 2DU.S=IRR IPFV look~INT egg chicken

ma kar=ga lo parkat **natul** **m̃aata**.
but 2DU.S=IRR look catch egg snake
'If you two are looking for wild chicken eggs, beware of snake eggs.'

NPs can be more complex. The NP_N in (3) has three modifiers: the pre-modifier *sara* 'each', the adjective *mauna* 'every' and the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS':

(3) **Sara** **nkarkik** **mauna** **agnou**ur=po wok Vila.
each child every 1SG.POSS 3PL.S=SEQ work p.name
'Every single child of mine went to work in Vila.'
[elicited]

The NP_N in (4) also has three modifiers but in contrast to (3) they all occur to the right of the head. The possessive pronominal *nag* '2SG.POSS' is followed by the indefinite determiner *skei* 'INDEF', and a relative clause introduced by the relativiser *na* 'REL' occurs in final position:

(4) **Tera** **nag** **skei** **na** **a=lag** **ku=lom̃askoso=s**.
garden 2SG.POSS INDEF REL 1SG.S=say 2SG.S=be.proud.of=3SG.OBJ
'(Here's) one of your gardens that I think you're proud of.'

5.2.2 Structure of NP_{PRO}

NP_{PRO} is headed by a pronoun (PRO). In addition to the head, it has a slot filled by the determiner *na* 'DEM' or a relative clause:

Fig. 5.2 Structure of NP_{PRO}

Similarly to an NP_N, an NP_{PRO} often occurs without modifiers, as seen in (5) and (6). Pronouns from different subclasses are able to head an NP_{PRO}: *konou* '1SG' in (5) is a personal pronoun

(see 4.6.1), while *tena* 'SBST.DEM' in (6) is a demonstrative pronoun formed with the substantiviser *te* and the demonstrative *na* (see 4.6.2):

(5) Ee, **konou** a=rog=ea.
no 1SG 1SG.S=hear=3SG.OBJ
'No, I heard it.'

(6) A=ga til **tena**.
1SG.S=IRR tell SBST.DEM
'I will tell this one.'

In (7) the personal pronoun *konou* occurs with the demonstrative *na* 'DEM'. When modifying pronouns the demonstrative has a contrastive function and gives the referent of the NP discourse prominence (see 5.5.2.5):

(7) Tetei e=kat rog=ea taplange,
mother 3SG.S=CERT hear=3SG.OBJ like.this

e=maroŋa=e lag **konou** **na**,
3SG.S=think=3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG DEM

a=kat psapula to na
1SG.S=CERT say.something.wrong STAT DEM
'Mother heard it like this, she thought that I, I definitely said something wrong.

In (8) the demonstrative pronoun *tena* 'this one' takes a relative clause introduced by *na* 'REL':

(8) **Tena** **na** **ur=pa** **mag** **maala** **lao,**
SBST.DEM REL 3PL.S=go BEN peregrine.falcon plant

ur=pi nalaklak.
3PL.S=COP white.eye
'As for those who went to plant for the peregrine falcon, they were white-eyes.'

5.2.3 The core unit of NP_N : NP_{CORE}

N+ADJ form a unit which cannot be interrupted by other NP constituents. This unit is called NP_{CORE}. As shown in fig. 5.1, possessives, determiners and relative clauses occur after the ADJ slot, which suggests that N+ADJ forms a unit within NP_N. This order is illustrated in (9) which shows a possessor NP following NP_{CORE}. The possessive enclitic *=g* 'POSS:H' attaches to NP_{CORE} and the possessor NP *Namuan* 'p.name' follows:

(9)

	N	ADJ	POSS
E=pi	**rarua**	**kiki=g**	**Namuan**.
3SG.S=COP	canoe	be.small=POSS:H	p.name

'It is Namuan's small canoe.'
[elicited]

In (10), *Namuan* occurs between the noun *rarua* 'canoe' and the adjectival *kiki* 'be small'. In contrast to (9), *kiki* modifies *Namuan* which is the head of the possessor NP and not *rarua,* which functions as the head of the whole NP:

(10)

	N	POSS	
E=pi	**rarua=g**	**Namuan**	**kiki**.
3SG.S=COP	canoe=POSS:H	p.name	be.small

'It is little Namuan's canoe'
'*It is Namuan's small canoe.'
[elicited]

Similarly, other forms occurring in the POSS slot cannot occur inside NP_{CORE}. In (11), the possessive pronominal *aginta* '1PL.INCL.POSS' occurs after the adjective *fao* 'new' and follows NP_{CORE}:

(11)

		N	ADJ	POSS
Tu=laelae,	e=pi	**ntau**	**fao**	**aginta**.
1PL.INCL.S=be.happy	3SG.S=COP	year	new	1PL.INCL.POSS

'We're happy, it's our new year.'
[elicited]

In contrast, example (12) shows that is it ungrammatical for possessive pronominals to occur inside $NP_{CORE:}$

(12)

		N	ADJ	POSS
*Tu=laelae,	e=pi	**ntau**	**aginta**	**fao.**
1PL.INCL.S=be.happy	3SG.S=COP	year	1PL.INCL.POSS	new

'We're happy, it's our new year.'
[elicited]

Determiners have scope over NP_{CORE} rather than over one of their constituents. In (13): *matua* 'be old' occurs in the ADJ slot and modifies the compound noun *naforfor nanu* 'bundle of coconuts'. It is followed by the determiner *skei* 'INDEF':

(13)

		N		ADJ	DET
E=pa	lkot-ia	**naforfor**	**nanu**	**matua**	**skei**.
3SG.S=go	tie-3SG.OBJ	bundle	coconut	be.old	INDEF

'He went to tie it to an old bundle of coconuts.'

The determiner has scope over N+ADJ rather than on one of these two constituents, as shown in (14) and (15) which are ungrammatical. In (14), the determiner *skei* cannot occur between N and ADJ, and in (15) it cannot occur between the nouns forming the compound:

(14)

		N		DET	ADJ
*E=pa	lkot-ia	**naforfor**	**nanu**	**skei**	**matua**.
3SG.S=go	tie-3SG.OBJ	bundle	coconut	INDEF	be.old

'He went to tie it to an old bundle of coconuts.'
[elicited]

(15)

		N	DET	N	ADJ
*E=pa	lkot-ia	**naforfor**	**skei**	**nanu**	**matua**.
3SG.S=go	tie-3SG.OBJ	bundle	INDEF	coconut	be.old

'He went to tie it to an old bundle of coconuts.'
[elicited]

5.3 Heads of NPs

5.3.1 Head nouns

A head noun can be a free noun, a compound noun, a bound noun or bound compound noun. Free nouns can be common or proper (see 4.2.2). In (16), the head is the free common noun *nawi* 'yam' while in (17), the head is the free proper noun *Artok* 'p.name':

(16)

Ur=mato	mas	**nawi**	**nag-na**.
1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV	cut	yam	ASS-3SG.POSS

'They are cutting the yam of it.'

(17)

Au=ga	fa	raika	**Artok**.
1PL.EXCL.S=IRR	go:IRR	spear.fish	p.name

'We would go spear fish at Artok.'

NPs can also be headed by compound nouns. In (18) there are two NPs headed by the compound noun *tatau tkarki* 'last-born baby'. The first NP is only comprised of a head, while in the second NP the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS' occurs as a modifier:

(18) Bruce, nae, e=pi **tatau** **tkarki**, **tatau** **tkarki** **agnou**.
p.name 3SG 3SG.S=COP baby last.born baby last.born 1SG.POSS
'As for Bruce, as for him, he is the last born baby, my last born baby.'

Bound nouns take a possessive suffix to encode their possessor in person and number (see 3.2.1, 6.3.1). They head NPs like any other nouns. In (19), the bound noun *namta-go* 'eye-1SG.POSS' heads an NP without modifiers:

(19) **Namta-go** e=lag sa,
eye-1SG.POSS 3SG.S=maybe be.bad

a=lag kano loɲa tena e=to a=m̃ae.
1SG.S=maybe cannot see SBST.DEM 3SG.S=stay LOC=away
'My eyes may be bad, I may be unable to see this one which is far away.'

In (20) the bound noun *naɲatko-ra* 'body-3PL.POSS' is modified by *wia* 'be good'. The suffix *–ra* '3PL.POSS' attaches to the bound noun and *wia* follows, as expected from fig. 5.1:

(20) **Naɲatko-ra** **wia**, ur=ga tae paam=ra.
body-3PL.POSS be.good 3PL.S=IRR able eat=3PL.OBJ
'As for their nice bodies, they would be able to eat them.'

5.3.2 Head pronouns

5.3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are free forms which mark their referent for person and number and mostly encode human referents (see 4.6.1). They head NPs as shown in (21) to (22):

(21) A=lag, "**konou** a=msau-na lag a=ga fa."
1SG.S=say 1SG 1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG=IRR go:IRR
'I said, "I want to go."'

(22) E=sua fonu, e=lag, "fonu, **nag** ku=tae slae-ou?"
3SG.S=meet turtle 3SG.S=say turtle 2SG 2SG.S=can help=1SG.OBJ
'He met the turtle and he said, "Turtle, can you help me?"'

(23) **Naara** ar=po ɲalgat nasum̃a tap nge, 1948.
3PL 3DU.S=SEQ open house be.taboo DEF 1948
'Then they opened the church, in 1948.'

Fig. 5.2 shows that personal pronouns can be modified by the determiner *na* 'DEM' or by a relative clause. When a personal pronoun is modified by *na*, the NP is pragmatically contrastive

(see 5.5.2.5). In (24), the referent of *nae* is encoded with a personal pronoun, showing that it is a previously established topic. In addition, *nae* is modified with *na* which marks the NP as a contrastive topic. Similarly, in the following clause, the contrast moves to *kutu* 'louse' which is modified by *na* 'DEM' and becomes the new contrastive topic:

(24)

E=lag,	"**nae**	**na,**	e=ga	fi	nate	nge,
3SG.S=SAY	3SG	DEM	3SG.S=IRR	COP:IRR	thing	DEF

kutu	**na,**	e=ga	fatu=s	e=go	pag."
louse	DEM	3SG.S=IRR	step=3SG.OBJ	3SG.S=IRR	climb

'He said, "As for him, he will be this thing, and as for louse, he will step on him to climb."'

In (25) and (26), the personal pronouns *naara* '3PL' and *kenem* '1PL.EXCL' are modified by relative clauses introduced by *na* 'REL' (underlined). Here, the function of these RCs is to delimit the referent of the pronouns more specifically, which is the same function that RCs have when they modify nouns (see 12.6.1):

(25)

Naara	**na**	**ur=panmei**,	a=mtouki=ra.
3PL	REL	3SG.S=come	1SG.S=fear=3PL.OBJ

'As for those who came, I'm afraid of them.'
[elicited]

(26)

Kenem	**na**	**nagi**	**kenem**	**e=pi**	**K.**,
1PL.EXCL	REL	name	1PL.EXCL	3SG.S=COP	K

ur=ti	msau-na	mau.
1PL.EXCL.S=NEG	want-3SG.OBJ	NEG2

'As for us whose name is K., we don't want this.'
[elicited]

5.3.2.2 Demonstrative pronoun *tena*

The demonstrative pronoun *tena* 'SBST.DEM' is a combination of the substantiviser *te* 'SBST' and the demonstrative *na* (see 3.4.2.4, 4.6.2). It encodes a third person referent regardless of its number and humanness/animacy status: it can have singular, plural, human, non-human or inanimate referents. It can only be modified by relative clauses. Like other NPs, NPs headed by *tena* can bear a variety of grammatical and pragmatic functions (see 5.5). In (27), *tena* heads an NP without modifiers. Its referent is non-human and singular:

(27) E=paam **tena**.
3SG.S=eat SBST.DEM
'He ate this one.'

In contrast, the referent of *tena* in (28) is plural and human:

(28) **Tena** ur=to si tapla, ur=ga fat bunia.
SBST.DEM 3PL.S=IPFV peel like.this 3PL.S=IRR do:IRR roast
'As for these ones who are peeling (vegetables) like this, they will make the roast.'

In (29) there are two NPs headed by *tena* which share the same referent. In the first NP *tena* functions as the object of the serial verb *kil rogo* 'try digging'. In the second NP *tena* is modified by a relative clause which further specifies the referent, a kind of yam called *wailu*:

(29) A=ga kil=rogo **tena**, **tena** **na** **e=pi** **wailu**.
1SG.S=IRR dig=feel SBST.DEM SBST.DEM REL 3SG.S=COP yam.sp
'I will try digging this one, this one that is a wailu.'

5.3.2.3 Demonstrative pronoun *tenge*

Like *tena*, *tenge* 'SBST.DEF' is a derived pronoun with a third person referent (see 3.4.2.4, 4.6.2.2). Its base is the determiner *nge* 'DEF'. In contrast to *tena* its referent is abstract, as seen in (30), in which the referent of *tenge* is the narrative that the speaker just produced:

(30) **Tenge** e=pi histri=n jioj nge e=laotapla mato.
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=COP history=POSS:NH church DEF 3SG.S=stand like.this STAT
'This was the history of the church as it stands.'

5.3.3 Determiners as heads

As seen with *tena* and *tenge*, the determiners *na* 'DEM' and *nge* 'DEF' derive pronouns with the substantiviser *te* to head NPs. However, there are instances of determiners functioning as heads of NPs without apparent derivation. This is the case with *skei* 'INDEF', *tete* 'some', and *nge* 'DEF' but it is not attested with *na* 'DEM'. Note that *te* does not combine with *te* 'SBST', Because of a semantic incompatibility between them. *Skei* is inherently indefinite, while *te* creates substantives that are typically definite. In (31) *skei* is the head of an NP. In this example, the speaker assists the hearer who is digging a yam using a digging stick. The hearer spears the yam with his digging stick and breaks out a piece, which prompts the speaker's comment. *Skei* functions as the object of the serial verb *lao p̃ra lwa* 'spear split remove > spear and cut out':

(31) Tetei! Ku=laoɲra lwa **skei!**
mother 2SG.S=spear split removed INDEF
'Gosh! You speared (it) and cut one (piece) out!'

Similarly to *skei*, *tete* 'some' cannot derive a pronoun with *te* as it is inherently indefinite. In (32), *tete* functions as an object NP:

(32) Ar=msau-na lag ar=ga mro paam **tete**.
1DU.EXCL.S=want=3SG.OBJ COMP 1DU.EXCL.S=IRR AGAIN eat some
'We want to eat some again.'

In (33), *nge* functions as the head of an NP. In this example, speakers A and B are in Speaker A's garden. Speaker A gives a reason as to why the soil is sticky by using an adverbial clause of reason introduced with *nlakan* 'because' (see 12.5.2). Speaker B concurs with him by using *nge* as an NP referring to the whole adverbial clause of reason in Speaker's A utterance:

(33) Speaker A:
Nlakan nuwai e=sara taafa naruɱa, e=sara wuru wara.
because water 3SG.S=run inlandwards lake 3SG.S=run pass here

Speaker B:
Ao, e=pi nlakan **nge**.
yes 3SG.S=COP because DEF
Speaker A: 'Because the water runs from the lake up there, and it runs through here.'
Speaker B: 'Yes, that's because of this.'

5.4 Modification within NPs

5.4.1 Pre-NP$_{CORE}$ modification: *sara* 'each'

The pre-modifier *sara* 'each' is the only form able to occur in this slot. Semantically, it is a quantifier, but its unique distribution calls for a different treatment to other quantifying lexemes occurring in the NP. *Sara* is a distributive quantifier which individuates individual members of a given set. Note that it is not a floating quantifier and that it only functions to modify the head of an NP. In (34) and (35) it is the only modifier:

(34) Te=matua agnem ur=tuɱalua **sara** **nali** A=fate na.
SBST=be.old 1PL.EXCL.POSS 3PL.S=leave each place LOC=p.name DEM
'Our ancestors left each place on Efate.'

(35) **Sara** **p̃og**, a=pa-ki n-taakae-na.
each night 1SG.S=go-TR N.SPEC-dance-NMLZ
'Each night, I went to the nightclub.'

There are only few examples of NPs with *sara* occurring with other NP modifiers in texts, thus some combinations of *sara* and NP modifiers were obtained through elicitation. In (36) it occurs with the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS':

(36) **Sara** **nkarkik** **agnou**, ur=po wok Vila.
each child 1SG.POSS 3PL.S=SEQ work p.name
'As for each of my children, they went to work in Vila.'
[elicited]

In (37), *sara* occurs with the adjective *mauna* 'every' and the possessive *agnou* '1SG.POSS'. In this example, *mauna* interacts with *sara* which expresses distributivity by emphasising on the exhaustive plurality of the referent:

(37) **Sara** **nkarkik** **mauna** **agnou**, ur=po wok Vila.
each child every 1SG.POSS 3PL.S=SEQ work p.name
'As for every single child of mine, they went to work in Vila.'
[elicited]

In (38) *sara* occurs with a relative clause. In this example, it individuates members of a set, while the relative clause further specifies the referent by locating it in space:

(38) **Sara** **rarua** **na** **ur=mato** **nakerker** **to**,
each canoe REL 3PL.S=stay.long sand STAT

e=pi te=g natam̃ol ske~skei.
3SG.S=COP SBST=POSS:H person RED~INDEF
'Each canoe that is stationed on the beach belongs to a particular person.'
[elicited]

The textual example in (39) shows *sara* occurring with two other NP modifiers: the reduplicated adjective *fanfanp̃ata* 'different' and a relative clause. This example is taken from a story in which the main characters are looking down a valley planted with banana trees on which many birds are feeding. The referent of *maanu* 'bird' is highly specified: it is modified by the adjective *fanfanp̃̃ata* 'different' to refer to different species of birds, while the relative clause delimits the referent further by reminding what the referent is doing (i.e. eating the bananas).

Finally, *sara* individuates each member of the set constituting the referent (i.e. each different species of birds):

(39) **Sara** **maanu** **fan~fanp̃ata** **na** **ur=to** **pat=ia** **tapla,**
each bird INT~different REL 3PL=IPFV do=3SG.OBJ like.this
'As for each different species of birds that were doing it like that,'

In (40) and (41), *sara* occurs inside possessor NPs in the POSS slot (see 5.4.3). Note that brackets indicate the outer NP boundaries and the internal boundaries of the POSS slot. In (40), *sara* does not have scope over the head of the NP *maanu* 'bird' but modifies the head of the possessor phrase *maanu* 'bird':

(40) Maanu, **[maanu[=n** **sara** **maanu$_{POSS}$]$_{NP}$]** ur=to panei paam=ia.
bird bird=POSS:NH each bird 3PL.S=IPFV come eat=3SG.OBJ
'Birds, birds of each kind came to eat it.'

Similarly, in (41) *sara* occurs inside a possessor phrase, to modify the head *matmai* 'tomorrow' with another modifier, the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS'. The head of the NP is the noun *nawesina* 'work':

(41) Tenge, e=pi **[nawesina[=n** **sara** **matmai** **agnou$_{POSS}$]$_{NP}$]**
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=COP work=POSS:NH each tomorrow 1SG.POSS

a=to pat=ia.
1SG.S=IPFV do=3SG.O
'This, it was my everyday work that I used to do.'

In (42), *sara* is reduplicated. This property sets *sara* apart from many other NP modifiers which cannot be reduplicated.[1] In this example, reduplication serves as an intensifier of the distributive meaning of *sara*, :

(42) **sar~sara** **natam̃ol** ur=to nakamal to.
RED~each person 3PL.S=stay kava.bar STAT
'Every single person is at the kava bar.'
[elicited]

[1] However, certain adjectivals and the determiner *skei* 'INDEF' can be reduplicated.

5.4.2 Modification within NP_{CORE}: ADJ

5.4.2.1 The ADJ slot

The ADJ position is filled by members of two distinct word classes, adjectives and stative intransitive verbs (see 4.5, 8.3.3). Despite differences in their syntactic distribution, adjectives and stative intransitives share the property of modifying nouns. In this section, forms occurring in this slot will be referred to under the label 'adjectivals'. In (43) to (45), intransitive verbs modify nouns in the ADJ slot. In (43), the intransitive verb *wia* 'be good' modifies the head noun *mala* 'time':

(43) Tu=laelae malange, tu=pitlaka **mala** **wia**.
1PL.S.INCL=happy then 1PL.S.INCL=have time be.good
'We were happy then, we had a good time.'

In (44), the intransitive verb *sa* 'be bad' modifies the head noun *srago* 'thing':

(44) Kane e=ga fi **srago** **sa**,
but 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR thing be.bad

e=ga faam tena nm̃au-na e=to=s.
3SG.S=IRR eat:F SBST.DEM feather-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=stay=3OBL
'But if he is a malevolent being, he will eat the one with feathers on.'

In (45), the intransitive verb *frau* 'be long' modifies the head noun *nakai* 'traditional.story':

(45) E=ti pi **nakai** **frau** mau.
3SG.S=NEG COP traditional.story be.long NEG2
'It is not a long story.'

In contrast, in (46) to (49) adjectives modify nouns in the ADJ slot. In (46), the adjective *ftes* 'different' modifies the head noun *naora* 'landing':

(46) E=wus **naora** **ftes** panmei.
3SG.S=follow landing different COME
'He was following the different landings.'

In (47), the adjective *m̃askosko* 'mature' modifies the head noun *natam̃ol* 'people':

(47) Tu=panei pi **natam̃ol** **m̃askosko**.
1PL.INCL.S=come COP people mature
'We became adults.'

In (48), the adjective *fao* 'new' modifies the compound noun *nasum̃a tap* 'church'. Note that *tap* 'be taboo' is an adjectival verb modifying the noun *nasum̃a* 'house. *Nasum̃a tap* is a common collocation that has been lexicalised and is regarded as a compound:

(48) Nlagiot e=pat sa-ki-nia, ur=mro pat **nasum̃a** **tap** **fao**.
cyclone 1PL.S=make be.bad-TR-3SG.OBJ 3PL.S=again make house be.taboo new
'The cyclone destroyed it, they built a new church again.'

In (49), the adjective *naruru* 'cold' modifies the head noun *nuwai* 'water'. Note that in this example, jumping in cold water means getting into trouble:

(49) P̃ete e=lag 'p̃a=mun sei? p̃a=mun sei?
p.name 3SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=drink where 2SG.S:IRR=drink where

Kane ku=sok **nuwai** **naruru**.
but 2SG.S=jump water cold
'P̃ete means 'where should you drink, where should you drink?' But eventually you get into trouble.' (*lit. you jump in cold water*)

5.4.2.2 The adjective phrase

Adjectivals co-occur and are ordered within the NP. While this is difficult to establish from the corpus since co-occurrences of adjectivals are rare, through elicitation coupled with textual data it was possible to test the ordering of adjectivals and determine that the parameters conditioning this ordering are sensitive to their semantic type (see 4.5; Dixon 1977b:31). The following patterns are observed:

1. The adjectivals of value *wia* 'be good' and *sa* 'be bad; very', can function as intensifiers and occur last.
2. The ordering of adjectivals is free when they are of the same semantic type.
3. Adjectivals of dimension and colour and of dimension and age are freely ordered.
4. Adjectivals of colour and age have a fixed order: colour > age.

Pattern 1 is shown in (50) to (59). The adjectival of value *wia* 'be.good' must occur before *taare* 'be white', as seen in (50) and (51):

(50) E=pi **nasuña** **taare wia** **skei**.
3SG.S=COP house be.white be.good INDEF
'It is a nice white house.'
[elicited]

(51) *E=pi **nasuña** **wia taare** **skei**.
3SG.S=COP house be.good be.white INDEF
'It is a nice white house.'
[elicited]

Similarly, in (52) and (53), the adjectival of value *sa* 'be bad' must follow the adjectival of colour *taare* 'be white':

(52) E=pi **koria** **taare sa** **skei**.
3SG.S=COP dog be.white be.bad INDEF
'It is a bad white dog.'
[elicited]

(53) *E=pi **koria** **sa taare** **skei**.
3SG.S=COP dog be.bad be.white INDEF
'It is a bad white dog.'
[elicited]

In (54), *wia* be good' follows *laapa* 'be many', then the possessive *aginta* occurs. However in (55), *aginta* cannot occur between the adjectivals. This shows that *laapa* and *wia* form a constituent in which other word classes cannot occur:

(54) **Noana** **kas** **laapa wia** **aginta** ur=to tako taafa
fruit tree be.many be.good 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=stay outside.yard inlandwards

wara-e to.
here-ADD STAT
'Our many and good fruits are outside of the yard inland there (close to you).'

(55) ***Noana** **kas** **laapa aginta wia** ur=to tako taafa
fruit tree many 1PL.INCL.POSS be.good 3PL.S=stay outside.yard inlandwards

wara-e to.
here-ADD stay
'Our many and good fruits are outside of the yard inland.'
[elicited]

Note that *sa* 'be bad; very' can also function as an intensifier. In (56) and (57), it occurs as an intensifier of the adjectival verb *kiki* 'be small' to give the meaning 'very small', and in (58) with the adjectival verb *kasua* 'be strong', to give the meaning 'very strong':

(56) E=to lega **nalegana kiki sa** **nge** paki wita.
3SG.S=IPFV sing song be.small very DEF to octopus
'He was singing the very short song to the octopus.'

(57) Nalaklak ur=pi**maanu kiki sa** **laapa** **na** **e=to**.
bird.sp 3PL.S=COP bird be.small very be.many REL 3SG.S=stay
'The white-eyes are the many very little birds that stay.'

(58) Marifatu e=pi naota skei na e=pi **naota kasua sa** **skei**.
p.name 3SG.S=COP chief INDEF REL 3SG.S=COP chief be.strong very INDEF
'Marifatu was a chief who was a very authoritarian chief.'

Recall form 4.7.1.2 that *sa* can also be an intensifier of adverbs, as seen in (59):

(59) Ur=faam m̃rafraf **sa**.
3SG.S=eat:F quickly very
'They ate very quickly.'
[elicited]

Pattern 2 is illustrated in (60) and (61). The adjectivals of dimension *p̃ela* 'be big' and *rgona* 'huge' are freely ordered as they belong to the same type:

(60) E=pi **faatu** **p̃ela rgona**.
3SG.S=COP stone big huge
'It is a huge big stone.'
[elicited]

(61) E=pi **faatu** **rgona p̃ela**.
3SG.S=COP stone huge big
'It is a huge big stone.'
[elicited]

Pattern 3 is illustrated in (62) and (63) with *kiki* 'be small' (dimension) and *fao* 'new' (age) which are freely ordered:

(62) E=pi **rarua** **fao** **kiki=g** **Namuan.**
3SG.S=COP canoe be.new be.small=POSS:H p.name
'It is Namuan's new small canoe.'
[elicited]

(63) E=pi **rarua** **kiki** **fao=g** **Namuan.**
3SG.S=COP canoe be.small new=POSS:H p.name
'It is Namuan's new small canoe.'
[elicited]

Pattern 3 is also illustrated in (64) and (65) with the adjectivals of colour *taare* 'be white' and dimension *p̃ela* 'big' being freely ordered:

(64) E=pi **koria** **taare** **p̃ela** **skei.**
3SG.S=COP dog be.white big INDEF
'It is a big white dog.'
[elicited]

(65) E=pi **koria** **p̃ela** **taare** **skei.**
3SG.S=COP dog big be.white INDEF
'It is a big white dog.'
[elicited]

Pattern 4 is illustrated in (66) and (67). The adjectival of colour *taare* 'be white' must occur before the adjectival of age *fao* 'be new':

(66) E=pi **nasum̃a** **taare** **fao** **skei.**
3SG.S=COP house be.white new INDEF
'It is a nice white house.'
[elicited]

(67) *E=pi **nasum̃a** **fao** **taare** **skei.**
3SG.S=COP house new be.white INDEF
'It is a nice white house.'
[elicited]

Based on the data above, a hierarchy of adjective order is suggested in fig. 5.3. It can be compared to the hierarchy proposed in Dixon (1982) given in fig. 5.4. In these hierarchies, ">" indicates left to right precedence. Note that the Lelepa hierarchy does not include some of Dixon's categories (physical property, speed and human propensity), as these were not tested. For the types investigated (age, colour, dimension and value), the two hierarchies are reversed:

In Lelepa, adjectives of colour occur first in the adjective phrase while those of value are last, but Dixon's hierarchy predicts the opposite.

Fig. 5.3 Adjective order in Lelepa

ADJ [- VALUE] > ADJ [+VALUE]
COLOUR > AGE > VALUE

Fig. 5.4 Dixon (1982) hierarchy of adjective order

VALUE > DIMENSION >PHYSICAL PROPERTY > SPEED > HUMAN PROPENSITY > AGE > COLOUR

5.4.3 The POSS slot

This slot is filled by possessive pronominals, personal pronouns, and possessor NPs encoding the possessor of the head noun. Possessor NP follows a possessive enclitic which can be either *=n* 'POSS:NH' or *=g* 'POSS:H' (see 6.4.2, 6.4.3). Possessive pronominals, personal pronouns and possessor NPs are in complementary distribution in the POSS slot, as shown in (68) to (75). Note that *agnou* '1SG.POSS' in (75) is a possessive pronominal:

(68) E=pi **rarua=g** **Thompson.**
3SG.S=COP canoe=POSS:H p.name
'It is Thompson's canoe.'
[elicited]

(69) E=pi **rarua** **nae.**
3SG.S=COP canoe 3SG.POSS
'It is his canoe.'
[elicited]

(70) E=pi **nɸou** **konou.**
3SG.S=COP head 1SG
'It is my head.'
[elicited]

(71) *E=pi **rarua** **nae=g** **Thompson.**
[elicited]

(72) *E=pi **nae** **rarua=g** **Thompson.**
[elicited]

(73) *E=pi **nɸou=n** **konou.**
[elicited]

(74) *E=pi **nɸou=g** **konou.**
[elicited]

(75) *E=pi **nɸou** **konou** **agnou.**
[elicited]

(76) *E=pi **nɸou agnou konou.**
[elicited]

5.4.3.1 Possessive pronominals

Possessive pronominals modify the head noun. They are free forms which encode the person and number of a possessor, as well as alienable, or general, possession. They follow NP_{CORE} in the unmarked order given in fig. 5.1. However, see 6.3.3 for a variation in order in which they precede the head. They can derive pronouns with the substantiviser *te* 'SBST' (see 3.4.2.3). Possessive pronominals can be the only modifiers of the head noun. In (77) *wala* 'spear' is modified by *nae* '3SG.POSS':

(77) E=to se, e=slat **wala nae**, e=sua pa-ki lau.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=carry spear 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=go.down go-TR seawards
'He stayed, then he carried his spear, he went down to the shore.'

Similarly, in (78), the head *taatua* 'paternal grandmother' is modified by *agnou* '1SG.POSS'. The NP *taatua agnou* 'my paternal grandmother' is a left-dislocated topic:

(78) **Taatua agnou**, nagi-na e=pi Lopa.
paternal.gdmother 1SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP p.name
'As for my paternal grandmother, her name is Lopa.'

Possessive pronominals also co-occur with other NP modifiers. In (79) the possessive pronominal *agnem* '1PL.EXCL.POSS' follows the adjectival *tap* 'be taboo':

(79) Wan a=ga ɲat=ia a=ga msaki=s,
if 1SG.S=IRR hit=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=IRR sick=3OBL

nlakan e=pi **nali tap agnem**.
because 3SG.S=COP place be.taboo 1PL.EXCL.POSS
'If I hit it I will be sick with it, because it is our taboo place.'

In (80) to (82), possessive pronominals precede definite and indefinite determiners, which also encode specificity. Since possessive pronominals contribute to a narrow specification of the referent of the NP by marking possession, one may expect that possessives cannot occur with specific determiners, as in languages like French or English which prohibit strings such as

**le/un mon livre* and **the/a my book*. However, in Lelepa possessive pronominals occur with determiners, thus the referent may be redundantly specified:

(80) Gaio, a=ga til **nakai** **agnou** **nge**.
okay 1SG.S=IRR tell folktale 1SG.POSS DEF
'Okay, I'll tell this story of mine.'

(81) **te=matua** **aginta** **skei** na ur=pea lo parkat kinta
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS INDEF REL 3PL.S=first look catch 1PL.INCL
'Some of our elders who first look after us.'

(82) **te=matua** **aginta** **tete**
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS some
"Some of our elders.'
[elicited]

5.4.3.2 Possessor NPs

Possessor NPs are embedded within the main NP. Evidence for embedding is given by the fact that possessor NPs can expand, as shown by (87) and (88). Possessor NPs can be headed by a single noun or a compound noun. They are preceded by either of the two possessive enclitics *=n* 'POSS:NH' or *=g* 'POSS:H' which attach to the last constituent of NP_{CORE}, which can be the head noun or an adjectival. The occurrence of a particular clitic over the other depends on whether the referent of the possessor is human or non-human (see 6.4.2, 6.4.3). In (83) *srago* 'thing' takes the enclitic *=n* 'POSS:NH'. *Srago* is possessed by the non-human possessor *maket* 'market':

(83) Ur=mur suk~suk **srago=n** **maket**.
3PL.S=bring tighten~INT thing=POSS:NH market
'They prepared the market produce.'

In contrast, in (84) *mameia* 'father' takes *=g* 'POSS:H' as it is possessed by the human possessor *Kaltalu* 'p.name':

(84) **Mameia=g** **Kaltalu** e=panei pan pa e=rki konou=s.
father=POSS:H p.name 3SG.S=come GO GO 3SG.S=tell 1SG=3PL.OBJ
'Kaltalu's father came and told me about it.'

When the possessed NP has a complex NP_{CORE}, the possessive enclitic attaches to its final element. In (85) NP_{CORE} is formed with the head noun *mala* 'time' and the adjectival *kasua* 'be hard'. The enclitic *=n* 'POSS:NH' attaches to *kasua*:

(85) **mala** **kasua=n** **slafea** e=kat tika,
time be.hard=POSS:NH before 3SG.S=CERT not.have

napua nag e=m̃la.
road 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=clear
'The hard times of before are gone, your road is clear.'

If a compound noun is the only constituent of an NP, the possessive enclitic attaches to the right edge of the compound. This is shown in (86):

(86) **Marka** **naota=n** **M̃ele** e=lag,
old.man chief=POSS:NH p.name 3SG.S=say

"e=wia, a=pitlaka nan-go ur=piralma skei."
3SG.S=be.good 1SG.S=have offspring-1SG.POSS 3PL.S=COP ten one
'The old chief of M̃ele said, "that's good, I have ten children."'

As shown in fig. 5.2, determiners and relative clauses can follow the POSS slot. In (87), the definite determiner *nge* follows the possessor NP *Saone* 'p.name':

(87) Nae, **[[P̃laka=n Saone]** **nge,]** e=lao m̃aleputa=n napua.
3SG rail=POSS:NH p.name DEF 3SG.S=stand middle=POSS:NH road
'As for him, the buff-banded rail from Saone, he stood in the middle of the road.'

However, it is also possible for NP modifiers occurring finally to modify the head of the possessor NP rather than the head of the possessed NP. In (88), the possessor NP *natrausina agnou* 'story 1SG.POSS' is embedded within the main NP headed by *nanou* 'end':

(88) E=pi **[nanou=n** **[natrausina** **agnou.]]**
3SG.S=COP end=POSS:NH story 1SG.POSS
'It is the end of my story.'

5.4.4 Determiners

5.4.4.1 Indefinite specific *skei* 'INDEF'

Recall form 4.12.1.1 that the function of *skei* is to modify the head noun of an NP to mark it as indefinite and specific. In (89), *skei* is the only modifier of the head *rarua* 'canoe'. Here, the

referent of *rarua* is not accessible to the speaker and the hearer. The canoe does not exist except in an indefinite form in the mind of the speaker and possibly of the hearer. In addition, it is specific as the referent is an individual member of the class of canoes:

(89) Kinta ta=ga fa ta **rarua** **skei** malmauna.
1PL.INCL 1DU.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR cut canoe INDEF now
'Let's cut a canoe now.'

In (90), it follows the adjectival *kiki* 'be small', occurring after NP_{CORE}. In contrast with (89), here the referent of the NP is accessible to the speaker but not to the hearer:

(90) e=pi **naure** **kiki** **skei** e=to mlatig-ki Tahiti.
3SG.S=COP island be.small INDEF 3SG.S=stay close-TR p.name
'It is a small island close to Tahiti.'

In (91), *skei* occurs with the possessive *aginta* '1PL.INCL.POSS'. This is noteworthy as possessed nouns can be viewed as definite, especially with a second and third person possessor. Thus there could be a mismatch between *skei* marking the referent as indefinite and a possessive contributing definiteness. However, in (91) this is not the case, as the indefinite but specific referent is not accessible to the hearer. Note also that the referent is a part of a definite whole, as *naluokia* 'proverb' constitutes a definite group, while *skei* marks the referent as an indefinite and specific part of this whole:

(91) **Naluokia** **aginta** **skei**, e=til=ia lag,
proverb 1PL.EXCL.POSS INDEF 3SG.S=tell=3SG.OBJ say

'ku=pa lwa taptap, pakoa e=po paam=ko.'
2SG.S=go removed float shark 3SG.S=SEQ eat=2SG.OBJ
'As for one of our proverbs, it says, 'You let go of your float, then the sharks eat you.'

In (92) *skei* occurs with a relative clause introduced by the relativiser *na* 'REL':

(92) Go e=pi **naleati** **skei**
and 3SG.S=COP day INDEF

na **tu=gati** **tae** **tap̃argor=ea** **mau**.
REL 1PL.INCL.S=IRR NEG can forget=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'And it is a day that we cannot forget.'

In (93) *skei* occurs with the possessive *agnou* '1SG.POSS' and a relative clause.[2] Here, *skei* marks indefiniteness while both the possessive pronominal and the relative clause contribute in making the NP specific. However, there is no mismatch here: the speaker uses *skei* as he recognises that the referent of the NP (i.e., the prawns) is not accessible to the hearer:

(93) A=to plag
1SG.S=IPFV search

ura agnou skei a=trus=ia to wara to,
prawn 1SG.POSS INDEF 1SG.S=leave=3SG.OBJ stay here STAT

kane e=kat pueli.
but 3SG.S=CERT be.gone
'I'm looking for my prawns that I left here, but they're gone.'

5.4.4.2 Indefinite specific *tete* 'some'

The other indefinite determiner is *tete* 'some'. Like *skei*, it marks an NP as indefinite and specific. In addition, it has a quantifying function as it encodes that the referent is of a small quantity. It mostly functions as a modifier of the head noun, but can also function as an NP, as discussed in 5.3.3. In (94) it follows the adjective *fao* 'new':

(94) Nasuña e=laapa, nasuña p̃ela, nasuña kiki, **nasuña fao tete.**
house 3SG.S=be.many house big house be.small house new some
'There were many buildings, big buildings, small buildings, some new buildings.'

In (82) it follows the possessive pronominal *aginta* '1PL.INCL.POSS':

(95) So **te=matua aginta tete** naara ur=po loṕa=e,
so SBST=be.old 1SG.POSS some 3PL 3PL.S=SEQ see=3SG.OBJ

ur=po loṕa faatu nge.
3PL.S=SEQ see stone DEF
'So some of our elders then saw it, they saw the stone.'

In (96) it precedes a relative clause introduced by *na* 'REL':

[2] Unlike (92), the relative clause is not introduced by *na*. Relativisers are optional, and this example could be analysed either as a main clause and a relative clause or as two separate clauses. However, intonation disambiguates structures such as in (93) (see 12.6.1). This clause is part of a single intonation phrase, with no pauses, thus it is analysed as a single clause.

(96) Nafarkal nge ur=to se
bush.spirit DEF 3PL.S=stay while

ur=silf **nmal** **nkas** **tete** **na** **e=roa** **wan** **napua**.
3PL.S=enter trunk tree some REL 3SG.S=fall lie road
'The bush spirits stayed and got inside the trunk of some tree which fell down on the road.'

5.4.4.3 Definite specific *nge* 'DEF'

Nge marks a head noun as definite and specific. It is typically used with previously mentioned referents (see 4.12.1.2). It occurs in the slot immediately after POSS as shown in (97) to (101). In (97) *nge* marks the head noun *nakai* 'traditional story' as definite:

(97) **Nakai** **nge** e=tapla.
folktale DEF 3SG.S=like.this
'The story goes like this.'

In (98) the proper noun *Matnarfarfa* 'p.name' is modified by *nge*. This is noteworthy, as referents of proper nouns are inherently definite and specific. In this example, the NP headed by *Matnarfarfa* is a left-dislocated topic, and the occurrence of *nge* increases its pragmatic prominence:

(98) **Matnarfarfa** **nge**, nagi-nae=rua: Matnarau, Matnarfarfa.
p.name DEF name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=two p.name p.name
'As for Matnarfarfa, it has two names: Matnarau, Matnarfarfa.'

In (99) and (100) *nge* occurs immediately after the adjectivals *fea* 'be first' in (99) and *wia* 'be good' in (100):

(99) P̃a=false raus **rarua** **fea** **nge**.
2SG.S:IRR=paddle:IRR follow canoe be.first DEF
'You will paddle following the first canoe.'

(100) **Roaleo** **wia** **nge** e=to pan.
clamour be.good DEF 3SG.S=IPFV go
'The great clamour was going on.'

In (101) *nge* occurs to specify a complex NP_{CORE} with the two adjectivals *kiki* 'be small' and *sa* 'be bad; very'. Note that *sa* functions as an intensifier of the first adjectival *kiki* (see 5.4.2.2):

(101) E=loŋa=e se **nkas** **kiki** **sa** **nge,**
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP tree be.small very DEF

lima e=mato=s to.
five 3SG.S=stay=3OBL STAT
'He saw that out of these very little pieces of wood, five remained there.'

In (102) *nge* is followed by a relative clause introduced by *na*:

(102) Taos **te=laapa** **kasu** **nge** **na** **ur=tu** **a=fate** **na** **tu,**
thus SBST=many too.much DEF REL 3PL.S=stay LOC=p.name DEM STAT

ur=pa-ki naure pan.
3PL.S=go-TR island go
'Thus as for too many of those who lived on Efate, they went to the small island.'

5.4.4.4 Demonstrative *na* 'DEM'

The demonstrative *na* functions as a modifier of the head of an NP and is homophonous with the relativiser *na* 'REL' (see 5.4.5, 12.6). Prototypically, this determiner is used to designate an item visually accessible to both the speaker and the addressee, with the speaker pointing to it with fingers or eyebrows (see 4.12.2.1). This is shown in (103) below, where the speaker uses *na* to modify the head *kano* 'man' while simultaneously pointing at the referent of that NP:

(103) Kano e=mro tau, e=pi kuk,
man 3SG.S=AGAIN stay 3SG.S=COP cook

e=pi *chef* *de* *cuisinier,* **kano** **na**.
3SG.S=COP chef of cook man DEM
'The man who's there, he's the cook, he's the chef, this man (pointing).'

In (104) *na* follows the adjectival *memi* 'be ripe'. In contrast to (103), it does not refer to a visually accessible item; however, the referent is accessible to both the speaker and hearer as it has been previously established in the narrative:

(104) Ar=lo pa-ki tan tapla,
3DU.S=look go-TR down like.this

se maanu ur=to pat **nati** **memi** **na**.
while bird 3PL.S=IPFV make banana ripe DEM
'They looked down like this, while birds were eating these ripe bananas.'

5.4.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) occur in last position in the NP, as seen in figs. 5.1 and 5.2. They specify the head noun or head pronoun of an NP. While a detailed discussion of relative clauses is held up until 12.6, this section shows the co-occurrence of RCs and other NP modifiers. In (105), the relative clause introduced with *na* 'REL' occurs with the adjective *fao* 'new':

(105) Ur=pnak **rarua** **fao** **na** **Tafmanu** **e=mnae** **pat=ia.**
3PL.S=steal canoe new REL p.name 3SG.S=3SG.BEN make=3SG.OBJ
'They stole the new canoe that Tafmanu made for him.'
[elicited]

In (106), the relative clause introduced by *na* occurs after the possessive pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS':

(106) **Tai** **kiki** **agnou** **na** **e=to** **Mlakula** **to,**
sibling be.small 1SG.POSS REL 3SG.S=stay p.name STAT

nae e=sor nmaloku.
3SG 3SG.S=sell kava
'As for my younger brother who lives in Malakula, he sells kava.'
[elicited]

In (107), a relative clause introduced with *na* follows the determiner *nge* 'DEF':

(107) E=seiki **nkas** **nge** **na** **e=pat=ia** **pi** **rarua.**
3SG.S=push wood DEF REL 3SG.S=do=3SG.OBJ COP canoe
'He launched the pieces of wood that he made into a canoe.'

The relativiser *na* is homophonous with the demonstrative *na*. Although these two forms may be historically related, synchronically they are separate lexemes. This is shown in (108) below in which both the demonstrative and the relativiser co-occur. The first occurrence of *na* is the demonstrative occuring in the DET slot, and the second occurrence of *na* is the relativiser introducing the relative clause:

(108) **Sara** **maanu** **fan~fanp̃at** **na** **na** **ur=to** **pat=ia** **tapla,**
each bird INT~be.different DEM REL 3PL.S=IPFV make=3SG.OBJ like.this
'Each of these different species of birds which were doing it like this,'

5.5 Functions of NPs

According to their position in the basic and extended clause (see 7.1.2), and to whether their head is a noun or a pronoun, NPs bear different grammatical and pragmatic functions. In the basic clause, NPs tend to bear grammatical functions such as subject, object and oblique, while in the extended clause, they tend to have pragmatic functions relating to the prominence of their referent in the discourse (see 5.5.2, 7.6). However, note that subject NPs occur in the basic clause for pragmatic reasons, and that the extended clause is not reserved to NPs with pragmatic functions, since adjunct NPs also occur in that position (see 7.5).

5.5.1 Grammatical functions

5.5.1.1 Subject NPs

Subject NPs immediately precede subject proclitics, with which they are co-referential. They are prosodically unmarked and part of the intonation phrase of the basic clause (in contrast with left-dislocated NPs, see 7.6.2). Subject NPs occur when their referent is introduced for the first time in discourse, or when there is a switch in topic. Thus, although they are grammatical subjects, their occurrence is conditioned by pragmatic factors (see 5.5.2.1, 7.6.2.1). Subject NPs can be NP_N, as in (109) and (110):

(109) Mala **misi** **Peter** **Milne** e=panei pa-ki A=guna,
when missionary p.name p.name 3SG.S=come go.TR LOC=p.name

A=guna, ur=ti pi te=lotu rog mau.
LOC=p.name 3PL.S=NEG COP SBST=pray feel NEG2
'When the Missionary Peter Milne came to Nguna, in Nguna, they weren't Christians.

(110) **Tama-p̃al-ra** **skei** ar=mato A=siwo warampa.
DYAD-brother-3PL.POSS INDEF 3DU.S=stay.long LOC=p.name there.forward
'Two brothers lived in Siwo there.'

Subject NPs can also be NP_{PRO}, in which case the head can be a personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun. In (111), the personal pronoun *konon* '1SG' is the subject of the verb *to* 'stay':

(111) **Konou** a=to natkon kiki sa na to,
1SG 1SG.S=stay village be.small very DEM STAT

nagi-na e=pi Magatorua.
name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP p.name
'I live in this very small village, its name is Mangatorua.'

In (112) the demonstrative pronoun *tena* 'SBST.DEM' heads an NP which is the subject of the copula *pi* 'COP'. As the referent of the NP is unknown to the hearer, *tena* is modified by a relative clause in order to specify its referent more narrowly:

(112) **Tena** **na** **e=to** e=pi Totokiki.
SBST.DEM REL 3SG.S=stay 3SG.S=COP p.name
'This one who is there is Totokiki.'

5.5.1.2 Object NPs

In contrast to subject NPs, object NPs do not occur with a co-referential clitic: objects are encoded either with an NP or an enclitic. However, like subject NPs, they occur when their referent is mentioned for the first time in the discourse. They can be NP_N or NP_{PRO}. In (113) there are two NP_N functioning as the objects of the verbs *tae* 'know':

(113) Misi e=kat pat=ra na-lotu-ki sũpe-na,
missionary 3SG.S=CERT make=3PL.OBJ N.SPEC-pray-TR God-NMLZ

go kanei ur=ga tae **sũpe**,
and how 3PL.S=IRR know God

go ur=ga tae **na-fsa-na** **tap** **nae**.
and 3PL.S=IRR know N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ be.taboo 3SG.POSS
'The missionary was training them in Christian worshipping, and how they would know God, and they would know his word.'

In (114), the personal pronoun *kinta* '1PL.INCL' occurs twice and heads two NP_{PRO}s functioning as the objects of the transitive verbs *fkas* 'chase:IRR' and *faam* 'eat:F':

(114) E=ga fkas **kinta**, e=ga faam **kinta**.
3SG.S=IRR chase:IRR 1PL.INCL 3SG.S=IRR eat:F 1PL.INCL
'He will chase us, he will eat us.'

In (115) the demonstrative pronoun *tena* 'SBST.DEM' heads an NP_{PRO} functioning as the object of the serial verb *lo tae* 'recognise'. It is modified by a relative clause introduced by *na* 'REL':

(115) ku=lo tae **tena** **na** **e=to**?
2SG.S=look know SBST.DEM REL 3SG.S=stay
'Do you recognise this one who is there?'

5.5.1.3 Oblique NPs

Oblique NPs are added to intransitive and transitive clauses. They encode locations and instruments and follow intransitive verbs or objects of transitive verbs. When oblique NPs are added to intransitive clauses, no transitive derivation of the intransitive verb is required (see 7.4.2.2, 7.4.4.4). In contrast to adjuncts, they occur before clause-final particles and are not introduced by prepositions. In (116), the NP *sara nalia* is an oblique following the intransitive verb *tum̃alua* 'leave':

(116) Ao, taos=ia mala=n tuei,
1SG.S=IRR like=3SG.OBJ time=POSS:NH long.ago

te=matua aginta ur=tum̃alua **sara** **nalia** A=fate na.
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=leave each place LOC=p.name DEM
'Yes, thus long ago, our ancestors left from each place in Efate.'

5.5.1.4 Adjunct NPs

Some adjunct NPs are introduced by prepositions and thus are objects of prepositional phrases (see 4.8, 7.5). In (117), *kinta* '1PL.INCL' is the object of the preposition *paki* 'to':

(117) A=ga traus=ia **paki** **kinta** malmauna.
1SG.S=IRR recount=3SG.O to 1PL.INCL now
'I will tell it to us now.'

Other adjuncts are bare NPs identifiable as such according to their position. They follow basic clause-final particles and are part of the extended clause (see 7.1.2). In (118), *wan wik nge* follows the stative particle *to* 'STAT' which marks the end of the basic clause:

(118) Au=to Tahiti to **wan** **wik** **nge.**
1PL.EXCL.S=stay p.name STAT one week DEF
'We stayed in Tahiti for that week.'

5.5.2 Pragmatic and discourse functions

It is important to understand pragmatics and information structure to analyse occurrences and uses of NPs (Erteshik-Shir 2007:1-2). NPs bearing pragmatic or 'discourse' functions such as

topic, contrastive topic, focus, first mention and switch topic are briefly shown here (see 7.6 for definitions and a more detailed discussion of these phenomena). In Lelepa, these functions are manifested through particular constructions (left- and right-dislocation, filling of the subject NP slot, occurrences of topic particles) and also whether NPs are lexical or pronominal.

5.5.2.1 Subject NP position

The subject NP position is filled when the referent of the NP is mentioned for the first time in a narrative. In this case the head noun is often marked as indefinite with *skei* 'INDEF' (see 4.12.1.1). This is seen in (119), in which *nmatuna* 'thing' is the head of a subject NP. It is modified with *skei* and yields the meaning 'something':

(119) Ar=laka=e lag **nmatuna** **skei** e=mato a=mãe,
3DU.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP thing INDEF 3SG.S=stay.long LOC=far

e=to sale panmei.
3SG.S=IPFV drift COME
'They saw that something was afar, it was drifting towards them.'

References with an inherently high level of definiteness such as proper nouns do not take *skei* when they occur as first mentions in subject position, as in (120):

(120) 1870, go **Peter** **Milne** e=po panei.
1870 and p.name p.name 3SG.S=SEQ come
'(It was) 1870, and then Peter Milne came.'

5.5.2.2 Lexical vs. pronominal realisation of NPs

NPs have head nouns when the referent is mentioned for the firts time in discourse or when there is a switch in topic and a previously established referent becomes the current topic. In (121), the referent of the first NP is a first-mention. The head is a noun marked as indefinite with *skei* 'INDEF' as the referent is not accessible to the hearer:

(121) E=pi **marka** **naota** **skei** to malange,
3SG.S=COP old.man chief INDEF STAT then

nagi-na e=pi **marka** **naota** **Marfaatu**.
name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP old.man chief p.name
'There was a chief then, his name was Chief Marfaatu.'

NPs also encode topic continuity and topic switch. Topic continuity corresponds to the use of an NP to encode a referent which is a current topic but has not been encoded by an NP recently. In contrast, a topic switch occurs when a previous topic that hasn't been referred to recently becomes the current topic (Andrews 2007a:149). Example (122) is an example of topic continuity. It is taken from a narrative about missionaries in the Lelepa region. The NP *Pita Milne* 'Peter Milne' occurs twice to encode topic continuity. Peter Milne was the first missionary stationed in Nguna, and is established as a topic earlier in the narrative. The subject proclitic *e=* '3SG.S' in the first clause refers to him. It doesn't occur with a co-referential subject NP in this clause because it is not a first mention and has been established as a topic previously. However, in the following clauses the subject NP *Pita Milne* occurs twice, so that the previously established topic remains current:

(122) E=po panei pa-ki A=guna,
3SG.S=SEQ come go-TR LOC=p.name

go **Pita** **Milne** e=lao A=guna, 1870 nge,
and p.name p.name 3SG.S=stand LOC=p.name 1870 DEF

atlag e=pi tsulae, namba 19 tsulae
month 3SG.S=COP July number 19 July

Pita **Milne** e=lao A=guna.
p.name p.name 3SG.S=stand LOC=p.name
'He came to Nguna, and Peter Milne appeared in Nguna, in 1870, it was the month of July, the 19 July, Peter Milne appeared in Nguna.'

NPs can also be realised by personal pronouns (see 5.2.2). When this occurs, the referents of these pronouns tend to be human. In (123) and (124), the personal pronouns and subject proclitics of the first and second clauses are co-referential. In the second clauses the personal pronouns do not occur, and the subject proclitics remain. Personal pronouns establish the subject as topic, and once this is done full pronouns do not need to be repeated:

(123) **Naara** **ar=**to pan pan pa, **ar=**ptolo.
3PL 3DU.S=stay go GO GO 3DU.S=hungry
'They stayed for a while, then they got hungry.'

(124) **Konou$_i$** **a$_i$=**panei to Magaliliu to mala kiki,
1SG 1SG.S=come stay p.name STAT time small

a=msou=na lag a=ga til naluokia tolu.
1SG.S=want=3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR tell proverb three
'I came to stay in Mangaliliu for a short time, I want to tell three proverbs.'

5.5.2.3 Left-dislocated NPs

Left-dislocated NPs can be subjects, objects, obliques and possessors (see fig. 7.2, 7.6.2). Their referents are accessible and identifiable to the interlocutors as they have been previously mentioned in the discourse. The function of self-dislocation is to contrast a referent against another referent. In (125), the speaker comments on several small groups who gathered to prepare a village feast. The NP headed by *tena* refers to one of these small groups, and *tena* is specified by a relative clause in order for its referent to be singled out amongst the other groups performing similar tasks. In addition, it is left-dislocated so that it can be contrastive:

(125) **Tena** **na** **ur=tapla** **wan,** ur=to mas naɲas.
SBST.DEM REL 3PL.S=like.this lie 3PL.S=IPFV cut meat
'As for those who lie down like this, they are cutting meat.'

5.5.2.4 Right-dislocated NPs

Right-dislocated NPs are also part of the extended clause and have their own prosody. Their function is to re-code a referent in a more precise manner, so that the speaker is sure that the referent of the right dislocated NP is fully accessible to the hearer (see 7.6.3). In (126), *tena* is a right-dislocated subject NP:

(126) E=kis noas, **tena**.
3SG.S=press island.cabbage SBST.DEM
'She spreads island cabbage, this one.'

5.5.2.5 Pronouns modified with *na* 'DEM'

Pronouns modified by the demonstrastive *na* also mark their referent as contrastive topics. In (127) and (128), *na* occurs in NP_{PRO}s in subject NP position. They follow co-referential left-dislocated NPs. Thus both examples show a combination of contrasting strategies: left dislocation and the use of *na*:

(127) Maika Fartaɲar, **nae na** e=pat nasuɱa tap nge.
p.name p.name 3SG DEM 3SG.S=do house be.taboo DEF
'As for Maika Fartaɲar, he made the church.'

(128) Konou a=ga fi walak, kutu,
1SG 1SG.S=IRR COP:IRR climbing.rope louse

nae na e=ga fatu konou; e=ga fag pa-ki lag.
3SG DEM 3SG.S=IRR step:IRR 1SG 3SG.S=IRR climb:IRR go-TR up
'I will be the climbing rope, as for Louse, he will step on me; he will climb to the top.'

Personal pronouns modified with *na* 'DEM' are not limited to being subjects. In (129), *kinta* '1PL.INCL' heads an object NP. Like in (127) and (128), the occurrence of *na* 'DEM' to modify the pronoun *kinta* marks a switch in topic:

(129) E=polsal **kinta na** to.
3SG.S=lie 1PL.INCL DEM STAT
'He lied to us (i.e. not to someone else).'

Chapter 6 – Possession

6.1 Introduction

Lelepa has several possessive constructions differing in their semantics, as they encode different types of possessive relationships. They also differ according to whether the possessor is encoded with an NP or a free or bound pronominal. Oceanic languages are known to use several strategies to mark possession according to the type of possessive relationship existing between the possessor and the possessum (Lynch 1973, Lichtenberk 1985, Crowley 1996, Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40), and often have two types of possessive constructions, termed 'direct' and 'indirect'. These two types denote each poles of an inalienability/alienability semantic opposition. In direct possessive constructions, the possessor is encoded with a suffix on the possessed noun, as seen in the Fijian example (1)a (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40). In contrast, in the indirect possessive construction in (1)b the possessor is encoded with a separate possessive constituent occurring with the uninflected possessed noun. Semantically, direct possession tends to be associated with inalienability, and indirect possession with alienability (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40-41).

(1) a. na mata-**qu**
ART eye-1SG
'my eye'

b. na no-**qu** vale
house POSS-1SG.POSS house
'my house'
[Fijian; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40]

6.2 Overview of possessive constructions

In Lelepa, there are possessive constructions that can be called direct possessive constructions, as seen in (2)a. In contrast, indirect possessive constructions are not attested. While (2)b expresses the semantic range that is normally denoted by indirect possessive constructions in other Oceanic languages, the pronominal *agnou* '1SG.POSS' is synchronically non-analysable and regarded as a portmanteau morpheme:

(2) a. nɲou**-go**
head-1SG.POSS
'my head'

b. nasuña **agnou**
house 1SG.POSS
'my house'
[elicited]

In addition, consider the construction in (3). It is semantically equivalent to (2)a, and like (2)a the possessor is pronominal, but encoded by a personal pronoun (see 4.6.1) instead of a suffix. If one was to consider (2)b an indirect possessive construction, then (3) could probably be as well, because in both examples the possessums are expressed by uninflected nouns, while the possessors are expressed by separate morphemes. However, (2)b and (3) do not have equivalent semantics, as (2)b encodes the semantics of indirect constructions in other languages (i.e. alienability), while (3) has the same semantics as direct constructions (i.e. inalienability):

(3) nɲou **konou**
head 1SG
'my head'
[elicited]

Lelepa has similar grammatical distinctions with parallel semantic associations to Fijian and many other Oceanic languages. However, (2)b shows a major grammatical difference in the lack of possessive marker, and (3) shows that the semantic associations do not match. For these reasons the direct/indirect possession contrast usually used in the Oceanic literature will not be used in here, since it does not give a reliable model to account for the Lelepa system. Instead, each possessive construction and their semantics will be described separately, without being grouped under the labels 'direct construction' and 'indirect construction'.

Except for the construction involving the local possessor noun *kia-* 'LOCAL' (see 6.5), the different possessive constructions are shown in table 6.1 (N stands for noun, PRO for pronoun, POSS for possessive pronominal and SUF for suffix, subscripts indicate the role of the referent). The constructions are distinguished according to their semantics and to whether the possessor is encoded pronominally or with a noun:

- Inalienable possession is used for possession of closely related items (body parts, body products, kin, voice, smell, photo depicting the possessor, etc), and is expressed with possessor-indexing suffixes occurring on the possessum noun (see 6.3.1, table 6.2). An alternative construction with equivalent semantics uses a personal pronoun postposed to the possessum (see 6.3.2, table 4.13).
- General possession is used for possession of other items, such as material goods, but also kin (when the kin is encoded with a vocative, see 4.2.4, table 4.5) and other attributes (language, thoughts, etc). It is expressed with possessive pronominals (see 6.3.3, table 6.3).
- Associative possession is a subpart of general possession rather than a separate semantic category since general and associative possession are encoded with the same construction with nominal possessors (see 6.3.4, 6.4.2, 6.4.3).

	Semantics		
	Inalienable possession	**General possession**	**Associative possession**
Pronominal possessor	**$N_{POSSESSUM}$-SUF$_{POSSESSOR}$** namta-go eye-1SG.POSS 'my eyes(s)' **$N_{POSSESSUM}$ PRO$_{POSSESSOR}$** namta konou eye 1SG 'my eye(s)'	**$N_{POSSESSUM}$ POSS$_{POSSESSOR}$** nafsana nae language 3SG.POSS 'his language'	**$N_{POSSESSUM}$ nag-SUF$_{POSSESSOR}$** nafsana nag-na language ASS-3SG.POSS 'the story associated to it/him'
Nominal possessor	**$N_{POSSESSUM}$ $N_{POSSESSOR}$** namta kano na eye man DEM 'this man's eye(s)'	**$N_{POSSESSUM}$=n $N_{POSSESSOR\ [-HUMAN]}$** nafsana=n Erakor language=POSS.NH p.name 'the language of Erakor' **$N_{POSSESSUM}$=g $N_{POSSESSOR\ [+HUMAN]}$** nafsana=g te=taare language=POSS.H SBST=be.white 'the language of the white people'	

Table 6.1. Possessive constructions

6.3 Pronominal possessor

6.3.1 Inalienable possession: $N_{possessum}$-$SUF_{possessor}$

This construction reflects the direct construction found in many Oceanic languages, as the possessor is encoded with a possessor-indexing suffix on the possessum noun. Possessor-indexing suffixes (table 6.2) encode the possessor in person and number. Like with objects, dual is not encoded for possessors, and there are no means for constructing a dual possessor. The third person singular suffix has three allomorphs. The liquid-initial allomorphs are distributed following a process of liquid assimilation whereby the consonant of the suffix assimilates to the final consonant of the root if it is a liquid, with {*-la*} and {*-ra*} occurring on liquid-final nouns as in (6) and (7), while {*-na*} occurs on all other roots, as in (4) and (5).

	1INC	1EXC	2	3
SG	**-**	*-go*	*-m̃a*	*-na~la~ra*
PL	*-gta*	*-gam*	*-mu*	*-ra*

Table 6.2. Possessor-indexing suffixes

This construction denotes a relationship of inalienability between the possessor and the possessum. That is, the relationship is not subjected to any sort of control on the part of the possessor or possessum. For instance, body parts and kin are an integral part of the possessor's body or family, and so are possessed with this construction. Even when body parts are separated from their owner's body or kin have passed away, the inalienable nature of the possessive relationship remains and is marked accordingly. Recall that nouns occurring in this construction are called bound nouns as they take possessor-indexing suffixes (see 3.2.1, table 3.1). Commonly, bound nouns refer to body parts, body products, parts of wholes, kin, and items closely associated to the possessor. Examples (4) to (7) show possessed body parts:

(4) Fakna, **namta-m̃a** **naro-m̃a**, p̃a=to lo.
p.name eye-2SG.POSS heart-2SG.POSS 2SG.S:IRR=IPFV look
'Fakna, (open) your eyes (and) your heart, keep on looking.'

(5) Tuaraka e=kat sasake to **npap-na** to se ar=kat roa,
p.name 3SG.S=CERT sit STAT shoulder-3SG.POSS STAT while 3DU.S=CERT fall

ar=kat suk to napua to.
3DU.S=CERT be.hard stay road STAT
'Tuaraka was seating on her shoulder while they (two) fell, they (two) were petrified on the road.'

(6) E=lag ar=per **nalul-la** pan pa,
3SG.S=say 3DU.S=braid hair-3SG.POSS GO GO
'It says that they braided his hair on and on,'

(7) Matakutalo e=mro pan selki **nar-ra.**
p.name 3SG.S=AGAIN go wave hand-3SG.POSS
'Matakutalo leaves again, he waves his hand.'

Examples (8) to (10) show possession of nouns referring to closely associated items:

(8) **Melu-na** e=wan nuwai wa.
reflection-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=lie water DEM
'His reflection was on the water.'

(9) E=rog tae **nalo-na**, e=to tagi.
3SG.S=hear know voice-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=IPFV weep
'She recognised her voice, she was weeping.'

(10) Srago nge e=tau we! **Nãpo-na** e=to fif sak.
things DEF 3SG.S=stay EMPH smell-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=IPFV waft go.up
'Wow, the things that were there! Their smell was wafting up.'

Obligatorily possessed kin terms cannot occur without a possessor-indexing suffix, unlike other bound nouns. Further, while a number of bound nouns can occur in different possessive constructions, kin terms lack this flexibility. As shown in (11) to (13), the kin term *ati-* 'paternal grandmother' can only be possessed inalienably and cannot occur outside of a possessive construction:

(11) Tu=ga ti taos Tuaraka ma **ati-na** mau.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR NEG like p.name and maternal.gdmother-3SG.POSS NEG2
'We will not be like Tuaraka and her maternal grandmother.'

(12) *Tu=ga ti taos Tuaraka ma **ati** **nae** mau.
1PL.INC.S=IRR NEG like p.name and maternal.gdmother 3SG.POSS NEG2
'We will not be like Tuaraka and her maternal grandmother.'
[elicited]

(13) *Tu=ga ti taos Tuaraka ma **ati** mau.
1PL.INC.S=IRR NEG like p.name and maternal.gdmother NEG2
'We will not be like Tuaraka and the maternal grandmother.'
[elicited]

6.3.2 Inalienable possession: $N_{possessum}$ $PRO_{possessor}$

In this construction, the possessum noun is followed by a personal pronoun (see table 4.13, 4.6.1) which encodes the possessor, as in (14)a. It is semantically equivalent to the possessive construction in (14)b, thus both constructions encode inalienability. (14)c shows that personal pronouns cannot encode possessors when the possessed noun is a free noun, and (14)d shows that free nouns are possessed with possessive pronominals instead (see 6.3.3):

(14) a. nɲ̃ou **konou**
head 1SG
'my head'

b. nɲ̃ou**-go**
head-1SG.POSS
'my head'

c. *rarua **konou**
canoe 1SG
'my canoe'

d. rarua **agnou**
canoe 1SG.POSS
'my canoe'
[elicited]

Recall from 4.6.1 that personal pronouns mostly function as arguments of predicates. However, in (15), the personal pronoun *kinta* '1PL.INCL' occurs twice, first encoding a subject, then a possessor:

(15) **Kinta** tu=pitlak kutu e=to **nɲou** **kinta,**
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.S=have louse 3SG.S=stay head 1PL.INCL

nlakan e=pi kutu nge na,
because 3SG.S=COP louse DEF DEM

e=lao nɲou marka mutuama.
3SG.S=stand head old.man ogre
'We have lice on our heads because of Louse, he stood on the ogre's head.'

Currently, Lelepa has two semantically equivalent constructions to encode inalienable possession. Given that the language has the well-established possessor-indexing suffix (or direct) construction, why has the personal pronoun construction arisen in the language? Since the construction with possessor-indexing suffix, or direct construction, is found in the majority of Oceanic languages, the construction with personal pronouns is likely to be an independent innovation. It is not described in the closely related languages South Efate (Thieberger 2006), Nguna (Schütz 1969) and Namakir (Sperlich 1991), and neither it is in more distant Vanuatu languages such as Lewo (Early 1994), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), or Abma (Schneider 2010), amongst others. In Lelepa, although it is found in the speech of most speakers, younger speakers tend to use it almost exclusively and strongly disfavour the possessor-indexing suffix construction, except when the possessor is third person singular. In this case, speakers tend to use the possessor-indexing suffix construction and encode the possessor with *–na* '3SG.POSS'. These two possessive constructions show a change in progress which is not affecting the whole system yet. This change can be viewed as a move towards standardising possessive constructions, from the current system showing a mix of inflectional and analytical strategies, towards a situation expressing possession with analytical constructions only.

6.3.3 General possession: $N_{possessum}$ $POSS_{possessor}$

In this construction, the possessed noun is followed by a free possessive pronominal (see table 6.3) encoding the possessor in person and number. Free possessive pronominals are not pronouns since they cannot function as NPs. They modify heads of NPs (see 5.4.3.1), and can be derived as possessive pronouns with the substantiviser *te* (see 3.4.2.3).

	1INCL	**1EXCL**	**2**	**3**
SG	**-**	*agnou*	*nag*	*nae*
PL	*aginta*	*agnem*	*agmu*	*naara*

Table 6.3. Free possessive pronominals

Semantically, this construction encodes a general possessive relationship, in contrast with those encoding inalienability discussed in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2. Generally, the possessor in this construction is human:

(16) A=to **natkon** **agnou** Allaapa.
1SG.S=stay village 1SG.POSS p.name
'I live in my village in Lelepa.'

(17) E=to se, e=pa-ki **farea** **nae** tapla,
3sg.s=stay while 3SG.S=go-TR chiefly.house 3SG.POSS like.this

e=lag pu **tagot** **nae** tapla,
3SG.S=MAYBE pull axe 3SG.POSS like.this
'He stayed, then he went to his chiefly house, maybe he got his axe,'

(18) Ur=msau-na lag **nkarkik** **agnem**
1SG.EXCL.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP children 1SG.EXCL.POSS

ur=ga fitlaka na-tae-na.
3PL.S=IRR have:IRR N.SPEC-know-NMLZ
'We wanted our children to have an education.'

Note also that there is a variation in the order in which the possessive pronominal precedes the possessum noun. This variation is fairly rare in the corpus and encodes intensification of the possessive relationship, as in (19) to (21):

(19) E=pi kanei a=to lao **agnou** **neika.**
3SG.S=COP how 1SG.S=IPFV spear 1SG.POSS fish
'This is how I spear my own fish.'

(20) A=to pa-ki stoa, a=to pagtof **agnem** **nafnag.**
1SG.S=IPFV go-TR shop 1SG.S=IPFV buy 1SG.EXCL.POSS food
'I used to go to the shop, I used to buy or own food:'

(21) Tena Malarua, tena Llaapa, paki tena Tanoliu,
SBST.DEM p.name SBST.DEM p.name to SBST.DEM p.name

naara ur=maroa-ki-nia lag ur=ga fi **naara** **sisen** mau.
3PL 3PL.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR 3SG.POSS scission LIM
'As for those from Malarua, those from Lelepa and including those from Tanoliu, they thought they would just form their own scission.'

6.3.4 Associative possession: $N_{possessum}$ nag-$SUF_{possessor}$

Structurally, this construction is the closest to what is usually recognised as an indirect possessive construction in Oceanic languages, as the possessor is indexed on a possessive constituent following the possessed noun (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40). Here, the possessive particle *nag* 'ASS' takes a possessor-indexing suffix and follows NP_{CORE}, as seen in (22):

(22) a. nasu **nag-na**
beam ASS-3SG.POSS
'its beam'

b. na-maroa-na põela **nag-na**
N.SPEC-think-NMLZ big ASS-3SG.POSS
'its main idea'

c. ntau **nag-go**
year ASS-1SG.POSS
'my age'
[elicited]

This construction denotes associative relationships, in which the possessum refers to a part, a characteristic, or a quality of the possessor. This excludes general possession and inalienable possession of body parts, but comprises certain part-whole relationships (e.g. parts of a canoe, of a house, etc). The associative possessor is often non-human, although not always: see (22)c, and (29) to (32). Non-human possessors are exemplified in (23) to (28). In (23), *nag-na* 'ASS-3SG.POSS' encodes the association between a story and its ending:

(23) E=pi na-trausi-na nge, **na-nou** **nag-na** e=taplinge.
3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-tell-NMLZ DEF NMLZ-be.finished ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=like.this
'This is the story, the end of it is like this.'

Stories from the oral tradition are often accompanied by a song, and such songs can be viewed as an integral part of the story. In (24), the possessum *nalegana* 'song' refers to a song associated to a story, and the possessor encoded by *–na* '3SG.POSS' refers to the story that the speaker is telling:

(24) **Na-lega-na** **nag-na** e=pan tapla, a=ga magmu lega=s,
N.SPEC-sing-NMLZ ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=go like.this 1SG.S=IRR 2PL.BEN sing=3OBL

kur=ga rog=ea.
2PL.S=IRR hear=3PL.OBJ
'Its song goes like this, I will sing it for you, you will hear it.'

This construction also expresses part-whole relationships between concrete objects and their parts, as well as between abstract items and their parts (e.g. parts of a story, a song, a meeting, etc). In (25), the possessor-indexing suffix occurring on the associative particle refers to a canoe of which the speaker describes the fabrication:

(25) E=to se, a=mro ta nakiat, a=ta lag, a=ta nasma,
3SG.S=stay while 1SG.S=again cut boom 1SG.S=cut stanchion 1SG.S=cut outrigger

a=panei trups=ia e=to ne **naɲrat** **nag-na**,
1SG=come leave=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=stay be.with washboard ASS-3SG.POSS

e=to garagara.
3SG.S=IPFV dry
'And then, I cut the booms again, I cut the stanchions, I cut the outrigger, I leave them with its washboards, they are drying.'

Similarly, this construction is used to denote the association between a house and its parts:

(26) Go **a=lag** **nag-na**, ur=pat=ia, e=pi nasuɱa nous.
and LOC=up ASS=3SG.POSS 3PL.S=make=3PL.OBJ 3SG.S=COP house wild.cane
'And as for its roof, they made it, it was a wild-cane house.'

In (27), the associative construction denotes a more abstract relationship, between a proverb and its message. The possessor-indexing suffix *–na* cross-references the left-dislocated NP *nafsana naluokia nge* 'the proverb':

(27) Na-fsa-na naluokia nge,
N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ proverb DEF

na-maroa-ki **tae-na** **nag-na** e=tapla.
N.SPEC-think-TR know-NMLZ ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=like.this
'As for the proverb, its message is like this.'

The associative construction also encodes relationships between naturally associated entities, as in (28), associating a car and its driver. The possessor-indexing suffix *–na* '3SG.POSS' refers to a car that has been repaired:

(28) **Draeva** **nag-na** nae=s e=pat=ia,
driver ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG=too 3SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ

e=pat enjin e=wok.
3SG.S=make engine 3SG.S=work
'Its driver too did it, he made the engine work.'

Human possessors are much less frequent in this construction, but nevertheless attested. In (29), *nag-go* 'ASS-1SG.POSS' encodes the association between the speaker and his age:

(29) **Ntau** **nag-go** e=pi ralma latsa atmate lima.
year ASS-1SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP ten six CONJ.NUM five
'I am sixty-five years old.'

In (30), the possessor-indexing suffix *–ra* '3PL.POSS' refers to a newly married couple who are posing to have their photos taken:

(30) Ur=to pat **melu** **nag-ra**.
3PL.S=IPFV make photo ASS-3PL.POSS
'They are taking photos of them.'

In (31), *-ra* also refers to a human possessor. Here the association is between a group of people and the number of people in that group:

(31) Te-na ur=panei malange, ur=panei p̃algat=ia,
SBST=DEM 3PL.S=come then 3PL.S=come open=3SG.OBJ

namba **nag-ra** e=pi 614 pipol.
number ASS-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=COP 614 people
'Those who came then, they came to open it, they were six hundred and fourteen.' (*lit. their number was six hundred and fourteen people*)

In (32), *nagra* encodes the association between an individual and the group of individuals he belongs to:

(32) Ur=tu=s pan pa, **skei** **nag-ra** e=mkalkal.
3PL.S=stay=3OBL GO GO INDEF ASS-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=be.itchy
'They stayed there for a while, then one of them got itchy.'

6.4 Nominal possessor

6.4.1 Inalienable possession: $N_{possessum}$ $N_{possessor}$

Recall that 6.3.1 showed that the inalienable possessor can be encoded with a possessor-indexing suffix. It can also be encoded by a noun, in which case possessum and possessor nouns are simply juxtaposed, with the possessor following the possessum without any morphological marking. This is shown in (33) in which the possessor noun *ofa* 'heron' follows the possessum noun *naɲ̃a* 'neck', and in (34), in which the possessor noun *grunkiki* 'girl' follows the possessum noun *nɲ̃ou* 'head':

(33) Ar=to pan, na-mu-na e=mu, e=kasem **naɲ̃a** **ofa** wara.
3DU.S=stay GO N.SPEC-go.in-NMLZ 3SG.S=go.in 3SG.S=reach neck heron here
'They stayed on, the tide went in, it reached the heron's neck here.'

(34) E=loɲ̃a=e se **nɲ̃ou** **grunkiki** e=kat pa-ki liga.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP head girl 3SG.S=CERT go-TR outside
'He saw that the girl's head was poking out.'

6.4.2 General possession, non-human possessor: $N_{possessum}$=n $N_{possessor}$

In this construction, the enclitic *=n* 'POSS:NH' attaches to the possessum noun and the possessor noun follows. The enclitic expresses the fact that the referent of the possessor noun is non-human, in contrast with *=g* 'POSS:H' which occurs with human possessors (see 6.4.3). In this construction, possessor nouns can have a range of referents: concrete inanimates as in (35), (36) and (38), abstract inanimates as in (37), or non-human animates as in (38):

(35) Ur=kat pa sil **ɲ̃aga=n** **falea**.
3PL.S=CERT go enter inside=POSS:NH cave
'They entered the cave.'

(36) Wara, ur=kut pat suk~suk **wet=n** **nafnag**.
here 3PL.S=CERT make tighten~RED shelf=POSS:NH food
'Here, they prepare the table for the food.'

(37) E=pi **na-nou=n** **na-trausi-na** agnou.
3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-be.finished=POSS:NH N.SPEC-tell-NMLZ 1SG.POSS
'It is the end of my story.'

(38) Naa... **p̃laka=n** **Saone** e=lao **m̃aleputa=n** **napua**.
HESIT buff.banded.rail=POSS:NH p.name 3SG.S=stand middle=POSS:NH road
'Hmm... the buff-banded rail from Saone stood in the middle of the road.'

Bound nouns referring to body parts occur in this construction to express the fact that their referent is detached from the body. This is shown in (39) in which *npat* refer to a pig's tusk used as an ornament to mark chiefly rank:[1]

(39) Konou, sei, naota Mila, a=ga p̃il to, a=ga lo,
1SG who chief p.name 1SG.S=IRR blink STAT 1SG.S=IRR look

npat=n **wago** garua e=ga liko to nar-go to.
tooth=POSS:NH pig IRR.two 3SG.S=IRR hang stay hand-1SG.POSS STAT
'As for me, Chief Mila, I will close my eyes, then I will look, and two pig's tusks will hang from my wrists.'

In (40) *namta* 'entrance' occurs with *=n*. Note that *namta* 'eye' is a bound noun referring to a body part, thus *namta-n* 'eye-POSS:NH' is not expected unless it occurs in a similar context to (39), in which a body part is detached from a body. However, the situation here is different as *namta* has undergone semantic expansion from 'eye' to 'entrance', which has resulted in two distinct lexemes, *namta* 'eye' and *namta* 'entrance', which respectively belong to the classes of bound and free nouns:

(40) E=pi faatu to **namta=n** **falea** to.
3SG.S=COP stone stay entrance=POSS:NH cave STAT
'It is the stone that is at the entrance of the cave.'

6.4.3 General possession, human possessor: $N_{possessum}$=g $N_{possessor}$

In this construction, the possessor noun is human and the possessum noun is a free noun hosting the enclitic *=g* 'POSS:H' which agrees with the human possessor. In (41), the head noun *nafsana* 'language' is possessed by the human possessor *tetaare* 'white people':

[1] Wearing pig's tusks around one's wrist and arms is a common traditional practice in Vanuatu.

(41) Go **nafsana=g** **te=taare** ur=til=ia e=pi "mosquito."
and language=POSS:H SBST=be.white 3PL.S=tell=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=COP mosquito
'And in the white people's language they say, "mosquito."'

The human possessor can be encoded by a common noun as in (41) – (43), or by a personal name as in (44) – (45):

(42) Ur=kut suara panmei, pasta e=kat pea,
3PL.S=CERT walk COME pastor 3SG.S=CERT be.first

teteia=g **grun** **wa-n** **na**, tena.
mother=POSS:H woman DEM-DIST DEM SBST.DEM
'They are walking (towards speaker), the pastor is first, as for that woman's mother, (it's) this one.'

(43) A=ga tae lao-ki **nasuma=g** **tija**.
1SG.S=IRR can stand-TR house=POSS:H teacher
'I will be able to build the teacher's house.'

(44) So e=pi tewei nge, wara e=pi **eria=g** **Masogo**.
so 3SG.S=COP SBST.TOP DEF here 3SG.S=COP area=POSS:H p.name
'So this is it, here is Masogo's place.'

(45) Okis e=raki, nae e=pu **fterki=g** **Bruce**.
p.name 3SG.S=follow 3SG 3SG.S=pull wife=POSS:H p.name
'Okis follows, he's leading Bruce's wife.'

Obligatorily possessed kin terms do not occur in this construction, but body part nouns can occur in it when the possessive relationship is not one of inalienability. This is the case in (46), as the human possessor is the owner of a body part removed from an animal for a particular use, such as making soup:

(46) E=pi **naru=g** **Namuan**.
3SG.S=COP fishbone=POSS:H p.name
'This is Namuan's fishbone (that he will use to make soup).'
[elicited]

6.5 Local possessum noun *kia-*

This construction is described separately and not included in table 6.1 as it has specialised semantics. It involves the bound noun *kia-* 'LOCAL' taking a possessor-indexing suffix to encode local possessions, that is, possession of items that are locally or geographically

associated to the possessor, such as their house, area or language. It is not as widespread as other possessive constructions in the corpus, and all examples denote possessive relationships in which the possessum noun refers to a local entity. The simplest instance of this construction is shown in (47), in which *kia-* takes a possessor-indexing suffix and acts as an NP. In this case, *kia-* refers to the possessor's house, village or locality in general:

(47) Ur=to **kia-ra** to
3PL.S=stay LOCAL -3PL.POSS STAT
'They are at their place.'
[elicited]

If the possessor is a lexical noun as in (48), *kia-* must occur with a possessor-indexing suffix and be followed by the noun encoding the possessor. Thus in (48), the suffix *–na* '3SG.POSS' is co-referential with the possessor noun *Mtaktal*:

(48) Ur=mato **kia-na** **Mtaktal** to.
3PL.S=stay.long LOCAL-3SG.POSS p.name STAT
'They are at Mtaktal's.'
[elicited]

It is possible for the possessum noun to be lexically encoded, to be more narrowly specified than with just *kia-*. In this case, the construction is an instance of the general possession construction described in 6.4.2: the non-human possessum noun takes the enclitic *=n* 'POSS:NH' and is followed by the possessor noun formed with *kia-*. This is shown in (49) to (52), in which the possessum nouns refer to entities locally associated with their possessors: houses as in (49) and (50), or a canoe borne from the possessor's area as in (51):

(49) Ar=to **suma=n** **kia-go** lag e=ga rikodem konou.
1DU.EXCL.S=stay house=POSS:NH LOCAL-1SG.POSS PURP 3SG.S=IRR record 1SG
'We're at my house so that he will record me.'

(50) Ar=mro pa-ki **farea=n** **kia-ra** pan,
3DU.S=AGAIN go-TR chiefly.house=POSS:H LOCAL-3PL.POSS GO

ar=wusu napua frau.
3DU.S=follow road be.long
'They went back to their chiefly house, they followed a long route.'

(51) Ña=loña **rarua=n** **kia-ñma** **skei** e=palse pa.
2SG.S:IRR=see canoe=POSS:NH LOCAL-2SG.POSS INDEF 3SG.S=paddle GO
'Watch a canoe from your place that is paddling away.'

In (52), *ntak=n kia-gta* 'backside=POSS:NH LOCAL-1PL.INCL.POSS' denotes the other side of Lelepa island, which is currently uninhabited. This collocation is commonly used by Lelepa speakers to refer to that location, and literally means 'our backside':

(52) E=loña=e se
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP

Puña e=po lao sua **ntak=n** **kia-gta** panmei.
p.name 3SG.S=SEQ stand PRF backside=POSS:NH LOCAL-1PL.INCL.POSS COME
'He saw that Puña already stood on the other side of our island.'

In (53) *kia-* hosts the locative proclitic *a=* 'LOC' (see 3.4.3) which derives locational nouns:

(53) McDonald e=ti pat na-wesi-na frau~rau
p.name 3SG.S=NEG make N.SPEC-work-NMLZ be.long~RED

a=kia-gta mau.
LOC=LOCAL-1PL.INCL.POSS NEG2
'MacDonald did work for a long time at our place (i.e. in Lelepa).'

Chapter 7 — Clause structure and grammatical relations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes independent clauses. A common way of distinguishing clauses is by looking at whether they are independent or subordinate. Independent clauses are free-standing units, while subordinate clauses are embedded in independent clauses. In Lelepa, their structures only differ in that subordinate clauses may be introduced by a subordinator (see chapter 12), which is not the case of independent clauses.

The chapter also establishes the grammatical relations subject, object and oblique (see 7.4.4). A typologically interesting feature of the language is that objects are split along two subclasses of transitive verbs, Class 1 and Class 2 (see 7.4.4.3, 8.5). The split is lexically determined since it operates over two verb subclasses, but it also relates to semantics because patientivity, animacy and person all play a role in setting the split. Prototypical patients tend to be animate, highly affected and occur with Class 1 transitives. In contrast, less prototypical patients tend to be inanimate and less affected, and occur with Class 2 transitives. This is reflected by the use of distinct object enclitics: the object of Class 1 *p̃at* 'hit' in (1)a is a highly affected animate encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', while that of Class 2 *plaga* 'look for' in (1)b is inanimate, unaffected, and encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ':

(1) a. E=p̃at=**ia**
3SG.S=hit=3SG.OBJ
'He hit him.'

b. E=plaga=**s**
3SG.S=look.for=3SG.OBJ
'He looked for it/him.'
[elicited]

In addition, note that oblique arguments are encoded by an enclitic identical in form to the object enclitic *=s* in (1)b., but glossed '3OBL' as it has a different function. In (2)a. the oblique

has the role of location, and in (2)b that of instrument. The main difference between object and oblique is that the former is required by the verb, but not the latter (see 7.4.1.2, 7.4.1.3, 7.4.4.4):

(2) a. E=maturu=**s**
3SG.S=sleep=3OBL
'He slept on it.'

b. E=p̃at=ia=**s**
3SG.S=hit=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'He hit him with it.'
[elicited]

Oblique arguments like those in (2)a & b and the object in (1)b share certain properties: they tend to be inanimate, unaffected, and third person. The fact that the same form *=s* '3SG.OBJ; 3OBL' is used to mark arguments with different syntactic functions (object vs. oblique) but common semantic properties (inanimate, unaffected, third person) is an interesting feature of the language. Lelepa has two types of objects: one with typical object properties, and another that is lower on the animacy hierarchy and in this respect, similar to an oblique. Typologically, this is significant as only a few Austronesian languages are known to have split objects: the South Halmahera language Taba has a split object based on animacy (Bowden 2001).

The chapter is organised as follows: the remainder of this section briefly defines important terminological notions in 7.1.1, the distinction between basic and extended clause levels is presented in 7.1.2, and an overview of basic clause structure is given in 7.2. Copular clauses are discussed in 7.3, while other verbal clauses and grammatical relations are addressed in 7.4, and followed by a discussion on adjuncts in 7.5. Variations in clause structure are discussed in 7.6, and negation in 7.7.

7.1.1 Terminology

The notions of valency, argument, adjunct, intransitive and transitive clauses are common in linguistic description but are often used in different ways in the literature. They are defined here in the way they are used in this study to avoid terminological confusion.

Valency refers to the number of arguments of a clause. In Lelepa, clauses can have a valency of one to three: if a clause has a single argument it is monovalent, if it has two arguments it is divalent, and if it has three arguments it is trivalent.

Intransitive clauses do not have an object. They can be monovalent and only have a subject, or divalent and have a subject and an oblique. Transitive clauses can be either divalent and have a subject and an object, or trivalent and have a subject, an object and an oblique. As for ditransitive clauses, they are always trivalent, with a subject, a primary object and a secondary object.

Arguments are subcategorised for by the predicate. In Lelepa, an argument can be recognised primarily on its ability to be encoded by a pronominal clitic: subjects are encoded with subject proclitics, objects with object enclitics and obliques with the oblique enclitic. Arguments fall into two classes: core and oblique. Core arguments are required by the predicate, while oblique arguments are not but can be added to it. In this work, arguments are sometimes referred to by their grammatical functions A, S and P (Dixon 1972, Andrews 2007a, Haspelmath 2011): S is the single argument of an intransitive clause, A is the most agentive argument of a transitive clause, and P is the most patientive argument of a transitive clause. In addition, narrower labels are used (after Haspelmath 2005, 2011): R refers to a recipient argument and T to a theme argument. In Haspemath's terms, T and R are defined as the theme and the recipient of transfer verbs of possession such as 'give' as well as other arguments treated in the same way (Haspelmath 2011:558). In Lelepa, this includes the arguments of *tua* 'give', as well as those of the transfer verbs of speech *rki* 'tell' and *paoseki* 'ask' (6.4.1.2, 6.4.1.3, 6.4.2.3). In addition, L and I are used to refer to arguments with the role of location and instrument, respectively.

Adjuncts are not subcategorised for by the predicate. They are freely added to the clause but in contrast to arguments they cannot be encoded by pronominal clitics. They provide information not given by the predicate and its arguments, such as location in time, source and beneficiary.

7.1.2 Basic and extended clause levels

Two levels are distinguished within the clause: the basic clause and the extended clause. A basic clause consists of a predicate and its arguments. In contrast, the extended clause includes adjuncts such as sentential adverbs (see 4.7.2) and prepositional phrases, left- and right-dislocated NPs (see 7.6), and adverbial clauses (see 12.5). The left boundary of the basic clause is indicated by a pause separating left-dislocated material to the left and the basic clause to the right. The right boundary of the basic clause is indicated by the aspectual and directional

particles *to* 'STAT', *pa* 'GO', *pan* 'GO', *panei* 'COME' and *pea* 'FIRST' (see 10.6). I refer to these particles as 'clause-final particles'; however, it is slightly counter-intuitive because they do not exactly mark the end of the clause, but that of the basic clause: clausal adjuncts follow them and are part of the extended clause. However, 'clause-final' is simpler and shorter than 'basic clause-final', thus 'clause-final' was chosen. The right boundary of the basic clause can also be indicated by a pause, however this only occurs in clause with right-dislocated NPs (see 7.6.3). In (3), *panei* marks the end of the basic clause and is followed by a prepositional phrase (underlined) introduced by *pa-ki* 'go-TR'. Since prepositional phrases are not right-dislocated, there is no pause between *panei* 'COME' and *paki* 'to', and (3) is realised as a single intonational phrase:

(3)

Ar=kat	sfa	llu	**panei**	paki	sum̃a.
3DU.S=CERT	run	return	COME	to	house:SPEC

'They ran back home.'

In (4) the clause-final particle *to* 'STAT' indicates the end of the basic clause. The temporal sentential adverb *sral* 'often' follows and functions as a temporal adjunct:

(4)

E=pi	naure	kiki	nae,	e=to=s	**to**	sral.
3SG.S=COP	island	be.small	3SG.POSS	3SG.S=stay=3OBL	STAT	often

'It was his little island, he stayed there often.'

In (5), the extended clause position is filled by a purpose clause following the particle *to* 'STAT':

(5)

Marka	naota	Marifatu	e=kasua	**to**,
old.man	chief	p.name	3sg.s=be.strong	STAT

lag	e=ti	msau-na	lag	ur=ga	fat	na-lotu-na	mau.
PURP	3SG.S=NEG	want-3SG.OBJ	COMP	3PL.S=IRR	make:IRR	N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ	NEG2

'The chief Marifatu remained strong, as he didn't want them to be Christians.'

A clause comprised of a basic clause with all positions filled and a topicalised adjunct part of the extended clause is given in the first line of example (6). The temporal adjunct *slafea* 'before' is separated by a pause (indicated by a comma), and the following basic clause comprises the subject NP *natowia aginta* 'our ancestors' and the object NP *nanu* 'coconut':

(6) Slafea, **natowia aginta** ur=to wus **nanu**,
before ancestors 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=IPFV get coconut

ur=to uti nuwai=s.
3PL.S=IPFV fetch water=3OBL
'Before, our ancestors used to get coconuts, they used to fetch water with them.'

Example (7) shows both positions of the extended clause filled (in bold): a left-dislocated object NP occurs to the left of the basic clause while the temporal adjunct *1946* occurs to its right:

(7) **Go nasuma tap ke-tolu nge**, ur=stat pat=ia **1946**.
and house taboo ORD-three DEF 3PL.S=start make=3SG.OBJ 1946
'And as for the third church, they started to build it in 1946.'

7.2 Overview of basic clause structure

The structure of the basic clause is represented in fig. 7.1. A clause minimally takes a predicate (PRED) and a preverbal subject argument (ARG_1), and can have a maximum of three arguments. Non-subject arguments are postverbal and their occurrence is conditioned by the class of the verb occurring as the predicate. ARG_2 is always an object while ARG_3 can be an object or an oblique. In a ditransitive clause, ARG_3 is an object; but in a divalent intransitive clause, the post-verbal argument is an oblique occurring in ARG_3 position. As discussed in 7.1.2, adjuncts (ADJT) are not part of the basic clause and occur at its left and right periphery. However, the benefactive phrase occurs between ARG_1 and PRED. The benefactive position is labelled $ADJT_{BEN}$ to indicate that it is reserved to the benefactive phrase and that no other adjuncts can occur in this position (see 7.5.3):

Fig. 7.1. Basic clause structure

SUBJ			**OBJ**	**OBJ** / **OBL**
ARG_1	**($ADJT_{BEN}$)**	**PRED**	**(ARG_2)**	**(ARG_3)**

Since all predicates are realised by verbs, all clauses are verbal. Copular clauses are regarded as verbal clauses of a particular type and are discussed in 7.3. Other verbal clauses fall into three classes according to the number of arguments they have: monovalent clauses have one argument as in (8), divalent clauses have two arguments as in (9), and trivalent clauses have three arguments as in (10):

(8) **E=**panei.
3SG.S=come
'He came.'
[elicited]

(9) **E=**paam **toa.**
3SG.S=eat chicken
'He ate chicken.'
[elicited]

(10) **A=**to psa=pseiki**=nia** **na-fsa-na.**
1SG.S=IPFV speak=show=3SG.OBJ N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ
'I taught him the language.'
[elicited]

7.3 Copular clauses

Unlike most Oceanic languages, Lelepa has a copula verb *pi/fi* 'COP:R/IRR', and the same is true for a number of other central Vanuatu languages such as South Efate (Thieberger 2006:78) and Nguna (Schütz 1969), and some northern Vanuatu languages such as Paamese (Crowley 1982:169). Oceanic languages in general do not have a copula and allow classes other than verbs to be predicative (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:49), see for instance the northern Vanuatu languages Mwotlap (François 2003:13), Abma (Schneider 2010:121), and Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:53-54), amongst others. For examples of southern languages see Lenakel (Lynch 1978:99) and Ura (Crowley 1999:198).

7.3.1 The functions of the copula

Copular clauses are a minor clause type. The copula enables members of word classes other than verbs to be predicative. It is analysed as a verb, albeit of a special kind: morphologically, it behaves like any other verb, taking subject proclitics and occurring with preverbal TAM particles, benefactive phrases and negators. In addition, it undergoes stem-initial consonant mutation like the majority of *p/f* initial verbs (see 11.2.2).

The argument structure of the copula is of a different nature to that of other verbs. First, it does not contribute any lexical meaning, and does not have a predictable case frame like lexical verbs such as 'sleep' or 'hit'. Instead, it is the complement of the copula which assigns lexical content to the predicate. For this reason, the copula does not conform to the clause structure given in fig. 7.1, and its subject and complement are not in the A and P

function. Dryer (2007b.:225) clarifies the function of the English copula *be* by saying, "the verb *be* is more of a function word than a predicate; its function can be thought of as combining with nonverbal predicates to form what is syntactically a verbal predicate", a statement that fits Lelepa *pi/fi* 'COP' rather well. The copula is used to form equative clauses (see 13, 16, 17, 11, 19, 20), or to express a property of the subject as in (14) and (12). In (13), the subject of the copula is the NP *nagigo tetaare* 'my European name', and its complement is the NP *George*:

(13) Kane nagi=go te=taare e=**pi** George.
but name=1SG.POSS SBST=white 3SG.S=COP p.name
'But my European name is George.'

In (14), the subject of the copula is the NP *Suva*, and its complement slot is the adjective *p̃ela* 'big':

(14) Suva e=**pi** p̃ela.
p.name 3SG.S=COP big
'Suva is big.'

The copula occurs with modality particles. In (15), *pi* occurs with *kat* 'CERT', and in (16) with *lag* 'MAYBE':

(15) Nfano nge e=kat **pi** a=m̃ae.
country DEF 3SG.S=CERT COP LOC=far
'The country was certainly far away.'

(16) Nlag e=lag **pi** warpagas.
wind 3SG.S=MAYBE COP west.wind
'Maybe the wind was the west wind.'

In (17), the copula and a benefactive phrase (see 7.5.3) co-occur:

(17) E=magnou **pi** namagana.
3SG.S:=1SG.BEN COP surprise
'It surprised me.' (*lit. it was a surprise for me*)

In irrealis clauses, the irrealis form of the copula *fi* occurs, as in (18) and (19):

(18) Wan e=ga **fi** natam̃ol, e=ga faam tena ku=put=ia,
if 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR person 3SG.S=IRR eat:F SBST.DEM 2SG.S=pluck=3SG.OBJ

kan wan e=ga **fi** srago sa,
but if 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR thing bad

e=ga faam tena nm̃au-na e=to=s.
3SG.S=IRR eat:F SUB.DEM feather-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=stay=3OBL
'If he is human, he will eat the one you plucked, but if he is a bad spirit, he will eat the one with feathers on.'

(19) P̃a=fat tera nge;
2SG.S:IRR=make:IRR garden DEF

e=ga **fi** tera=n srago mlaksa.
3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR garden=POSS:NH things green
'You will make the garden; it will be a greens garden.'

Like any other clause, copular clauses can be negated:

(20) Nuwai nge e=ti **pi** nuwai sara mau.
water DEF 3SG.S=NEG COP water run NEG2
'The water was not running water.'

Rarely, the copula is used to form existential clauses, as in (21):

(21) E=**pi** mutuama skei, e=to Artoka, e=to Artoka to.
3SG.S=COP ogre INDEF 3SG.S=stay p.name 3SG.S=stay p.name STAT
'There was an ogre, he stayed in Artoka, he lived in Artoka.'

However, a more common way of forming existential clauses is to use the verb *pitlaka* 'have' as in (22):

(22) Go E=**pitlak** pasta skei, e=**pi** pasta=n M̃ele
And 3SG.S=have pastor INDEF 3SG.S=COP pastor=POSS:NH p.name
'And there was a pastor, he was a pastor from M̃ele.'

Note that *pi* and *pitlaka* are etymologically related. The latter is a compound formed with *pi* 'COP' and *atlak* 'owner'. The semantic link between *pi atlak* 'be owner' and *pitlaka* 'have' is obvious. Note also that the variant form *piatlaka* 'have' occurs.

7.3.2 Copula omission

The copula can be omitted in a few predictable circumstances. All recorded instances in which this occurs have the noun *nagi* 'name' as head of the subject NP. Compare the two textual examples in (23) and (24), which are both uttered by the same speaker as the first sentences of two different texts: in (23), the copula occurs with its subject proclitic, whereas in (24) they are both omitted:

(23) Konou, nagi konou e=**pi** Thompson Namuan.
1SG name 1SG 3SG.S=COP p.name p.name
'Me, my name is Thompson Namuan'.

(24) Konou, nagi konou Thompson.
1SG name 1SG p.name
'Me, my name is Thompson'.

In (25), *pi* occurs in an equative clause with a subject NP headed by *nagi-na* 'name-3SG.POSS'. The following clause (underlined) is a repetition of the preceding one, with the difference that the copula and its subject proclitic are omitted:

(25) Grunkiki nge, a=tarp̃agor nagi-na,
girl DEF 1SG.S=forget name-3SG.POSS

kane nagi-na e=**pi** Tuaraka.
but name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP p.name

Grunkiki nge, nagi-na Tuaraka, naaram tatia nae...
girl DEF name-3SG.POSS p.name and grandmother 3SG.POSS
'The little girl, I forgot her name, but her name was Tuaraka. The little girl, her name was Tuaraka, and with her maternal grandmother...

There are also instances of omitted agreement, in which the copula occurs without the subject proclitic, as in (26) and (27). There are no instances in which the copula is omitted and the subject proclitic occurs:

(26) Konou, nagi konou **pi** Nagi.
1SG name 1SG COP p.name
'Me, my name is Nagi'.

(27) Konou, nagi konou **pi** Munalpa.
1SG name 1SG COP p.name
'Me, my name is Munalpa'.

Examples such as (23) and (24) seem to be in free variation in the language: no grammatical constraint has been observed as a condition to the omission of the copula. In addition, the very narrow scope of copula omission (eg. only in clauses in which the subject NP is headed by the noun *nagi*) makes it a very marginal feature of the language. For these reasons, I regard these clauses with omitted copulas as underlyingly verbal, and do not posit the existence of a very restricted class of non-verbal clauses in the language.

7.4 Non-copular verbal clauses

7.4.1 Argument realisation

Pronominal clitics and word order are the two strategies used for coding arguments. They are not mutually exclusive and are both used in any clause. Arguments must be overtly realised in verbal clauses, and this is done by using one of two means: NPs or pronominal indexing. Strategies for realising arguments are chosen according to the grammatical function of the argument (see 5.5.1) and pragmatic factors (see 5.5.2). In table 7.1 the correlations between grammatical functions (S, A, P, R, T, L, I) and grammatical relations are given. Note that theme arguments of ditransitive verbs (T_{DITR}) are objects while theme arguments of intransitive and monotransitive verbs ($T_{INTR/TR}$) are obliques. These correlations are discussed and established in the following subsections.

	Subject	**Object**	**Oblique**
S	+	-	-
A	+	-	-
P	-	+	-
R	-	+	-
T_{DITR}	-	+	-
$T_{INTR/TR}$	-	-	+
L	-	-	+
I	-	-	+

Table 7.1. Correlations between grammatical functions and grammatical relations

7.4.1.1 Realisation of S and A arguments: subjects

S and A arguments share the same morphosyntactic properties: they are obligatorily indexed with the subject proclitics given in Table 7.2. These proclitics are portmanteau morphemes marking subject, person (first, second, third and clusivity), and number (singular, dual and plural). The paradigm presents a certain amount of syncretism, with the person distinction between first exclusive and third person neutralised in dual and plural numbers. The second person singular *ku*= '2SG.S:R' and *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR' also distinguish mood. *P̃a*= is not synchronically analysable as a combination of a subject proclitic and the irrealis particle *ga* 'IRR'. An irrealis clause with a second singular subject is always marked with *p̃a*=, and not **ku=ga* (see 11.2.1.2). In addition, the alternation between *au*= and *ur*= '1PL.EXCL.S' appears to reflect change in progress: *au*= is only occasionally present in the speech of a few older speakers, while other speakers consistently use *ur*= to encode a first person plural exclusive realis subject. It seems that *ur*= is replacing *au*= and that this change is almost completed in the language. This is corroborated by Miller (1945), which lists *au*= '1PL.EXCL.S' and *ur*= '3PL.S', but no alternation between these two forms.[1] Based on this work, we can observe that this change is fairly recent and has occurred in the last fifty to sixty years.

	1INCL	1EXCL	2	3
SG	-	*a*=	*ku*=~*p̃a*=	*e*=
DU	*ta*=	*ar*=	*kar*=	*ar*=
PL	*tu*=	*ur*=~*au*=	*kur*=	*ur*=

Table 7.2. Subject proclitics

Along with the verb root, subject proclitics are an obligatory constituent of well-formed clauses. They are regarded as syntactic subjects of clauses since subject NPs do not need to occur. They are also used as evidence for monoclausality, a test useful for the analysis of serial verb constructions (see 10.4). As (28) and (29) show, an S argument and an A argument with the same person and number values are encoded with the same proclitic:

(28) **E$_i$=**to.
3SG.S=stay
'He/she stayed.'
[elicited]

[1] I am grateful to Chris Ballard for pointing this resource out to me.

(29) **E$_i$=lag** rog tortor kil=ia$_j$.
3SG.S=MAYBE feel sweat dig=3SG.OBJ
'Maybe he dug it too early.'

In addition to subject proclitics, S and A arguments may be expressed by lexical NPs preceding the verb complex, as seen in (30) and (31).[2] Whether or not bound person forms such as the Lelepa subject proclitics are pronouns and count as arguments in place of lexical NPs has been widely discussed (see, amongst others, Bresnan and Mchombo 1987, Evans 2002, Siewierska 2004, Corbett 2006, Haspelmath 2012). According to Haspelmath, lexical NPs occurring with bound person forms and sharing the same referent are called 'conominals'. They are defined as nominals able to occur with argument-indexing forms with the same role and reference in the same 'narrow clause' (Haspelmath 2012:7).[3] In situations in which both conominals and argument-indexing forms co-occur, as in (30) and (31), it may be tempting to analyse subject proclitics as syntactic agreement markers, as in languages like English. Instead, subject proclitics can be regarded as anaphoric agreement markers. Further, since subject NPs are not obligatory as seen in (28) and (29), it is clear that subject proclitics fill the argument position in such cases:

(30) **Ura** **nge$_i$** e$_i$=kat pueli.
prawn DEF 3SG.S=CERT not.be.there
'The prawns were gone.'

(31) **Kanokiki** e=kis suk nɲou souɲoumila.
boy 3SG.S=press tight head red.headed.honeyeater
'The boy squeezed the head of the red-headed honeyeater.'

S and A arguments can also be realised with personal pronouns co-referential with subject proclitics, as shown in (32). They fill the same syntactic position as NPs and are regarded as such. Constraints conditioning the occurrence of personal pronouns have to do with pragmatics and animacy. Non-humans are typically not referred to by these pronouns (see 4.6.1, 5.5.2.2):

[2] See Chapter 9 for a definition and discussion of the verb complex.
[3] Haspelmath's notion of 'narrow clause' excludes dislocated NPs (Haspelmath 2012:8), and in this sense is equivalent to the concept of 'basic clause' used in the present work (see 7.1.2).

(32) **Kenem$_I$** ur$_I$=ti tae kastom mau.
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=NEG know tradition NEG2
'We didn't know the traditions.'

7.4.1.2 Realisation of P and R arguments: objects

In contrast to subjects, P and R arguments are realised either with an NP or a bound object marker (see table 7.3), but not by both, in the basic clause. Bound object markers mark their referent for person, clusivity and number, as expected for an Oceanic language (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35-36). Unlike subject proclitics, they do not encode any TAM categories and lack a dual distinction. The paradigm does not present any gaps or syncretism, with each combination of person and number values expressed by a different form. On the other hand, there is a significant amount of allomorphy for all persons in the singular.

	1 INCL	1 EXCL	2	3	
SG		*-iou~ -ou~-wou*	*-go~=ko*	**Class 1**	*=ia~-nia~=a~=e~=ea~-na*
				Class 2	*=s*
PL	*=gam*	*=gta*	*=mu*	*=ra*	

Table 7.3. Bound object markers

The distribution of object markers is complex and conditioned by phonological and lexical parameters (see 9.4.3.3), as well as verb subclass. Class 1 transitives (see 8.5.1) take the object enclitics in table 7.3 except for *=s* '3SG.OBJ', while Class 2 transitives (see 8.5.2) can only take *=s* to encode a third person singular object. Class 2 transitives cannot host the other object enclitics directly and need to take the suffix *-ki* 'TR' followed by the appropriate object suffix if their object is not third person singular. An example of Class 1 transitive verb is *lo̱pa* 'see' in (33). It takes the object enclitics *=e* '3SG.OBJ' and *=ra* '3PL.OBJ', but cannot take *=s* '3SG.OBJ':

(33) a. E=lo̱pa=**e**
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ
'He saw him.'

b. E=lo̱pa=**ra**
3SG.S=see=3PL.OBJ
'He saw them.'

c. *E=lo̱pa=**s**
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ
'He saw him.'
[elicited]

In contrast, the class 2 transitive *sralesko* 'believe; trust' in (34) must take *=s* '3SG.OBJ' to encode a third person singular object, and *–ki* 'TR' followed by the corresponding object suffix if their object has other person and number values (see 7.4.4.3, 8.5.2). This shows that the split is also sensitive to person:

(34) a. E=sralesko=**s**
3SG.S=believe=3SG.OBJ
'He believes him.'

b. *E=sralesko**=ea**
3SG.S=believe=3SG.OBJ
'He believes him.'

c. E=sralesko**-ki=ra**
3SG.S=believe-TR=3PL.OBJ
'He believes them.'

d. *E=sralesko**=ra**
3SG.S=believe-TR=3PL.OBJ
'He believes them.'
[elicited]

Since object NPs and object enclitics cannot co-occur, object enclitics are truly pronominal (see Haspelmath 2012:9, Siewierska 2004:126). In (35), the transitive verb *pat* 'make' occurs in two subsequent clauses, each time followed by an object NP. In contrast, in (36) the object of *pat* is encoded by the enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ':

(35) Ar=pat **naasu**, ar=pat **nalwaa** **nag-na**.
3DU.S=make bow 3DU.S=make arrow ASS-3SG.POSS
'They made bows, they made their arrows.'

(36) Ur=mro pat=**ia** pa, mato pat**=ia** pa.
3PL.S=again make=3SG.OBJ GO stay.long make=3SG.OBJ GO
'They made it, they kept on making it.'

It is ungrammatical for an object enclitic and an object NP to co-occur, as seen in (37):

(37) *Ar=pat**=ia** **naasu**, ar=pat**=ia** **nalwaa** **nag-na**.
3DU.S=make=3SG.OBJ bow 3DU.S=make=3SG.OBJ arrow ASS-3SG.POSS
'They made bows, they made their arrows.'
[elicited]

Similarly, with a class 2 transitive such as *sralesko* 'believe; trust', the object can only be encoded by an NP or the enclitic *=s* '3SG.OBJ' as in (38), but not by both as in (39):

(38) Ña=**sralesko** Iesu.
2SG.S:IRR=believe Jesus

Kane ku=ti **sralesko=s** mau, ña=rog nakortlag,
but 2SG.S=NEG believe=3SG.OBJ NEG2 2SG.S=feel sky

e=pi nalia mõli.
3SG.S=COP place just
'Believe in Jesus. But you don't believe in him, you will hear that Heaven, it is just a place.'

(39) *Ña=**sralesko=s** Iesu.
2SG.S:IRR=believe=3SG.OBJ Jesus
'Believe in Jesus.'
[elicited]

Objects arguments can also be encoded with personal pronouns when their referent is human, regardless of the subclass of the transitive verb, as seen in (40) with the Class 1 transitive verb *msug* 'carry', and in (41) with the Class 2 transitive verb *fatu* 'step on'
. Personal pronouns take the place of NPs and do not occur with object enclitics:

(40) E=msug **konou** ar=kat pa-ki Bellevue pa.
3SG.S=carry 1SG 1DU.EXCL.S=CERT go-TR p.name go
'He took me and we both went to Bellevue.'

(41) Konou a=ga fi walak, kutu nae na e=ga **fatu** konou,
1SG 1SG.S=IRR COP climbing.rope louse 3SG DEM 3SG.S=IRR step.on 1SG

e=go pag pa-ki lag.
3SG.S=IRR climb go-TR upwards
'I will be the climbing rope, as for Louse he will step on me to climb to the top.'

Object enclitics can only be followed by NPs if those NPs encode a different participant, as shown in (42) to (44). With monotransitive verbs, these NPs are not objects but oblique arguments. They are not required by the verb and bear semantic roles typical of obliques: source in (42)a, location in (43), and respectively instrument and location in (44). Obliques are regarded as arguments because they can be alternatively realised as enclitics on the verb, as in (42)b:

(42) a. Ur=pat=ia **lopu**.
3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ bamboo
'They made it out of bamboo.'

b. Ur=pat=ia=**s**
3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'They made it with it.'

(43) Ar=pan pa-ki naloana=n naftourina nge
3DU.S=go go-TR preparation=POSS:NH wedding DEF

na ur=pat=ia **a=siwo**.
REL 3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ LOC=p.name
'They went to the wedding preparations that they held in Siwo.'

(44) Ku=ña Thompson **nkas** **skei** na ku=pañosko=s **napua**.
2SG.S=hit p.name stick INDEF REL 2SG.S=find=3SG.OBJ road
'You hit Thompson with a stick that you found on the road.'
[elicited]

Arguments with the role of recipient (R) occur in trivalent clauses with the three ditransitive verbs *tua* 'give', *pseiki* 'tell' and *paoseki* 'ask'. As shown in table 7.4, P and R arguments share all properties but one: while some P arguments can be encoded by the enclitic *=s* '3SG.OBJ', R arguments cannot.

Properties	P arguments	R arguments
Required by the verb	+	+
Realised with lexical NP	+	+
Realised with personal pronoun	+	+
Realised with bound object markers	+	+
Realised with *=s*	+	-

Table 7.4. Properties of P and R arguments

In (45) the R argument is expressed with the lexical NP *fterki* 'wife' and in (46) with the personal pronoun *konou* '1SG':

(45) E*f*=tua **fterki*f*=s*k*** e*f*=munu=s*k*
3SG.S=give wife=3OBL 3SG.S=drink=3OBL
'He gave it to the wife, she drank it.'

(46) E$_i$=lag, "p̃a$_j$=tua **konou$_l$** memis kiki$_k$"
3SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=give 1SG knife small
'He said, "give me the small knife."'

Examples (47) to (49) show which object enclitics are used to encode the R and T arguments of the ditransitive verb of transfer *tua* 'give'. In these examples, the R is encoded with object enclitics. As seen in (48), a third person singular recipient is not encoded with =*s* '3PL.OBJ'. In contrast, the theme of this verb is encoded with =*s* '3PL.OBJ' as in (49). Examples (47) to (49) show that although Rs and Ts of ditransitives are objects, they are treated differently:

(47) Gaio, a=ga$_i$ tua=**ko**$_j$ nagrun kiki agnou gaskei$_k$.
fine 1SG.S=IRR give=2SG.OBJ woman small 1SG.POSS IRR.INDEF
'Fine, I'll give you one of my daughters.'

(48) E$_i$=tua=**e**$_j$ te=fea$_k$, tkalpa$_k$.
3SG.S=give=3SG.OBJ SBST=first first.born
'He gave him the first one, the first born.'

(49) A$_i$=pa tua=**ra$_j$=s**$_k$, a$_i$=npasuk=ia$_l$.
1SG.S=go give=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=engage=3SG.OBJ
'I went and gave it to them, I formally engaged her (with my son).'

7.4.1.3 Realisation of T, L, I arguments: secondary objects and obliques

Arguments bearing the functions of theme, location and instrument are discussed together since they share similarities in their realisation. They also share the following properties with objects:

- Cannot be encoded both by an NP and a clitic;
- Do not receive any overt marking when realised as NPs;
- Occur in postverbal position.

Compare (50) to (53) in which the NPs *namit̃* 'mats' are formally identical but perform different functions: P in (50), T in (51), L in (52), and I in (53):

(50) Ur=pau[4] naɱ̃it.
3PL.S=weave mat
'They wove mats.'
[elicited]

(51) Ur=tua=e naɱ̃it.
3PL.S=give=3SG.OBJ mat
'They gave him mats.'
[elicited]

(52) Ur=maturu naɱ̃it.
3PL.S=sleep mat
'They slept on mats.'
[elicited]

(53) Ur=kul gor=ea naɱ̃it.
3PL.S=cover block=3SG.OBJ mat
'They completely covered him with mats.'
[elicited]

Examples (54) to (57) mirror (50) to (53), with the difference that participants previously encoded with the NP *naɱ̃it* are now encoded with enclitics. The P argument in (54) is encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', the T argument in (55) with *=s* '3SG.OBJ', and the location and instruments in (56) and (57) with *=s* '3OBL'. These examples show that there is a difference in pronominal encoding between three classes of arguments: P and R arguments, T arguments of ditransitive verbs, and L and I arguments. Note also that in (54) and (56), the objects can be singular or plural as seen in the translations, but in terms of marking, singular forms occur. This is because their referents are inanimates and number distinctions are not marked for inanimates. Instead, singular forms occur by default to encode such referents:

(54) Ur=paus=**ia**.
3PL.S=weave=SG.OBJ
'They wove it/them.'
[elicited]

(55) Ur=tua**=e=s**.
3PL.S=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'They gave it/them to him.'
[elicited]

[4] The verb *paus* 'weave' is part of a class of verbs which retain their last consonant when hosting an enclitic but drop it otherwise, for instance, when followed by an NP or a verb in an SVC (see 3.3.5).

(56) Ur=maturu=**s**.
3PL.S=sleep=3OBL
'They slept on it/them.'
[elicited]

(57) Ur=kul gor=**ea**=**s**.
3PL.S=cover block=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'They covered him with it/those.'
[elicited]

The examples in (58) to (61) are ungrammatical because the postverbal arguments are encoded with enclitics that do not match their grammatical function or the subclass of the verb. Example (58) shows that the P argument of a Class 1 transitive verb cannot be encoded by *=s*, while (59) shows that the T of a ditransitive cannot be encoded by an object enclitic other than *=s* '3SG.OBJ'. Examples (60) and (61) show that arguments in L and I roles cannot be encoded by object enclitics (the variation in form of the object enclitics is explained by phonological conditioning, see 8.4.3.3):

(58) *Ur=paus=s.
3PL.S=weave=3OBL
'They wove it/them.'
[elicited]

(59) *Ur=tua=e=a.
3PL.S=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'They gave it to him.'
[elicited]

(60) *Ur=maturu=ea.
3PL.S=sleep=3SG.OBJ
'They slept on it.'
[elicited]

(61) *Ur=kul gor=ea=e.
3PL.S=cover block=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'They covered him with it.'
[elicited]

7.4.2 Word order

The most basic verbal clause consists of a verb hosting pronominal clitics encoding its arguments, and arguments do not need to be realised by NPs. Subjects are obligatorily realised

by proclitics, while other arguments are realised either with enclitics or NPs. When NPs occur, the order is rigid SV/AVP/AVRT. If NPs do not occur, this order remains unchanged as the clitics encoding the arguments occur in the same order. Word order in the three clause types is represented below (SUBJ is a subject NP, OBJ an object NP, OBL an oblique NP, 'subj=' is a subject proclitic, '=obj' an object enclitic, and '=obl' an oblique enclitic):

Monovalent (intransitive verb):	(SUBJ) subj=V		(see 7.4.2.1)
Divalent (intransitive verb):	(SUBJ) subj=V	{OBL / =obl}	(see 7.4.2.2)
Divalent (transitive verb):	(SUBJ) subj=V	{OBJ / =obj}	(see 7.4.2.2)
Trivalent (transitive verb):	(SUBJ) subj=V	{OBJ OBL / =obj =obl}	(see 7.4.2.3)
Trivalent (ditransitive verb):	(SUBJ) subj=V	{OBJ OBJ / =obj =obj}	(see 7.4.2.3)

Fig. 7.1 presented a basic order in which clause constituents are organised around the predicate. In Lelepa, constituent order is rigid, and since the language lacks overt case-marking, order is used for coding arguments. This does not mean that there is no variability in constituent order in the clause, but that the basic, unmarked order is fixed. See 7.6 for a discussion on order variations.

7.4.2.1 Monovalent clauses

Monovalent clauses only have one subject argument. Whether this argument is expressed solely with a subject proclitic as in (62) or with both a subject proclitic and an NP as in (63), the subject is always preverbal:

(62) **Kar=**ga rua sua pnoti!
2PL.S=IRR two go.down go.away
'You two go down!'
[elicited]

(63) **Fterki** **nag** **e=**kwa?
wife 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=be.how
'What's up with your wife?'
[elicited]

Weather and some natural environment situations (rain, hot, cold, night, etc.) are expressed with zero-arguments verbs in many languages. In contrast, in Lelepa this is expressed with a lexical subject, and in this case the subject proclitic cannot be considered as a dummy pronominal, but as a referential item:[5]

(64) Usa e=p̃o.
rain 3PL.S=fall[rain]
'It rains.' (*lit. rain is falling*)
[elicited]

(65) Nalia e=mlat
place 3SG.S=be.cold
'It's cold.' (*lit. the place is cold*)
[elicited]

(66) Nalia e=ftunu
place 3SG.S=be.hot
'It's hot.' (*lit. the place is hot*)
[elicited]

(67) N-malogo e=kat malogo
NMLZ-be.dark 3SG.S=CERT be.dark
'It's night.' (*lit. darkness is dark already*)
[elicited]

7.4.2.2 Divalent clauses

There are two classes of divalent clauses:

- The two arguments are subject and object, and are both obligatory. The order is SUBJvOBJ.

[5] Note that this the case in many Vanuatu languages, as well as in Bislama (*ren i ren* 'it's raining', *ples i kolkol* 'it's cold', *ples i tudak* 'it's night'). This shows one of the substrate's influences on that language.

- The two arguments are subject and oblique. Oblique arguments can be added to a monovalent clause, giving an SUBJvOBL order.

- SUBJvOBJ

The subject is preverbal and the object postverbal. In (68), both sentences have the same participants associated in the same event predicated by the verb *p̃at* 'hit'. However, the order of the two NP arguments is crucial in determining which argument is in A function and which one is in P function. Example (68) shows that the A is preverbal, while the P is postverbal:

(68) a. **Nanoae** e=p̃at **nagrun**.
man 3SG.S=hit woman
'The man hit the woman.'
[elicited]

b. **Nagrun** e=p̃at **nanoae**.
woman 3SG.S=hit man
'The woman hit the man.'
[elicited]

It is possible for an object NP to be preverbal. This is a pragmatically marked order with left-dislocation of an object NP that is a topic (see 5.5.2, 7.6.2.3). This is shown in (69), in which the NP *nafsana matua nge* 'this old story' is left-dislocated to an extended clause position. Note that this NP is obligatorily referenced in the basic clause with the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', and that the SUBJvOBJ order is preserved in the basic clause:

(69) **Nafsana** **matua** **nge**, te=matua agnem slafea
language old DEF SBST=be,old 1PL.INCL.POSS before

ur=to magnem til**=ia**.
3PL.S=IPFV 1PL.INCL.BEN tell=3SG.OBJ
'As for this old story, our elders from before used to tell it to us.'

- SUBJvOBL

The other class of divalent clauses consists of a subject and an oblique. Such clauses arise when an argument is added to a monovalent clause without the requirement for the intransitive verb to be transitively derived. The added argument has the role of location, instrument or theme and can be encoded with an NP or the enclitic *=s* '3OBL'. Compare the

monovalent clause with the intransitive *saksake* 'sit' in (70) with the divalent clauses with the same verb in (71) and (72), in which *saksake* takes an added L argument:

(70)

E=kat	saksake,	e=rkof=ia,	ar=kat	mato.
3SG.S=CERT	sit	3SG.R=be.beside=3SG.OBJ	3DU.S=CERT	stay.long

'She sat down, she was beside him, they both stayed.'

In (71), the added argument is an NP which seems to be treated identically to a P: it is immediately postverbal, and is not overtly marked.

(71)

Ur=ga	fa	saksake	**tasak**	**naara**	**warampa**.
3PL.S=IRR	go:IRR	sit	stool	3PL.POSS	there.forward

'They will sit on their stool there.'

However, in (72) the argument is encoded on *saksake* with the enclitic *=s* '3OBL':

(72)

E=saksake=**s**	se	n-malogo	e=kat	malogo.
3SG.S=sit=3OBL	while	NMLZ-be.dark	3SG.S=CERT	be.dark

'She sat on it while the night fell.'

In (73) we see that object enclitics on intransitive verbs are ungrammatical:

(73)

*E=saksake=**a**	se	n-malogo	e=kat	malogo.
3SG.S=sit=3SG.OBJ	while	NMLZ-dark	3SG.S=CERT	dark

'She sat on it while the night fell.'
[elicited]

This is further shown in (74), in which the intransitive *mato* 'stay.long' takes an oblique argument encoded with *=s* '3OBL'. The enclitic refers to the NP *Bellevue*,[6] which occurs in the preceding sentence:

(74)

Ar=kat	pa-ki	**Bellevue**	pa.
1PL.EXCL.S=CERT	go-TR	p.name	GO

Ar=mato**=s**	to	pan	pan	pa,
1PL.EXCL.S=stay.long=3OBL	STAT	GO	GO	GO

'We went to Bellevue. We lived there for a while,'
[elicited]

[6] Bellevue is a suburb of the Vanuatu capital Port-Vila.

Divalent clauses with intransitive verbs can also take oblique arguments with the role of theme. In (75), the intransitive *susu* 'be.dressed' functions intransitively in a monovalent clause, whereas in (76), it takes an oblique argument encoded with *=s* '3OBL', which references the NP *nasusuna* 'clothes':

(75) Ur=ga susu, ur=ga fat traosis.
3PL.S=IRR be.dressed 3PL.S=IRR make trousers
'They would wear clothes, they would put trousers on.'

(76) **Nasusuna** ur=to **susu=s,**
clothes 3PL.S=IPFV be.dressed=3OBL

e=taos=ia ku=to loῲa=e tusi tap.
3SG.S=like=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=IPFV see=3SG.OBJ book be.taboo
'The clothes they wore, they were like what you see in the Bible.'

In (77), *kai* 'cry' functions intransitively. In (78), *kai* takes an oblique argument encoded with the enclitic *=s* '3OBL'. This enclitic is coreferential with *natam̃ol nge* 'this man', which heads an NP and is modified by a following relative clause (underlined) . *=s* occurs inside the relative clause:

(77) E=mtouki-nia, e=kai, e=kai tapla se,[...]
3SG.S=fear=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=cry 3SG.S=cry like.this while
'She feared her, she cried, she cried like this then, [...]'

(78) **Natam̃ol** **nge** **ku=to** **kai=s,**
person DEF 2SG.S=IPFV cry=3OBL

e=to uta wara to kite e=pueli?
3SG.S=stay landwards here STAT or 3SG.S= not.be.there
'This man you're crying for, is he on the beach here or is he gone?'

7.4.2.3 Trivalent clauses

Trivalent clauses take three arguments, and while there is always a subject and an object, the third argument varies in its role, depending on whether it is required or not by the verb. These clauses fall into two classes: those with two objects and those with one object and one oblique.

- SUBJvOBJ$_1$.OBJ$_2$

This configuration occurs with ditransitive verbs of transfer (*tua* 'give', *rki* 'tell', and *paoseki* 'ask'). All arguments are obligatory and regarded as core arguments. The subject is preverbal as expected, the primary object is in R function and precedes the secondary object in T function. This order is valid when the two objects are expressed with NPs as in (79), and when one or both are expressed as enclitics as in (80) and (81). Recipients are in bold and themes are underlined:

(79) A=ga tua **nag** <u>rarua n-e=to</u>.
1SG.S=IRR give 2SG canoe REL-3SG.S=stay
'I will give you this canoe.'
[elicited]

(80) Ur=ti tua**=e** <u>nalia na e=pi nalia wia</u> mau.
3PL.S=NEG give=3SG.OBJ place REL 3SG.S=COP place good NEG2
'They did not give him a place that was a good place.'

(81) E=ga mas, <u>p̃a=tua**=e**=s</u> e=ga paam=ia.
3SG.S=IRR be.cooked 2SG.S:IRR=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR eat=3SG.OBJ
'It will be cooked, give it to him he will eat it.'

The order of the two objects is fixed and cannot be changed (there is no dative alternation in Lelepa), as shown by (82) which is not ungrammatical but semantically unacceptable:[7]

(82) A=ga tua <u>rarua n=e=to</u> **nag**.
1SG.S give canoe REL=3SG.S=stay 2SG
'I will give you to this canoe'
*'I will give this canoe to you.'
[elicited]

- SUBJvOBJ.OBL

In these clauses, only the subject and object are obligatory. Similarly to SvOBL clauses, the oblique is an optionally added argument. It occurs in final argument position, after the object. In (83), the transitive verb *lop̃a* 'see' takes an obligatory object encoded with *=e* '3SG.OBJ' (in bold), and an optional oblique with the role of location encoded with the NP *p̃ag* 'inside' (underlined):

[7] Although informants attributed 'I will give you to this canoe' as a possible reading for (82), they did not accept it as a meaningful sentence.

(83) A-m̃a-ota e=to p̃ag, p̃a=fa loṕa**=e** p̃ag.
KIN-2SG.POSS -husband 3SG.S=stay inside 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR see=3SG.OBJ inside
'Your husband is inside, go see him inside.'

In (84), the verb *pai* 'pack' hosts two enclitics encoding an object and an oblique. The object enclitic =*ra* '3PL.OBJ' is coreferential with *natam̃ol* 'people' which functions as the subject of the preceding clause. The enclitic =*s* '3OBL' refers to the location in which corpses of deceased people were laid (that is, the hulls of old canoes which were used as coffins in the past):

(84) Natam̃ol$_i$ ur$_i$=mate, ur$_j$=po pai**=ra**$_{i=}$s$_k$.
person 3PL.S=dead 3PL.S=SEQ pack=3PL.OBJ=3OBL
'People died, and then they put them in it.'

Trivalent clauses can also have oblique arguments with the role of instrument (objects are in bold, instruments are underlined):

(85) Ur=ga sara**=e** garau pa e=ga salsal sarik.
3PL.S=IRR hollow.out=3SG.OBJ round.adze GO 3SG.=IRR be.light a.little
'They will hollow it out with the round-bladed adze until it is slightly lighter.'

(86) A=pat paksaki **naoko=n** **luku** **nag-na** srosro, e=nou.
1SG.S=make clean mouth=POSS:NH hole ASS-3SG.POSS flat.adze 3SG.S=be.finished
'I clean the inside of it with the flat adze until done.'

(87) Nag ku=mas **bred** memis na e=p̃ol.
2SG 2SG.S=cut bread knife REL 3SG.S=be.blunt
'You cut the bread with a knife that is not sharp.'
[elicited]

Instruments can be indexed on the verb with =*s* '3OBL'. This is shown in (88), in which all three arguments of the verb *takorog* 'feel' are realised with enclitics. The object is encoded with =*ea* '3SG.OBJ' and the oblique with =*s* '3OBL':

(88) P̃a=traem wus kal wa-s tkan=ia,
2SG.S:IRR=try hold digging.stick DEM-PROX pierce=3SG.OBJ

p̃a=takorog**=ea**=s.
2SG.S:IRR=feel=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'Please get this digging stick to poke it, you'll feel it with it.'

7.4.3 Argument coding summary

The findings of 7.4.1 and 7.4.2 are summarised in table 7.5. Three different patterns of argument coding can be distinguished, according to the treatment arguments receive regarding realisation and order in the clause.

- S and A arguments are obligatorily encoded with subject proclitics (table 7.1), and can be realised with both an NP and pronominal clitics.[8] In contrast to all other arguments, they are preverbal. They are regarded as subjects.
- Ps, Rs and Ts of ditransitive verbs of transfer are encoded with object enclitics (table 7.2). Ts of ditransitives of transfer differ from Ps and Rs in that they occur in third position in trivalent clauses. They are regarded as objects: Ps and Rs are primary objects and Ts of ditransitives are secondary objects. This distinction is represented by the dotted line in table 7.5.
- Ls, Is and Ts (of intransitives and transitives) are all indexed with the oblique enclitic *=s* '3OBL' and occur in final position in trivalent clauses. These arguments are regarded as obliques.

	Obligatory proclitic	**Co-referential NP and clitic**	**Object enclitic**	**Oblique enclitic**	**Preverbal**	**Postverbal**	**Second position in trivalent clauses**	**Final position in trivalent clauses**
S	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
A	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
P	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
R	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
T	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
T	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
L	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
I	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+

Table 7.5. Argument coding

[8] Subject proclitics can sometime be omitted, under particular circumstances (see 10.1.2).

7.4.4 Grammatical relations

7.4.4.1 Subject

The robust patterning of S and A arguments is good evidence for positing a grammatical relation for subject. Subjects are:

- Required by all verbs
- Preverbal
- Obligatorily realised by subject proclitics
- Optionally preceded by a co-referential NP in the basic clause

Along with the verb root, subject proclitics are the only obligatory constituent in a well-formed clause. They are thus regarded as the syntactic subject of the clause, and used as evidence for monoclausality, a test which will be useful for the analysis of serial verb constructions (see 10.4).

7.4.4.2 Object

In contrast to Ss and As, other arguments do not pattern together in a single group. The language makes a distinction between two types of non-subject arguments: P, R and T arguments of ditransitives (white area in table 7.5) pattern together but separately from L, I and other T arguments (shaded bottom area in table 7.5). The most important difference between these two groupings is that in the former these arguments are required by the verb, while this is not the case in the latter. Arguments from the first group (white area in table 7.5) are objects. Their properties are as follows:

- Required on transitive and ditransitive verbs
- Postverbal
- Realised by object enclitics or object NPs
- Primary objects precede secondary objects
- Primary objects cannot be encoded by *=s* '3SG.OBJ', secondary objects can be encoded by *=s* '3SG.OBJ'.

The alignment pattern in ditransitive clauses is secundative: the recipient of the ditransitive is treated similarly to the object of a monotransitive, while the theme receives its own treatment

(Haspelmath 2005:2, Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2007:4, Dryer 2007b:256). In (89)a, the recipient of the ditransitive *tua* 'give' is encoded with the same enclitic as the object of the monotransitive *lopa̰* 'see' in (89)b. In contrast, the theme is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ':

(89) a. pa̰=tua**=e**=s
2SG.S:IRR=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'Give it to him.'

b. ku=lopa̰**=e**
2SG.SR=see=3SG.OBJ
'You saw it/him.'
[elicited]

Recall that T arguments of intransitives and monotransitives (shaded bottom area in table 7.5) are not required by the verb, and cannot be regarded as objects. T arguments are thus not showing a unified behaviour: with ditransitive verbs of transfer, they are core arguments, while they are obliques with all other verbs. They can be optionally added, as seen in (76) and (78) for intransitives, and (83) to (88) for monotransitives.

7.4.4.3 Split object

A split is defined as 'the situation where different verbs use different constructions, while an alternation is the situation where one and the same verb can occur with different constructions with roughly the same meaning' (Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2007:13). In Lelepa, different transitive verbs occur in different transitive constructions, which show a split in transitivity rather than an alternation.[9] Objects of monotransitives were shown to pattern in two groups. A third person object may be encoded by *=s* '3SG.OBJ' or by another enclitic such as *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', as seen in (90) (repeated from (1)):

(90) a. E=pa̰t**=ia**
3SG.S=hit=3SG.OBJ
'He hit him.'

[9] Such a split in transitivity is different from differential object marking (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003), which is a type of alternation. In differential object marking, a transitive verb is able to take different objects which receive different marking according to their properties (e.g. animacy, definiteness, etc). In a transitivity split, a given verb can only take a given type of object, while another verb takes another type of object.

b. E=plaga=**s**
3SG.S=look.for=3SG.OBJ
'He looked for it'
[elicited]

The split is not phonologically conditioned. While phonological conditioning plays a large part in the distribution of the different forms of third person singular object enclitics in the language (see 9.4.3.3), the conditioning for verbs to take =*s* or =*ia* has to do with verb subclass: Class 1 transitives take =*ia* '3SG.OBJ' (or another phonologically conditioned allomorph of the third singular object enclitic), and Class 2 transitives take =*s* '3SG.OBJ'. This suggests that this split in transitivity is best explained as an instance of lexical conditioning. The main argument in favour of this view is that transitive subclass membership is not predictable but can be established following the morphosyntactic behaviour of verbs. There are about twenty known indigenous Class 2 transitive verbs, complemented by all borrowed transitive verbs. They take =*s* '3SG.OBJ' like *plaga* 'look for' in (91)a when their object is 3rd person singular (see 8.5.2, 9.4.4.1). If their object is not third person singular however, these verbs need to take –*ki* 'TR' as seen in (91)b. This alternation is unique to this group of verbs:

(91) a. E=plaga=**s**
3SG.S=look.for=3SG.OBJ
'He looked for it'

b. E=plag**-ki-go.**
3SG.S=look.for-TR-2SG.OBJ
'He looked for you.'
[elicited]

In addition, the referents of objects of Class 2 transitives have certain semantic properties in common: they tend to be low in the animacy and person hierarchies (i.e. they generally are inanimate and third person). In contrast, Class 1 transitives take a range of objects reflecting a larger range of the animacy hierarchy, and have no restrictions within the person hierarchy (i.e. they encode objects from all person and number values). This suggests that although the split is lexically conditioned, it stems from a semantic motivation: Class 1 transitives tend to take a prototypical object, while Class 2 transitive do not.

This semantic motivation is also reflected by the fact that =*s* also occurs to encode oblique arguments, as seen in 6.4.1.3 and 6.4.2.2. Thus, participants with different syntactic functions (i.e. objects and obliques) but similar semantic properties are encoded with =*s*

'3SG.OBJ; 3OBL'. The referents of *=s* share a number of inherent semantic properties that are independent from morphosyntax. The referents of *=s* '3SG.OBJ' tend to be inanimate and less affected. Similarly, the referents of *=s* '3OBL' tend to encode locations and instruments, which are also typically inanimate and not affected. It seems then more elegant to analyse *=s* '3SG.OBJ; 3OBL' as a multifunctional morpheme encoding a particular class of objects and all obliques.

For these reasons, Lelepa is regarded as a split-object language. This is typologically uncommon both in the Austronesian family as well as in the world's languages. A known example is Taba, an Austronesian language from South Halmahera, in which the split is between P arguments denoting locations and instruments on the one hand and all other Ps on the other (Bowden 2001). Finally, note that while not well attested in monotransitive constructions, such lexical splits are common in ditransitive constructions (Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2007:18).[10]

7.4.4.4 Oblique

Oblique arguments need to be distinguished from both core arguments like objects and from adjuncts. Typically, obliques exhibit some properties of both, but do not pattern neatly with either, and as such form a separate class of arguments (Arka 2005, Andrews 2007a:157). In Lelepa, the behaviour of oblique arguments is shown in the bottom shaded area of table 7.5 above, which groups together T, L and I arguments. Recall that those T arguments are not arguments of ditransitive verbs of transfer, but occur with intransitives and transitives. An additional and crucial property of oblique arguments is that they are not syntactically required by the verb. When they occur, they can be encoded with the enclitic *=s* '3OBL', as in (92) to (94) (repeated from (56), (57) and (72)):

(92) Ur=maturu=**s**.
3PL.S=sleep=3OBL
'They slept on it/them.'
[elicited]

[10] The Oceanic language Drehu, spoken in New Caledonia, displays a split in ditransitive constructions (Moyse-Faurie 1983:161-162). In Drehu, the split is between two types of indirect objects, those that are unmarked and those that are introduced by a preposition. Indirect objects referring to proper nouns and pronouns are unmarked, while all other indirect objects are introduced by a preposition. Outside of Austronesia, a case of lexical split in ditransitive constructions is English (Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2007:40).

(93) Ur=kul gor=**ea**=**s**.
3PL.S=cover block=3SG.OBJ=3OBL
'They covered him with it/those.'
[elicited]

(94) E=saksake=**s** se n-malogo e=kat malogo.
3SG.S=sit=3OBL while NMLZ-be.dark 3SG.S=CERT be.dark
'She sat on it while the night fell.'

The main properties of oblique arguments compared with those of core arguments and adjuncts are presented in table 7.6:

	core	oblique	adjuncts
Required by verb	+	-	-
Encoded by pronominal clitics	+	+	-
Can be left-dislocated	+	+	-
Denote locations	+	+	-
Denote instruments	-	+	-
Denote beneficiaries	-	-	+
Denote sources	-	-	+
Denote temporal information	-	-	+

Table 7.6. Compared properties of core and oblique arguments, and adjuncts

7.5 Adjuncts

As seen in fig. 7.1, adjuncts (ADJT) occur in three positions, before ARG_1, after ARG_3, and before the verb. They are introduced with prepositions in some cases, but most frequently they occur unmarked. They belong to the extended clause (see 7.1.2), a position located at the left and right margins of the basic clause. The exception to this is the benefactive phrase, an unusual constituent which occurs pre-verbally and introduces a beneficiary participant (see 7.5.3). While the initial position of the extended clause is located before ARG_1, the final position of the extended clause follows the directional and aspectual particles *pa* 'GO', *panei* 'COME', *to* '*stat*', and *pea/fea* 'FIRST' (see 10.6).

7.5.1 Temporal adjuncts

Temporal adjuncts locate an event in time, and can be realised as NPs or temporal adverbs (see 4.7.2.1). They occur in the extended clause, in initial and final positions. However, not all temporal adjuncts, and particularly those realised by certain temporal adverbs, have access to both positions. For instance, *sral* 'often' only occurs in final position as in (103) while *nagsange*

'at that time' only occurs in initial position. Examples (95) to (98) show temporal adjuncts occurring in initial position, preceding the basic clause. In this position, temporal adjuncts may be in the same intonation contour as the rest of the clause as in (95), or may be followed by a short pause as in (96). When temporal adjuncts are occurring in their own intonation contour as in (96), it is likely that emphasis is put on the time of the event, and that the adjunct is topicalised. However, more work is needed to determine the function of this variation in prosody:

(95) E=to pan pan pa,
3SG.S=stay GO GO GO

matmai e=mro palse llu pan pa laka=e.
tomorrow 3SG.S=AGAIN paddle return GO GO see=3SG.OBJ
'He stayed for a while, the next day he paddled back there to see it.'

(96) **Malmauna**, p̃a=fa rki mamei nago=s.
now 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR tell father 2SG.POSS=3OBL
'Now, go tell your dad about it.'

The temporal adverb *malange* 'then, at that time' is a compound formed with the noun *mala* 'time' and the determiner *nge* 'DEF'. In (97) it occurs clause-initially, while it is also attested finally (see 4.7.2.1):

(97) **Malange** e=to plaga=s, e=lop̃a n-malogo malogo.
then 3SG.S=IPFV look.for=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ NMLZ-be.dark be.dark
'At that time he was looking for it, he saw it was getting dark.'

Similarly to *malange*, *nagsange* 'then, at that time' is also a temporal adverb formed by compounding the noun *nagsa* 'time' and the determiner *nge* 'DEF'. Although *malange* and *nagsange* seem semantically very close to each other, *nagsange* is only attested clause-initially as in (98):

(98) E=to pan pan pa, **nagsange**
3SG.S=stay GO GO GO then

e=maroa-ki-nia lag e=ga llu.
3SG.S=think-TR=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR return
'It went on for a while, then he thought that he would return.'

Examples (99) to (103) show temporal adjuncts occurring in final position. In (95), *matmai* 'tomorrow' occurred initially, and in (99) it occurs finally:

(99)

E=pi	wago	wei	tu=ga	paam=ia	**matmai**	na-e.
3SG.S=COP	pig	TOP	1PL.INCL.S=IRR	eat=3SG.OBJ	tomorrow	DEM-ADD

'This is the pig we'll eat tomorrow.'

Temporal adjuncts may also be expressed as prepositional phrases. In (100), *matmai* occurs in a prepositional phrase introduced by *paki* 'to':

(100)

Tu=ga	atlake	mesa,	paki	**matmai**,	tu=ga	paam=ia.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR	start	today	to	tomorrow	1PL.INCL.S=IRR	eat=3SG.OBJ

'We will start today, and until tomorrow, we will eat it.'

Adjuncts occur in the extended clause, after aspectual and directional particles. In (101), *malange* 'then, at that time' follows the aspectual particle to 'STAT':

(101)

E=to	Rom	to	**malange**.
3SG.S=stay	p.name	STAT	then

'It was in Rome at that time.'

The time adverb *sral* 'often' is only attested clause-finally, and can be modified by other adverbs such as the degree adverb *m̃ol* 'just, only':

(102)

Naara	ur=msau-na	lag	ur=ga	to	m̃alam̃ala	to,
3PL	3PL.S=want-3SG.OBJ	COMP	3PL.S=IRR	stay	be.naked	STAT

Ur=ga	to	taakae	**sral**.
3PL.S=IRR	IPFV	dance	often

'They wanted to remain naked, they would dance often.'

(103)

Kane	usa	e=p̃o,	e=to	p̃o	**sral**	**m̃ol.**
but	rain	3SG.S=rain	3SG.S=IPFV	rain	often	just

'But it rained, it rained all the time.'

7.5.2 Source adjuncts

Source adjuncts are introduced with the preposition *pae* 'SOURCE' (see 4.8.1.1). Like temporal adjuncts, source adjuncts occur in initial position as in (104) and in final position as in (105).

The preposition *pae* can be followed by a temporal adverb as in (104). In this case, since *malange* locates the event in a particular point in time, *pae* adds a temporal source meaning:

(104) Go **pae** **malange**, jioj e=tika to pan pan pa...
and SOURCE then church 3SG.S=not.have stay GO GO GO
'And since then, there was no church until...'

More often however, *pae* is followed by an NP, as in (105). This example also shows that *pae* not only introduces temporal source meaning as in (104), but also people as sources:

(105) A=rogo nafsan nag-na **pae** **te=matua**.
1SG.S=hear language ASS-3SG.POSS SOURCE SBST=be.old
'I heard its story from the elders.'

Pae can also combine with the preposition *naloni* 'about'. In this case, there is a meaning extension and the whole phrase acquires a meaning similar to English 'regarding':

(106) Natrausina nge, e=panei **pae** **naloni** maanu rua.
story DEF 3SG.S=come SOURCE about bird two
'As for this story, it is about two birds.'

(107) Kan **pae** **naloni** na-felea-na kiki naara,
but SOURCE about N.SPEC-argue-NMLZ be.small 3PL.POSS

ar=tuñma-ra pa-ki=ra.
3DU.S=RR-3PL.POSS go-TR=3PL.OBJ
'But regarding their little dispute, they had a go at each other.'

7.5.3 Benefactive phrase

The main function of this constituent is to introduce a beneficiary participant in a clause. All occurrences of benefactive phrases in the corpus denote a participant with the role of beneficiary. Conversely, there are no examples in the corpus in which a beneficiary is expressed with other means. I adopt the label *benefactive phrase* after Thieberger (2006), who describes a similar constituent in South Efate.[11]

[11] Similar constructions occur in the other Central Vanuatu languages Nguna and Namakir. In Nguna, Schütz (1969:59-60) describes constructions with *magi-* 'for' and in Namakir, Sperlich calls the equivalent of the Lelepa benefactive phrase a "benefactive object" (Sperlich 1991:271). It is clear that these constructions are historically related in all four languages, since they cover the same semantic scope, are built with cognate morphemes (except

The benefactive phrase is analysed as an adjunct because it displays the properties of adjuncts, i.e. it is not required by the verb and cannot be encoded with a pronominal clitic (see table 7.6). However, it occurs in an unusual position for an adjunct, that is, not within the extended clause, but within the basic clause, between the subject proclitic and the main verb root, and following auxiliary verbs if they occur (see fig. 7.1). The position of the benefactive phrase is its most interesting feature, as it is radically different from that of all other adjuncts. In (108) and (109), the benefactive phrase consists of the preposition *mag* 'BEN' followed by an NP which encodes a beneficiary participant. Note that in (108), the benefactive phrase occurs between the auxiliary *pa* 'go' and the main verb *lao* 'plant':

(108) Nina, ur=kat pa **mag** **puasa** lao.
then 3PL.S=CERT go BEN peregrine.falcon plant
'Then, they went to plant for the peregrine falcon.'

(109) Namuan e=**mag** **papua** **nae** ma kapua.
p.name 3SG.S=BEN grandfather 3SG.POSS grate laplap
'Namuan grated laplap for his grandfather.'
[elicited]

While (108) and (109) show that the participant expressed by the benefactive phrase can be encoded with an NP, this participant can also be encoded pronominally, using a set of benefactive pronouns dedicated to the encoding of beneficiaries (see 4.6.3, table 4.10). In (110) the benefactive pronoun *mnag* '2SG.BEN' occurs before the verb *sraus* 'repeat', while in (111) *maginta* '1PL.INCL.BEN' follows the auxiliary *fa* 'go:IRR' and precedes the main verb *pat suksuk* 'make tight~RED':

(110) A=ga **mnag** sraus nafsan matua skei.
1SG.S=IRR 2SG.BEN repeat language be.old INDEF
'I will repeat an old story for you.'

(111) E=ga fa **maginta** pat suk~suk nali tete.
3SG.S=IRR go:IRR 1PL.INCL.BEN make tight~RED place some
'He will go to prepare a place for us.'

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in South Efate which does not have a dedicated benefactive morpheme) and occur in similar syntactic positions (between the subject proclitic and the verb root).

7.6 Variations in the structure of the clause

This section discusses the positions that are accessible to NPs within the basic and extended clause, and the variation that can occur in filling these positions. Recall from 5.5.2 that these variations are pragmatically conditioned. Thus the NPs occurring in these positions fulfill pragmatic functions such as topic, switch topic, contrastive topic, focus and contrastive focus. I mostly follow Lambrecht 1994 for definitions of topic and focus, while noting a range of different and useful definitions and uses for these concepts, in particular those used by Givón (2001a:198, 2001b:253-254) for topic, Givón (2001b:221) for contrastive focus, Givón (2001b:262-264) for contrastive topic, and Andrews (2007a:149) for switch topic. Lambrecht (1994:117-127) relates the notion of topic with that of 'aboutness'. In simple terms, the topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. In addition, Lambrecht (1994:117) also defines a discourse topic as a topic expression that is salient beyond the limits of a single sentence. For Givón, topicality also has to do with aboutness, and the referents of topical participants are generally NPs with the functions of subject, object and indirect object (Givón 2001b:253-254). Andrews (2007a:149) defines the useful notion of switch topic as the situation in which a previously introduced participant that was not the previous discourse topic becomes the new topic. In English the switch topic is registered by the *as for* construction, and switch topics in Lelepa are also indicated by this construction in examples' translations. As for the notion of focus, it is defined as 'the new information conveyed about a topic' (Lambrecht 1994:206). This is roughly equivalent to Andrews' (2007a:150) idea that the focus is the missing information which the speaker presupposes the hearer needs to know.

Recall that in Lelepa, there are three NP positions in the basic clause: the preverbal subject NP position, and the object and oblique NP positions which are both postverbal. In addition, there are other NP positions located in the extended clause: the left-dislocated topic and the right-dislocated NP. These extended clause positions have no restrictions regarding the grammatical function and semantic role of the NP filling them. For instance, the left-dislocated topic position can be filled by a subject, an object, and an oblique, and by NPs referring to possessors. In contrast, the basic clause NP positions can only be filled by NPs whose grammatical relations match the position's requirements. That is, the subject NP position can only be filled by subject NPs, the object NP position can only be filled by object NPs, and so on. Fig. 7.2 shows the different NP positions in the basic and extended clause.

Fig. 7.2. NP positions

NP functions	Left-dislocated topic NP	basic clause boundary	Subject NP	Verb	object NP	oblique NP	basic clause boundary	Right dislocated NP
Subject	+		+		-	-		+
Object	+		-		+	-		+
Oblique	+		-		-	+		+
Possessor	+		-		-	-		+

7.6.1 Subject NP position

The subject NP position is restricted to subject NPs whose referents are either participants mentioned for the first time or re-introduced ones. This position is not obligatory filled, and it is perfectly possible that it remains vacant provided that it was filled once before and no other participant was brought as subject. This position is distinguished from the left-dislocated topic position in that it is located in the basic clause (see fig. 7.2). Another property of the subject NP is that it is part of the intonation phrase of the basic clause. That is, no pause separates the subject NP from the rest of the basic clause. Example (112) is the opening sentence of a text, and features the subject NP *kanokiki skei* 'a boy'. This NP has all the properties of the subject NP position: it introduces a participant for the first time, the NP and following subject proclitic are co-referential, and the NP is in the same intonation phrase as the following material:

(112) **Kanokiki** **skei** e=pan lag e=ga tpa ura.
boy INDEF 3SG.S=go COMP 3SG.S=IRR shoot prawns
'A boy went to shoot prawns.'

In (113), two subject NPs are coordinated with *naaram* 'and' in the first clause. They introduce two participants which are both subjects, topics and introduced for the first time. In the following clause, *m̃aata* 'snake' is the topic and subject, and the octopus is not mentioned. In the last clause, there is a switch in topic and subject, from the snake to the octopus. The subject NP *wita* 'octopus' occurs and is in switch topic function, while the snake is not mentioned:

(113) Tuei, **m̃aata** **naaram** **wita** ar=to,
long.ago snake and octopus 3DU.S=stay

m̃aata **nae** e=to ntas,
snake 3SG 3SG.S=stay sea

wita e=to uta.
octopus 3SG.S=stay landwards
'Long ago, the snake and the octopus lived, the snake lived in the sea, and the octopus lived on land.'

In (114), the subject NP *grunkiki nge* 'the girl' is marked as definite with *nge* 'DEF'. This participant has been introduced previously in discourse, but as an object in the preceding sentence. As it is the first time that this participant is a subject, it needs to occur as an NP, even though it is definite:

(114) **Grunkiki** **nge** e=paoseki-nia=s lag,
girl DEF 3SG.S=ask-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"nag ku=to plaga nsfa?"
2SG 2SG.S=IPFV look.for what
'The girl asked him, "what are you looking for?"'

7.6.2 Left-dislocation

Foley (2007:443) distinguishes left-dislocation from topicalisation by the fact that left-dislocated NPs are co-referential with a pronominal element in the clause, while topicalised NPs are not. In Lelepa, left-dislocated NPs leave a pronominal trace in the basic clause in the form of a clitic matching their grammatical function. The main function of left-dislocation is to contrast a participant against another one, and according to Givón, left-dislocation is used with referents which have been out of the focus of attention for a while and need to be brought back into the discourse (Givón 2001b:265). In Lelepa, left-dislocated topics occur to the left of the verb, like subject NPs. They may thus be ambiguous, especially if the left-dislocated NP and the subject proclitic are co-referential. Evidence to disambiguate both positions is found in the intonation pattern of the clause: a subject NP is in the same intonation contour as the rest of the basic clause, whereas a left-dislocated NP is not. Left-dislocated NPs occur in their own intonation contour, characterised by a rise in intonation at the end of the contour and followed by a pause.

7.6.2.1 Left-dislocated subject

A left-dislocated subject NP refers to a participant that has been previously established in discourse and which is pragmatically contrasted against the other participants. In (115), the subject NP *konou* '1SG' is left dislocated: its referent has been previously established, first as the lexical NP *ras* 'p.name', and then included in the reference of the pronoun *kinta* '1PL.INCL'. The same referent is denoted again with *konou* '1SG', but this time it is left-dislocated and contrasted with the other participants:

(115) Male **Ras** e=rogo=ra, e=lag, "**kinta** tu=ga mau pan.
when p.name 3SG.S=feel=3PL.OBJ 3SG.S=say 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.S all go

Konou, a=ga ras nanu."
1SG 1SG.S=IRR gather coconut
'When Gatherer heard them, he said, "Let's all go. As for me, I'll gather the coconuts."'

7.6.2.2 Left-dislocated arguments of equative clauses

This type of left-dislocation is a subtype of subject left-dislocation, as the left-dislocated NPs are in fact the subjects of equative clauses, as seen in (116):

(116) Kane **faatu** **n-e=to**, e=pi lesko.
but stone REL-3SG.S=stay 3SG.S=COP real
'But this stone, it is real.'

7.6.2.3 Left-dislocated object

Like left-dislocated subjects, left-dislocated objects occur when the referent of the NP needs to be contrasted with other participants. In (117), *Fakna* 'p.name' is left-dislocated and leaves a pronominal trace in the basic clause with the object suffix *-nia* '3SG.OBJ'. Note that *=s* '3SG.OBJ' indexes the complement clause introduced by *lag* 'COMP' (see 12.4.1):

(117) **Fakna**, mamei nae e=rki-**nia**=s lag,
p.name father 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=tell-3SG.OBJ=3OBL COMP

"Fakna, namta-m̃a nar-m̃a, p̃a=to lo."
p.name eye-3SG.POSS hand-2SG.POSS 2SG.S:IRR=IPFV look
'As for Fakna, her father told her, "Fakna, your eyes, your hands, keep on looking."'

7.6.2.4 Left-dislocated oblique

Similarly, left-dislocated oblique NPs occur in their own intonation contour and leave a pronominal trace in the basic clause, with the oblique enclitic *=s* '3OBL'. In (118) to (120), left-dislocated oblique NPs occur, and their referents are cross-referenced with *=s* in the basic clause:

(118) **Wara**, a=to pat tera**=s**.
here 1SG.S=IPFV make garden=3OBL
'Here, I used to make a garden.'

(119) **Lolaapa**, patriki e=ti laapa**=s** mau.
p.name mosquito 3SG.S=NEG1 be.many=3OBL NEG
'In Lelepa, there are not many mosquitoes.'

(120) **Kapua na ur=pat=ia**, naɲas wago e=to**=s**.
laplap REL 3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ meat pig 3SG.S=stay=3OBL
'As for the laplap they made, there is pork in it.'
[elicited]

7.6.2.5 Left-dislocated Possessor

It is possible for possessors to be left-dislocated, as seen in (121) with the NP *mutuama* 'the ogre'. While it does not denote an argument in the following clause, it is still part of the subject argument *naoko-na* 'mouth-3SG.POSS', as it is the possessor of the head of that NP. In addition, it is realised in the basic clause with the direct possession suffix *–na* '3SG.POSS', which satisfies the condition that left-dislocated NPs should leave a pronominal trace in the basic clause:

(121) **Mutuama**, naoko-na e=kat sara=s.
ogre mouth-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=CERT run=3OBL
'As for the ogre, his mouth was watering because of it.'

Similarly, in (123) the left dislocated NP is a possessor. In contrast with (122) the left-dislocated NP is a personal pronoun rather than a lexical NP:

(123) **Konou**, nagi konou e=pi Eunice.
1SG name 1SG 3SG.S=COP p.name
'As for me, my name is Eunice.'

7.6.3 Right-dislocation

Like left-dislocated NPs, right-dislocated NPs occur in their own intonation contour. They occur to the right of the basic clause, and may or may not leave a pronominal trace in the basic clause. According to Givón (2001b.:267), right-dislocated NPs are used by speakers as an afterthought, when they judge that a referent they initially evaluated as easily accessible to the hearer may not be that accessible, thus they re-code it with a right-dislocated NP. Example (124) shows a right-dislocated subject NP. The pronominal trace left in the basic clause is the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S':

(124) **E=**kis noas, **tena**.
3SG.S=press island.cabbage SBST.DEM
'She spreads island cabbage, this one.'

In (125), the right-dislocated NP *skul nge* 'this school' is an oblique argument. It leaves the pronominal trace =*s* '3OBL' in the basic clause:

(125) Konou a=pa-ki skulu**=s**, **skul** **nge**.
1SG 1SG.S=go-TR school=3OBL school DEF
'I went to school there, in this school.'

In contrast, the right-dislocated NP in (126) does not leave a pronominal in the clause. However, there is an oblique NP in the basic clause (underlined) which shares the same referent. Note that it is possible that (126) illustrates a different type of right-dislocation:

(126) E=pan pa saksake mato <u>nakor nae</u> to,
3SG.S=go GO sit stay.long pen 3SG.POSS STAT

nakor=n **waago** **nae** **to**.
pen=POSS.NH pig 3SG.POSS STAT
'He went and sat down in his pen, in his pig's pen.'

7.6.4 Topicalisation of adjuncts

In contrast with left-dislocation, topicalisation is defined as the fronting of a constituent which does not leave any pronominal trace in the clause (Foley 2007:443). In Lelepa, adjunct NPs cannot be left-dislocated but are topicalised when they need to be made more prominent. Topicalisation and left-dislocation have some properties in common. For instance, the intonational pattern used in topicalisation is identical to that of left-dislocation: topicalised

adjuncts occur in their own intonation contour, while the basic clause occurs in a different intonation contour. In contrast, topicalised adjuncts do not leave a pronominal trace in the basic clause. In (127), the temporal adjunct *malange* is topicalised: it is separated from the clause and occurs in its own intonational contour, and leaves no pronominal trace in the basic clause:

(127) Go **malange**, ar=atlake napua naara.
and then 3DU.S=start road 3PL.POSS
'And then, they started to go out.' (*lit. they started their road*)

7.7 Negation

7.7.1 Symmetric negation

In symmetric negation, the structure of the negated clause is identical to that of the non-negated clause, except for the occurrence of negative morphemes. This is shown in (128):

(128) a. E=p̃at=ia
3SG.S=hit=3SG.OBJ
'He hit him.'

b. E=**ti** p̃at=ia **mau**.
3SG.S=NEG hit=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'He didn't hit him.'
[elicited]

In Lelepa, symmetric negation is the main way of expressing negation. Clauses are negated with the bipartite particle *ti* 'NEG'... *mau* 'NEG2'. The first particle *ti* occurs in the verb complex, between the subject proclitic and the verb (see fig. 9.1, 9.3.5), while the second particle *mau* occurs at the end of the simple or complex clause, if a subordinate clause is negated. If several simple clauses in a row are negated, *ti* must occur in each verb complex whereas *mau* only needs to occur after the last negated clause. This is seen in (129), in which *ti* occurs in each of the three negated clauses, while *mau* occurs only once, after the last negated clause:

(129) Se misi e=lag, "a=**ti** msau nam̃it, a=**ti** msau wago,
while missionary 3SG.S=say 1SG.S=NEG want mat 1SG.S=NEG want pig

a=**ti** msau nafnag pi kastom **mau**."
1SG.S=NEG want food COP custom NEG2
'And the missionary said, "I don't want mats, I don't want pigs, I don't want traditional food."'

Evidence that *mau* does not occur inside the basic clause is shown by the fact that it follows the aspectual and directional particles occurring at the end of the basic clause, such as *to* 'STAT' in (130) and *pan* 'GO' in (131):

(130) Ar=ti to nalia skimau to **mau**.
3DU.S=NEG stay place be.like STAT NEG2
'They didn't stay in the same place.'

(131) Ta=ga rua roa, po ti pa-ki lau pan **mau**.
1DU.INCL.S=IRR two fall SEQ NEG go-TR seawards go NEG2.
'We will fall, and we won't be able to go down to the coast.'

When adjuncts occur as part of the extended clause, *mau* follows, showing that it occurs after the extended clause. In (132), *mau* follows the sentential adverb *taplange* 'like this':

(132) Tetei=n malmauna naara ur=to pa-ki maket,
mother=POSS:NH now 3PL 3PL.S=IPFV go-TR market

se ur=mro **ti** tae laka mala kasua **taplange** **mau**.
while 3PL.S=again NEG able see time hard like.this NEG2
'The women of today go to the market, and they cannot face hard times like this.'

7.7.1.1 Negation of simple clauses

All clause types can be negated. In (133) an intransitive clause is negated:

(133) Namuan e=**ti** panei **mau**.
p.name 3SG.S=NEG come NEG2
'Namuan didn't come.'
[elicited]

When transitive clauses are negated, *mau* occurs after the object NP as in (134), or after the object enclitic as in (135):

(134) A=**ti** tae psruk na-fsa-na=n Franis **mau**.
1SG.S=NEG know speak N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ=POSS:NH p.name NEG2
'I do not speak French.'

(135) E=**ti** loῆa=e **mau**.
3SG.S=NEG see=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'He didn't see it.'

In ditransitive clauses, *mau* occurs after the two objects. In (136), the primary object is the enclitic *=e* '3SG.OBJ' and the secondary object (underlined) is an NP with a relative clause:

(136) Ur=**ti** tua=e nalia na e=pi nalia wia **mau**.
3PL.S=NEG give=3SG.OBJ place REL 3SG.S=COP place be.good NEG2
'They didn't give him a place that was a good place.'

7.7.1.2 Negation of complex sentences

A complex sentence involves a subordinate clause embedded in a main clause (see chapter 12). Since the condition for a clause to be negated is to have *ti* 'NEG' occurring in its verb complex, the scope of negation only applies to the clause in which *ti* occurs. In subordinate structures, negation can have scope on the main clause only, or on the subordinate clause only, or on both, provided that *ti* occurs in both clauses. In (137), the main clause is negated with *ti*, but negation does not extend to the complement clause introduced with *lag* 'COMP'. Note that the final negative particle occurs sentence-finally:

(137) Kane a=**ti** msau-na lag e=ga to prau~rau **mau**.
but 1SG.S=NEG1 want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR stay long~RED NEG2
'But I didn't want it to stay for too long.'

Similarly, in (138) and (139) the main clauses are negated but the following adverbial clauses aren't. The final negative particle expectedly occurs sentence-finally:

(138) E=**ti** tae loŋa kano nge **lag** e=ga fut=ia **mau**.
3SG.S=NEG able see man DEF PURP 3SG.S:IRR pull:IRR=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'She could not see the man in order to pull him out.'

(139) E=**ti** tae **takanei** e=ga tuagoto **mau**.
3SG.S=NEG know how 3SG.S=IRR cross NEG2
'He did not know how he would cross.'

In contrast, negation can have scope on the subordinate clause only. In this case *ti* must only occur in the verb complex of the subordinate clause. The final particle *mau* does not change position and occurs finally, as in (140):

(140) Ur=laka**=e** lag ur=ga mro **ti** pañosko mala kasua nge **mau**,
3PL.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=IRR AGAIN NEG find time hard DEF NEG2

nlakan trak e=kat laapa.
because truck 3SG.S=CERT many
'They saw that they wouldn't have such hard times again, because there are many trucks.'

7.7.2 Negative verbs

Lelepa has a small set of negative verbs. In table 7.7, these negative verbs are presented alongside their positive verb counterparts. Some pairs are in a straight antonymic relationship, such as *malo* 'not want' and *msau* 'want', but not others. Often, the function of one or the other verbs in the pair needs to be changed to have proper antonyms. For instance, *kano* 'be unable; cannot' is the antonym of *tae* 'know; can' only when they function as an auxiliary. Similarly, *tika* 'be lacking' needs to be transitively derived as *tika-ki* to be the antonym of *pitaka* 'have'. Note that *tika* also functions as a sentential negator (see 7.7.3).

Negative verbs		Positive verbs	
tika	'be lacking'	*pitlaka*	'have'
pueli	'not be there'	*to*	'stay'
malo	'not want'	*msau*	'want'
kano	'be unable; cannot'	*tae*	'know; can'

Table 7.7. Negative verbs and positive counterparts

7.7.2.1 *tika* 'be lacking' – *pitlak* 'have; exist'

Tika is an intransitive verb denoting the fact that its subject is not available or missing as in (141), and *pitlaka* is a transitive verb expressing possession, as in (142):

(141) Ur=faam wia, kane nuae, nuae e=**tika**.
3PL.S=eat:F good but water water 3SG.S=be.lacking
'They ate well, but as for water, there was no water.'

(142) A=**pitlaka** rarua.
1SG.S=have canoe
'I have a canoe.'
[elicited]

Both *pitlaka* and *tika* function as existential verbs; *pitlak* as a 'positive existential' and *tika* as a 'negative existential':

(143) Slafea, e=**pitlaka** natkon skei amawa taafa warampa.
before 3SG.S=have village one p.name landwards there.forward
'Before, there was a village in Mawa up there.'

(144) Wan nafnag e=ga **tika**, p̃a=mro kil narp̃an ke-rua.
if food 3SG.S=IRR be.lacking 2SG.S:IRR=again dig side ORD-two
'If there is no food, you will dig the other side.'

When *tika* is transitively derived with *-ki* 'TR' as in (145), the derived transitive *tika-ki* 'be.lacking-TR > lack' is an antonym of *pitlaka*:

(145) Te=matua ur=**tika-ki** m̃ane.
SBST=be.old 3PL.S=be.lacking-TR money
'The elders lacked money.'

7.7.2.2 *pueli* 'not be there' – *to* 'stay'

Pueli and *to* are intransitive verbs. As seen in (146), they are antonyms: *to* expresses the presence of its subject at the location *Srar*, while *pueli* expresses the absence of its subject at the same location:

(146) Ur=**to** Srar, ur=lo~lo=s taplange se e=**pueli** Srar.
3PL.S=stay p.name 3PL.S=RED~look=3OBL like.this while 3SG.S=not.be.there p.name
'They were in Srar, they looked for him like this but he was not in Srar.'

7.7.2.3 *malo* 'not want' – *msau* 'want'

Malo is intransitive and *msau* is transitive, and similarly to *tika* and *pitlaka*, they are not full antonyms. In (147) *malo* functions intransitively, but has a 'semantic object' understood from the previous clause:

(147) Sp.A: 'P̃a=fa-ki p̃ag pa.
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR-TR inside GO
'Go inside.'

Sp.B: 'Ee, a=**malo**.
no 1SG.S=not.want
'No, I don't want to.'
[elicited]

In (148) *msau* is negated and denotes a similar meaning to *malo* 'not want', however it takes an object:

(148) E=ti **msau** nkap mau.
3SG.S=NEG want fire NEG2
'He didn't want fire.'

Malo can be a full antonym of *msau* when it is transitivised with *-ki* 'TR':

(149) A=pan se e=pi m̃aata, a=mal-ki-nia.
1SG.S=go while 3SG.S=COP snake 1SG.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ
'I went and it's a snake, I don't want him.'

7.7.2.4 *kano* 'be unable; cannot' – *tae* 'know; can'

Both *kano* 'be unable; cannot' and *tae* 'know; able' are intransitive verbs which can also function as auxiliaries. When they function as intransitive verbs, they are not antonyms, as seen in (150) and (151):

(150) E=msau-na lag e=ga to len kane e=kat **kano**.
3SG.S=want COMP 3SG.S=IRR stay straight but 3SG.S=CERT be.unable
'He wanted to stand up but couldn't.'

(151) A=ti **tae** mau.
1SG.S=NEG know NEG2
'I don't know.'

However, as auxiliaries they are antonyms, and the events denoted by the clauses they occur in are in an antonymic relationship:

(152) e=**kano** suara.
3SG.S=cannot walk
'He can't walk'
[elicited]

(153) e=**tae** suara.
3SG.S=can walk
'He can walk'
[elicited]

7.7.3 Constituent negation

It was shown that *tika* is an intransitive verb with a negative existential meaning (see 7.7.2.1). This form can also function as a morpheme negating constituents. In this use, *tika* occurs

without verbal marking (i.e. a subject proclitic) and negates NPs. In (154) *tika* negates the NP *Bomase* 'p.name'.[12] In this sentence, the speaker states the fact that a person called *Manuwia* buys fish from local fishermen to resell it, while the main supermarket in town doesn't do it. Syntactically, *tika* only has scope on *Bomase* and not on the preceding clause:

(154) Manuwia e=to pagtof neika, kane Bomase **tika**.
p.name 3SG.S=stay buy fish but p.name not
'Manuwia buys fish, but Au Bon Marché doesn't.'

Tika can be used in answers to yes-no questions to give a negative answer. In this situation it occurs with *ee* 'no' and has the function of making the negative statement stronger than by just using *ee*:

(155) Q: E=pitlaka nmalok, kite?
3SG.S=have kava or
'Is there any kava ?'

A: Ee, nmalok **tika**.
no kava not
'No, there is no kava.'
[elicited]

(156) Q: Ur=kat panei?
3PL.S=CERT come
'Did they arrive yet?

A: Ee, **tika**.
no not
'No, not yet.'
[elicited]

[12] *Bomase*, or 'Au Bon Marché', is a Port-Vila supermarket.

Chapter 8 — Verb classes and valency changing operations

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents verb classes and discusses valency changing operations. Verb classes are established according to the following criteria:

1. Valency groups verbs according to the number of core arguments they take.
2. Argument realisation looks at how arguments with different grammatical functions are encoded, and particularly which enclitics encode post-verbal arguments.
3. Transitive derivation with *–ki* 'TR' allows the establishment of subclasses of intransitives.

After giving an overview of verb classes (8.2), the chapter describes each class in detail in (8.3) to (8.6), illustrating the ways in which verbs can be classified on the basis of a number of productive and non-productive valency changing operations. Valency-based classes of verbs are common in Oceanic languages: see Ross 2004a for a typological overview, and individual languages such as Hoava (Davis 2003), Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988), and Manam (Lichtenberk 1983), amongst others. A common typological feature of Oceanic languages is the existence of classes of A- and U-verbs, which were reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Ross 1998c, 2004a). Both A- and U-verbs have an intransitive and a transitive version. With U-verbs, the subject of the intransitive is an undergoer, while in the transitive version the undergoer participant becomes the object, and an actor subject is added. In contrast, A-verbs have an actor subject in both intransitive and transitive versions, and in the transitive version an undergoer object is added. In Lelepa, A- and U-verbs are found in the ambitransitive class (see 8.4.3), but represent a fairly minor grouping, unlike in other Oceanic languages such as Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:204).[1] In addition, U-verbs are reflected by some intransitive verbs the derived transitive form of which takes an object corresponding to the subject of the underived version (see 8.7.1.2). The main valency-changing morphological device is the multifunctional

[1] Ambitransitive verbs are also called labile verbs (Chikobava 1942, Kibrik et. al 1977, Haspelmath 1993:62)

morpheme *–ki* 'TR'. Chiefly a transitiviser, (see 8.3.1, 8.7.1), *–ki* also has the minor function of re-arranging the valency of a few transitive verbs (see 8.7.2). In addition, function of *–ki* is to facilitate the affixation of object suffixes on Class 2 transitive verbs (see 7.4.1.2, 7.4.4.3, 8.5.2). This latter function does not affect valency, and indeed it is interesting that *–ki* has developed such minor functions which have little, if nothing, to do with valency. Reduplication is a minor, non-productive valency changing operation which decreases valency (see 8.7.3). Finally, valency alternations are also found in pairs of etymologically related intransitive/transitive verbs. This phenomenon is lexical and a product of diachronic change (see 8.7.4).

8.2 Overview of verb classes

Lelepa verbs form four valency-based classes: intransitives, ambitransitives, transitives and ditransitives (see 8.1). In (1)a, *sfa* is an intransitive verb: it does not take an object. In (1)b and c, *psruki* 'speak' is an ambitransitive verb: it can function underived without an object as in (1)b or with an object as in (1)c. In (1)d, *trus* 'leave' is a transitive verb since it requires an object, and *tua* in (1)e is a ditransitive verb which requires two objects. Subjects are realised with the proclitic *e*= '3SG.OBJ', and objects are in bold:

(1) a. E=sfa.
3SG.S=run
'He ran.'

b. E=psruki.
3SG.S=speak
'He spoke.'

c. E=psruki**=nia**
3SG.S=speak=3SG.OBJ
'He spoke it.'

d. E=trus**=ia**
3SG.S=leave=3SG.OBJ
'He left it.'

e. E=tua**=e=s**.
3SG.S=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'He gave it to him.'
[elicited]

Table 8.1 presents verb classes and subclasses and their main defining properties. There are two subclasses of intransitives, distinguished by their ability to derive transitives or not. There

are also two subclasses of transitive verbs which are determined by the split in object marking that is based on classes of transitive verbs (see 7.4.4.3). In addition, ambitransitives, class 1 transitives and ditransitives fall into two morphophonological subclasses, depending on whether or not they end in *ki* (the latter are considered *ki*-ending either because their root is *ki*-ending, or because they take the transitiviser suffix –*ki*). Each of these subclasses attracts a particular set of phonologically conditioned allomorphs of object suffixes. For example, in (1)b and c, *psruki* is a *ki*-ending ambitransitive verb, while in (1)e *tua* is a non *ki*-ending ditransitive verb.

Intransitives Do not take an object	**Class 1:** Can derive a transitive with –*ki* 'TR' **Class 2:** Cannot derive a transitive with –*ki* 'TR'
Ambitransitives Function with or without an object	• *ki*-ending • non *ki*-ending
Transitives Require one object	**Class 1:** • do not take =*s* '3SG.OBJ' • *ki*-ending • non *ki*-ending **Class 2:** • take =*s* '3SG.OBJ' • must take -*ki* 'TR' to take object suffixes other than non-3rd SG
Ditransitives Require two objects	• *ki*-ending • non *ki*-ending

Table 8.1. Verb classes

Intransitive verbs (two-hundred and thirty-three verbs) and transitive verbs (two hundred and thirteen verbs) are the largest classes.[2] Ambitransitives (thirty verbs) form a smaller but sizeable class. Finally, the class of ditransitives has only three members.

Recall from 3.3.5 that the roots of some ambitransitive and transitive verbs vary between a full and reduced form. In their full form, these verbs are consonant-final and host object enclitics. In contrast, in their reduced form they drop their final consonant and take an object NP. This reflects historical word-final consonant loss with verbs and has been referred to as the 'thematic consonant problem' (see Hale 1973, Lichtenberk 1983 and 2001, Pawley 2001, Blevins 2004).

[2] Note that this count does not include derived transitive verbs, which would increase the number of transitives significantly.

Another alternation is found with a small group of ambitransitive and transitive verbs such that their initial consonant switches from *f* to *p* according to both mood and transitivity. This is a well-known feature of central Vanuatu languages and often referred to as 'stem-initial mutation' (Lynch 1975, Tryon 1986, Walsh 1982, Crowley 1991, Thieberger 2012, Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:44). Since this phenomenon has more to do with mood and transitivity rather than with verb classes and valency, it is discussed elsewhere (see 11.2.2).

8.3 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs do not take an object. They form two subclasses according to their ability to derive transitive verbs with the suffix *–ki* 'TR' (Class 1) or not (Class 2). Another way of classifying intransitives is whether, like adjectives, they can modify nouns inside the NP. Such verbs form the class of adjectival verbs (Ross 1998a:91), which consists of some Class 1 and Class 2 intransitives.

8.3.1 Class 1 and Class 2 intransitives

These verbs are exemplified in table 8.2 below. The first column presents Class 1 intransitives, showing the intransitive base forms and their corresponding transitivised form. The second column exemplifies Class 2, from which transitives cannot be derived. An important observation is that Class 1 intransitive verbs tend to be dynamic, while Class 2 tend to be stative. Thus, dynamic verbs tend to be able to derive transitives while statives do not. Note, however, that stative verbs such as *p̃alaka* 'be afraid' and *wia* 'be good' derive the transitives *p̃alakaki* 'be afraid of' and *wiaki* 'be good to/for'. Equally, there are intransitive activity verbs such as *pias* 'call out' and *loso* 'wash' which do not derive transitives. Regarding semantic classes, motion verbs are scattered between both Class 1 and Class 2: *pa* 'go' derives the transitive *paki* 'go to' while *pan* 'go', *panei* 'come' and *llu* 'return' do not. In sum, we can consider that while some semantic generalisations are possible, no accurate prediction can be made as to which intransitives belong to Class 1 and Class 2. Finally, Both A- and U-verbs are found in Class 1: *lao* 'plant' is an A-verb which derives the transitive *laoki* 'erect', while the U-verb *p̃aka* 'be wedged' derives the transitive *p̃akaki* 'wedge s.t.'.

Class 1 intransitives				Class 2 intransitives	
Intransitive form		Derived transitive form			
fa/pa	'go'	*faki/paki*	'go to'	*pan*	'go'
lua	'vomit'	*luaki*	'vomit s.t'	*makoto*	'be.broken'
false/palse	'paddle'	*falseki/palseki*	'paddle s.t'	*aleati*	'be.day'
p̃alaka	'be.afraid'	*p̃alakaki*	'be afraid of s.t'	*laapa*	'be.plenty'
regreg	'hum'	*regregki*	'hum s.t'	*llu*	'return'
salea	'float'	*saleaki*	'make s.t float'	*ftaur/ptaur*	'be.married'
tortora	'sweat'	*tortoraki*	'hurry for s.t'	*taare*	'be.white'
muru	'laugh'	*muruki*	'laugh at s.o/s.t'	*los*	'wash'
lao	'stand'	*laoki*	'erect'	*fag*	'be.on.fire'
p̃il	'blink'	*p̃ilki*	'close (eyes)'	*fanei/panei*	'come'
p̃aka	'be.wedged'	*p̃akaki*	'wedge s.t'	*marmaro*	'rest'
wia	'be.good'	*wiaki*	'be good to s.o/for s.t'	*pias*	'call.out'
sa	'be.bad'	*saki*	'be bad to s.o/for s.t'	*tp̃ar*	'be.open'
pea	'be.first'	*peaki*	'precede s.o/s.t'	*waafe*	'swim'

Table 8.2. Class 1 and Class 2 intransitives

While it is not possible to accurately predict which intransitives derive transitives, it is important to mention that intransitives that have lexically distinct causative counterparts do not derive transitives. This is shown with the pairs of verbs in table 8.3. The first member of the pair is a Class 2 intransitive, and the other is a transitive that is not derived from an intransitive, but a lexically distinct causative:

Class 2 intransitives		Lexical causatives	
pula	'wake up'	*pugon*	'wake s.o up'
makoto	'broken'	*p̃rae*	'break s.t'
ftaur/ptaur	'get married'	*lgaki*	'marry s.o'
los	'wash'	*pre*	'wash s.o'
tp̃ar	'open'	*p̃algat*	'open s.t'

Table 8.3. Class 2 intransitives and their lexical causative counterparts

Class 1 intransitives are exemplified below, first as intransitives then as derived transitives. In (2), *wia* functions intransitively while in (3) it occurs as a derived transitive:

(2) Fterki nge e=rki=nia=s lag, "Gaio, e=**wia** kane,
wife DEF 3SG.S=tell=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP fine 3SG.S=be.good but

p̃a=to p̃a=lega nalegana wei."
2SG.S:IRR=stay 2SG.S:IRR=sing song TOP
'The wife told him, "Fine, that's good, but wait and sing this song.'"

(3) Pan pa, e=pat **wia-ki-nia**, go e=tuñalua.
GO GO 3SG.S=make good-TR-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.S=leave
'On and on, he made it properly, and he left.'

In (4), *muru* 'laugh' functions intransitively while in (5) it occurs as the derived transitive *murukinia* 'laugh at him':

(4) Ur=to **muru** go Aboriginis ur=to nali skimau,
1PL.EXCL.S =IPFV laugh and Aborigines 3PL.S=stay place same

ur=pat na-muru-na, e=pi n-laelae-na wia.
1PL.EXCL.S=make N.SPEC-laugh-NMLZ 3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-happy-NMLZ good
'We used to laugh and the Aborigines stayed at the same place, we had lots of laughs, these were happy times.'

(5) Kusue e=to lagse e=to **muru-ki-nia**.
rat 3SG.S=stay upwards while 3SG.S=IPFV laugh-TR-3SG.OBJ
'The rat was on top and was laughing at him.'

Class 2 intransitives are exemplified below, along with some corresponding lexical causatives. In (6) *pula* 'wake up' occurs, while its lexical causative counterpart *pugon* 'wake s/o up' is exemplified in (7):

(6) Tenge, a=maturu pan pa, põulõog a=**pula** taplange,
SBST.DEF 1SG.S=sleep GO GO morning 1SG.S=wake.up like.this

a=lo pa-ki katam.
1SG.S=look go-TR outside
'Thus, I slept for a while, in the morning I woke up like this, I looked outside.'

(7) E=pan, e=**pugon**=ia,
3SG.S=go 3SG.S=wake.up=3SG.OBJ

e=lag, "Moa! Nate wa-n ku=msau-na nisa."
3SG.S=say INTERJ thing DEM-DIST 2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ FOC
'He went, he woke her up, and he said, "Here! That thing you wanted."'

In (8), the intransitive *mour* 'blow' occurs while in (9) we see its transitive counterpart *si*. Note that the subject of both verbs is the wind:

(8) Sufate e=**mour**, ur=mas palse tp̃a=e pa-ki Fate.
south.wind 3SG.S=blow 3PL.S=must paddle face=3SG.OBJ go-TR p.name
'The South Wind blew, and they had to paddle into it going to Efate.'

(9) Nlag e=to **si**=a a=lau taplange,
wind 3SG.S=IPFV blow=3SG.OBJ LOC=seawards like.this
'The wind was blowing on it by the shore,'

8.3.2 Intransitives and oblique arguments

While intransitive verbs are defined by the fact that they do not take an object, they have the ability to take an oblique argument. Oblique arguments are not required by the verb and realised either with an NP or with the enclitic *=s* '3OBL' (see 7.4.1.3, 7.4.4.4). They are typically non-human and third person. In (10), the Class 1 intransitive verb *sakmousa* 'stare' has a single argument, a subject. In contrast, in (11) *sakmousa* has two arguments, a subject encoded with the proclitic *e=* '3SG.S', and an oblique realised with *=s* '3OBL' and referring to a non-human participant:

(10) E=to **sakmousa** tapla pan pan pa,
3SG.S=IPFV stare like.this GO GO GO
'He was staring like this,'

(11) E=to=**sakmousa**=s.
3SG.S=IPFV=stare=3OBL
'He is staring at it.'
[elicited]

When the referent of the non-subject argument is human, intransitives generally need to be derived with the transitiviser *-ki* 'TR', as there is a tendency for the oblique enclitic *=s* '3OBL' to encode non-human referents (see 9.4.4). When this happens, verbs become *ki*-ending and take the relevant set of object suffixes, as seen in (12). In contrast with (11), the referent of the object is human and encoded with *=go* '2SG.OBJ':

(12) Nate tete e=ga to **sakmousa**-ki=go,
thing some 3SG.S=IRR IPFV stare-TR=2SG.OBJ

p̃a=ti msau-na lag p̃a=tua=e=s mau.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG want-3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'Someone will stare at you, you don't want to give it to them.'

The same behaviour is shown with the Class 1 intransitive *seisei* 'meet'.[3] In (13), *seisei* functions with a single argument, its subject, while in (14) it takes an oblique argument encoded with *=s*:

(13) Sara ntau, tu=to **seisei** nalia skimau.
each year 1PL.INCL.S=IPFV meet place same
'Each year, we used to meet at the same place.'

(14) Ur=ga **seisei**=s matmai.
3PL.S=IRR meet=3OBL tomorrow
'They will meet about it tomorrow.'
[elicited]

In (15) and (16), *seisei* 'meet' functions transitively and takes an object with a human referent. The derived transitive takes *–ki* and hosts the object enclitic *=nia* '3SG.OBJ' as in (15) or can be followed by an object NP as in (16):

(15) Ur=**seisei**-ki=nia.
3PL.S=meet=TR=3SG.OBJ
'They met about him.'
[elicited]

(16) Ur=**seisei**-ki Naomi.
3PL.S=meet=TR p.name
'They met about Naomi.'
[elicited]

Class 1 intransitives may subcategorise for an oblique argument which is generally non-human. When these verbs take an object, they must be derived with *–ki* 'TR'. In contrast, Class 2 intransitives cannot derive transitives, but can take an oblique. In (17), the Class 2 intransitive *munu* only takes a subject, whereas in the following two examples it has a subject and an oblique. In (18), the oblique is encoded with the NP *ntas* 'sea water' and in (19) with *=s* '3OBL':

(17) Ur=panei lag ur=ga **munu**.
3PL.S=come PURP 3PL.S=IRR drink
'They came in order to drink.'

(18) Ofa e=**munu** ntas, e=kat mat.
heron 3SG.S=drink sea 3SG.S=CERT dead
'The heron drank sea water, and he died.'

[3] Note that *seisei* is inherently reciprocal and while it is glossed 'meet', an alternative gloss may be 'have a meeting'.

(19) Fterki e=**munu**=s, munu=s pan pa,
wife 3SG.S=drink=3OBL drink=3OBL GO GO
'The wife drank it, drank it on and on,'

In (20), the Class 2 intransitive *tuagoto* 'cross' has a single argument, while in (21) and (22), it has an additional oblique argument, encoded with the NP *ntas* 'sea' in (21), and with the enclitic *=s* '3OBL' in (22):

(20) E=ti=tae takanei lag e=ga **tuagoto** mau.
3SG.S=NEG=know how COMP 3SG.S=IRR cross NEG2
'He didn't know how he would cross.'

(21) A=**tuagoto** ntas pa-ki Artoka.
1SG.S=cross sea go-TR p.name
'I crossed the sea to Artoka.'
[elicited]

(22) A=**tuagoto**=s rarua agnou.
1SG.S=cross=3OBL canoe 1SG.POSS
'I crossed it on my canoe.'
[elicited]

A similar alternation is shown with *tagau* 'fish', which functions with a single subject argument in (23) and an added oblique in (24):

(23) A=mro msau magmu til=ia naleti skei a=pa **tagau**.
1SG.S=AGAIN want 2PL.BEN say=3SG.OBJ day INDEF 1SG.S=go fish
'I want to tell you again about one day I went fishing.'

(24) Neika na ur=**tagau**=s, e=kiki sa m̃ol.
fish REL 3PL.S=fish=3OBL 3PL.S=be.small very just
'As for the fish they caught, there is just very little of it.'
[elicited]

8.3.3 Adjectival verbs

Another way of distinguishing between groups of intransitive verbs is their ability to behave as adjectives or not. Distinguishing verbs along their adjectival properties simply provides another way of looking at the class of intransitives. Adjectival verbs (Ross 1998a) modify nouns and occur in the ADJ slot of the NP (see 5.4.2), together with Lelepa 'real' adjectives (see 4.5), and may be either Class 1 or Class 2 intransitives. In (25) the Class 1 intransitive *p̃alaka* 'be afraid' derives a transitive with *–ki*, and in (26) it occurs as a noun modifier:

(25) A=**p̃alaka**-ki koria.
1SG.S=be.afraid-TR dog
'I'm afraid of dogs.'
[elicited]

(26) T. e=pi kano **p̃alaka** skei.
T. 3SG.S=cop man be.afraid INDEF
'T. is a coward.'
[elicited]

Similarly, in (27) the intransitive *m̃atietie* 'be smooth' functions as a verb, and in (28) as an adjective:

(27) Konou a=ga to uta nlakan konou, a=**m̃atietie**.
1SG 1SG.S=IRR stay landwards because 1SG 1SG.S=be.smooth
'I will stay on the shore because me, I am smooth.'

(28) Napuka e=pi nkas **m̃atietie**.
Gyrocarpus.sp 3SG.S=cop tree be.smooth
'Gyrocarpuses are smooth trees.'
[elicited]

In (29), *prau* 'be long' occurs twice as a verb:

(29) Ten nalia na, e=sai e=**prau** e=**prau** pa-ki m̃ae!
SBST.POSS:NH place DEM 3SG.S=crawl 3SG.S=be.long 3SG.S=be.long go-TR far
'As for the one from this place, it crawled, it is very long and goes far away!'

In contrast, in (30) *frau* 'be long' modifies the noun *napua* 'road'. Note that the form of the verb is different in both examples: it is *p*-initial when functioning as a main verb in (29), and *f*-initial when occurring as a noun modifier in (30). This is due to the process of stem-initial mutation, under which some verbs switch their initial consonant from *p* to *f* in certain circumstances, such as occurring in adjective position (see 11.2.2):

(30) Ae, kinta ta=suara napua **frau** panei, ta=marou.
hey 1PL.INCL 1DU.INCL.S=walk road be.long COME 1DU.INCL.S=thirsty
'Hey, we walked a long way here, we're thirsty.'

8.4 Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs function with or without an object. In contrast with intransitives, they do not need to be derived with *-ki* 'TR' to function transitively; and in contrast with transitives they do not require an object. For these reasons they are analysed as a separate class of verbs. They fall into two morphophonemic subclasses according to whether or not their root end in *ki* (note that *ki*-ending ambitransitives do not take the transitiviser *–ki*, but that their root is *ki*-ending). When their object is encoded with an NP, no particular marking distinguishes them from transitive verbs and intransitives taking an oblique.[4] Some ambitransitive verbs are given in table 8.4:

***ki*-ending**		**non *ki*-ending**	
fsapseiki/psapseiki	'teach:IRR/R'	*faam/paam*	'eat:F/P'
fsruki/psruki	'speak:IRR/R'	*faus/paus*	'weave:IRR/R'
rm̃aki	'bark'	*fnak/pnak*	'steal:IRR/R'
raki	'follow'	*fsatra/psatra*	'answer:IRR/R'
		si	'blow'
		tae	'know'
		takorog	'listen'
		tor	'collect (liquid)'

Table 8.4. Ambitransitive verbs

8.4.1 *Ki*-ending ambitransitives

These verbs always end in *ki* and attract a particular set of allomorphs of the object enclitic paradigm (see 9.4.3.1, table 9.2). They represent the minority of ambitransitive verbs. In (32) *psruki* 'speak' functions intransitively, and in (31) it functions transitively:

(31) Marka ur=mato **psruki**, kenem ur=to takorog.
old.man 3PL.S=IPFV speak 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV listen
'The old men were speaking, we were listening.'

(32) Kan konou, a=ga to **psruki** Franis.
but 1SG 1SG.S=IRR IPFV speak French
'But as for me, I will speak French.'

[4] However, the final syllable of a verb can give a good clue regarding verb class: most verbs ending in *ki* are either transitive or ambitransitive.

The verb *psapseiki* 'teach' is a compound formed with the intransitive *psa* 'speak' and the transitive *pseiki* 'show'. In (33) it functions intransitively while in (34) it takes the object enclitic *=nia* '3SG.OBJ':

(33) A=mro to **psapseiki** ntau rua.
1SG.S=AGAIN IPFV teach year two
'I taught again for two years.'

(34) E=to se e=**psapseiki-nia** nalegana nge.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=teach-3SG.OBJ song DEF
'He stayed and taught him the song.'

In (35) the first occurrence of *rm̃aki* 'bark' is intransitive, while its second occurrence is transitive and takes the object argument *wago nge* 'the pig':

(35) Mala koria e=**rm̃aki**, tu=tae lage=**rm̃aki** wago nge.
when dog 3SG.S=bark 1PL.INCL.S=know COMP 3SG.S=bark pig DEF
'When the dogs bark, we know that they bark at the pig.'

8.4.2 Non *ki*-ending ambitransitives

These verbs form the largest subclass of ambitransitives. They do not end in *ki* and so take a different set of object enclitics (see 9.4.3.1, table 9.2). In (36) the ambitransitive *faam/paam* 'eat:F/P' functions intransitively first, then transitively with an object NP in (37), and finally transitively with the object enclitics *=ia* '3SG:OBJ' and *=ko* '2SG:OBJ' in (38):

(36) Tu=**faam**, tu=rog=ea wia, tu=pitlak srago mauna.
1PL.INCL.S=eat:F 1PL.SINCL.S=feel=3SG.OBJ good 1PL.SINCL.S=have thing all
'We ate, we felt good, we had everything.'

(37) E=msau-na lag e=ga **faam** neika.
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR eat:F fish
'He wanted to eat fish.'

(38) P̃a=ti **paam=ia** mau, a=ga **faam=ko**.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG eat:P=3SG.OBJ NEG2 1SG.S=IRR eat:F=2SG.OBJ
'(If) you don't eat it, I will eat you.'

Some ambitransitive verbs display a shift in meaning between their intransitive and transitive uses. In (39), the *patka* 'be.enough; be similar to' functions intransitively with the meaning 'be sufficient', whereas when it functions transitively as in (40), it means 'be similar to':

(39) Tu=pi taua p̃ela, go tu=pitlaka nafnag e=**patka**,
1PL.INCL.S=COP group big and 1PL.INCL.S=have food 3SG.S=be.enough

tu=pitlak nap̃as e=**patka**, tu=pitlak nam̃it e=**patka**.
1PL.INCL.S=have meat 3SG.S=be.enough 1PL.INCL.S=have mat 3SG.S=be.enough
'We were a big group, and we had enough food, we had enough meat, we had enough mats.'

(40) E=**patka**=ra.
3SG.S=be.similar.to=3PL.OBJ
'He is similar to them.'
[elicited]

Some ambitransitives reflect the morphophonemic alternation whereby the final consonant of the root surfaces when it hosts an object enclitic (see 3.3.5). For instance, *paus* 'weave' occurs in its reduced form functions in (41) and (42), because in both examples the root is uninflected, and the final consonant does not surface:

(41) Nam̃it nge a=to til=ia,
mat DEF 1SG.S=IPFV tell=3SG.OBJ

taos=ia naa fterki naara ur=**pau** slafea taplange.
like=3SG.OBJ HESIT wife 3PL 3PL.S=weave before like.this
'The mats I was talking about, thus the old women weaved before.'

(42) Tu=go mro **pau** **narp̃an** **ke-rua** e=ga fa nou,
1PL.INCL=IRR AGAIN weave side ORD-two 3SG.S=IRR go:IRR be.finished
'We weave the other side until done,'

In contrast, in (43) *paus* hosts an object enclitic and occurs in its full form, because its final consonant is in word-internal position:

(43) Ur=mro atlake **paus=ia**.
3PL.S=AGAIN start weave=3SG.OBJ
'They started to weave it again.'

8.4.3 A-verbs and U-verbs

Like Class 1 intransitives, ambitransitive verbs can be distinguished on the basis of the macro-role of their subject when they function intransitively: their subject argument can either be an Actor or an Undergoer. This distinguishes two groups of verbs, A-verbs which have an Actor subject and U-verbs which have an Undergoer subject. With A-verbs, the subject argument is always an Actor, whether they function transitively or intransitively. In contrast, U-verbs have an Undergoer subject when they are intransitive, but an Actor subject and an Undergoer object when they function transitively. In other words, the subject of an ambitransitive U-verb becomes the object of the same verb when it functions intransitively. This distinction is often present in modern Oceanic languages (Ross 2004), and reconstructed for Proto Oceanic, with A and U-verbs being the two major classes of verbs in Proto Oceanic (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:81).[5] Although Lelepa reflects this distinction, U-verbs are uncommon in the data, in contrast with Oceanic languages such as Boumaa Fijian in which U-verbs represent just under half of these verbs (Dixon 1988:204). The distinction between ambitransitive A- and U-verbs is shown below with *paus* 'weave' and *kor* 'close'. The A-verbs *pau* functions intransitively in (44) and transitively in (45). In both examples the subject is an Actor:

(44) Ur=**pau** pan pa, e=pi taem, ur=faam.
3PL.S=weave GO GO 3SG.S=cop time 3PL.S=eat:F
'They weaved on and on, it was time, they ate.'

(45) A=ga traus takanei tu=**pau** aginta naɱ̃it.
1SG.S=IRR recount how 1PL.INCL.S=weave 1PL.INCL.POSS mat
'I will talk about how we weave our mats.'

In contrast, *kor* 'be closed; close' is a U-verb. It functions intransitively in (46) with an Undergoer subject:

(46) Nagi, namta nae e=**kor**.
p.name door 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=be.closed
'As for Nagi, his door is closed.'
[elicited]

[5] Note that O-verbs in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) and U-verbs in Ross (1998c, 2004) refer to the same thing. In the earlier reference, the authors Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:91, footnote 15) judge the label U-verb "infelicitous", whereas in the latter, Ross uses U-verbs. Here I follow Ross (2004a) and use the term "U-verb".

In (47), *kor* functions transitively and takes an added Actor subject, while its object is an Undergoer which corresponds to the subject of the intransitive version seen in (46):

(47) Ɲa=**kor** namta!
2SG.S:IRR=close door
'Close the door!'
[elicited]

8.5 Transitive verbs

In contrast with ambitransitives, transitives cannot function without an object. They fall into Class 1 and Class 2 based on the lexical split occurring with objects (see 7.4.4.3). Recall from 7.4.1.2 that when objects are encoded with NPs, there is no formal clue to distinguish both subclasses of transitives. However, when object are realised with enclitics, the split in transitivity is apparent: Class 1 transitives cannot encode their third person singular object with *=s* '3SG.OBJ', while Class 2 transitives can only encode this argument with *=s*. The objects of Class 1 and Class 2 transitives also differ from each other as their referents have different semantic properties. Class 1 transitives have no restrictions as to the type of object they take. The referents of their objects can be animate, inanimate, highly affected, not highly affected, and have any of the person and number values marked by object enclitics. In contrast, the objects of Class 2 transitives are typically inanimate, not highly affected, and third person singular (see 7.4.4.3). However, some Class 2 transitives such as *fafatu* 'trust' and *sralesko* 'believe' can take a human object, but this human object has the semantic role of stimulus, and is consequently not highly affected. Compare the Class 1 transitive *mas* 'cut' with the Class 2 transitive *fafatu* 'believe'. In (48) and (49), both verbs take an object NP (underlined) which seems to receive the same treatment: it follows the verb and no particular marking occurs:

(48) Te=na, e=to **mas** <u>naɲas</u>.
SBST=DEM 3SG.S=IPFV cut meat
'As for this one, she is cutting meat.'

(49) A=**fafatu** <u>naota</u>.
1SG.S=trust chief
'I trust the chief.'
[elicited]

In contrast, their object is treated differently when realised as an object enclitic. In (50), the object of *mas* is encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', while *fafatu* hosts *=s* '3SG.OBJ':

(50) Nina, e=**mas=ia** pa, e=to **mas=ia** pa,
then 3SG.S=cut=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=IPFV cut=3SG.OBJ GO

e=pat lwa nae nmarta-na.
3SG.S=make remove 3SG belly-3SG.POSS
'Then, he cut her up, he was cutting her up, then he removed her guts.'

(51) Ña=sralesko Iesu, ña=**fafatu=s!**
2SG.S:IRR=believe Jesus 2SG.S:IRR=trust=3SG.OBJ
'You will believe in Jesus, you will trust him!'

In (52) and (53), *fafatu* and *mas* take a second person singular object encoded with a bound object marker. While *mas* directly hosts the appropriate enclitic *=ko* '2SG.OBJ', *fafatu* must take *–ki* 'TR' to be able to take the object suffix *–go* '2SG.OBJ':

(52) A=**mas=ko.**
1SG.S=cut=2SG.OBJ
'I cut you.'
[elicited]

(53) A=**fafat-ki-go.**
1SG.S=trust-TR-2SG.OBJ
'I trust you.'
[elicited]

8.5.1 Class 1 transitives

8.5.1.1 *Ki*-ending transitives

This class includes underived transitives as well as transitives derived with *–ki* 'TR',[6] as shown in table 8.5:

[6] Note that the interlinearisation of examples shows which verbs are derived from those which are not.

Underived *ki*-ending transitives		**Transitives derived with *-ki* 'TR'**	
fseiki/pseiki	'show'	*faki/paki*	'go to:IRR/R'
lgaki	'marry'	*falseki/palseki*	'paddle: IRR/R'
marki	'put down'	*feaki/peaki*	'precede: IRR/R'
mraki	'lead'	*fsaki/psaki*	'speak: IRR/R'
mtouki	'fear'	*kasuaki*	'insist'
nmauloki	'spread'	*maetoki*	'be angry at'
npaki	'lay'	*malki*	'not want'
oufaki	'bury'	*maroaki*	'think about'
psaptuki	'argue about'	*muruki*	'laugh at'
pulki	'turn'	*mĩlatigki*	'close to'
puluki	'argue about/tell off'	*napõoki*	'smell of s.t'
põlki	'fold'	*puraki*	'fill'
sapruki	'throw' (powder-like object)	*põakaki*	'wedge'
seiki	'light'	*põalakaki*	'be afraid of'
surki	'hide'	*põilki*	'close' (eyes)
tagiaki	'rig' (canoe)	*saleaki*	'put to float'
takaki	'cook' (in coconut milk)	*seseiki*	'meet about'
taki	'lie sideways'	*tagki*	'sing' (sad song)
talaki	'avoid'	*saki*	'bad for'

Table 8.5. Class 1 transitive verbs; *ki*-ending

Recall from 3.3.2.1 that the final *i* of *ki*-ending verbs is realised as [i] when stressed, but deleted or reduced otherwise.[7] The examples below are in the orthographic form of the verbs, whether or not final *i* is deleted on the surface. In (54), *lgaki* 'marry' occurs with an object NP while in (55) its object is realised with the object suffix *-nia*:

(54) E=msaun-na lag nan-na nanoai nge
3SG.S=want-3SG.POSS COMP offspring-3SG.POSS male DEF

e=ga **lgaki** nagrun.
3SG.S=IRR marry woman
'He wanted his son to marry a woman.'

(55) E=msau-na nina, e=**lgaki**-nia.
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ then 3SG.S=marry-3SG.OBJ
'He wanted her, then he married her.'

Similarly, *mtouki* 'fear' occurs with an object NP in (56) and with the object suffix *-nia* in (57):

[7] This vowel is realised as an unstressed [i] by older speakers.

(56) Naota Milae=lage=ga ne=a pan se,
chief p.name 3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR be.with=3SG.OBJ GO while

e=**mtouki** mamei nae.
3SG.S=fear father 3SG.POSS
'Chief Mila thought he would go with her, but he feared her father.'

(57) Nina e=lag e=ga p̃at=ia se e=**mtouki-nia**,
then 3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR hit=3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=fear-3SG.OBJ

e=pi m̃aata got got, e=taos naṁalfar.
3SG.S=COP snake black black 3SG.S=like charcoal
'Then he thought he would hit it but he feared it, it was a black snake, it was black as charcoal.'

The derived transitive *pa-ki* 'go-TR' occurs with the object NP *skulu* 'school' in (58) and with the suffix *–ra* '3PL.OBJ' in (59):

(58) Ur=lao-ki-nia pan pan pa, e=to, ur=**pa-kiskulu**=s.
3PL.S=stand-TR-3SG.OBJ GO GO GO 3SG.S=stay 3PL.S=go-TR school=3OBL
'They built it on and on, it was done, they went to school in it.'

(59) Na-fsa-na e=**pa-ki-ra** pa,
N.SPEC-talk-NMLZ 3SG.S=go-TR-3PL.OBJ GO

ar=sfa pan lagar=lop̃a tenge, e=p̃a punu=ea to.
3DU.S=run GO PURP 3DU.S=see SBST.DEF 3SG.S=kill dead=3SG.OBJ GO
'Word went to them, they ran to see this, he had killed him.'

The derived transitive *mal-ki* 'not.want-TR' occurs with an object NP in (60) and takes the suffix *-nia* in (61):

(60) Nlakan nae e=**mal-ki** nasokina=n nkap,
because 3SG 3SG.S=not.want-TR smoke=POSS:NH fire

e=mal rogo nap̃o=n nkap.
3SG.S=not.want feel smell=POSS:NH fire
'Because he didn't want smoke, he didn't want to smell the smell of fire.'

(61) Ur=til Moso, te=na Moso ur=**mal-ki-nia**,
3PL.S=say p.name SBST=DEM p.name 3PL.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ

ur=ti msau-na lag ur=ga puilt=gam mau.
3PL.S=NEG want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR join=1PL.EXCL.OBJ NEG
'We told Moso, those from Moso didn't want this, they didn't want to join us.'

8.5.1.2 Non *ki*-ending transitives

In terms of valency, these verbs function in the same way as *ki*-ending transitives. However, they take a different set of allomorphs of object enclitics (see 9.4.3.1, table 9.2). Some of these verbs also participate in final-consonant alternation (see 3.3.5). Table 8.6 presents some of these verbs and distinguishes those participating in final-consonant alternation from those that do not.

No final-consonant alternation		Final-consonant alternation	
fagan/pagan	'feed:IRR/R'	*ftagf/ptagf*	'ask: IRR/R'
fagtof/pagtof	'buy:IRR/R'	*fut/put*	'pull: IRR/R'
fai/pai	'pack:IRR/R'	*man*	'grate'
fkas/pkas	'chase:IRR/R'	*mun*	'take out'
kar	'scratch'	*p̃at*	'hit'
kat	'bite'	*rkat*	'pick' (with tongues)
kil	'dig.w.stick:IRR/R'	*saof*	'spoon out'
kint	'pinch:IRR/R'	*slat*	'carry'
msug	'carry'	*sun*	'wear'
m̃ul	'squeeze'	*tof*	'push'
p̃algat	'open'	*kult*	'cover'
p̃rae	'split'	*sket*	'pick'
rogo	'feel, hear'	*man*	'grate'
rpag	'slap'	*sun*	'wear'

Table 8.6. Class 1 transitive verbs; non *ki*-ending

Class 1 transitives which do not undergo final-consonant alternation are exemplified in (62) to (66):

(62) E=**p̃algat** falea nge nae,
3SG.S=open cave DEF 3SG.POSS

namta nag-na, tu=ti tae lag e=pi nsfa mau.
eye ASS-3SG.POSS 1PL.INCL.S=NEG know COMP 3SG.S=COP what NEG2
'He opened his cave, as for its entrance we don't know what it was.'

(63) Go ur=**p̃algat=ia**, namba terti wan oktoba 2008.
and 3PL.S=open=3SG.OBJ number thirty one October 2008
'And they opened it, on thirty-first October 2008.'

(64) Tu=sa to,
1PL.INCL.S=bad STAT

ur=to **pagan** kinta, to=lo parkat kinta pan pa,
3PL.S=IPFV feed 1PL.INCL IPFV=look catch 1PL.INCL GO GO
'We were little, they fed us, looked after us on and on,'

(65) E=**raus=ra**, e=**pkas=ra** panei.
3SG.S=follow=3PL.OBJ 3SG.S=chase=3PL.OBJ COME
'He followed them, he chased them.'

(66) Wan lagur=ga fat punu=ea,
if maybe 3PL.S=IRR make dead=3SG.OBJ

ur=ga **kar=ea** nuwai ftunu mato.
3PL.S=IRR scorch=3SG.OBJ water hot STAT
'If they kill it, they will skin it in hot water.'

In (67) to (69) transitive verbs which undergo final-consonant alternation are exemplified with *put/pu* 'pull'. In (67), this verb occurs as part of a post-verb construction with the post-verb *lwa* 'remove'. In this context, the reduced form *pu* occurs:

(67) Fterki lag e=**pu** lwa fefe taplange,
wife maybe 3SG.S=pull remove oven.cover like.this
'The wife pulled and removed the oven cover like this.'

Similarly, in (68), the reduced form *pu* occurs as it is followed by an object NP:

(68) Ur=pan pan pa, ur=**pu** rarua naara pa-ki uta pan se,
3PL.S=go GO GO 3PL.S=pull canoe 3PL.POSS go-TR landwards GO while
'They went on and on, pulled their canoe to the shore,'

In contrast, in (69) the full form *put* occurs as the verb hosts the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ':

(69) A=**put**=ia, a=**put**=ia panei panei, panei panei pa-ki uta.
1SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ COME COME COME COME go-TR landwards
'I pulled it, I pulled it on and on, on and on to the shore.'

8.5.2 Class 2 transitives

The main property of Class 2 transitive verbs (table 8.7) is that they take *=s* '3SG.OBJ' to encode their third person singular object. When their object is not third person singular, they must take the suffix *–ki* 'TR' followed by an object suffix encoding their object. The main

functions of *–ki* are valency increase (see 8.3, 8.7.1) and valency re-arrangement (see 8.7.2). In addition, *–ki* is also used to facilitate Class 2 transitives to take object markers other than *=s* '3SG.OBJ'. Given that these verbs are transitives already, *-ki* does not function as a transitiviser in this case. The objects of these verbs tend to be low in the animacy hierarchy: they are often non-human or inanimate, and while some of these verbs are perfectly able to take an object with a human referent (e.g. *fafatu* 'trust', *srapori* 'be surprised at'), the semantic roles of these objects are not those of typical patients: they can be stimuli (*fafatu* 'trust', *logoro* 'look after', *sralesko* 'believe in', *srapori* 'be surprised at'), locations (*talferi* 'go around', *tuaturu* 'go through', *muru* 'pass on water', *wuru* 'pass on land'), and themes (*kau* 'raise', *upanakono* 'cut stern and prow'). All transitive verbs borrrowed from Bislama are also part of this subclass (see table 8.7, last seven rows of second column):

Class 2 transitive verbs			
fafatu	'trust'	*tuaturu*	'go through'
fatu/patu	'step on:IRR/R'	*upanakono*	'cut stern and prow'
kau	'raise'	*wuru*	'pass (on land)'
logoro	'look after'	*suasua*	'agree with'
maga	'be surprised at'	*maroa masko*	'be sure of'
srapori	'be surprised at'	*liko*	'hang on to'
muru	'pass (in water)'	*kasem*	'reach; get'
pamosko	'find'	*oganaesem*	'organise'
kona	'bump into'	*stretem*	'straighten'
plaga	'look for'	*makem*	'measure'
sralesko	'believe in'	*komplitim*	'complete'
lomasko	'be proud of'	*diklerem*	'declare'
talferi	'go around'	*statem*	'start'

Table 8.7. Class 2 transitive verbs

As seen in (70), the Class 2 transitive verb *pamosko* 'find' has a third singular object encoded with *=s*:

(70) E=lo~lo=s pan se e=ti **pamosko=s** mau.
3SG.S=look~look=3OBL GO while 3SG.S=NEG find=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'He looked for it on and on and he couldn't find it.'

In contrast, in (71) the object of *pamosko* is third person plural, and the verb needs to be suffixed with *–ki* to take the appropriate object enclitic:

(71) Marka sa e=loŋa=e se
old.man be.bad 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP

e=kat ti tae **pamosko-ki-ra** mau.
3SG.S=CERT NEG able find-TR-3PL.OBJ NEG2
'The bad old man saw that he couldn't find them.'

(72) shows that Class 2 transitives cannot take *–nia* '3SG.OBJ' after *–ki*, as a third person singular object is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ' as already seen in (70):

(72) *E=**pamosko-ki-nia**.
3SG.S=find-TR-3SG.OBJ
'He found it/him.'
[elicited]

Examples (73) to (75) show the Class 2 transitive *kona* 'bump into' taking different type of objects. In (73), it takes the object NP *nakor* 'fence', while in (74) the object is encoded with *=s*. In these examples, the objects have the semantic role of theme:

(73) Koria e=**kona** nakor.
dog 3SG.S=bump.into fence
'The dog bumped into the fence.'
[elicited]

(74) Koria e=**kona=s**.
dog 3SG.S=bump.into=3OBL
'The dog bumped into it/him.'
[elicited]

In (75) *kona* takes the suffix *-ki* 'TR', as the object is second person singular and cannot be encoded with *=s*:

(75) Taos=ia wan e=ga trabol nmatunagaskei,
Like=3SG.OBJ if 3SG.S=IRR be.in.trouble something IRR.INDEF

se e=panei **kon-ki-go**.
while 3SG.Scome bump.into-TR-2SG.OBJ
'Thus if he is in trouble with something, at the same time he comes to you for help (*lit. he bumps into you*).'

When they take an object NP, Class 2 transitives do not take *–ki*, as seen in (76) with *fatu* 'step on'. They only take *-ki* when their object is encoded with a bound pronominal that is not third person singular. In (77), *fatu* takes *=s* to encode a third person singular object:

(76) Konou a=ga fi walak, kutu nae na e=ga **fatu** konou,
1SG 1SG.S=IRR COP climbing.rope louse 3SG DEM 3SG.S=IRR step.on 1SG

e=go pag pa-ki lag.
3SG.S=IRR climb go-TR upwards
'I will be the climbing rope, as for Louse he will step on me to climb to the top.'

(77) Kutu na e=ga **fatu=s**, e=go pag.
louse DEM 3SG.S=IRR step.on=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR climb
'Louse will step on it, he will climb.'

Another Class 2 verb is *srapori* 'be surprised at'. In (78), its object is encoded with *=s*, while in (79) it takes *–ki* to be able to host a second person object enclitic:

(78) Male sou e=kai tapla nina,
when honeyeater 3SG.S=cry like.this then

ur=**srapori=s**, ur=lag e=go aliat nina,
3PL.S=surprised=3SG.OBJ 3PL.S=say 3PL.S=IRR day then

ur=tarp̃aki=nia se ur=sfa.
3PL.S=throw=3SG.OBJ while 3PL.S=run
'When the honeyeater tweeted like this, they were surprised at it, they thought it would be dawn, so they threw him away and ran.'

(79) Nae, e=**srapor-ki-go**.
3SG 3SG.S=surprised-TR-2SG.OBJ
'As for him, he is surprised at you.'
[elicited]

Borrowed transitive verbs function exactly like Class 2 transitives, which lead to their analysis as Class 2 transitives: their third person singular object is encoded with an NP or with *=s*, and if their object is encoded with enclitics expressing other person and number values, they need to take *–ki* 'TR'. The most common borrowed transitive verb in the corpus is *kasem* 'reach; get'. In (80), *kasem* takes an object NP, while in (81), its object is encoded with *=s*:

(80) E=pi mala wei nge ku=tae **kasem** neika p̃ela nge.
3SG.S=COP time TOP DEF 2SG.S=can get fish big DEF
'This is the time when you can get the big fish.'

(81) Wan neika ur=p̃og panei, ku=lao=ea, ku=kano **kasemi=s**.
if fish 3SG.S=school COME 2SG.S=spear=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=cannot get=3SG.OBJ
'When the fish are in a school, you spear them, you can't get them.'

In (82), *kasem* takes an object that is not third person singular, and needs to take *–ki* 'TR' to be able to take object suffixes with other person and number values:

(82) Naara ur=mato Tahiti to, a=panei **kasem-ki-ra**.
3PL 3PL.S=stay.long p.name STAT 1SG.S=come reach-TR-3PL.OBJ
'They lived in Tahiti, I reached them.'

Examples of other borrowed transitive verbs follow:

(83) Namba fo jioj, ur=**statemi**=s namba 31 Maj 1993.
number four church 3PL.S=start=3SG.OBJ number 31 March 1993
'As for the fourth church, they started it on the 31st March 1993.'

(84) Kane a=samoa e=pi wara ur=**pesi=s**, Samoa Poin.
but LOC=p.name 3SG.S=COP place 3PL.S=base=3SG.OBJ p.name point
'But Samoa was the place they were based at, Samoa Point.'

(85) E=pi festivol, festivol na Ostrelia ur=to **oganaesemi**=s,
3SG.S=COP festival festival REL Australia 3PL.S=IPFV organise=3SG.OBJ

e=pi teg Indijenes Ostrelian.
3SG.S=COP SBST.POSS:H Indigenous Australian
'It was a festival, a festival that Australian people organised, it was for Australian Indigenous Peoples.'

8.6 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs require two objects, a primary and a secondary object. As shown in 7.4.4.2, the alignment in ditransitive clauses is secundative, which means that the recipient of the ditransitive is treated similarly to the object of a monotransitive, while the theme of the ditransitive receives a different treatment. That is, the recipient is encoded with the same enclitics as Class 1 transitives and occurs in the same position, following the verb. In contrast, the theme is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ' and follows the recipient. In a secundative alignment pattern, the recipient is the primary object and the theme the secondary object (Haspelmath 2005:2, Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2007:4, Dryer 2007b:256).

In Lelepa, there are three known ditransitive verbs: *tua* 'give', *rki* 'tell' and *paoseki* 'ask'. Ditransitives are similar to other verbs in that their objects can be expressed by NPs or

pronominal clitics. In (86), the object arguments of *tua* 'give' are realised with NPs. The primary object NP (in bold) is the recipient and is realised with the personal pronoun *konou* '1SG' while the secondary object (underlined) is the theme and is realised with the NP *memis kiki* 'the small knife':

(86) Ña=tua **konou** <u>memis kiki</u>.
2SG.S=give 1SG knife small
'Give me the small knife.'
[elicited]

In (87), *tua* occurs twice. The primary object is realised with *=gam* '1PL.EXCL.OBJ' in both occurrences, while the secondary objects are encoded with the NPs *loli* 'lollies' and *swingam* 'chewing-gum':

(87) Kane soldie ur=panei, ur=tua=**gam** <u>loli</u>,
but soldier 3PL.S=come 3PL.S=give=1PL.EXCL.OBJ lolly

ur=tua=**gam** <u>swingam</u>.
3PL.S=give=1PL.EXCL.OBJ chewing-gum
'But the soldiers came, they gave us lollies, they gave us chewing-gum.'

The primary object can also be realised by an NP while the secondary object is realised by an enclitic attaching to that NP, as in (88):

(88) Neika na ku=tua **Tomseni=s**, nae e=sor=ia paki Tafmanu.
fish REL 2SG.S=give p.name=3SG.OBJ 3SG 3SG.S=sell=3SG.OBJ to p.name
'As for the fish that you gave to Thompson, he sold it to Tafmanu.'
[elicited]

It is also possible for both objects to be realised by enclitics, as in (89) and (90):

(89) A=ga malua tua**=ko=s**
1SG.S=IRR later give=2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'I will give it to you later.'
[elicited]

(90) **A=**kat tua**=e=s** se e=kat msug=ia pa.
1SG.S=CERT give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=CERT carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'I gave it to him and he carried it away.'
[elicited]

Ditransitives form the same morphophonological subclasses as transitives and ambitransitives, with *ki*-ending and non *ki*-ending verbs: *rki* 'tell' and *paoseki* 'ask' are *ki*-ending, while *tua* is the only non *ki*-ending verb. In (90), *tua* takes the enclitic *=e* '3SG.OBJ', while in (91) *rki* takes an enclitic from the other set of object enclitics to encode its primary object with the same person and number values:

(91) A=**rki=nia=s**.
3SG.S=tell=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'I told it to him.'
[elicited]

In (92), *rki* has its primary object realised with the enclitic *=ra* '3PL.OBJ' and its secondary object with the NP *naɲarea nae* 'his dream':

(92) E=to **rki=ra** naɲarea nae.
3SG.S=IPFV tell=3SG.OBJ dream 3SG.POSS
'He was telling them about his dream.'

Note that the realisation of the secondary object of *rki* with an NP as in (92) is fairly rare in the textual data. In most occurrences of *rki,* the secondary object is realised with *=s*, as in (93):

(93) E=**rki** masta=n LASMETI=s.
3SG.S=tell boss=POSS:NH p.name=3SG.OBJ
'He told LA SMET's boss about it.'

Semantically, both *rki* and *paoseki* are verbs of speech, and can be followed by a subordinate clause which denotes the contents of reported speech. Such subordinate clauses are introduced by the complementiser *lag* (see 12.4.1.1). When *lag* follows the secondary object of these verbs, it acts as a quotative introducing direct or indirect reported speech. In such constructions, the secondary object is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ' and indexes the reported speech occurring in the subordinate clause (see 12.4.3.1). This is seen in (94):

(94) Go Mista Robert e=**rki**=nia=s lag,
and mister p.name 3SG.S=tell=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"Konou a=tae slae=mu."
1SG 1SG.S=know help=2PL
'And Mister Robert told him, "I can help you."'

Lag can also introduce indirect reported speech, as in (95):

(95) Nmalogo malogotapla,
darkness be.dark like.this

e=**rki**=ra=s lag ur=sua pa-ki lau.
3SG.S=tell=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=go.down go-TR seawards
'It was night, and he told them to go down to the beach.'

Like *rki*, *paoseki* 'ask' can be the main verb of a matrix clause followed by a subordinate clause used to report direct speech as in (96), or indirect speech as in (97):

(96) Grunkiki nge e=**paoseki**-nia=s lag,
girl DEF 3SG.S=ask-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"ae, nag ku=to plaga nsfa?"
hey 2SG 2SG.S=IPFV look.for what
'The girl asked him, "Hey, what are you looking for?"'

(97) E=**paoseki**-go=s lagp̃a=fanei.
3SG.S=ask-2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=come:IRR
[elicited]

Also like *rki* 'tell', *paoseki* does not need to introduce direct or reported speech, as seen in (98):

(98) E=mro **paoseki**-nia=s, mamei nae e=lag,
3SG=AGAIN ask-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ father 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=say

"konou a=ti tae mau, e=pa-ki sei pa na-e?"
1SG 1SG.S=NEG know NEG2 3SG.S=go-TR where GO DEM-ADD
'She asked him again, and her father said, "I don't know, where did she go?"'

8.7 Valency-changing operations

8.7.1 Valency increasing: transitivisation with *-ki* 'TR'

Valency increase by suffixation of *–ki* 'TR' is the main valency-changing operation in the language. It is a derivational process applying to intransitive verbs and deriving transitive verbs. It is very productive and applies to a large portion of intransitive verbs, classified as Class 1 intransitives (see 8.3.1 and table 8.2). This process does not, however, extend to intransitive verbs borrowed from Bislama or English. As seen in table 8.8, the derivation has two broad functions, and can be either applicative or causative. With applicatives, a new participant is

introduced as the object of the verb. On the other hand, with causative derivation, an intransitive subject becomes the object of a derived transitive. Causative derivations are much less common than applicative derivations.

Applicative derivation		**Causative derivation**	
lua 'vomit'	*lua-ki* 'vomit something'	*lao* 'stand'	*lao-ki* 'stand something up'
fsa/psa 'speak:IRR/R'	*fsa-ki/psa-ki* 'speak:IRR/R' (a language)	*salea* 'drift, float'	*salea-ki* 'make something float, let something drift'
talofa 'shake hands'	*talofa-ki* 'shake hands with'	*p̃aka* 'be wedged'	*p̃aka-ki* 'wedge'
p̃area 'dream'	*p̃area-ki* 'dream about'	*tanum̃a* 'be stuck'	*tanum̃a-ki* 'stuff'
p̃alaka 'be afraid'	*p̃alaka-ki* 'be afraid of'	*matua* 'be old'	*matua-ki* 'cause to be mature'

Table 8.8. Types of *–ki* 'TR' derivation

8.7.1.1 Applicative derivation

Most transitive derivations are applicative. In this process, an intransitive verb, most often active, is transitivised and takes an object which can have a range of semantic roles (e.g. theme, stimulus, experiencer and location). Applicative derivations tend to not introduce patients. Table 8.9 presents the object roles according to the semantic type of certain verbs. The semantic categories in the table only represent a limited number of semantic categories and some examples of corresponding verbs.

Semantic type of intransitive verb	**Intransitive root**	**Transitive form**	**Role of applied object**
Bodily activity verbs	*sura* 'defecate'	*sura-ki* 'defecate s.t'	Product of the excretion
Speech verbs	*tagi* 'weep'	*tag-ki* 'sing a lament'	Product of the talking
Greetings verbs	*talofa* 'shake hands'	*talofa-ki* 'shake hands w. s.o.'	Recipient of the greetings
cognition/emotion verbs	*maroa* 'think'	*maroa-ki* 'think about s.t'	Stimulus
Value verbs	*wia* 'be good'	*wia-ki* 'be good for'	Experiencer
Activity verbs	*palse* 'paddle'	*palse-ki* 'paddle s.t'	Theme
Motion verbs	*pa* 'go'	*pa-ki* 'go to'	Location/goal

Table 8.9. Applicative derivation and semantic role of the applied object

Verbs of bodily activity include *sura* 'defecate', *me* 'urinate', *nap̃o* 'be smelly'. Some of these verbs show distinct transitive alternations subcategorising for objects referring to the location

of the activity (e.g. defecate on) on the one hand and the product of the activity (e.g. defecate something) on the other (see 3.3.4). When transitivised with *–ki*, the role of the applied object refers to the product of the activity. This is shown in (99) and (100):

(99) A=**sura-ki** nra.
1SG.S=defecate-TR blood
'I shat blood.'
[elicited]

(100) Kano n=e=to, **e=naɸo-ki** tora.
man REL-3SG.S=stay 3SG.S=smell-TR sweat
'As for this man, he smells of sweat.'
[elicited]

Verbs of speech include *psa* 'speak', *tagi* 'weep', *regreg* 'hum', and *lega* 'sing'. As an intransitive, *psa* is not attested with human subjects, but with non-humans such as the honeyeater bird as in (101) or inanimates such as *paiga* 'conch shell'. Both are regarded as sending calls to humans, the latter being traditionally used to call for the attention of villagers before a village meeting, while the former signals that dawn is near:

(101) Sou e=to **psa**, trak e=po msug=ra pa.
honeyeater 3SG.S=IPFV speak truck 3SG.S=SEQ carry=3PL.OBJ GO
'The honeyeater called, then the truck took them away.'

In contrast, in (102) the applied object of *psa-ki* refers to the language spoken by the human subject:

(102) Te=fnau naara ur=to **psa-ki** nafsana naara, nafsana=n Erakor
SBST=preach 3PL.POSS 3PL.S=IPFV speak-TR language 3PL.POSS language=POSS:NH p.name
'Their preachers were speaking their language, the language of Erakor.'

In (103), *tagi* 'weep' functions intransitively. In (104), the transitive form *tag-ki* 'cry-TR' takes an object which refers to the product of the crying, a traditional lament:

(103) E=to sal wur lau panmei se, e=to **tagi** panmei.
3SG.S=IPFV drift pass seawards come while 3SG.S=IPFV weep COME
'She was drifting along the shore while she was weeping.'

(104) E=pitlaka nae natagina na ur=to **tag-ki**-nia kane,
3SG.S=have 3SG lament REL 3SG.S=IPFV weep-TR-3SG.OBJ but

konou a=ti **tag-ki**-nia mau se,
1SG 1SG.S=NEG weep-TR-3SG.OBJ NEG2 while

marka skei n-e=ga to e=ga to=**tag-ki**-nia.
old.man INDEF REL-3SG.S=IRR stay 3SG.S=IRR IPFV=weep-TR-3SG.OBJ
'There is a lament that they sing, but I didn't sing it, an old man here will sing it.'

Greetings verbs include *talofa* 'shake hands; get married'. This verb can be used intransitively with two meanings: in (105) it means 'shake hands', while in (106) it has the meaning 'get married'. Semantically, this verb expresses reciprocality. However, this is not overtly expressed with the intransitive form, which only has a single core argument:

(105) Go ur=panmei pa-ki wara=s,
and 3PL.S=come go-TR here=PROX

Dokie, Mantae, ur=to **talof** panmei.
p.name p.name 3PL.S=IPFV shake.hands COME
'And they came here, as for Dokie and Mantae, they are shaking hands (coming towards speaker).'

(106) Ar=**talof** namba seventin tsanuari 1955
1DU.EXCL.S=get.married number seventeen January 1955
'We got married on the seventeenth of January 1955.' (*lit. we shook hands on the seventeenth of January 1955*)

When transitivised, *talofa* can express both meanings but its reciprocality is overtly marked, as the subject and object are co-referential. In (107), both the subject and the object of *talofaki* 'get married' share the same referent, that is, the couple that is about to be married by the church elder *Elda Masia*:

(107) Elda Masia e=rki=ra=s lag ur=ga lao tapla to,
elder p.name 3SG.S=tell=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=IRR stand like.this STAT

ar=ga **talofa-ki**-ra.
3DU.S=IRR get.married-TR-3PL.OBJ
'Elder Masia told them to stand up like this, they will get married (to each other).'

When transitivised, cognition and emotion verbs take an object which has the role of stimulus. Cognition verbs which can be transitivised with *–ki* include the intransitive verbs *maroa* 'think' and *p̃area* 'dream':

(108) Malange, e=pan pan pa,e=**maroa-ki** kano taare skei.
then 3SG.S=go GO GO 3SG.S=think-TR man white INDEF
'At that time, it went on and on, he thought about a white man.'

Verbs of emotion include *p̃alaka* 'be afraid', *maeto* 'be angry' and *muru* 'laugh'. Like cognition verbs, the referent of the object is the stimulus of the emotion:

(109) A=**p̃alaka-ki** koria.
1SG.S=be.afraid-TR dog
'I am afraid of dogs.'
[elicited]

(110) E=**maeto-ki**-nia pan pan pa, e=to se e=p̃a punu=ea.
3SG.S=be.angry-TR-3SG.OBJ GO GO GO 3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=hit dead=3SG.OBJ
'He was angry at her for a while, then he killed her.'

(111) E=to **muru-ki**-nia se e=to faam taplange.
3SG.S=IPFV laugh-TR-3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=IPFV eat like.this
'He was laughing at him while he was eating like this.'

Verbs of value include *wia* 'be good' and *sa* 'be bad'. As intransitives they encode a judgment on the value of the subject, and when transitivised they take an experiencer affected by the positive or negative value expressed by the verb.

(112) Mista Murray e=lop̃a=e lag a=llaapa e=**wia**.
mister p.name 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP LOC=p.name 3SG.S=good
'Mr. Murray realised that Lelepa was good.'

(113) Nsfa na a=pat=ia, e=go **wia-ki**-go mala skei
what REL 1SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR be.good-TR-2SG.OBJ time INDEF
'What I did, it'll be good for you one day.'

In (114), *wia* is transitivised but functions as a complement-taking predicate, and in this case the object enclitic indexes the complement clause rather than an experiencer participant (see 12.4.1):

(114) A=pleplaa, e=**wia-ki**-nia lag a=ga fa-ki ntas
1SG.S=dirty 3SG.S=be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR-TR sea
'I am dirty, it's good that I go in the sea.'

Note that these verbs can be transitivised in a single verb construction as seen above, or as part of a serial verb construction as in (115). In this latter case, the verb of value functions as a manner verb modifying the main verb:

(115) Nlag e=ti pat **sa**-ki-nia mau.
wind 3SG.S=NEG make bad-TR-3SG.OBJ NEG2
'The wind didn't destroy it.'

Pa 'go' is a verb of motion that can be transitivised with *–ki*. Underived, *pa* expresses motion away from the deictic centre, and no destination is encoded,[8] as seen in (116). In contrast, when transitivised with *–ki*, *pa* takes an object denoting the destination of the motion. This is shown in (117):

(116) E=rri, e=pan, e=kat **pa**.
3SG.S=fly 3SG.S=go 3SG.S=CERT go
'He flew, he went, he went away.'

(117) E=kat mraki lwa=e, ar=kat **pa-ki** sumã pa.
3SG.S=CERT lead remove=3SG.OBJ 3DU.S=CERT go-TR house GO
'He took her away, they both went to the house.'

There a few activity verbs such as *palse* 'paddle' which take an object with the role of theme when transitivised, as in (118):

(118) A=kat seiki rarua, a=kat **palse-ki-nia** pa-ki naure.
1SG.S=CERT push canoe 1SG.S=CERT paddle-TR-3SG.OBJ go-TR island
'I launched the canoe, I paddled it to the island.'

In addition to the verbs in table 8.9, there are many verbs which can be transitivised and take an applied object but cannot be neatly classified in semantic fields. For example, *pura* 'be full' is a stative verb which takes an object referring to the content filling the subject:

[8] Example (116) also has the verb *pan* 'go'. The difference between *pan* and *pa* has to do with whether a destination for the motion event has been previously established. *Pan* denotes motion away from the deictic centre to a destination that has already been established in the discourse, whereas *pa* simply encodes motion away from the deictic centre.

(119) Oo, ur=panei tau,
oh 3PL.S=come stay

A=fate nae na e=**pura-ki** soldie.
LOC=p.name 3SG DEM 3SG.S=be.full-TR soldiers
'Oh, they came to stay, Efate was full of soldiers.'

8.7.1.2 Causative derivation

The other function of transitive derivation with *–ki* is a causative one. In this process, the subject of an intransitive verb becomes the object of the corresponding derived transitive verb. The new predicate denotes a causative relationship between the subject and object participants, as the subject is the causer while the object is the undergoer. This function is much less common than the applicative function discussed above. In (120), the subject of the intransitive verb *lao* 'stand' is a house. It takes the oblique argument *ntan* 'ground' which denotes the location on which the house is standing:

(120) U=pat=ia, te=na, nlakan e=**lao** ntan.
3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ SBST=DEM because 3SG.S=stand ground
'They made it, with this one, because it stands on the ground.'

In contrast, in (121) the derived transitive *lao-ki* 'stand-TR' takes a causer subject and an undergoer object, which refers to a house to be built:

(121) Kane te=na, a=msau-na lag p̃a=suasua=s,
but SBST=DEM 1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=agree=3SG.OBJ

a=ga tae **lao-ki** nasum̃a=g tija.
1SG.S=IRR able stand-TR house=POSS:H teacher
'But with this one, I want you to agree with it, and I will be able to build the teacher's house.'

8.7.2 Valency re-arrangement operations

Valency re-arrangement is an additional minor function of *–ki* 'TR'. It does not involve valency increase, but is about manipulating the semantic roles of the participants and promoting participants to higher functions. It is much less productive than valency increase: it has a minor scope with a few Class 1 transitive verbs and its semantics are not predictable. When these verbs take *–ki*, an oblique participant is promoted to object. This is shown with the transitive verb *nat* 'throw (something)'. Unsuffixed, *nat* typically takes a patient (i.e. the target) with the role of goal, as seen in (122):

(122) Ña=ti **nat**=ia mau.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG throw.something=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'Do not throw stuff at him/it.'
[elicited]

It is possible to add an oblique argument with the role of instrument to *nat*. In this case the instrument can be encoded with *=s* '3OBL'

(123) Ña=ti **nat=ia=s** mau.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG throw.something=3SG.OBJ=3OBL NEG2
'Do not stone him with this.'
[elicited]

In (124), *nat* is suffixed with *-ki* and the object has the role of the instrument of the throwing (i.e. the projectile) rather than the target, or goal:

(124) Lasa nanuu nae e=mro roa tapla,
shell coconut 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=AGAIN fall like.this

e=wus=ia tapla,
3SG.S=get=3SG.OBJ like.this

e=mro **nat-ki**napurlasa nuwai nae, e=maora.
3SG.S=AGAIN throw.something-TR coconut.shell water 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=break
'His coconut shell fell down again like this, he got it, he threw his coconut shell again, it broke.'

In (125), an oblique is added and has the role of goal. That is, it the original goal seen in (122) is now demoted to oblique:

(125) E=**nat-ki-nia=s**.
3SG.S=throw-TR-3SG.OBJ =3OBL
'He threw it at him/it.'
[elicited]

Similarly, valency re-arrangement with the transitive verb *legat* 'sing' also promotes an oblique participant to object position. When not suffixed with *–ki*, *legat* takes an object which refers to the song that is sung. The object is the product of the singing, as seen in (126):

(126) E=mro **legat**=ia taplange, fterki e=kat panei pa-ki wara gara.
3SG.S=AGAIN sing=3SG.OBJ like.this wife 3SG.S=CERT come go-TR place be.dry
'He sang it again like this, the wife came onto dry land.'

In contrast, when suffixed with *–ki*, the recipient of the song is brought in as the object, as in (127). Note that *legat* has dropped its final /t/ due to final-consonant alternation (see 3.3.5). Also noteworthy is the fact that the root is reduplicated:[9]

(127) Ur=slat=ia, ur=kat mato **lega~lega-ki**-nia pa.
3PL.S=carry=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=CERT IPFV sing~RED-TR-3SG.OBJ GO
'They carried him, they were singing to him.'

In addition to promoting oblique participants to object position, there are cases in which the valency of the transitive verb suffixed with *–ki* is not re-arranged, but the verb undergoes a semantic change. In (128), *walof* 'wave', takes an object with the role of addressee:

(128) E=kat to **walof** konou.
3SG.S=CERT IPFV wave 1SG
'He was waving at me.'

However in (129), *walof* is suffixed with *–ki* and the object is still an addressee, but the semantics of the verb have now changed to 'wave to come':

(129) Ña=**walof-ki**-nia lag e=ga fanei.
2SG.S:IRR=wave-TR-3SG.OBJ PURP 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR
'Wave at him to come so that he'll come.'
[elicited]

8.7.3 Reduplication as a valency changing operation

Reduplication has several functions and applies to a number of word classes (see 3.4.5). With transitive verbs, reduplication can be both a relic de-transitivising and valency re-arrangement device. It is attested for a few verbs only and is not productive, and there is no way of predicting whether reduplication will be detransitivising or re-arranging. Some transitive verb roots and their reduplicated intransitives are given in table 8.10:

[9] Reduplication (see 3.4.5) is a minor, non-productive process which has a number of different functions. For this reason, the function of reduplication in this example is not well understood.

Transitive root		Reduplicated intransitive	
sun	'wear'	*susu*	'be dressed'
sel	'sew'	*selsel*	'sew'
mraki	'lead'	*mramra*	'rule'

Table 8.10. De-transitivising reduplication

This process is shown with *sun* 'wear' and its reduplicated intransitive counterpart *susu* 'be dressed':

(130) Malange, slafea nge, tee-shirt tika,
then before DEF tee-shirt not.be.there

e=pi nlakan ten Amerika kenem ur=to **sun=ia**.
3SG.S=COP because SBST.POSS:NH p.name 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV wear=3SG.OBJ
'Then, before, there were no tee-shirts, it is because of the Americans that we are wearing them.'

(131) Ar=kat **susu** taafa, ar=kat mato warampa,
3DU.S=CERT be.dressed inlandwards 3DU.S=CERT stay.long there.forward

ar=ga fa-ki nasuma tap.
3DU.S=IRR go-TR house be.taboo
'They got dressed up there, they stay there, and they will go to the church.'

Reduplication can also re-arrange valency, as illustrated with the verbs *msug* 'transport' and its reduplicated counterpart *msumsu* 'load'. Both verbs are transitive, so reduplication does not increase or decrease their valency. The transitive *msug* 'transport' denotes the transportation of an object with a transporting device (e.g. a canoe, a truck), while its reduplicated counterpart *msumsu* 'load' expresses the loading of an object used as a transportation device. Thus, with *msug* reduplication promotes an oblique participant to object position. In (132) and (133), the object of *msug* is respectively encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' and *koria* 'dog' and refers to the transported item:

(132) Ku=**msug**=ia rarua.
2SG.S=transport=3SG.OBJ canoe
'You carried him on a canoe.'
[elicited]

(133) Mala a=tuñalua naure, a=**msug** koria.
when 1SG.S=leave island 1SG.S=carry dog
'When I leave the Island, I carry dogs.'

In contrast, in (134) the object of the reduplicated *msumsu* refers to the transportation device (a canoe) loaded before transport:

(134) ku=kat **msumsu** rarua nag,
2SG.S=CERT load canoe 2SG.POSS

ku=msau-na lagɲa=fa-ki naure.
2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=GO:IRR-TR island
'You loaded your canoe, and you want to go back to the island.'

8.7.4 Fixed transitivity alternations

This section discusses formally fixed pairs of verbs with an intransitive and a transitive member (see table 8.11). The behaviour of these pairs is similar and probably related to those Class 1 transitive verbs which participate in final-consonant alternation (see 3.3.5). However, these verbs differ from transitive verbs partaking in final-consonant alternation in that they form pairs with an intransitive and a transitive root. Members of each pair are etymologically related but not derivable from each other following synchronic morphological processes. Yet it is clear that these verbs share a single etymon, as they only differ on whether or not they have a final consonant. In most cases, the intransitive forms have lost their final consonant while the transitive ones have retained it. An exception to this is the last pair of the table, *fef/fe* 'read/read s.t.', which shows the opposite pattern, as the intransitive form retained the final consonant while the transitive one lost it:

Intransitive roots		Transitive roots	
rusu	'shift'	*rusug*	'shift s.t'
tagi	'weep'	*tags*	'cry for s.t'
tao	'bake (laplap)'	*taon*	'bake s.t'
puke	'unwrap (laplap)'	*pukes*	'unwrap s.t'
fef	'read'	*fe*	'read s.t.'

Table 8.11. Fixed transitivity alternations

Comparative research shows that similar phenomena are attested in other Oceanic languages. See, for example, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:44-45) who explain that original final consonants in many Oceanic languages have been reanalysed as part of the initial consonant of

transitive suffixes in some modern languages. These languages have developed series of allomorphs of their transitive suffix which differ on the shape of their initial consonant, such as the Fijian suffixes *-ða*, *-ta*, *-ka*, *-va*, *-na*. As seen in (135), Proto Oceanic **tagis* 'weep' is consonant-final while Fijian *tagi* 'weep' has lost the final consonant, and the Fijian transitive suffix is consonant initial, with a consonant reflecting Proto Oceanic **s*:

(135)

Proto Oceanic	*taŋis	*taŋis-i-a	*taŋis-aki-a
	weep	weep-TR-3SG.OBJ	weep-TR-3SG.OBJ
Fijian	taŋi	taŋi-ða	taŋi-ðaka
	weep	weep-TR-3SG.OBJ	weep-TR-3SG.OBJ
	weep	'cry for'	'cry because of'

(Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:44)

In contrast to Fijian, Lelepa has taken a different path: the final consonant of certain transitive verbs such as those in table 8.11 was not analysed as part of a transitive suffix but remained the final consonant of these verbs, while the language developed a series of intransitive counterparts by dropping the final consonant of the transitive forms. This is shown in (136) with the pair *tagi* 'weep'/*tags* 'cry for'. In (136)a the intransitive *tag* has lost final *s* while in (136)a and b it is retained. These examples also show that this phenomenon is different from that of final-consonant loss (see 3.3.5), since final *s* occurs both in word-final and word-internal position, as seen in (136)b and c, while in the process of final-consonant loss the final consonant is only retained word-internally:

(136) a.

E=to	kai,	kite	e=to	**tagi**.
3SG.S=IPFV	cry	or	3SG.S=IPFV	weep

'She was crying, or she was weeping.'

b.

Kano	neto,	e=to	**tags**	fterki	nae.
man	this	3SG.S=IPFV	cry.for	wife	3SG.POSS

'As for this man, he's crying for his wife.'
[elicited]

c.

Ur=kut	**tags=ko**
3PL.S=CERT	cry.for-2SG.OBJ

'They cry for you.'
[elicited]

The pair *tao* 'bake'/*taon* 'bake s.t.' is shown in the same environments as *tagi* 'weep' and *tags* 'cry.for'. In (137), the intransitive *tao* 'bake' has lost final *n* while its transitive counterpart *taon* has retained it word-finally as in (138) and word-internally as in (139):

(137) E=kat to **tao**.
3SG.S=CERT IPFV bake
'She was baking.'

(138) Ta=ga fa loŋa=e
1DU.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR see=3SG.OBJ

takanei ur=kut pea **taon** kapua=n gotfan tu.
how 3PL.S=CERT first bake laplap=POSS:NH afternoon STAT
'Let's go see how they baked this afternoon's laplap.'

(139) Kapua=n gotfan, ku=laka=e ur=kut **taon**=ia tu.
laplap=POSS:NH afternoon 2SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 3PL.S=CERT bake=3SG.OBJ STAT
'As for this afternoon's laplap, you see that they baked it.'

Another example of this process is shown with the pair *puke* 'unwrap (laplap)'/*pukes* 'unwrap s.t.' in (140) and (141). The intransitive *puke* in (140) has lost its final consonant while its transitive counterpart *pukes* has retained it as shown in (141):

(140) Gotfan nina, ur=**puke**.
afternoon then 3PL.S=unwrap.laplap
'Then in the afternoon, they unwrapped the laplap.'

(141) Ur=ga lag **pukes**=ia.
3PL.S=IRR MAYBE unwrap=3SG.OBJ
'Maybe they will unwrap it.'
[elicited]

Chapter 9 — The Verb Complex

9.1 Introduction

The verb complex is the label used for a discontinuous structure incorporating the verb and accompanying grammatical elements, as well as the object and oblique.[1] Oceanic languages typically have verb phrases with preposed morphemes (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:45), and this has been shown in individual languages such as South Efate (Thieberger 2006:243), Abma (Schneider 2010:156), Kokota (Palmer 2009:272), Lewo (Early 1994:236) and Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:261), amongst others. This is also true of Lelepa in which the burden of complexity of the verb complex is located pre-verbally, with modal, aspectual and negative markers, numerals, auxiliaries and the reflexive/reciprocal particle all occurring between the subject proclitic and the verb root (see 9.3). Post-verbal elements (see 9.4) include object and oblique arguments, morphemes modifying the verb (post-verbs and adverbs), the perfect particle, and directional and aspectual particles marking the right boundary of this structure. The verb complex is regarded as discontinuous because the benefactive phrase, an adjunct which introduces a participant with the role of beneficiary, separates the main verb root from preposed morphemes (see 7.5.3).[2]

9.2 The verb complex: structure and unity

9.2.1 Defining the verb complex

The term 'verb complex' has been in use for some time in linguistic descriptions from a number of language families. For an early reference see Hockett (1948) for a use of this label in the description of the Algonquian language Potawatomi, in which the verb complex is made up of a number of pre-verbal elements which can be separated by 'inserted phrases' not part of the verb complex. The term is also used in descriptions of Australian languages. See Dixon (1972, 1977a) for Dyirbal and Yidiɲ, and more recently Evans (1995) for Kayardild. In those

[1] The term 'verb complex' in this grammar does not equate with the notion of VP developed in transformational grammar.

[2] A reviewer has proposed to regard the benefactive construction as a prepositional verb construction. This analysis is not chosen in the case of the benefactive because it does not behave like other prepositional verbs, in particular it is not morphologically analysable as a preposition + object suffix in contrast to prepositional verbs in the language (see 4.8.2)

three languages, the verb complex is formed by several verbal morphemes all agreeing in case. In the description of Oceanic languages, this term has been used fairly commonly (Lichtenberk 1983, Thieberger 2006, Næss and Boerger 2008, Palmer 2009), and so has been the term 'verb phrase' (Crowley 1982, Lynch 2000, Hyslop 2001, François 2005, Jauncey 2011, amongst others). However, justifications for such constituents are not always given, which leaves some uncertainty as to whether the 'verb complex' or 'verb phrase' is a syntactic constituent in some languages. In Lelepa, the verb complex is delimited to the left by the subject proclitic, and to the right by the aspectual and directional particles which also delimit the right-edge of the basic clause (sees 7.1.2, 10.6). The verb complex does not include the subject NP occurring in the basic clause, but does include the object and oblique arguments, whether they occur as a bound person marker (suffix or enclitic) or an NP. It follows a template (see fig. 9.1) which means that there is no freedom as to how the elements of this template are organised: most are optional, but their order is fixed. Well-known constituency tests such as movement and substitution are not applicable to define the verb complex.[3] However, it can be established as a discrete structural unit because (i) its elements occur in a fixed order and (ii) nothing can intervene between them, apart from the benefactive phrase. The occurrence of the benefactive phrase in a fixed position is the reason why the verb complex is regarded as discontinuous, which is also the case of South Efate (Thieberger 2006:243). The discontinuity of this constituent is also the reason why the term 'verb complex' is chosen over the term 'verb phrase', which traditionally include the verb and its object and excludes adjunct constituents. To the left, the verb complex (underlined) in (1) is immediately preceded by a subject noun phrase which is preceded by a left-dislocated NP:

(1) **Te=rua nge, nagi-ra** e=pi laua naaram ofa.
SBST=two DEF name-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=COP cardinal.fish and heron
'As for these two, their names were Cardinal Fish and Heron.'

Alternatively, the verb complex can be preceded by a sentential adverb, as in (2):

(2) **Malmauna** tu=to til "Lelepa",
now 1PL.INCL.S=IPFV say p.name
'Nowadays we say "Lelepa,"'

[3] This may explain why the constituent status of the 'verb phrase' or 'verb complex' may be difficult to establish in other Oceanic languages.

To the right, the verb complex can be followed by adjuncts, which can be prepositional phrases as in (3), or sentential adverbs as in (4):

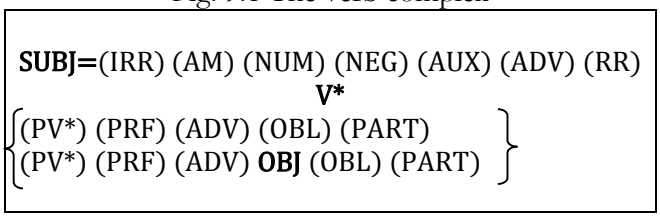
(3) Na-mu-na e=put=ia pa **raki** **Artok**.
N.SPEC-go.in-NMLZ 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ GO towards p.name
'The low tide's current pulls it towards Artok.'

(4) E=pi naure kiki nae, e=to=s to **sral**.
3SG=COP island small 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=stay=3OBL STAT often
'It was his own little island, he stayed there often.'

9.2.2 Structural overview

The structure of the verb complex is given in fig. 9.1. Obligatory elements are the subject proclitic (SUBJ=) and the verb (V) in intransitive clauses, and the subject proclitic (SUBJ=), the verb (V) and the object (OBJ) in transitive clauses. 'V*' indicates that verb roots can be serialised. Order in the verb complex is fixed for all pre-verbal elements and for most post-verbal ones.[4]

Fig. 9.1 The verb complex



- **SUBJ=** The subject proclitic is obligatory and forms a phonological word with whatever follows (see 3.3.1, 7.4.1.1).
- **(IRR)** The particle *ga* 'IRR' marks irrealis mood (see 9.3.2, 11.2.1.2).
- **(AM)** Pre-verbal aspect and modality particles occur in this slot. Some aspect particles co-occur, but the modality particles are mutually exclusive (see 9.3.3, 11.2.3, 11.3.1).
- **(NUM)** This slot is mostly filled with the numeral *rua* 'two' which must occur with a dual subject proclitic (see 9.3.4).

[4] The exception to this is the perfect marker (PRF) *sua,* which has the ability to occur either before or after the object (see 8.4.2, 10.5).

- **(NEG)** *ti* 'NEG' is the first part of the bipartite negation particle (*ti...mau*). The second particle, *mau* 'NEG2', occurs sentence-finally and is not an element of the verb complex (see 7.7.1).
- **(AUX)** Auxiliary verbs mark aspect, modality and motion (see 9.3.6, 10.3.3).
- **(ADV)** Pre-verbal adverbs express manner, temporality, value and degree (see 4.7.1.1, 4.7.1.3).
- **(RR)** the particle *tum̃a-* 'RR' encodes both reflexivity and reciprocality (see 9.3.8)

After the verb root(s) (V*), the structure of verb complex differs according to whether the clause is intransitive or transitive.

- **(PV)** post-verbs follow the verb root(s) to form a construction resembling a serial verb construction, but since post-verbs are not verbs, their combination with a verb is not regarded as a serial verb construction (see 9.4.1 and 10.5).
- **(PRF)** The perfect particle *sua* contributes to the marking of aspect in the verb complex, along with the irrealis and AM markers located pre-verbally. The perfect marker can occur either before or after the object (see 9.4.2, 11.3.3).
- **OBJ** Objects are obligatory in transitive clauses and realised as an NP or as a bound pronominal. Ditransitive clauses require two contiguous objects.
- **(OBL)** Like objects, obliques are realised as NPs or bound pronominals. In intransitive clauses they follow the adverb, and in transitive clauses they follow the object.
- **(ADV)** Post-verbal adverbs have scope over the verb complex and express manner, value and temporality (see 4.7.1.2 and 4.7.1.3).
- **(PART)** These clause-final particles express aspect and direction and mark the right boundary of the verb complex and of the basic clause (see 7.1.2, 10.6).

The simplest realisation of a verb complex is equivalent to the simplest basic clause: the only obligatory elements of a clause and of a verb complex are the subject proclitic and the verb, as shown in (5) by the first underlined verb complex. The second one is more complex as it contains two clause-final particles:

(5) E=mato, ar=to to pan pa...
3SG.S=stay 3DU.S=stay stay GO GO
'He stayed, they both stayed on and on...'

The slot of VERB (V*) can be filled by a single verb, as seen in (6), or by two verbs forming a serial verb construction as in (7):

(6) Ae, p̃a=ti **paam**=ia mau, e=kat **nap̃o**.
hey 2SG.S:IRR=NEG eat=3SG.OBJ NEG2 3SG.S=CERT smell
'Hey, don't eat it, it is rotten.'

(7) Kane wan p̃a=fes=ia, p̃a=**lo** **parkat** natp̃an.
but if 2SG.S:IRR=dig.w.hands=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S:IRR=look catch thorn
'But if you dig it with your hands, beware of its thorns.'

It is rare for three verbs to be serialised. Example (8) shows three serialised verbs: *rog* 'feel', *tortor* 'sweat', and *kil* 'dig' (see chapter 9):

(8) Ee, e=ga lag wia,
no 3SG.S=IRR MAYBE be.good

kane tu=lag **rog** **tortor** **kil**=ia.
but 1PL.INCL.S=MAYBE feel sweat dig=3SG.OBJ
'No, it may be fine, but maybe we dug it in a hurry.'

9.3 Pre-verbal elements

9.3.1 Subject proclitic

The subject proclitic (see 7.4.1.1) is, along with the verb root, the only obligatory element of the verb complex. As seen in fig. 9.1, it is the first morpheme of the verb complex and attaches directly to the verb root, or to any other element that can occur between the verb root and the subject proclitic (see 3.3.1). This is shown in (9) to (13), with subject proclitics and verb roots in bold letters. In (9) the subject proclitic attaches directly to the verb, while it attaches to a modality marker in (10), to the negator *ti* 'NEG' in (11), to an auxiliary verb in (12), and to a benefactive phrase in (13):

(9) **E=sok**!
3SG.S=jump
'It jumped!'

(10) ...go **ur**=kat tae **palse**-ki-nia
and 3PL.S=CERT can paddle-TR-3SG.OBJ
'... and they can paddle it.'

(11) **P̃a**=ti to **taakae** mau!
2SG.S:IRR=NEG IPFV dance NEG2
'Stop dancing!'

(12) **Ku**=tae **slae**=gam?
2SG.S=can help=1PL.EXCL.OBJ
'Can you help us?'

(13) **E**=magnou **pat** paspot agnou.
3SG.S=1SG.BEN make passport 1SG.POSS
'He organised my passport for me.'

9.3.2 Irrealis particle

The irrealis particle *ga* hosts the subject proclitic to give the clause it occurs in an irrealis reading (see 11.2.1.2). It combines with any subject proclitic except for *ku*= '2SG.S', since irrealis marking of a clause with a second person singular subject is done with the suppletive *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR' (see 7.4.1.1). Combinations of subject proclitics with *ga* are shown in (14) to (16):

(14) Konou a=maroa-ki-nia lag a=**ga** fa.
1SG 1SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR
'I thought I would go.'

(15) A=msau-na a=**ga** mro til=ia stori kiki skei.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=IRR AGAIN tell=3SG.OBJ story be.small INDEF
'I want to tell a short story again.'

(16) A=kat msau-na lag a=**ga** ti to sumã to mau.
1SG.S=CERT want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR NEG stay house STAT NEG2
'I didn't want to stay at home.'

9.3.3 Aspect and modality particles

Pre-verbal aspect and modality particles immediately follow the irrealis particle if it is present, or else they host the subject proclitic. Their occurrence is completely optional as they occur whenever they are deemed semantically necessary by the speaker. There are three aspect and two modality particles (see table 9.1, 11.2.3, 11.3.1). Note that Aspect and modality are not

exclusively marked in this slot: the distinction between realis/irrealis mood is done by subject proclitics and *ga* 'IRR', and the perfect is marked post-verbally with *sua* 'PRF' (see 11.3.3).

Aspect		Modality	
mro	'AGAIN'	*kat*	'CERT'
po	'SEQ'	*lag*	'MAYBE'
plo	'STILL'		

Table 9.1. Aspect and modality particles

Aspect and modality particles precede numerals, as seen in (17) to (20):

(17) Ar=**kat** rua faam.
3DU.S=CERT two eat:F
'They both ate.'
[elicited]

(18) Ar=**po** rua faam.
3DU.S=SEQ two eat:F
'And then they both ate.'
[elicited]

(19) Ar=**mro** rua faam.
3DU.S=AGAIN two eat:F
'They both ate again.'
[elicited]

(20) Ar=**lag** rua panmei.
3DU.S=MAYBE two come
'Maybe they both came.'
[elicited]

Certain aspect and modality particles co-occur, as seen in (21) and (22). There are no examples of all particles co-occurring, as expected from their meanings (see 11.2.1, 11.3.1). Two particles can co-occur at most, with *po* before *mro* and *plo*, and *mro* occurring before *lag:*

(21) Okay, ur=to warange, ur=**po** **mro** sfa raki Tahiti.
okay 1PL.INCL.S=stay there 1PL.INCL.S=SEQ AGAIN run towards p.name
'Okay, we stayed there, and then we sailed again towards Tahiti.'

(22) E=**mro** **lag** faam.
3SG.S=AGAIN MAYBE eat:F
'Maybe he ate again'.
[elicited]

In (23), *kat* occurs with the verb *lag* 'say'. This verb is homophonous with the particle *lag*, but they shouldn't be confused with each other. *Lag* 'say' functions as a verb in complement-taking predicate constructions,[5] as in (23):

(23) So... e=**kat** **lag** e=pi natrausina mau wei nge.
So 3SG.S=CERT say 3SG.S=COP story all TOP DEF
'So... it means that it is the whole story.'

9.3.4 Numeral

Marking number of the subject is done with a subject proclitic, but it can also be done with a numeral occurring pre-verbally, as in (24). In the textual data, only the numeral *rua* 'two' occurs in this slot, but elicitation shows that *tolu* 'three' can also occur, as in (25):

(24) 'Ae, ta=ga **rua** pa-ki sum̃a pan?
hey 1DU.INCL.S=IRR two go-TR house GO
'Hey, shall we (two) go to the house?'

(25) Ur=ga **tolu** panmei.
3PL.S=IRR three come
'They (three) will come.'
[elicited]

Example (26) shows that the numeral slot is located between the aspect and negative particles' slots:

(26) Ar=mro **rua** ti panei mau.
3DU.S=AGAIN two NEG come NEG2
'They (two) didn't come again.'
[elicited]

It is noteworthy that the language allows for the co-occurrence of a dual subject proclitic and a numeral meaning 'two' to encode a dual subject, as it appears this makes the marking of number redundant. A possible functional explanation for this redundancy is that it emphasises the number of the subject. For instance, in (27) the speaker is the main character of a traditional story who tells his father that he went to the bush, found a girl and came back with her. The finding of the girl is an unexpected event for the speaker and his father, so the

[5] In addition, it has grammaticalised and occurs as a complementiser (see 11.4.2).

speaker emphasises the fact that he came to his father with the girl by marking the number of the subject twice:

(27)

A=pan	se,	grunkiki	skei	e=to	ware-n	to,
1SG.S=go	while	girl	INDEF	3SG.S=stay	there.sideways-DIST	STAT

ar=**rua**	panmei.
1DU.EXCL.S=two	come

'I went there, and a girl was there too, and we both came.'

Redundant number marking is also common in propositions or commands, when a speaker asks the hearer that they do something together. Emphasis is put on the sharing of the command by marking the number of the subject twice, with a subject proclitic and a numeral, so that the hearer may be more inclined to proceed. This is seen in (24) above, and in (28):

(28)

Ale,	narei	skei	nae	e=to	se	e=lag,
then	people	INDEF	3SG.POSS	3SG.S=stay	while	3SG.S=say

"ae,	kinta	ta=ga	**rua**	pan."
hey	1PL.INCL	1DU.INCL.S=IRR	two	GO

'Then, one of his people said, "hey, let the two of us go."'

9.3.5 Negation particle

As shown in 6.7.1, clauses are negated with the bipartite particle *ti...mau* 'NEG...NEG2'. *Ti* occurs in a fixed slot, between the numeral and the auxiliary verb (fig. 9.1). While (26) showed that *ti* follows the numeral, in (29) *ti* occurs between the modality particle *kat* and the verb. In (30) it occurs between the aspect marker *mro* and the auxiliary verb *tae* 'can':

(29)

E=kat	**ti**	kasua	mau.
3SG.S=CERT	NEG	be.strong	NEG2

'She wasn't strong.'

(30)

...ur=mro	**ti**	tae	laka	mala	kasua	tapla	nge	mau.
3PL.S=AGAIN	NEG	can	see	time	strong	like.this	DEF	NEG2

'... they can't be confronted with such hard times again.'

9.3.6 Auxiliaries

Verbs occurring pre-verbally, that is, before the V slot, are analysed as auxiliaries. They are separated from the main verb by the benefactive phrase, which allows an auxiliary verb + main verb construction to be distinguished from serial verb constructions (SVCs). In SVCs, several

verb stems co-occur contiguously, whereas in an auxiliary construction, the benefactive phrase separates the auxiliary from the main verb. Evidence for the auxiliary position is given in (31) and (32). In these examples, a benefactive phrase occurs between the auxiliary verb and the main verb. In (31), *pa* 'go' is an auxiliary followed by the benefactive phrase *mag Puas* 'BEN Puas', while *lao* 'plant' is the main verb:

(31) Nina, ur=**pa** mag puasa lao.
then 3PL.S=go BEN peregrine.falcon plant
'Then, they went to plant for the peregrine falcon.'

In (32) the benefactive pronoun *maginta* '1PL.INC:BEN' occurs between the auxiliary verb *msau* 'want' and the main verb *til* 'tell':

(32) A=mro **msau** maginta til natusina.
1SG.S=AGAIN want 1PL.EXCL.BEN tell story
'I want to tell a story for us again.'

In addition to syntactic position, some auxiliaries may be recognised on semantic grounds as their meaning is altered in comparison to when they occur as main verbs. For instance, compare the examples below showing *pea* 'be first; first' functioning as a main verb in (33) and as an auxiliary in (34). In (33), *pea* functions as the main verb, with the meaning 'be first, precede':

(33) Masogo naaram fterki nae ar=**pea**,
p.name and wife 3SG.POSS 3DU.S=be.first
'Masogo and his wife are first,'

In (34), *pea* occurs with the verb *lotu* 'worship'. A semantic difference is apparent between the main verb and the auxiliary forms: the main verb in (33) denotes that the subject is first, while the auxiliary in (34) means that the event denoted by the clause happened first, or before another event:

(34) Naara ur=kat **pea** lotu, ur=kat marma.
3PL 3PL.S=CERT first worship 3PL.S=CERT be.lit
'They worshipped first, they were enlightened.'

9.3.7 Pre-verbal adverbs

A few pre-verbal adverbs (see 4.7) occur between the auxiliary and the main verb. In (35), *malua* 'later' occurs between the auxiliary *to* 'IPFV' and the verb *lo parkat* 'look after':

(35) E=kat to **malua** lo parkat=ia
3SG.S=CERT IPFV later see catch=3SG.OBJ

lag natlaka ur=go plaga nalwaa nge.
COMP owner 3PL.S=IRR look.for arrow DEF
'Later, he was waiting for the owners to look for the arrow.'

9.3.8 Reflexive/reciprocal particle

The particle *tum̃a-* 'RR' is used to express both reflexive and reciprocal meanings. In a reflexive/reciprocal construction, there is co-referentiality between the actor and the undergoer of the reflexive/reciprocal event. The particle occurs between the auxiliary and the main verb[6] and takes a possessor-indexing suffix indexing the same participant as the subject proclitic. It is interesting that this suffix is a nominal possessor suffix rather than a verbal object suffix, and shows a nominal origin for this particle. Other Vanuatu languages such as Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:266) and South Efate (Thieberger 2006:262) have a reflexive/reciprocal morpheme taking possessor-indexing suffixes. Note that synchronically, *tum̃a-* does not have any other function or position and needs to be analysed as a particle on its own. The verb following *tum̃a-* can be intransitive or transitive. In (36), the construction with *tum̃a-* is reciprocal. The verb *rm̃aki* 'bark' functions transitively and the three pronominal indexes (subject, reciprocal and object) are co-referential:

(36) Koria **ur$_i$=**tuma**-ra$_i$** rm̃aki**-ra$_i$**.
dog 3DU.S=RR-3PL.POSS bark-3PL.OBJ
'The dogs bark at each other.'
[elicited]

[6] In the textual data, there are no examples of the benefactive phrase and the reflexive/reciprocal co-occurring, and attempts at elicitation were not conclusive, thus whether the reflexive and benefactive can co-occur or are in complementary distribution is a matter for further research. Thieberger (2006:264) notes that for South Efate, textual data with co-occurrences of benefactive and reflexive/reciprocal are unavailable. On the basis of an ungrammatical constructed sentence, he suggests that both constructions may be in complementary distribution in this language.

Like (36), in (37)[7] and (38), the verbs are transitives and all bound person markers are co-referential:

(37) **Ar$_i$=**tuña**-ra$_i$** pa-ki**-ra$_i$**.
3DU=RR-3PL.POSS go-TR-3PL.OBJ
'They had a fight with each other.' (*lit. they went at each other*)

(38) **Ar$_i$=**ti **tuña-ra$_i$** put**=ra$_i$** to mau.
3SG.S=NEG RR-3PL.POSS pull=3SG.OBJ STAT NEG2
'They don't go out with each other.' (*lit. they don't pull each other*)

However, it is not always the case that the object enclitic is co-referential with the subject and the reflexive/reciprocal indexes. In (39), only the subject and the reflexive are co-referential, while the object of the main verb *pat* has a different referent. In this example, the subject is a magic snake making himself swell up and becoming bigger and bigger. The object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' on *pat* 'do' refers to the event of swelling up which was explained earlier in the narrative:

(39) **E$_i$=**to tuña**-na$_i$** pat**=ia$_j$**, e=mro pi põela pan pa e=nou,
3SG.S=IPFV RR-3SG.POSS do=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=AGAIN COP big GO GO 3SG.S=be.finished
'He was doing it to himself, he got bigger and bigger,'

Intransitive verbs can also occur in this construction, as in (40). In this example, *tuña-* encodes reflexivity: the speaker, describing his own experience in preparing and organising the wedding of his son, warns the addressee that such preparations are the responsibility of the father only. The verb *mursuksuk* 'prepare' is intransitive but takes a complement clause (underlined), and the subject proclitic and suffix of the reflexive are co-referential:

(40) Nag mol **põa$_i$=**tuña**-ña$_i$** mursuksuk e=ga fi põela.
2SG only 2SG.S:IRR=RR-2SG.POSS prepare 3SG.S=IRR COP:IRR big
'Only you will prepare yourself a lot.'

Finally, note that *tuña-* is ambiguous between reflexivity and reciprocality when there is a plurality of referents:

[7] Note that the referent encoded by all bound person forms in (37) is dual, but since the possessor-indexing suffixes and object enclitics do not distinguish dual number, all number distinctions other than singular are collapsed in the plural for these paradigms.

(41) Ur=tuña-ra põat=ra.
3PL.S=RR-3PL.POSS hit=3PL.OBJ
'They hit each other.'
'They hit themselves.'
[elicited]

9.4 Post-verbal elements

9.4.1 Post-verbs

Post-verbs form a separate class from verbs and adverbs (see 4.4). Post-verbs occur in intransitive and transitive predicates. In (42), the post-verb *pkout* 'complete' follows the intransitive verb *nou* 'finish':

(42) E=pat srago mauna pa e=nou **pkout**,
3SG.S=make things every GO 3SG.S=be.finished completely
'He made everything until it was completely done,'

In the case of a transitive predicate, post-verbs follow the verb and precede the object. This distinguishes them from post-verbal adverbs which follow the object (see 4.7.1). If the object is an NP, it follows the post-verb as in (43); and if it is realised as an object enclitic, it cliticises to the post-verb as in (44):

(43) Ur=pu naṁit; ur=kul **gor** nkasu=s.
3PL.S=pull mat 3PL.S=cover block wood=3OBL
'They pulled a mat; they covered the stick with it.'

(44) Ur=ga tap **gor**=ra raki na=ftouri-na naara,
3PL.S=IRR be.sacred block=3PL.OBJ towards ART=marry-NMLZ 3PL.POSS
'They will bless them for their wedding,'

9.4.2 Perfect *sua*

The basic function of *sua* is to mark a situation as completed, and relevant in one way or another to the situation occurring at the time of reference. In most cases the perfect precedes the object, as in (45):

(45) E=kat fe **sua** tena
3SG.S=CERT read PRF SBST.DEM
'He already read this one.'
[elicited]

However, in some realis clauses the perfect is found following the object, showing that there is some variation in the position of this particle (See 11.3.3).

9.4.3 Object

As seen in 6.4.1.2, object arguments can be realised as a lexical NP, a pronominal NP or an object enclitic, all of which occur within the verb complex. This contrasts with subject arguments which are encoded with obligatory subject proclitics and can occur with a co-referential NP. Object enclitics occur in the absence of a lexical or pronominal NP and encode the object in person and number. They distinguish singular and plural number, but do not encode dual. Further, while NPs and personal pronouns can occur as subjects, objects and obliques, object enclitics are restricted to the object function. In (46), the NP *nasma nagna* 'its outrigger' is the object of *pat psaki* 'make clean'. In the following clause, *–nia* '3SG.OBJ' encodes the object of *mas psaki* 'chop clean' and is co-referential with *nasma nagna*:

(46) A=po mro pat psaki **nasma** **nag-na**,
1SG.S=SEQ again make clean outrigger ASS-3SG.POSS

a=mas psaki-**nia** pa e=nou,
1SG.S=chop clean-3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=be.finished
'Then I clean its outrigger again, I chop it clean until it's done,'

In (47), there are two occurrences of the personal pronoun *kinta* '1PL.INCL' functioning as objects of the transitive verbs *pagan* 'feed' and *lo parkat* 'look after'. Note that they are co-referential:

(47) Tu=sa to, ur=to pagan **kinta**,
1PL.INCL.S=be.bad stay 3PL.S=IPFV feed 1PL.INCL

to=lo parkat **kinta** pan pa,
IPFV=look catch 1PL.INCL GO GO
'We were little, they fed us, they looked after us on and on,'

9.4.3.1 The paradigm of bound object markers

Bound object markers in table 9.2 mark person, number, and clusivity, as expected for an Oceanic language (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35). The paradigm shows no gap and no syncretism, with each combination of person and number values expressed by a different form. The table also shows that there are two sets of allomorphs: prefixes attaching to *ki-*

ending verbs and enclitics attaching to non *ki*-ending verbs. This first level of allomorphy applies across verb classes (with the obvious exception of intransitives), while a second level of allomorphy is found with first and third person singular:

		***ki*-ending verbs**	**non *ki*-ending verbs**
SG	**1**	*-ou~-wou*	*=iou~=ou~=wou*
	2	*-go*	*=ko*
	3	*-nia*	*=ia~=a~=e~=ea~-na~=s*
PL	**1 EXCL**	*-gta*	*=gta*
	1 INCL	*-gam*	*=gam*
	2	*-mu*	*=mu*
	3	*-ra*	*=ra*

Table 9.2. Bound object markers

9.4.3.2 Object enclitics vs. object suffixes

A peculiarity of bound object markers is that those occurring on *ki*-ending verbs are suffixes, while those occurring on non *ki*-ending verbs are enclitics. The enclitics attach to verbs, post verbs or to the perfect particle *sua*. This is shown with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' which attaches to a single verb in (48), a serial verb construction in (49), a post-verb in (50), and with *=ra* '3PL.OBJ' which attaches to perfect particle in (51):

(48) Go a=lag nag-na, ur=pat**=ia**, e=pi nasuña nous.
and LOC=upwards ASS-3SG.POSS 3PL.S=make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=COP house wild.cane
'And as for its roof, they made it, it was a wild cane house.'

(49) E=lag, "ku=ga lo parkat**=ia"**.
3SG.S=say 2PL.S=IRR look catch=3SG.OBJ
'It means, "you guys be careful."' (*lit. you guys look after it*)

(50) E=pes=ia pan pa, e=pes pkout**=ia**.
3SG.S=dig.w.hands=SG.OBJ GO GO 3SG.S=dig.w.hands completely=3SG.OBJ
'She dug it on and on, she dug it completely.'

(51) E=kat kor sua**=ra**.
3SG.S=CERT lock PRF=3PL.OBJ
'He locked them up already.'
[elicited]

In contrast, allomorphs attaching to *ki*-ending verbs are suffixes. They only attach to *ki*-ending verbs and post-verbs. In a serial verb construction such as in (52), these suffixes attach to the final verb if it is *ki*-ending:

(52) Wan e=sfa panei pa-ki uta,
if 3SG.S=run come go-TR landwards

Ña=mas **lo** **parkat** **wia-ki-nia** lag e=ga fanei.
2SG.S:IRR=must look catch be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR
'If it swims back to shore, you'll have to watch that it'll come.'

In (53) and (54), the contrast between object enclitics and suffixes is shown with the ditransitive verb *rki* 'tell'. As a *ki*-ending verb, *rki* takes object suffixes:

(53) A=rki**-go**=s taplange ku=tae?
1SG.S=tell-2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ like.this 2SG.S=know
'I told it to you like this you know?'

However, when *rki* is followed by another verb complex element such as the perfect particle *sua* 'PRF', the object is encoded with an enclitic attaching to the perfect particle, as in (54):

(54) A=kat rki sua**=ko**=s.
1SG.S=CERT tell PRF=2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'I told it to you already'

9.4.3.3 Allomorphy in object marking

As shown in table 9.2 there is a lot of allomorphy in object marking. While the distribution of suffixes vs. enclitics is phonologically conditioned, that of allomorphs of the first and third person singular is partly phonologically and partly lexically conditioned. This section discusses the distribution of each set, dealing first with the phonological conditioning of allomorphs between *ki*-ending and non *ki*-ending verbs (9.4.3.3.1), then with the third person singular (9.4.3.3.2, 9.4.3.3.3), and finally with the first person singular allomorphs (9.4.3.3.4).

9.4.3.3.1 Phonological conditioning on *ki*-ending and non *ki*-ending verbs

This is regarded as phonological conditioning because allomorphs are distributed according to the shape of the final syllable of the verb. If the verb ends in *ki*, it takes the suffixes in the first column of table 9.2, whereas if its final syllable is of any other shape, the verb takes the other set of allomorphs, which are enclitics. *ki*-ending and non *ki*-ending verbs are found across all verb classes. Examples (55) and (56) show the distribution of the second person singular allomorphs: the suffix {*–go*} occurs on the *ki*-ending *pseiki* 'show' while {*=ko*} attaches to the non *ki*-ending *slae* 'help':

(55) Ña=to tuña=ña **pseiki-go**, kane ña=lo parkat=ia.
2SG.S:IRR=IPFV RR=2SG.POSS show-2SG.OBJ but 2SG.S:IRR=look catch=3SG.OBJ
'You'll be showing off (*lit. you'll be showing yourself*), but be careful.'

(56) A=tae **slae=ko**, takanei?
1SG.S=can help=2SG.OBJ how
'I can help you, how?'

Object suffixes also occur on derived transitives taking the suffix *–ki* 'TR'. In (57), *–go* '2SG.OBJ' attaches to *wia-ki* 'good-TR':

(57) Nsfa na a=pat=ia, e=go **wia-ki-go** mala skei.
what REL 1SG.S=do=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR be.good-TR-2SG.OBJ time INDEF
'What I did, it will be good for you one day.'

Examples (58) and (59) show the distribution of the third person singular allomorphs {*–nia*} and {*=ia*} with the ambitransitives *psruki* 'speak' and *legat* 'sing':

(58) Malmauna,
now

tu=go **stat** **psruki-nia** takanei na-ftauri-na e=pa.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR start speak-3SG.OBJ how N.SPEC-get.married-NMLZ 3SG.S=go
'Now, let's start to talk about how weddings go.'

(59) E=lag, "**ña=legat=ia** taplei."
3SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=sing=3SG.OBJ like.this
'She said, "sing it like this.'"

Out of the three ditransitive verbs, *rki* 'tell' and *paoseki* 'ask' are *ki*-ending, while *tua* 'give' isn't. In (60) and (61), *rki* and *paoseki* host {*-nia*} '3SG.OBJ' while in (62) *tua* takes {*=e*} '3SG.OBJ':

(60) E=**rki-nia**=s lag, "a=to loña=ko".
3SG.S=tell-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S =IPFV see=2SG.OBJ
'He said, "I see you."'

(61) Grunkik nge e=**paoseki-nia**=s lag,
girl DEF 3SG.S=ask-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"nag ku=to plag nsfa?"
2SG 2SG.S=IPFV look.for what
'The girl asked him, "what are you looking for?"'

(62) Ña=mnae pat=ia e=ga mas,
2SG.S:IRR=3SG.BEN make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR be.cooked

ña=**tua=e**=s e=ga faam=ia.
2SG.S:IRR=give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR eat:F=3SG.OBJ
'You will do it for him it'll be cooked, you will give it to him he will eat it.'

9.4.3.3.2 Phonological conditioning of 3SG.OBJ allomorphs

The distribution of these allomorphs is phonologically conditioned for the most part, according to the rule in (63):

(63) Phonological conditioning of 3SG.OBJ allomorphs attaching to non *ki*-ending verbs:

- Stems ending in a consonant take {=*ia*}
- Stems ending in front vowels *i*, *e* take {=*a*}
- Stems ending in back vowels *o, u* take {=*ea*}
- Stems ending in the central vowel *a* take {=*e*}

This rule is seen operating in (64) to (70). In (64), two consonant-final verb stems, *suk* 'tighten' and *pat* 'do' take the allomorph {=*ia*} '3SG.OBJ':

(64) Ur=lo **suk=ia** takanei e=to **pat=ia**.
3PL.S=look tighten=3SG.OBJ how 3SG.S=IPFV do=3SG.OBJ
'They watched carefully how he was doing it.'

In (65) and (66), the stems ending in front vowels *pai* 'pack' and *ne* 'be.with' take the allomorph {=*a*} '3SG.OBJ':

(65) ... e=to **pai=a** paki naala nae.
3SG.S=IPFV pack=3SG.OBJ to basket 3SG.POSS
'... she was packing it in her basket'.

(66) Naota Mila e=lag e=ga **ne=a** pan se,
chief p.name 3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR be.with=3SG.OBJ GO while
'The chief Mila thought he would go with her, while...'

The stems ending in back vowels *lao* 'spear' in (67) and *sursuru* 'seduce; comfort' in (68) take the allomorph {=*ea*} '3SG.OBJ':

(67) P̃a=ti **lao=ea** **mau.**
2SG.S:IRR=NEG spear=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'Do not spear it.'

(68) E=to psa **sursuru=ea**=s: "p̃a=ti kai mau."
3SG.S=IPFV speak comfort=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S:IRR=NEG cry NEG2
'She was comforting her: "don't cry."'

Finally, (69) and (70) show that *lop̃a* 'see' and *tua* 'give' ending in the central vowel *a* take the allomorph =*e* '3SG.OBJ':

(69) Ku=panei **lop̃a=e**, e=to sar~sara wur lau pa.
2SG.S=come see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IPFV RED~run pass seawards GO
'You came to see it, it is running by the shore.'

(70) E=**tua=e** te=fea, tkalpa.
3SG.S=give=3SG.OBJ SBST=first first.born
'He gave him the first one, the first born.'

9.4.3.3.3 Lexical conditioning of 3SG.OBJ allomorphs

The rule stated in (63) does not apply on verbs and post-verbs given in table 9.3. For these forms, the distribution of the third person singular object allomorphs is lexically conditioned. While the rule predicts that consonant-final verbs take {=*ia*} and *u*-final verbs take {=*ea*}, the forms in table 9.3 behave differently: those in the first column take {=*ea*}, while *msau* 'want' and *pitlaka* 'have' take {-*na*}:

Forms taking *=ea*		**Forms taking *-na***	
psak	'put s.t up'	*msau*	'want'
kor	'lock'	*pitlaka*	'have'
pistaf	'speak to'		
pkal	'raise'		
gor	'cover, block'		

Table 9.3. Lexical conditioning of {=*ea*}/{-*na*} '3SG.OBJ'

In (71) to (73), *psak* 'put up', *pistaf* 'speak to' and *fkal* 'raise:IRR' take {=*ea*} '3SG.OBJ':

(71) E=**psak=ea** to nɸou faatu nge to.
3SG.S=put.up=3SG.OBJ STAT head stone DEF STAT
'He put it up on top of the stone.'

(72) Go e=mro pias pa-ki ɸafunu,
and 3SG.S=again call.out go-TR p.name

ɸafunu e=ti **pistaf=ea** mau.
p.name 3SG.S=NEG speak.to=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'And he called out to ɸafunu again, ɸafunu didn't speak to him.'

(73) Ur=ga **fkal=ea** e=ga to, e=ga to ne=ra to.
3PL.S=IRR raise:IRR=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR stay 3SG.S=IRR stay be.with=3PL.OBJ STAT
'They would raise him so he would stay, he would stay with them.'

In (74), *msau* 'want' takes {*-na*} '3SG.OBJ', and in (75) it takes the enclitic =*ko* '2SG.OBJ':

(74) Marka naota ten Tuktuk
old.man chief SBST.POSS:NH p.name

e=lo wia-ki grun nge e=to taakae,
3SG.S=look be.good-TR woman DEF 3SG.S=IPFV dance

e=kat **msau-na**.
3SG.S=CERT want-3SG.OBJ
'The chief of Tuktuk was interested in the woman who was dancing, he wanted her.'

(75) Grun n-e=to, e=**msau=ko**.
woman REL-3SG.S=stay 3SG.S=want=2SG.OBJ
'As for this woman, she wants you.'
[elicited]

Lexical conditioning of the third person singular object allomorph also affects the post-verb *gor* 'cover, block', as shown in (76):

(76) E=mro pu **gor=ea**.
3SG.S=AGAIN pull cover=3SG.OBJ
'He covered it again (by pulling something over).'

9.4.3.3.4 Residual alternation of the 1SG.OBJ allomorphs

This alternation is uncommon and considered fairly minor. However, it is difficult to predict. First, consider that in all textual occurrences, =*iou* occurs on consonant-final hosts and =*ou* on vowel ending hosts, as shown in (77) and (78):

(77) E=lag, "p̃a=msug**=iou** paki uta pa."
3SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=carry=3SG.OBJ to landwards GO
'He said, "take me to the shore."'

(78) E=panmei nina, e=rki-nia=s lag,
3SG.S=come then 3SG.S=tell-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"wokmag, ku=tae slae**=ou**?"
grouper 2SG.S=can help=1SG.OBJ
'He came, then he said to him, "grouper, can you help me?"'

However, this analysis is problematic when the distribution of =*wou* '1SG.OBJ' is taken into acccount. It occurs with vowel-final hosts in (79) to (81) and with consonant-final ones in (82) and (83). Note that when =*wou* occurs on *ki*-ending verbs, the final *i* of the root is deleted at the morpheme boundary, due to pretonic vowel deletion (see 2.5.1.2, 3.3.2.1). Importantly, while =*wou* is not attested in textual data, it is well attested in elicited data:

(79) E=to matpai**=wou**.
3SG.S=IPFV watch=1SG.OBJ
'He is watching me.'
[elicited]

(80) Ku=tpe**=wou**.
2SG.S=shoot=1SG.OBJ
'You shot me.'
[elicited]

(81) E=patu**=wou**.
3SG.S=step.on=1SG.OBJ
'He stepped on me.'
[elicited]

(82) e=lp̃agor**=wou**.
3SG.S=enclose=1SG.OBJ
'He enclosed me.'
[elicited]

(83) E=kat rog maeto-k**=wou**.
3SG.S=CERT feel be.angry-TR=1SG.OBJ
'He was angry at me.'
[elicited]

Further, there is some variation in the distribution of =*ou* and =*wou*, to the point that they seem to be in free variation, as shown in (84) and (85). These two examples were elicited from the same speaker one after the other, and there is no difference in meaning to be reported:

(84) p̃a=mark**=wou**.
2SG.S:IRR=put.down=1SG.OBJ
'Put me down.'
[elicited]

(85) p̃a=marki**=ou**.
2SG.S:IRR=put.down=1SG.OBJ
'Put me down.'
[elicited]

Thieberger (2006:115) describes two distinct object paradigms in South Efate, for direct and oblique objects. In both paradigms, the first person singular suffix is *–wou*. In this language, it appears that the distribution of suffixes from both paradigms is conditioned partly by the role of the object and partly by verb class membership (with Class 1 and Class 2 transitives selecting different object enclitics). However, the data above shows that this analysis cannot be applied to Lelepa, since the three allomorphs seem to encode participants that are not locations, and their distribution cannot be predicted either on phonological or verb subclass grounds. In addition, analyzing the distribution of the first person singular allomorphs is made difficult by the fact that there are very few occurrences of this enclitic in the textual data, and that some allomorphs only occur in elicitation. It is also worth mentioning that most Lelepa speakers are fluent in South Efate, as this language was chosen as a language of Christianization and is currently maintained in the community, due to women from this language group who married into Lelepa. The occurrence of =*wou* could then be viewed as a borrowing from South Efate.

9.4.4 Bi-functional *=s* '3SG.OBJ; 3OBL'

The =*s* enclitic has two functions: it encodes third person singular objects (with Class 2 transitives and ditransitive verbs) and oblique arguments. The fact that =*s* encodes objects reveals a lexical split in object marking between the two subclasses of transitive verbs, Class 1

and Class 2 (see 7.4.4.3, 7.5.2). =*s* is regarded as a bi-functional morpheme rather than two distinct homophonous morphemes because the referents of =*s* '3SG.OBJ' and =*s* '3OBL' share a number of properties. As seen in table 9.4, this morpheme presents a case of syncretism: it encodes objects and obliques that are third person, but does not encode singular and plural objects. In addition, it collapses number for obliques. The reason for this is that obliques tend to be inanimates, and Lelepa does not distinguish number with inanimate referents.

	3rd person	
	OBJ	**OBL**
SG	=*s*	=*s*
PL	=*ra*	=*s*

Table 9.4. Syncretism of =*s*

As seen in (86) and (87), =*s* encodes third person object and oblique participants:

(86) Ña=sralesko Iesu, ña=fafatu**=s**!
2SG.S=believe p.name 2SG.S=trust=3SG.OBJ
'Believe in Jesus, trust him!'

(87) A-fate ñela na, e=pitlak wara **ur=tuñalua=s** tapla,
LOC=p.namebig DEM 3SG.S=have place 3SG=leave=3OBL like.this

pan pan pa kasem a=saone warampa.
GO GO GO to LOC=p.name there.forward
'All over Efate, there were places they left like this, on and on and all the way to Saone there.'

Recall that it encodes objects that are less affected and generally lower in the animacy hierarchy than typical patients (see 7.4.4.3, 8.5.2). Likewise, the oblique referent of =*s* is often inanimate, as seen in (87) and (88):

(88) Nagau na, ur=to ske lwa **faatu=s**.
tongs DEM 3PL.S=IPFV pick remove stone=3OBL
'As for these tongs, they remove stones with them.'

The objects of class 2 transitives and the secondary objects of ditransitives are less affected and lower in the animacy hierarchy than typically patientive objects, thus they have similar characteristics to obliques. Whether they are objects or obliques, the arguments encoded with =*s* '3SG.OBJ; 3OBL' have the roles of stimulus as in (86), location as in (87), instrument as in (88), and theme as in (89):

(89) A=ga malua tua=ko**=s**.
1SG.S=IRR later give=2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'I'll give it to you later.'
[elicited]

9.4.4.1 *=s* encoding objects

In monotransitive clauses, *=s* '3SG.OBJ' encodes the object of Class 2 transitive verbs (see 7.4.1.2, 8.5.2). In (90), *=s* occurs on the Class 2 transitive *fatu* 'step on' to encode an object with an inanimate, unaffected object:

(90) Kutu na e=ga **fatu=s**, e=go pag.
louse DEM 3SG.S=IRR step.on=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR climb
'Louse will step on it, he will climb.'

Class 2 transitives include borrowed transitive verbs. The referents of these objects may be human as in (91), or inanimate as in (92):

(91) E=lo tae lag e=pi grun nge e=pa **kasemi=s** Artoka.
3SG.S=see know COMP 3SG.S=COP woman DEF 3SG.S=go reach=3SG.OBJ p.name
'He recognised that it was the girl he met in Artoka.'

(92) A=**makemi=s** pa e=nou, mala e=nou tapla,
1SG.S=measure=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=be.finished when 3SG.S=be.finished like.this

a=to rwa rarua se a=parus=ia pa e=nou,
1SG.S=IPFV turn canoe while 3SG.S=drill=3SG.S GO 3SG.S=be.finished
'I measure it, when it is done, I turn the canoe over then I drill it until it is done,'

With ditransitive verbs, *=s* encode secondary objects, which have the role of theme. Recall from 6.4.2.3 that both recipient and theme are considered core arguments as they are required, and that the recipient always precedes the theme, whether they are encoded with NPs or pronominals. In (93), the recipient of *tua* 'give' is encoded with the object enclitic *=ra* '3PL.OBJ' and precede the theme which is encoded with the NP *rarua neto* 'this canoe':

(93) A=ga tua=ra **rarua** **n-e=to**.
1SG.S=IRR give=3PL.OBJ canoe REL-3SG.S=stay
'I will give them this canoe.'
[elicited]

In (94) and (95), both the recipient and the theme are encoded with enclitics. While the recipient is encoded with *=ra* '3PL.OBJ' in (94) and *=e* '3SG.OBJ' in (95), the theme is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ' in both examples:

(94) A=pa tua**=ra=s**, a=npasuk=ia.
1SG.S=go give=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=block=3SG.OBJ
'I gave it to them, and formally engaged her (with my son).'

(95) E=til memes kik,
3SG.S=tell knife be.small

se konou a=pa rkai lasa p̃ela **tua=e=s**.
while 1SG 1SG.S=go get container big give=3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ
'He asked for the small knife, while I went and got the big saucepan and gave it to him.'

9.4.4.2 *=s* encoding obliques

The other function of *=s* is to encode oblique arguments. *=s* '3OBL' occurs in transitive and intransitive clauses. In intransitive clauses, it attaches directly to the intransitive verb and refers to participants with a variety of semantic roles, such as location, theme and instrument. In (96), *=s* attaches to the intransitive *maturu* 'sleep' and encodes the location of the event denoted by this verb:

(96) Ur=ta tafkau, ale, nam̃it pan, ur=kut **maturu=s**.
3PL.S=cut undermat then mat go 3PL.S=CERT sleep=3OBL
'They cut the undermat, then, the mat goes, they sleep on it.'

In (97), it attaches to the intransitive serial verb construction *loso p̃ar̃paro* 'wash carelessly' and also encodes the location of the event:

(97) E=pi naskao tap, natam̃ol e=kano **loso** **p̃ar̃paro=s**.
3SG.S=COP reef be.taboo people 3SG.S=cannot wash careless=3OBL
'It is a taboo reef, people cannot wash carelessly there.'

In (98), *=s* occurs on the ambitransitive *psa pseiki* 'teach', which has the ability to function with or without an object. In this example, it functions intransitively, and *=s* indexes the location in which the teaching is taking place:

(98) Go ntau na a=to **psa** **pseiki**,
and year REL 1SG.S=IPFV speak show

nali a=to **psa** **pseiki=s** e=pi wara.
place 1SG.S=IPFV speak show=3OBL 3SG.S=COP here
'And the year I was teaching, the place I was teaching at, it was here.'

In (99), *=s* attaches to the intransitive *msaki* 'sick', and encodes the same referent as the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' in the preceding clause. The referent of both *=ia* and *=s* is a sacred snake that is not to be hit if one wants to avoid being sick. While in the first clause the referent of the object enclitic is in the role of patient, in the following clause it is in the role of stimulus or causer:

(99) Wan a=ga p̃at=ia, a=ga **msaki=s**,
if 1SG.S=IRR hit=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=IRR sick=3OBL

nlakan e=pi nali tap agnem.
because 3SG.S=COP place be.taboo 1PL.EXCL.POSS
'If I hit it, I will be sick with it, because it is our taboo place.'

In transitive clauses, *=s* '3OBL' follows the object and encodes participants with the same roles than in intransitive clauses, such as location as in (100), or instrument as in (101):

(100) Nataṁol ur=mat, ur=po **pai=ra=s**
people 3PL.S=die 3PL.S=SEQ pack=3PL.OBJ=3OBL
'People died, and then they put them in it.'

(101) Memes na ku=**mas** **bredi=s**, e=p̃ol.
knife REL 2SG.S=cut bread=3OBL 3SG.S=blunt
'As for the knife which you cut bread with, it is blunt.'
[elicited]

Chapter 10 — Complex Predicates

10.1 Introduction

10.1.1 Serial verb constructions in Oceanic languages

Verb combinations expressing single predications constitute one of the most interesting and complex features of Oceanic languages. They bring with them substantial analytical challenges and are typically described within a framework of serial verb constructions (SVCs). The literature on this topic is rich, with typological monographs (Crowley 2002), edited books (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Senft 2008), typologically oriented papers (Bril 2007), language specific papers (Early 1993, Francois 2006, Thieberger 2007) and chapters in reference grammars (Jauncey 2011, Schneider 2010, Hyslop 2001, Thieberger 2006, amongst others). Some authors have used the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993) to tackle the descriptive and theoretical challenges of serial verb constructions. The main concepts extracted from this theory and applied to serial verb constructions in Oceanic are *nuclear layer* and *core layer serialisation*. Within this framework, the clause is viewed as a succession of layers (see fig. 10.1), the innermost layer being the nucleus and the outermost the periphery. The nucleus is comprised of the predicate, while the core includes the predicate and its subject, object and oblique arguments. The periphery includes the adjuncts:

Fig. 10.1. The layers of the clause

PERIPHERY	CORE	NUCLEUS	CORE	PERIPHERY
Adjunct	**Subject**	**predicate**	**Object**	**Adjunct**

Applied to the analysis of SVCs, the concepts of nuclear layer and core layer serialisation refer to the layer in which the juncture of a particular SVC is located. With nuclear layer SVCs, the juncture is located in the clause nucleus, which means that predicates are serialised together, exclusive of their arguments. In contrast, core layer SVCs have their juncture at the core level, and serialise predicates with their arguments. Nuclear layer SVCs can be represented as SUBJ-V-

V-(OBJ), while core layer SVCs can be represented as SUBJ-V-OBJ-V-(OBJ).[1] While core layer and nuclear layer SVCs are common in the Oceanic subgroup, not all Oceanic languages exhibit both kinds, and some do not have SVCs at all. For instance, languages of Southern Vanuatu lack SVCs (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:48). Closer to Lelepa, South Efate was shown to lack SVCs analysable in terms of nuclear and core layer serialisation, and to exhibit distinct verbal constructions which have grammaticalised from SVCs (Thieberger 2006:224, 2007). In Lelepa, the situation is interesting as the language exhibits SVCs of the nuclear layer type, as well as a range of other constructions which cannot be analysed as SVCs but still express a single predication.[2] Some of these constructions can be shown to have grammaticalised from earlier SVCs, while others are more difficult to link to a clear grammaticalisation process. As they form a natural class of predicates, these constructions are discussed together and grouped under the cover term *complex predicates*.

10.1.2 Defining complex predicates in Lelepa

I follow Bril (2007) in using the term *complex predicates* to refer to verbal constructions expressing a single predication which are more complex than those expressed by single verbs. This label groups together different constructions in a way that allows each construction to be analysed in their own right. This would not be possible by using the term *serial verb construction* which only accounts for one type of construction. The term *complex predicate* is also reasonably theory-neutral, although there are theory-oriented uses of it that are not adopted in the present description.[3] In Lelepa, complex predicates are distinguished from simple predicates and strings of clauses according to the following criteria:

1. Simple and complex predicates are monoclausal, while a string of clauses is multi-clausal;
2. In addition to a main verb root, complex predicates include one or several of the following: serialised verb root, auxiliary verb, post-verb, clause-final particle.

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[1] This representation is used for convenience. Note that to establish the core/nuclear layer distinction, other criteria is required, such as argument sharing: in transitive nuclear-layer SVCs, both arguments are shared, whereas in core layer SVCs, not all arguments are shared by the verbs.

[2] Expressing a single predication is one of the criteria generally used to recognise SVCs (Bril 2007).

[3] For more theory-oriented uses of this term, see for instance Alsina, Bresnan and Sells (1997) and Amberber, Baker and Harvey (2010), in which complex predicates refer to a single type of construction rather than to an array of constructions. Complex predicates in Amberber et al. (2010) refer to co-verb constructions, which is not how this term is used in the present study. In contrast, this term is used in a much broader sense in Lelepa, following Bril (2007).

Criterion 1 relies on the definition of the clause. Recall that a clause is minimally defined as a verb root and a subject proclitic (see 7.2). However, subject proclitics are sometimes omitted. In such cases, the subject is traceable from earlier clauses or from the same clause if the subject NP is present. For instance, in (1), the subject proclitic is omitted (its position marked with Ø) but the subject NP *trak* 'truck' is present:

(1) Trak Ø po to msug=ra pa.
truck SEQ IPFV carry=3PL.OBJ GO
'Then the truck would be transporting them.'

Clauses without subject proclitic often follow a previous clause with which they are in a coordination relationship. Often, these clauses have some other preverbal material such as modality, aspect or negation particles, or auxiliary verbs, etc. In (2), the subject proclitic of the second clause is omitted: note that both clauses are in a coordination relationship and that the aspectual particle *po* 'SEQ' occurs as preverbal material in the second clause. For these reasons this example is analysed as two clauses in a row:

(2) E=po msau-na, Ø **po** plak lwa=e paki Tuktuk pa.
3SG.S=SEQ want-3SG.OBJ SEQ lead remove=3SG.OBJ to p.name GO
'And he wanted her, then he took her away to Tuktuk.'

Criterion 2 relates to the formal complexity of predicates. A simple predicate contains a single verb which can be marked for aspect, mood, negation and modality. In (3), the single verb *paam* 'eat' is marked for sequential aspect with *po* 'SEQ', negation with *ti* 'NEG' and hosts the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ':

(3) Noatkus na-e se, ar=po ti**paam**=ia mau.
fruit DEM-ADD too 3DU.S=SEQ NEG eat=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'As for these fruits, they did not eat them afterwards either.'

Like simple predicates, a complex predicate has a single set of TAM markers. But in contrast, it can contain an additional verb, an auxiliary verb, a post-verb or a clause-final particle, or a combination of some or all of these elements. A complex predicate with several verbs is a serial verb construction; one with an auxiliary verb is an auxiliary construction and one with a post-verb is a post-verb construction. Like simple predicates, obligatory elements such as the subject proclitic occur, and optional ones such as modality and negation particles may occur as

well. In (4), the auxiliary verb *panei* 'come', the verbs *maturu* 'sleep' and *ne* 'be with' combine together. This complex predicate includes a serial verb construction with *maturu* and *ne*, and an auxiliary verb construction with *panei*:

(4)

E=kat	ti	**panei**	**maturu**	**ne**=a	mau.
3SG.S=CERT	NEG	come	sleep	be.with=3SG.OBJ	NEG2

'He certainly didn't come to sleep with her.'

10.2 Overview of complex predicates

10.2.1 Construction types

There are four types of complex predicates. They comprise subject proclitics and the following obligatory elements:

1. Auxiliary construction: consists of an auxiliary verb and a main verb
2. Serial verb construction: consists of two to three contiguous verbs
3. Post-verb construction: consists of a main verb and a post-verb
4. Clause-final particle construction: consists of a main verb and a clause-final particle

Auxiliary verb constructions are shown in fig. 10.2. Only obligatory elements are shown, but other elements of the verb complex may occur (see Fig. 9.1). Auxiliaries come from a small set of verbs which are able to function as main verbs in simple predicates (see 10.3.2).

Fig. 10.2 Auxiliary construction

SU=AUX V

Example (5) shows an auxiliary construction with the auxiliary *fa* 'go:IRR' and the main verb *p̃a* 'hit' (which in this example reads as 'kill'). Note the presence of the benefactive pronoun *mnae* '3SG.BEN' separating the auxiliary from the main verb (see 7.5.3):

(5)

P̃a=**fa**	mnae	**p̃a**	toa	garua.
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR	3SG.BEN	hit	chicken	IRR.two

'Go kill two chickens for him.'

SVCs have the structure shown in fig. 10.3. It comprises at least two verb roots in a row, and sometimes up to three. No morpheme can intervene between the verb roots, but other optional elements of the verb complex may occur:

Fig. 10.3 Serial verb construction

SU=V1 V2 (V3)

In (6) *palse* 'paddle' isV1 and *raus* 'follow' is V2.[4] No material can occur between them, and they form a SVC. Both can occur as single main verbs elsewhere:

(6) 'Ña=ti **palse** **raus**=ia mau.
2SGS:IRR=NEG paddle follow=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'Do not paddle following it.'

Post-verb constructions comprise a subject proclitic and a main verb followed by one or two post-verbs, as shown in fig. 10.4. No morpheme can separate the verbs and the post-verb(s), and post-verbs cannot occur as verbs (see 4.4):

Fig. 10.4 Post-verb construction

SU=V PV1 (PV2)

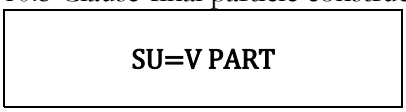
Example (7) is an instance of a post-verb construction. The main verb *ta* 'cut' is followed by the post-verb *pkout* 'completely'. In such a construction, the object enclitic attaches to the post-verb as it cannot attach to the main verb:

(7) A=**ta** **pkout**=ia garau e=nou.
1SG.S=cut completely=3SG.OBJ adze 3SG.S=be.finished
'I cut it completely with the adze until done.'

Clause-final particle constructions have the structure shown in fig. 10.5. The various particles occurring in this slot encode aspectual or directional information. As seen in fig. 9.1, a number of post-verbal elements can occur between the main verb and the particle, such as arguments, adverbs and the perfect particle:

[4] In this study, the first verb in an SVC is sometimes referred to as V1, the second one as V2, etc.

Fig. 10.5 Clause-final particle construction



In (8), a clause-final particle construction is formed with the main verb *pkas* 'chase' and the clause-final particle *panei* 'COME'. *Panei* can function as a main verb elsewhere, but in (8) it is in clause-final position, as it follows the object. It encodes the direction towards the speaker or deictic centre:

(8) E=raus=ra, e=**pkas**=ra **panei**.
1SG.S=follow=3PL.OBJ 3SG.S=chase=3PL.OBJ COME
'He followed them, he chased them (towards deictic centre).'

In (9), the clause-final particle *to* 'STAT' encodes aspectual information, marking the event denoted by the copular clause as a state:

(9) Malange taplange e=taos=ia, e=kat **pi** na-muru-na **to**.
then like.this 3SG.S=be.like=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=CERT COP N.SPEC-laugh-NMLZ STAT
'At that time it was like this, there was a big laughter.'

10.2.2 Semantics of complex predicates

According to Aikhenvald (2006), SVCs encode similar functions cross-linguistically. These include aspect, direction, orientation, manner, and cause-effect. SVCs also affect argument structure, e.g. causative, benefactive, instrumental, comitative, and are used in complementation. In Lelepa, complex predicates encode a range of semantic distinctions (see table 10.1). There is a certain amount of overlap between the different constructions: direction is encoded by all constructions but post-verbs constructions, and different aspectual values are distributed amongst all four constructions. However, each construction is also specialised in encoding certain distinctions: auxiliary constructions encode modal distinctions and change of state, SVCs express cause-effect, manner, and use a specialised construction with *rogo* 'feel' to encode trying and testing (see 10.4.3.5). Post-verb constructions encode result and intensification, and clause-final particle constructions encode stative and durative aspect.

Auxiliary constructions	Serial verb constructions	Post-verb constructions	Clause-final particle constructions
Direction/motion Imperfective Inceptive Sequentiality Desiderativity Ability Obligation Change of state	Direction/location/position Sequentiality Cause-effect Manner Try, test	Completion Intensification Result	Direction Stative Previous events Durative

Table 10.1. Semantic distinctions encoded by complex predicates

While Aikhenvald (2006:21-30) discusses the functions of SVCs in a cross-linguistic perspective, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:47-48) outline the functions of SVCs for the Oceanic subgroup. Table 10.2 compares the findings of these authors, and it is interesting to see that many functions are found in both studies, perhaps unsurprisingly. Also unsurprising is that less distinctions are found in the Oceanic subgroup than across languages. However, there is one particular type of SVC found in Oceanic languages that is not present in Aikhenvald's findings, that of ambient serialization. This type is defined as a two-verbs SVC in which the implicit subject of the second verb is the sub-event expressed by the first verb (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:48). Note that this construction is not found in Lelepa.

Aikhenvald (2006)	Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002)
Direction and orientation	Directional/positional
Aspect: extent, change of state, sequentiality, simultaneity, iterativity	Sequential
Valency increase: causative, benefactive, instrumental, comitative	Causative
Manner	Manner
Cause-effect	-
Complementation	-
-	Ambient

Table 10.2. Semantics of SVCs compared

A comparison of tables 10.1 and 10.2 shows that many of the distinctions discussed by Aikhenvald (2006) and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) are present in Lelepa, but do not map out neatly onto the different constructions, as there is some functional overlap between them. This is seen in (5) to (9) above: the auxiliary construction in (5), the SVC in (6) and the directional particle construction in (8) all encode direction. In contrast, aspectual distinctions

can be encoded by post-verb constructions and clause-final particle constructions: completion in (7) and stativity in (9). The most common distinctions such as aspect, modality, cause-effect, manner and direction are briefly presented below, but see 9.3.3, 9.4.3, 9.5.2 and 9.6 for more discussion on the semantics of each construction.

10.2.2.1 Aspect

Some of aspectual distinctions in the language are encoded by complex predicates. In (10), the imperfective is marked in the first clause with the auxiliary *to* 'IPFV', while in the second clause the durative is marked with the particle *pa* 'GO'. Note that this particle also marks direction when occurring with a verb of motion, as seen in (19).

(10) Nina ur=kat **to** gaegae, ur=marou **pa**.
then 3SG.S=CERT IPFV pant 3SG.S=be.thirsty GO
'Then they were panting, they were thirsty.'

In (11), the post-verb *pkout* 'completely' marks the completion of the event encoded *pukes* 'unwrap':

(11) E=pukes=ia, e=pukes=ia, e=pukes **pkout** kapua nge.
3SG.S=unwrap=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=unwrap=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=unwrap completely laplap DEF
'She unwrapped it, she unwrapped it, she unwrapped the laplap completely.'

Other aspectual distinctions are also marked with complex predicates, such as stative (9.6.1), durative (9.6.2) and inceptive (9.3.3.2).

10.2.2.2 Modality

Auxiliary constructions encode desiderativity, ability and obligation. These are only some of the modal distinctions found in the language; others are discussed in chapter 11. Desiderativity is shown with *msau* 'want' in (12), and ability in (13) with *tae* 'know' (see 10.3.3):

(12) Konou a=**msau** traus nsfa na a=pat=ia Fiji.
1SG 1SG.S=want recount what REL 1SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ p.name
'I want to talk about what I did in Fiji.'

(13) Ur=**tae** tasurki napua kinta.
3PL.S=can hide road 1PL.INCL
'They can hide the road from us.'

10.2.2.3 Valency increase

While Aikhenvald (2006) lists a number of valency increasing processes including causative, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) list only the causative as a valency increase process encoded by SVCs in Oceanic (see table 10.2). Recall that in Lelepa, the transitiviser *–ki* 'TR' has a causative function with a few intransitive verbs (see 8.7.1.2). In addition, a periphrastic causative can be formed with the verb *pat/fat* 'make;do:R/make;do:IRR' in a serial verb construction, as in (14):[5]

(14) Nlagiot nge e=panmei, e=**pat** sa~sa-ki nasuña nge.
cyclone DEF 3SG.S=come 3SG.S=make bad~RED-TR house DEF
'The cyclone came, it destroyed the house.'

However, this is fairly marginal, and more often this type of causative is spread over two clauses, as in (15):

(15) Ur=**pat** natañol mat e=ga maturu=s.
3PL.S=make person dead 3SG.S=IRR sleep=3OBL
'They lay the corpse in it.'

10.2.2.4 Manner

Manner constructions are productively formed with SVCs. Commonly, manner is encoded with the verbs *wia* 'be good' and *sa* 'be bad' in second position after activity verbs. The first verb specifies the activity and the second verb encodes the manner in which the activity is carried out:

(16) Ña=mas **laka** **wia**-ki-nia ur=ga fanei paki uta.
2SG.S:IRR=must see be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ 3PL.S=IRR come:IRR to landwards
'You'll have to watch carefully for when they come to shore.'

Other manner distinctions encoded by SVCs are discussed in 9.4.3.4.

10.2.2.5 Cause-effect

In a cause-effect SVC, the first verb generally encodes the cause while the second one encodes the effect, or result (Aikhenvald 2006:29). This type is listed as causative serialisation in Lynch,

[5] Note that the second verb in this construction, *sa* 'be bad' is transitivised with *–ki* 'TR' to take an object (see 7.8.1). A reviewer has suggested that the causative construction with the verb *pat/fat* formally recall the PPn causative prefix *faka- (PEO *paka-).

Ross and Crowley (2002:47). Cause-result SVCs are found in a number of Oceanic languages such as Ambae (Hyslop 2001:282), Araki (Francois 2002:148), and Nahavaq (Dimock 2009:156), amongst others. In (17), the verbs *lo* 'see' and *tae* 'know' are serialised in a cause-effect SVC. The construction can be translated with the English verb 'recognise':

(17) A=pu rarua kiki skei pi tena ur=ga **lo** **tae** konou=s
1SG.S=pull canoe small INDEF COP SBST.DEM 3PL.S=IRR look know 1SG=3OBL
'I held a little canoe so that they could recognise me with it.'

10.2.2.6 Direction/motion

Direction and motion can be expressed by auxiliary constructions, SVCs and clause-final particle constructions. Example (18) is a combination of an auxiliary construction and an SVC. The auxiliary *panei* 'come' encodes motion to a location in which the event encoded by the SVC occurs:

(18) E=mro **panei** **lo** **pa-ki-ra** tapla.
3SG.S=again come look go-TR-3PL.OBJ like.this
'He came again and looked for them like this.'

Clause-final particles also encode direction, as in (8), in which direction away from speaker/deictic centre with is expresses with *pa* 'GO':

(19) Ar=llu pa-ki suña **pa**.
3SG.S=return go-TR house GO
'They went back home (away from the deictic centre).'

10.3 Auxiliary constructions

10.3.1 Distinguishing auxiliary constructions from SVCs

Auxiliary constructions and SVCs involve two (or more) verbs which can occur contiguously, thus many occurrences of SVCs and auxiliary constructions look alike. However, auxiliaries precede the main verb and can be separated from it by a benefactive phrase (see 7.5.3), which is not the case with SVCs. This is the main test distinguishing both constructions. Minor tests include membership to a small auxiliary class (see table 10.3) and the abillity to function as main verbs. Compare (20) and (21): in both examples, there are two contiguous verbs, and subject proclitics only occur before the first verbs, showing that the verbs share the same subject. However, (20) is a SVC while (21) an auxiliary construction:

(20) A=pat=ia, masta agnou e=**rog** **maeto**-ki konou.
1SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ boss 1SG.POSS 3SG.S=feel be.angry-TR 1SG
'I did it, and my boss got angry at me.'

(21) Kenem se ur=kut **tae** **psa**-ki Inglis.
1PL.EXCL too 1PL.EXCL.S=CERT can speak-TR English
'We too could speak English.'

In (22), a benefactive phrase occurs between *tae* 'can' and the second verb *pu* 'pull'. Thus (22) is evidence that constructions with *tae* occuring before a verb are auxiliary constructions:

(22) Ku=**tae** magnou **pu** suk ofa ?
2SG.S=can 1SG.BEN pull tight heron
'Can you restrain the heron for me?'

10.3.2 Formal properties of auxiliary constructions

Auxiliary verbs are not widely reported in Oceanic languages, and discussions of verbal constituents in these languages focus on serial verb constructions instead. This is true of descriptions of individual languages such as Tamambo (Jauncey 2011), Mavea (Guérin 2008), Abma (Schneider 2010), Lewo (Early:1994), amongst others, as well as of typologically oriented studies (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:46-48, Crowley 2002). In contrast, auxiliary constructions are described in South Efate (Thieberger 2006:236-237; 252-262). Thieberger (2007) argues that the rise of auxiliary constructions in this language is linked with the fact that the language relies much less on serial verb construction than languages of northern Vanuatu, and that auxiliary constructions historically derive from serial verb constructions (Thieberger 2007:249-250).

Lelepa auxiliaries are shown in table 10.3. For some forms, glosses differ according to whether a particular form occurs as a main verb or as an auxiliary, in order to capture the semantic differences between the two positions. Note also that there are two auxiliaries borrowed from Bislama, *stat* 'start' and *mas* 'must'.

Form	Gloss as V	Gloss as AUX	Form	Gloss as V	Gloss as AUX
to	'stay'	'IPFV'	*msau*	'want'	'want'
mato	'stay long'	'IPFV'	*malo*	'not want'	'not want'
wane	'lie'	'IPFV'	*tae*	'know'	'can'
atlake	'start'	'start'	*kano*	'be unable'	'cannot'
stat	'start'	'start'	*mas*	'must'	'must'
pea/fea	'be first:R/IRR'	'first'	*pa/fa*	'go:R/IRR'	'go.R/IRR'
			panei	'come'	'come'

Table 10.3. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary constructions cover a rich semantic ground (see 10.3.3), and encode aspectual values such as imperfective (*to*, *mato*, *wane* 'IPFV') and sequentiality (*pea* 'first', *stat* 'start'), modal values such as desiderativity (*msau* 'want', *malo* 'not want'), ability (*tae* 'can', *kano* 'cannot') and obligation (*mas* 'must') as well as direction in motion (*panei* 'come', *pa* 'go'). Auxiliaries are exemplified below, and whenever possible, evidence for their syntactic position as auxiliaries is given with examples showing a benefactive phrase separating the auxiliary from the main verb.

10.3.2.1 *to* 'stay; IPFV'

In (23), *to* occurs twice as an auxiliary encoding the imperfective (see 10.3.3.1). In the first clause, it occurs with the benefactive pronoun *mnaara* '3PL.BEN' and the main verb *kuku* 'cook', while in the following clause it immediately precedes the main verb *paam* 'eat':

(23) Taatia naara e=**to** mnaara kuku=s
mat.grandmother 3PL.POSS 3SG.S=IPFV 3PL.BEN cook=3OBL

se ar=**to** paam=ia.
while 3DU.S=IPFV eat=3SG.OBJ
'Their grandmother used to cook it for them while they used to eat it.'

In (24), *to* occurs as a main verb, with the meaning 'stay':

(24) Ur=**to** Numea, a=mro pag plen Numea,
3PL.S=stay p.name 1SG.S=AGAIN climb plane p.name

ur=sfa raki Franis.
3PL.S=run towards p.name
'We stayed in Nouméa, I got on a plane again in Nouméa, we travelled to France.'

The verb *to* 'stay' has grammaticalised into two distinct aspect markers: an auxiliary marking imperfective, and a particle occurring at the end of the basic clause to express stativity (see 10.6).

10.3.2.2 *mato* 'stay long; IPFV'

In (25) *mato* is in auxiliary position, separated from the main verb *lei* 'gather' by the benefactive pronoun *mnaara* '3PL.BEN'. As an auxiliary, it marks the imperfective, like *to*:[6]

(25) Ur=**mato** mnaara lei noan nkas nge.
3PL.S=IPFV 3PL.BEN gather fruit tree DEF
'They were gathering the fruits of the tree for themselves.'

In (26), it occurs as a main verb, with the meaning 'live; reside':

(26) OK, tenge e=lag pi namtaᵽago=n stori agnou,
OK SBST.DEM 3SG.S=MAYBE COP end=POSS:NH story 1SG.POSS

male a=**mato** nfano naara to.
when 1SG.S=stay.long country 3PL.POSS STAT
'OK, this may be the end of my story, when I lived in their country.'

The verb *mato* is probably etymologically related to *to*. It has followed a similar grammaticalisation path, as it became an auxiliary verb and a clause-final particle (see 10.6). As a main verb, it has a meaning close to that of *to* 'stay', but it additionally expresses a longer length of time than *to*. It is used to encode the meaning 'live' or 'reside', as in (26), but also to express the idea of staying for a long time, hence the gloss 'stay.long'.

10.3.2.3 *wane* 'lie; IPFV'

In (27), *wane* occurs three times, with three different functions. First, it is a main verb with the gloss 'lie' and encodes the meaning 'to be somewhere, in a low or lying position'. Then it occurs as a clause-final particle encoding stativity and the fact that the participants are in a low or lying position (see 10.6.1). Finally, it is in auxiliary position with the main verb *traus* 'tell' and encodes the imperfective as well as the fact that the subject is in a low or lying posture (the subject is sitting down telling traditional stories). This shows that *wane* has grammaticalised

[6] While it is possible that as an imperfective *mato* contrasts with *to* in that an event marked with *mato* is longer than one marked with *to*, further research is needed before a full analysis of semantic differences between *to* and *mato* can be given, and as auxiliaries they are glossed identically.

from a verb into aspectual markers, and that the grammaticalised forms have retained the verb's semantics of posture:

(27) Kenem ur=**wane** suña=g Naviti **wane**,
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=lie house=POSS:H p.name STAT

ur=**wane** traus nakai.
1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV tell trad.story
'We are at Naviti's house (sitting down), and we are telling traditional stories.'

10.3.2.4 *atlake* 'start'

Atlake 'start' can occur in auxiliary position as in (28), or in main verb position as in (29):

(28) Ur=faam pa e=nou, ur=mro **atlake** paus=ia.
3PL.S=eat:F GO 3SG.S=be.finished 3PL.S=again start weave=3SG.OBJ
'They ate until done, then they started to weave it again.'

(29) Ur=**atlake** sua.
3PL.S=start PRF
'They started already.'
[elicited]

10.3.2.5 *stat* 'start'

The loan *stat* is able to occur in auxiliary position as in (30), and to function as an ambitransitive verb (see 8.4). In (31) it functions intransitively, and in (32) transitively:

(30) Ur=mro **stat** suaru wus napua panei.
3PL.S=again start walk follow road come
'They started to walk again on the road.'

(31) Go, tu=**stat** mesa na,
and 1PL.INCL=start today DEM

tu=pat naftourina, tu=pat na-faami-na.
1PL.INCL=make wedding 1PL.INCL=make N.SPEC-eat:F-NMLZ
'And, we start today, we do the wedding, we do the feast.'

(32) E=pi natañol na e=mag naota **stat** na-wesi-na.
3SG.S=COP person REL 3SG.S=BEN chief start N.SPEC-work-NMLZ
'He is a person who starts jobs for the chief.'

10.3.2.6 *pea/fea* 'first/first:IRR'

In (33) *fea* 'first:IRR' occurs in auxiliary position with the benefactive pronoun *mnag* '2SG.BEN' and the main verb *lao* 'plant'. In (34), *pea* 'first' is the main verb root and is transitivised with *-ki* 'TR':

(33) Ur=ga **fea** mnag lao gafea.
3PL.S=IRR be.first:IRR 2SG.BEN plant IRR.FIRST
'They will plant for you first.'

(34) Elda Masia, e=**pea**-ki-ra.
Elder p.name 3SG.S=first-TR-3PL.OBJ
'As for Elda Masia, he precedes them.'

10.3.2.7 *msau* 'want'

In (35), *msau* is in auxiliary position and occurs with the benefactive phrase *magmu* '2PL.BEN' and the main verb *til* 'tell'. In (36), it occurs as a main verb and takes object NPs:

(35) A=mro **msau** magmu til naleti skei a=pa tagau.
1SG=AGAIN want 2PL.BEN tell day INDEF1SG.S=go fish
'I want to tell you about a day I went fishing.'

(36) Se misi e=lag, 'a=ti **msau** naɱ̃it, a=ti **msau** wago,
while missionary 3SG.S=say 1SG.S=NEG want mat 1SG.S=NEG want pig

a=ti **msau** nafnag pi kastom mau.'
1SG.S=NEG want food COP custom NEG2
'And the missionary said, 'I don't want mats, I don't want pigs, I don't want traditional food.'

10.3.2.8 *malo* 'not want'

In (37), *malo* occurs in auxiliary position, followed by the transitive *pag* 'climb'. In (38) it occurs twice, first as a derived transitive, then as a plain intransitive:

(37) 'Gaio, kane wan a=ga llu pan,
OK but if 1SG.S=IRR return go

a=**malo** pag plen.
1SG.S=not.want climb plane
'OK, but if I go back, I don't want to fly.'

(38) 'Ee, konou a=pan se e=pi ñaata, a=**mal-ki**-nia,
no 1SG 1SG.S=go while 3SG.S=COP snake 1SG.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ

a=**malo**, tu=ga fa.'
1SG.S=not.want 1PL.INCL=IRR go:IRR
'Well, I went but it's a snake, I don't want him, I don't want, let's go.'

10.3.2.9 *tae* 'know; can'

In (39), *tae* occurs in auxiliary position, with the benefactive pronoun *magnou* '1SG.BEN' whereas in (40) it functions as a main verb and takes the object *nafsana* 'language'. Note the difference in meaning between the main verb *tae* 'know' and the auxiliary *tae* 'can' which encodes ability (see 10.3.3.5):

(39) 'Nag ku=**tae** magnou põa punu ofa ?
2SG 2SG.S=can 1SG.BEN hit dead heron
'Can you kill the heron for me?'

(40) Nag ku=ti **tae** nafsana mau, se ku=lag põa=fa ?'
2SG 2SG.S=NEG know language NEG2 while 2SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR
'You don't know the language, and you say that you will go?'

10.3.2.10 *kano* 'be unable; cannot'

As an auxiliary *kano* encodes the inability of the subject to perform the action denoted by the verb as in (41). In main verb position, *kano* is an intransitive verb, as in (42):

(41) E=**kano** sfa ñrafraf, K. e=po põat=ia.
3SG.S=cannot run fast k. 3SG.S=SEQ hit=3SG.OBJ
'He couldn't run fast, then K. killed him.'

(42) E=rõok lag e=ga tulen, e=kat **kano**.
3SG.S=rise COMP 3SG.S=IRR stand.up 3SG.S=CERT be.unable
'He rose to stand up, but he couldn't.'

10.3.2.11 *mas* 'must'

This form is borrowed from Bislama and can only function as an auxiliary; it is not attested as a main verb. It encodes obligation, as seen in (43) with the main verb *llu* 'return':

(43) Ee, põa=**mas** llu pa, põa=**mas** llu pa,
no 2SG.S:IRR=must return GO 2SG.S:IRR=must return GO

nlakan taem nag e=kat nou.
because time 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=CERT be.finished
'No, you'll have to go back, you'll have to go back, because your time is finished.'

10.3.2.12 *pa/fa* 'go:R/IRR'

In (44) *pa* occurs in auxiliary position with the benefactive pronoun *magmu* '2PL.BEN'. It is in its irrealis form, as it is preceded by the irrealis particle *ga* 'IRR' (see 11.2.2.1). In (45), *pa* 'go' functions as a main verb:

(44) Okay, tu=ga **fa** magmu plaga=s.
okay 1PL.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR 2PL.BEN look.for=3SG.OBJ
'Okay, let's go look for it for you.'

(45) Nala, ur=sraki-nia tau lag tau se ar=kat **pa**.
basket 3PL.S=hang-3SG.OBJ STAT upwards STAT while 3PL.S=CERT go
'As for the basket, they hung it up then they went.'

10.3.2.13 *panei* 'come'

In (46) *panei* is in auxiliary position, followed by the benefactive *maginta* '1PL.BEN' and the main verb *mat* 'die'. In (47), it functions as the main verb:

(46) Nae, e=**panei** maginta mat,
3SG 3SG.S=come 1PL.INCL.BEN die

e=tpa na=mer lo sa-na aginta.
3SG.S=punch ART=act look be.bad-NMLZ 1PL.INCL.POSS
'As for him, he came and died for us, he cancelled our sins.'

(47) 1944 pa-ki 1945, ten Amerika ur=**panei**.
1944 go-TR 1945 SBST.POSS:NH p.name 3PL.S=come
'From 1944 to 1945, the Americans came.'

10.3.3 Semantics of auxiliary constructions

In table 10.4, auxiliary verbs are classified according to their semantic values. They encode aspect (imperfective, inceptive, sequential), modality (desiderativity, ability, obligation), change of state, direction and motion. The imperfective is marked with three different auxiliaries: *to*, *mato*, and *wane* 'IPFV'. Modal auxiliaries form pairs marking opposing values: desiderativity is

marked with *msau* 'want' and *malo* 'not.want', ability with *tae* 'can' and *kano* 'cannot'. Obligation is encoded with *mas* 'must', and note that there is no form expressing the opposite value. Change of state is encoded with *panei* 'come' when it occurs as an auxiliary to the copula *pi/fi* 'COP' or to stative intransitive verbs. Finally, direction and motion is encoded with the pair *pa* 'go' and *panei* 'come'.[7]

Aspect			Modality			Change of state	Direction/ motion
Imperfective	**Inceptive**	**Sequentiality**	**Desiderativity**	**Ability**	**Obligation**		
to 'IPFV' *mato* 'IPFV' *wane* 'IPFV'	*atlake* 'start' *stat* 'start'	*pea/fea* 'first'	*msau* 'want' *malo* 'not want'	*tae* 'can' *kano* 'cannot'	*mas* 'must'	*panei* 'come'	*pa* 'go' *panei* 'come'

Table 10.4. The semantics of auxiliaries

10.3.3.1 Imperfective

The three imperfective auxiliaries are *to*, *mato* and *wane* 'IPFV'. While semantic differences between *to* and *mato* are difficult to pinpoint, *wane* encodes a lying or low position in addition to the imperfective. *To* can occur with various main verbs, such as activity verbs in (48) and (49), psychological verbs in (50), and motion verbs in (51). It does not occur with stative verbs. It encodes several imperfective values: habitual in (48) and (51), progressive in (49), and present imperfective in (50):

(48) Te=matua ur=**to** til=ia lag, "M̃oru=n Wota."
SBST=be.old 3PL.S=IPFV tell=3SG.OBJ COMP hole=POSS:NH p.name
'The elders used to say, "The hole of Wota."'

(49) E=**to** man=ia pan pan pa,
3SG.S=IPFV grate=3SG.OBJ GO GO GO
'She was grating it on and on,'

(50) A=**to** mtouki-nia, a=**to** mtouki P̃afunu.
1SG.S=IPFV fear-3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=IPFV fear p.name
'I fear it, I fear P̃afunu.'

[7] *Pa* and *panei* also occur as clause-final particles to encode direction, with *pa* additionally encoding durativity in that position (see 10.6).

(51) A=**to** pa-ki stoa.
1SG.S=IPFV go-TR store
'I used to go to the store.'

Similarly, *mato* can occur with different types of verbs, including activity verbs as in (52), motion verbs as in (53), and telic verbs as in (54). In all three examples it encodes the progressive:

(52) Ur=pan pan pa ur=**mato** lei=a tapla,
3SG.S=go GO GO 3PL.S=IPFV gather=3SG.OBJ like.this
'They went on and on, they were gathering them like this,'

(53) E=sfa llu pan pan pa, e=kat **mato** llu panei,
3SG.S=run return GO GO GO 3SG.S=CERT IPFV return COME
'He ran back, he was returning,'

(54) Ur=suara pa-ki p̃ag, ur=kat **mato** sili pa.
3PL.S=walk go-TR inside 3PL.S=CERT IPFV enter GO
'They walk in, they are entering.'

The third imperfective auxiliary is *wane* 'IPFV'. Recall form 10.3.2.3 that in addition to marking imperfective, *wane* denotes a lying or low position. As a main verb, it means 'lie', or 'be in a low position or lying position'. As an auxiliary, it is often found with main verbs denoting that the subject is in a low or lying position, as seen in (55) with the main verb *waafe* 'swim':

(55) Kusue e=kat **wane** waafe.
rat 3SG.S=CERT IPFV swim
'The rat was swimming.'

Wane can also occur with main verbs which do not encode a particular position. In this case, it expresses the fact that the subject is in a low or lying position, as in (56):

(56) Fterki nge e=msaki, e=wane nmaole nae wan,
wife DEF 3SG.S=sick 3SG.S=lie bed 3SG.POSS STAT

e=**wane** kai.
3SG.S=IPFV cry
'The wife was sick, she lay in her bed, she was crying (in a lying position).'

10.3.3.2 Inceptive

Inceptive aspect is expressed with the auxiliaries *atlake* 'start' in (57) and the Bislama loan *stat* 'start' in (58). Given that Lelepa has *atlake* which functions as both a main verb and an auxiliary, it is unclear why *stat* was borrowed, since it has the same functions and distribution as *atlake*:

(57) Ur=faam pa e=nou, ur=mro **atlake** paus=ia.
3PL.S=eat:F GO 3SG.S=be.finished 3PL.S=AGAIN start weave=3SG.OBJ
'They ate until done, then they started to weave it again.'

(58) ur=**stat** tfag=ia las wik Eprel 1980.
3PL.S=start build=3SG.OBJ last week April 1980
'They started building it in the last week of April 1980.'

10.3.3.3 Sequentiality

Pea/fea 'first' marks an event as occurring before another one. It does not mark the passage from one stage to another in a sequence, nor does it mark the start of an event as an inceptive would. This is shown in (59):

(59) Naara ur=**pea** pi te=matua, ur=**pea** rki kenemi=s.
3pl 3PL.S=first COP SBST=be.old 3SG.S=first tell 1PL.EXCL=3SG.OBJ
'They were elders first, and they told us about it first.'

10.3.3.4 Desiderativity

Two auxiliaries mark positive and negative desiderativity, *msau* 'want' and *malo* 'not.want'. In (60), *msau* is an auxiliary to the main verb *pat* 'make; do':

(60) A=mro **msau** pat na-fsa-na naluokia skei=g
1SG.S=AGAIN want make N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ proverb INDEF=POSS:H

te=matua aginta.
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS
'I want to tell one of our elders' proverbs again.'

In (61), *malo* occurs twice, first as a main verb transitivised with *–ki* 'TR', then as an auxiliary with the main verb *rogo* 'feel':

(61) E=to laka=e taplange nlakan
3SG.S=IPFV see=3SG.OBJ like.this because

nae na e=**mal**-ki na-soki-na=n nkapu,
3SG.S DEM 3SG.S=not.want-TR N.SPEC-smoke-NMLZ=POSS:NH fire

e=**malo** rogo naɲona=n nkapu.
3SG.S=not.want feel smell=POSS.NH fire
'He was watching it like this because he did not want any fire smoke, he didn't want to feel the smell of fire.'

10.3.3.5 Ability

Like desiderativity, the encoding of ability is done by two auxiliaries expressing opposite values: *tae* 'can' marks the ability to perform the activity denoted by the main verb, while *kano* 'cannot' marks the inability to perform it. Example (62) shows both auxiliaries occurring in turn: *tae* occurs with the main verb *msug* 'carry' and *kano* with *pa-ki* 'go-TR':

(62) Konou a=**tae** msug=ko paki uta pa,
1SG 1SG.S=can carry=2SG.OBJ to landwards GO

kane a=**kano** pa-ki nalia garapa.
but 1SG.S=cannot go-TR place be.dry GO
'I can carry you to the shore, but I can't go on land.'

In (63) and (64), *kano* occurs with *pat* 'make, do' and *loso* 'wash':

(63) Ur=ga fat nkapu sei? Nkapu, ur=**kano** pat nkapu.
3PL.S=IRR make:IRR fire where fire 3PL.S=cannot make fire
'Where would we make fire? (no,) fire, we couldn't make any fire.'

(64) Nataɱ̃ol e=**kano** loso ɲarɲ̃aro=s.
person 3SG.S=cannot wash be.careless=3OBL
'People cannot wash carelessly there.'

Inability can also be expressed by negating a clause with *tae* as an auxiliary:

(65) A=**ti** **tae** palse ɱ̃latig-ki-nia **mau**.
1SG.S=NEG can paddle close-TR-3SG.OBJ NEG2
'I cannot paddle close to it.'

10.3.3.6 Obligation

Mas 'must' is a Bislama borrowing encoding the obligation to perform the action denoted by the main verb. Given that the language does not show another means to express obligation,

this borrowing fills an important gap. Interestingly, *mas* is attested as an auxiliary but not as a main verb, but since the equivalent of *mas* does not function as a main verb in neither English nor Bislama, this is not surprising.[8] In (66), *mas* occurs with a serial verb construction formed with three verbs: *lo* 'see', *parkat* 'catch' and *wia* 'good':

(66) Ña=**mas** lo parkat wia-ki-nia wan e=ga fanei,
2SG.S:IRR=must look catch be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ if 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR
'You must be really careful if he comes,'

In (67), *mas* occurs twice, with the main verbs *tua* 'give' and *wus* 'take'. In the first occurrence, obligation is oriented towards the hearer while in the second one it is oriented towards the speaker:

(67) Ña=**mas** tua konou gaskei,
2SG.S=must give 1SG IRR.INDEF

a=ga **mas** wus=ia pa lao=ea na.
1SG.S=IRR must take=3SG.OBJ GO plant-3SG.OBJ DEM
'You must give me one, I must take it away and plant it.'

10.3.3.7 Change of state

One use of *panei* 'COME' as an auxiliary is to encode a change of state (in addition to direction, see 9.3.3.8). In this case, *panei* tends to occur with the copula *pi*, as seen in (68) and (69):

(68) Ur=kut **panei** pi te=matua.
3PL.S=CERT come COP SBST=be.old
'They became old.'

(69) Tu=**panei** pi natañol ñaskosko.
1PL.INCL.S=come COP person mature
'We became adults.'

However, the elicited examples below show that *panei* does not need to occur with the copula to express a change of state. With stative intransitives such as *matua* 'be old' or *kiki* 'be small', the copula is not needed:

[8] Note also that a homophonous and native form exists: the intransitive verb *mas* 'be cooked'.

(70) E=kat **panei** matua
3SG.S=CERT come be.old
'It became old.'
[elicited]

(71) E=**panei** **kiki**
3SG.S=come be.small
'It became small.'
[elicited]

10.3.3.8 Direction and motion

Two auxiliaries express direction and motion to the location of the event encoded by the main verb. *Pa* expresses direction away from the speaker or deictic centre, while *panei* encodes the opposite direction, namely towards the speaker or deictic centre. They also encode motion since they occur with non-motion verbs. In (72), *pa* occurs with the main verb *kil* 'dig', encoding motion away from the deictic centre and towards the location of the digging:

(72) Tu=mro **pa** kil nawi.
1PL.INCL.S=AGAIN go dig yam
'We went to dig yam again.'

In (73), *fa* occurs in an irrealis clause. It expresses motion away from the deictic centre to undertake the carrying event:

(73) Kane nag ku=kasua, p̃a=**fa** slat=ia.
but 2SG 2SG.S=be.strong 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR carry=3SG.OBJ
'But you're strong, you'll go and carry it.'

In (74), *panei* is an auxiliary to the serial verb construction formed with *matur* 'sleep' and *ne* 'be.with'. It encodes motion towards the deictic centre to undertake the sleeping event:

(74) E=ti **panei** maturu ne=a mau.
3SG.S=NEG come sleep with=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'She didn't come to sleep with him.'

Note that *pa* and *panei* also occur as clause-final particles to express direction (see 10.6.4, 10.6.5). This is shown in (75), in which *panei* occurs twice, first as a clause-final particle following the verb *talof* 'shake hands', then as an auxiliary with the main verb *skar* 'join'. In both cases, *panei* expresses motion and direction towards the speaker as the main verbs are not verbs of motion. The difference between auxiliary and particle is that in the auxiliary

construction, motion is undertaken towards the location of the event, whereas with the final particle, motion occurs as part of the event itself:

(75) Ur=talof **panei**, ur=**panei** skar tena n-ur=to.
3PL.S=shake.hands COME 3PL.S=come join SBST.DEM REL-3PL.S=stay
'They shake hands, coming (towards speaker), they come to join these ones.'

10.4 Serial verb constructions

10.4.1 Phonological and formal properties of SVCs

SVCs consist of more than one verb filling the V slot of the verb complex (see chapter 9, fig. 9.1). The verbs are contiguous and no element can occur to separate them. While this is the main defining property, other important properties are compounding and argument sharing.

Verb compounding occurs when contiguous verb roots are part of the same phonological word.[9] This happens either when the first verb in the series is monosyllabic or, if it is disyllabic or trisyllabic, when its final syllable has no onset. In (76), *to* 'stay' and *raki* 'follow' form a SVC and are part of the same phonological word, because *to* is monosyllabic. They form a compound:

(76) ['ku.rə.ŋɐ] [to.'rakˈ]
Ae, kumu kur=ga **to** **raki** konou.
hey 2PL 2PL.S=IRR stay follow 1SG
'Hey, you guys wait for me.'

In (97), *maroa* 'think' and *parkat* 'catch' also form a compound. Note that *maroa* loses its final vowel in the compounding process:

(77) ['ap.lo] [ˌma.ro.'par.kɐ.'ti]
konou a=plo **maroa** **parkat**=ia to.
1SG 1SG.S=STILL think catch=3SG.OBJ STAT
'I still remember it.'

When the first verb does not satisfy these constraints, the serialised verbs belong to different phonological words and compounding does not occur. This is seen in (78), in which *palse* 'paddle' does not form a compound with *raus* 'follow':

[9] See 2.4.3.2 on stress and the phonological word and 3.2.3 on nominal compounding.

(78) [ˈk͡pʷa.ti] [ˈpal.sə] [raw.ˈsi]
p̃a=ti **palse** **raus**=ia mau.
1SG.S=STILL paddle catch=3SG.OBJ STAT
'Do not paddle following it'

Another piece of evidence for compounding is given by verbs undergoing final-consonant loss alternation (see 3.3.5). These verbs lose their final consonant when they occur in first position in an SVC. In (105) the verbs *put* 'pull' and *rogo* 'feel' form a compound: *put* is reduced to *pu*, and the verb roots form a single phonological word including the subject and object clitics:

(79) [ɐ.ˌpu.ro.ˈŋe]
A=**pu** **rog**=ea tapla, e=sok!
1SG.S=pull feel=3SG.OBJ like.this 3SG.S=jump
'I tried to pull it like this, it jumped!'

Because compounding in SVCs depends on the syllable shape of V1, it is not regarded as a general defining property of SVCs, but only as a property of some SVCs. There has been some debate in the literature as to whether compound verbs should be treated as SVCs or not. In Saliba, Margetts (1999:101) suggests that verb compounding does not contradict a serialisation analysis. Similarly, Crowley (2002:16) does not oppose verb compounds and serialised verbs, and suggests that compounding is one property found in some SVCs and for some languages. However, an opposite view arguing that compound verbs cannot be analysed as SVCs is also taken. In South Efate, Thieberger (2006:223-224; 2006:226; 2007) analyses the equivalent of SVCs in many other Oceanic languages as symmetrical compounds. Following this analysis for Lelepa would entail recognising two distinct constructions: verb-verb sequences forming a phonological word would be compounds, while those that do not form a phonological word would be SVCs. This is not attractive for Lelepa, as compounding is a characteristic of some verb-verb sequences only. Thus, positing SVCs and recognising that some of these can form compounds leads to a simpler analysis.

Argument sharing is another common property of serial verbs, as discussed in Aikhenvald (2006:12), Crowley (2002:40), and Bril (2007:281), amongst others. In Lelepa, serialised verbs can share up to two arguments, depending on their transitivity status. In the case of SVCs with intransitive verbs only, verbs share the subject, as in (80):

(80) Ur=self nmal nkas tete na e=**roa** **wane** napua
3PL.S=be.beside trunk tree some REL 3SG.S=fall lie road
'They were next to a tree trunk which had fallen on the road.'

In SVCs mixing transitive and intransitive verbs, only the subject argument is shared, as in (81):

(81) A=tagtof=ia, a=tagtof=ia e=**roa** **nat** ntan.
1SG.S=cut=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=cut=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=fall throw ground
'I cut it, I cut it and it falls down hard on the ground.'

In the case of an SVC involving transitive verbs only, all arguments are shared by both verbs, as in (82):

(82) A=**ta** **p̃rae** kopea, a=ta p̃rae kerak.
1SG.S=cut split stern 1SG.S=cut split prow
'I split the stern in two, and I split the prow in two.'

It may also be the case that the serialised verbs do not share any argument. In (83), the first verb *kasua* 'strong' has a subject realised with the proclitic *e*= '3SG.S'. The second verb *wia* 'be good' expresses the manner in which the event encoded by *kasua* is performed. It functions as a modifier of V1 and does not subcategorise for any argument, so it does not participate in argument sharing:

(83) Ar=kat mut suk~suk nalul-la pan pan pa,
3DU=CERT tie tight~RED hair-3SG.POSS GO GO GO

e=kat **kasua** **wia** to.
3SG.S=CERT be.strong be.good STAT
'They tied his hair tightly until it was very strong.'

10.4.2 Patterns of formation

There are two basic patterns of SVC formation: in pattern 1, V1 does not vary and combines with a variety of V2s (see table 10.5), while in pattern 2 (see table 10.6), V2 does not vary while V1 does. Note that some constructions occur in both patterns, showing that SVCs are not exclusive to either pattern. In the first pattern, V2 modifies V1 to produce a range of meanings. These meanings can be compositional, as with *rog maeto* feel+be angry > 'feel angry', *lao mtarog* stand+be quiet > 'stand quietly', *palse raus* paddle+follow > 'paddle following s.t.', but can also be non-compositional and lexicalised, as with *rog tortor* feel+sweat > 'hurry', *to len*

stay+be straight > 'stand up', *lo sarsar* look+run > 'look everywhere' or *roa nat* fall+throw > 'fall hard'.

V1	V2	gloss V1+glossV2	overall gloss
rogo	*maeto*	'feel' + 'be angry'	'feel angry'
	wia	'feel' + 'be good'	'feel good'
	tae	'feel' + 'know'	'recognise'
	tortor	'feel' + 'sweat'	'hurry'
lao	*mtarog*	'stand' + 'be quiet'	'stand quietly'
	to	'stand' + 'stay'	'stand waiting'
	mato	'stand' + 'stay.long'	'stand waiting for a long time'
palse	*raus*	'paddle' + 'follow'	'follow paddling'
	llu	'paddle' + 'return'	'return paddling'
	wuru	'paddle' + 'pass s.w.'	'pass s.w. paddling'
	talel	'paddle' + 'go around'	'paddle around s.t.'
kasua	*wia*	'be strong' + 'be good'	'be very strong'
maro(a)	*parkat*	'think' + 'catch'	'remember'
	kasua	'think' + 'be strong'	'be sure'
	llu	'think' + 'return'	'think back'
len	*wia*	be straight + be good	'be nicely straight'
to	*len*	'stay' + 'be straight'	'get up'
	plak	'stay' + 'be with s.o.'	'stay with s.o.'
lo	*tae*	'see' + 'know'	'recognise'
	wia-ki	'see' + 'be good-TR'	'look at s.t. with interest'
	parkat	'see' + 'catch'	'look after; beware'
	sarsar	'see' + 'flow'	'look everywhere'
	wus	'see' + 'follow'	'follow s.t. with eyes'
	pa-ki	'see' + 'go-TR'	'look towards'
	m̃askos	'see' + 'be clear'	'see s.t. clearly'
psa	*sursuru*	'speak' + 'seduce'	'comfort'
	tonaki	'speak' + 'block'	'explain'
ta	*pkal*	'cut' + 'raise'	'finely shape'
	p̃rae	'cut' + 'split'	'split s.t. in two'
roa	*nat*	'fall' + 'throw'	'fall hard'
	pra	'fall' + 'crash'	'fall and crash'
	p̃at	'fall' + 'hit'	'fall and hit'
	pa-ki	'fall' + 'go-TR'	'fall on s.t.'
sok	*p̃at*	'jump' + 'hit'	'jump and hit s.t.'

Table 10.5. SVC formation (pattern 1)

SVCs following the second pattern often include an activity or motion verb as V1, while V2 does not vary and modifies V1. SVCs expressing cause-result follow this pattern, with V2 expressing the result of the event encoded by V1: for instance *p̃rae* 'split' as V2 expresses result and combines with cutting and breaking verbs such as *ta* 'cut' and *p̃at* 'hit'.

Motions verbs as V1 combine with a directional V2 which gives a direction or a destination to the motion. When motion verbs combine with *pa-ki* 'go-TR' as V2 , the object has the role of location, and if they combine with *pnoti* 'go away' the SVC expresses motion away from the speaker or deictic centre. Activity verbs can also combine with *rogo* 'feel; hear' V2 position to express the meaning 'try to perform the activity encoded by V1'. For instance *paam* 'eat' combines with *rogo* to express the meaning 'taste', while *put* 'pull' with *rogo* gives the meaning 'try to pull'.

V1	V2	gloss V1+glossV2	overall gloss
paam	*rogo*	'eat' + 'feel'	'taste (by eating)'
munu		'drink' + 'feel'	'taste (by drinking)'
put		'pull' + 'feel'	'try to pull'
lao		'spear' + 'feel'	'try to spear (to reach target)'
kel		'dig' + 'feel'	'dig to test (if yam is harvestable)'
tla		'lever' + 'feel'	'try to lever (to get s.t. out of ground)'
wules		'call out' + 'feel'	'call out to test (whether someone is there)'
lotu		'worship' + 'feel'	'experience being a Christian'
taakae	*wuru*	'dance' + 'pass'	'dance all around s.w.'
sara		'run' + 'pass'	'run along s.w.'
lik	*kasua*	'hang' + 'be strong'	'hang strongly'
maroa		'think' + 'be strong'	'be sure'
maroa	*parkat*	'think' + 'catch'	'remember'
lo		'see' + 'catch'	'look after; beware; observe'
ta	*p̃rae*	'cut' + 'split'	'split by cutting'
p̃at		'hit' + 'split'	'split by hitting'
sil		'enter' + 'split'	'split open'
to	*raki*	'stay' + 'follow'	'wait for'
sfa		'run' + 'follow'	'run towards'
pat	*wia*	'make' + 'be good'	'make s.t well; treat s.o. well'
tae		'know' + 'be good'	'know well'
lo		'look' + 'be good'	'regard s.t./s.o. well'
su(a)	*pa-ki*	'go down' + 'go-TR'	'go down s.w.'
sak		'go.up' + 'go-TR'	'go up to s.w.'
pa	*pnot*	'go' + 'go away'	'go away'
suara		'walk' + 'go away'	'walk away'
sfa		'run' + 'go away'	'run away'
sal		'drift' + 'go away'	'drift away'
sua		'go down' + 'go away'	'go down and away'
ta		'cut' + 'go away'	'cut away (from starting point of cutting)'

Table 10.6. SVC formation (pattern 2)

10.4.3 Semantics of SVCs

10.4.3.1 Direction/location/position

Expressing location and direction is a common function of SVCs. SVCs encoding such distinctions are generally a combination of a motion verb as V1 and a directional verb as V2. If V2 is intransitive, the direction or location is given by its semantics. In contrast, with a transitive V2 the direction/location is expressed by the object. In (84) and (85) V2 is intransitive: *llu* 'return' expresses direction back to a previous location, and *pnoti* 'go away' expresses direction away from the speaker or deictic centre:

(84) Ar=to se, ar=**sfa** **llu** panmei.
1DU.EXCL.S=stay while 1DU.EXCL.S=run return COME
'We (two) stayed, then we ran back.'

(85) kar=ga rua **sua** **pnoti**, a=ga to wara-e to.
2DU.S=IRR two go.down go.away 1SG.S=IRR stay place-ADD STAT
'You (two) go down (away from speaker), I will stay there (in addressee's location).'

In contrast, *raki* 'follow' is a transitive directional verb expressing an indeterminate direction. In (86) it occurs as V2 and takes the object *Fels* 'p.name' which encodes the direction of the motion expressed by *sfa* 'run':

(86) Ur=**sfa** **raki** A=fels.
3PL.S=run follow LOC=p.name
'They ran towards Fels.'

Some SVCs encode motion to a location. This is generally done with a motion verb as V1, followed by the derived transitive *pa-ki* 'go-TR' as V2. The object of the SVC encodes the destination of the motion. This is seen with *sua* 'go down' in (87), *sak* 'go up' in (88), and *roa* 'fall' in (89):

(87) E=rki=ra=s ur=**sua** **pa-ki** lau.
3SG.S=tell=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 3PL.S=go.down go-TR seawards
'He told them to go down to the shore.'

(88) E=**sak** **pa-ki** suña pan tapla se,
3SG.S=go.up go-TR house go like.this while
'He went up to the house like this,'

(89) Ar=pa põs nrana, e=makoto, ar=roa,
3DU.S=go step branch 3SG.S=break 3DU.S=fall

ar=**roa** **pa-ki** tan pa.
3DU.S=fall go-TR down GO
'They (two) went to step on the branch, it broke, they fell, they fell down on the ground.'

Like *pa-ki*, *wuru* 'pass' is a transitive motion verb which does not express a particular direction and can occur in SVCs as V2. In (90), the object *Mtalnafia* 'p.name' encodes the location that the river is running along:

(90) Nuwai wa-n e=**sara** **wuru** aaa... a=sei... Mtalnafia pa.
water DEM-ADD 3SG.S=run pass HESIT LOC=who p.name GO
'That river runs along hum... where... Mtalnafia.'

Less commonly, a SVC can express position, which is denoted by V2, generally an intransitive verb. In (91) *wane* 'lie' denotes the position of a corpse. Recall from 10.3.2.3 that *wane* also occurs as an auxiliary and a clause-final particle. As an auxiliary, it precedes the main verb, and as a clause-final particle, it occurs after all arguments. The construction in (91) is analysed as an SVC because *wane* follows *mat* 'dead' and precedes the oblique argument *napua* 'road':

(91) E=kat **mat** **wane** napua.
3SG.S=CERT dead lie road
'He lay dead on the road.'

10.4.3.2 Sequentiality

In sequential SVCs, the event denoted by the clause is a sequence of several sub-events encoded by each serialised verb. The sequence is ordered following the order of the verbs: the event encoded by V1 happens before the one encoded by V2. This is seen in (92), in which the subject of the SVC *sok p̃a* 'jump and hit s.t.' is a fish that jumped out of the water and hit the surface:

(92) e=**sok** **p̃a** ntas.
3SG.S=jump hit sea
'It jumped and hit the sea.'

In (93), the verbs *tof* 'push' and *rwa* 'turn' are serialised and express two sub-events in a sequence. *Tof* surfaces without its final consonant because it is a transitive verb which participates in final-consonant loss alternation (see 3.3.5):

(93) A=loɲa wara luku e=ga wane=s, a=**to** **rwa**=e,
1SG.S=see place hole 3SG.S=IRR lie=3OBL 1SG.S=push turn=3SG.OBJ

a=**to** **rwa**=e pa e=nou,
1SG.S=push turn=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=be.finished
'I look at the place in which the hole will be at, I push and turn it over, I push and turn it over until done,'

In (94), *roa* 'fall' expresses a falling sub-event and *pra* 'fall' the following crash:

(94) Ten yia, nasuɱa tap nge e=**roa** **pra** ntan.
ten years house taboo DEF 3SG.S=fall crash ground
'(after) Ten years, the church fell down on the ground.'

10.4.3.3 Cause-effect

Like in sequential SVCs, in cause-effect SVCs the main event denoted by the clause is comprised of several sub-events, each of which is encoded by a verb in the series. However, cause-effect SVCs differ in that V1 expresses a cause and V2 its effect, thus cause-effect SVCs entail a change of state. This is seen in (95) and (96), in which the hitting sub-event in (95) and the entering sub-event in (96) are causes encoded by V1. The effect is the splitting of the object encoded by *p̃rae* 'split' as V2:

(95) E=**p̃a** **p̃rae** rarua naara.
3SG.S=hit split canoe 3PL.POSS
'He split their canoe by hitting it.'

(96) String e=ga **sil** **p̃rae** nar-go
string 3SG.S=IRR enter split hand-1SG.POSS
'The string would split my hand by entering it.'

In some SVCs, the cause-effect relationship is not obvious, suggesting a lexicalised construction. This is seen in (97) with *maroa parkat* 'think+catch' which is translated with the English verb 'remember':

(97) Tu=ga to **maroa** **parkat**=ia
1PL.INCL.S=IRR IPFV think catch=3SG.OBJ

takanei misi e=wus na-fsa-na tap.
how missionary 3SG.S=follow N.SPEC-peak:IRR-NMLZ be.taboo
'We will remember how missionaries brought the Gospel.'

10.4.3.4 Manner

In manner SVCs, V2 modifies V1 to encode the manner in which the event is performed. Generally, V1 is an activity verb that can be intransitive or transitive, while V2 is a stative intransitive verb. However, V2 can sometimes be transitive, as will be seen below. In (98) and (99), the stative intransitive *kasua* 'be strong' occurs as V2, functioning as an intensifier of the event encoded by V1. In (98), the subject is told to hang strongly:

(98) Turaraka, p̃a=**liko** **kasua** se ta=ga sua pa-ki lau
p.name 2SG.S:IRR=hang be.strong while 1DU.S.INCL=IRR go.down go-TR seawards
'Tuaraka, hang on strongly while we go down to the shore.'

In (99), the SVC *maroa kasua* 'think+be strong' encodes the meaning 'be sure':

(99) Go nlakan e=pi tenge,
and because 3SG.S=COP SBST.DEF

a=**maroa** **kasu-ki-nia** lag nae m̃ol,
1SG.S=think be.strong-TR=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG only

e=ga mro mas skei-na
3SG.S=IRR AGAIN must one-3SG.POSS
'And because of this, I was sure that (it would be) just him, he would have to be by himself.'

A common combination expressing manner has *wia* 'be good' as V2. In this case, the event encoded by V1 is done properly if V1 is an activity verb, or does not incur any negative change of state if V1 is a stative verb. In (100), the object of the SVC is a raft that the subject is making for a sea voyage:

(100) E=**pat** **wia-ki-nia**,go e=tum̃alua.
3SG.S=make be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.S=leave
'He made it properly, then he left.'

In (101), the stative verb *tau* 'stay' is V1 and is modified with *wia* as V2. The SVC expresses that no change of state occurred. The subject of the SVC *nap̃as aginta* 'meat 1PL.EXCL.POSS >

our meat' refers to game that hunters hung to a tree, in order to avoid spirits stealing or eating it:

(101) Naɲas aginta e=ga **tau** **wia** tau pan pa... paki ɲulɲog pa.
meet 1PL.INCL.POSS 3SG.S=IRR stay be.good STAT GO GO to morning GO
'Our meat will stay safe on and on, until morning.'

It is also possible for *wia* to be transitivised with *–ki* 'TR'. In this case the SVC can be applicative (see 8.7.1.1) as in (102), or take a complement clause, as in (103):

(102) E=ga **fat** **wia-ki** **srago** **a=suma.**
3SG.S=IRR make be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ things LOC=house
'She will do the house chores properly.'

(103) Maala nae... e=**tae** **wia-ki-nia** lag ur=ga fa lao,
swamp.harrier 3SG.S=know be.good-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=IRR go:IRR plant
'And the swamp harrier... he knew well that they would go plant,'

10.4.3.5 V1 + *rogo* 'feel': try, test

This interesting construction involves an activity verb as V1 and the transitive verb *rogo* 'feel; hear' as V2. It expresses the fact that the subject tries to perform the activity encoded by V1. V1 expresses the activity that is tested, while *rogo* contributes the 'trying' or 'testing' meaning. This construction is not semantically compositional, but its semantics are predictable, as shown by the different combinations of V1 with *rogo* (table 10.6), which all express the idea of trying or testing. It is possible that the combination of *paam* 'eat' with *rogo* 'feel' seen in (104) is the bridging context for this construction, which is close to be semantically compositional:

(104) Ar=pan lag ar=ga **faam** **rog**=ea, ar=paam=ia se...
3DU.S=go PURP 3DU.S=IRR eat:IRR feel=3SG.OBJ 3DU.S=eat=3SG.OBJ while
'They went in order to taste it, they ate it while...'

In contrast, the SVCs in (105) to (107) are not semantically compositional, but their meaning is predictable:

(105) A=**pu** **rog**=ea tapla, e=sok!
3SG.S=pull feel=3SG.OBJ like.this 3SG.S=jump
'I tried to pull it, it jumped!'

(106) ku=kano lao=ea, ku=kano **lao** **rogo** neika tete.
2SG.S=cannot spear=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=cannot spear feel fish some
'You can't spear it, you can't try spearing any fish.'

(107) A=ga **kil** **rogo** tena.
1SG.S=IRR dig feel SBST.DEM
'I will try digging this one.'

10.5 Post-verb constructions

10.5.1 Formal properties of post-verb constructions

Post-verb constructions involve a verb immediately followed by a post-verb (see 4.4). Post-verbs (in bold) modify a main verb (underlined) as in (108) or a whole SVC (underlined) as in (109):

(108) E=msug **lwa** konou.
3SG.S=carry removed 1SG
'He took me away.'

(109) Ku=lao p̃rae **lwa** skei.
2SG.S=spear split removed one
'You speared and split one out.'

Several post-verbs can also combine with a main verb, as in (110):

(110) E=pla **lwa** **pkout** fefe mauna nae.
3SG.S=pick removed completely leaf all 3SG.POSS
'She completely removed all her leaves by picking them.'

10.5.2 Semantics of post-verb constructions

Post-verbs encode a range of semantic distinctions including aspect, intensification and result (table 10.7). Completion is encoded with *pkout* 'completely', and intensification with *suk* 'tight'. Result is encoded by four different forms, each of which expressing a particular result of the event denoted by the verb. For instance, *p̃a punu* 'hit dead' expresses death by hitting, *tpa punu* 'shoot dead' expresses death by shooting, and *kis punu* 'press dead' expresses death by strangling.

Completion		Intensification		Result	
pkout	'completely'	*suk*	'tight'	*punu*	'dead'
				lwa	'removed'
				paksaki	'clean'
				gor	'block'

Table 10.7. Semantics of post-verb constructions

10.5.2.1 Completion: *pkout* 'completely'

Typically, *pkout* occurs with activity verbs to encode the fact that an event is taken to completion. This is seen in (111) with *ta* 'cut', in (112) with *faam* 'eat:IRR', and in (113) with *plus* 'wipe':

(111) A=**ta** **pkout=ia** garau e=nou,
1SG.S=cut completely=3SG.OBJ adze 3SG.S=be.finished
'I cut it completely with the adze until it's done,'

(112) Ur=ga **faam** **pkout**, go ur=ga sal natm̃at.
3PL.S=IRR eat:IRR completely and 3PL.S=IRR dance peace.ceremony
'They would finish eating, then they would dance at the peace ceremony.'

(113) E=kat ti **plus** **pkout=ia** mau,
3SG.S=CERT NEG wipe completely=3SG.OBJ NEG2

namagfai e=kat plupla to.
half 3SG.S=CERT dirty STAT
'She didn't wipe it completely, half (of it) was dirty.'

However, it can occur with some stative intransitive verbs such as *wia* 'be good' in (114) and *paatka* 'be enough' in (115) to encode the fact that the state encoded by the verb has been reached:

(114) Ar=pat rarua naara, naose, niasu,
3DU.S=make canoe 3PL.POSS paddle bailer

sragmauna pan pa e=**wia** **pkout**,
everything GO GO 3SG.S=be.good completely

ar=tum̃alua.
3DU.S=leave
'They made their canoe, the paddle, the bailer, everything until it was completely fine, and they left.'

(115) Tu=pitlak nsfa tu=msau-na malange, e=**paatka** **pkout**.
1PL.INCL.S=have what 1PL.S=want-3SG.OBJ then 3SG.S=be.enough completely
'We have whatever we want then, that's enough.'

10.5.2.2 Intensification: *suk* 'tight', *suk~suk* 'tight~RED'

This post-verb is very common and can be reduplicated to encode emphasis. Constructions with *suk* express a range of meanings which can be fully compositional as well as non-compositional. In the former case, *suk* has a meaning close to 'tightly' or 'tighten' and occurs with verbs of holding, grabbing, taking and tying, amongst others. In contrast, when the semantics are not compositional, *suk* is an intensifier, and can be reduplicated. Post-verb constructions with compositional meaning are shown in (116) to (119) with *wus* 'hold', *pu* 'pull', *lko* 'tie' and *kis* 'press'. These are holding and tying verbs and the gloss 'tight' shows that the meaning of these constructions is compositional:

(116) Kanokik nge e=**wus** **suk** soupoumila skei.
boy DEF 3SG.S=get tight red.headed.honeyeater INDEF
'The boy tightly held a red-headed honeyeater.'

(117) Marka Ruku e=**pu** **suk** ofa to.
old.man p.name 3SG.S=pull tight heron STAT
'The old Ruku held the heron tightly.'

(118) A=**lko** **suk** string agnou paki nakiat.
1SG.S=tie tight string 1SG.POSS to boom
'I tied my string to the boom tightly.'

(119) Kanokik e=to **kis** **suk** npou soupoumila.
boy 3SG.S=IPFV press tight head red.headed.honeyeater
'The boy was squeezing the head of the red-headed honeyeater.'

In compositional constructions, *suk* can also be reduplicated. In this case, it expresses intensification of the activity encoded by the verb. This is shown in (120) with *liko* 'hang':

(120) Malmauna, pa=liko konou, pa=**liko** **suk~suk** konou,
now 2SG.S:IRR=hang 1SG 2SG.S:IRR=hang tight~RED 1SG

nlakan natamol ur=laapa.
because people 3PL.S=be.many
'Now, hang on to me, hang on to me really tight, because there are many people.'

In contrast, with verbs that are not verbs of grabbing, holding, taking or tying, the constructions are not compositional and *suk* is generally reduplicated. In (121), *suksuk* combines with *pat* to give the meaning 'prepare':

(121) Ur=to **pat** **suk~suk** nafnaga pi ten gotfan
3PL.S=IPFV make tight~RED food COP SBST.POSS:NH afternoon

go ten matmai.
and SBST.POSS:NH day.after
'They prepare food for the afternoon and for tomorrow.'

In (122), *suksuk* combines with *psa* 'speak' to give the meaning 'explain'. In this example, the subject is preparing a plan which he is explaining to people:

(122) E=to pat suk~suk=ia, e=to **psa** **suk~suk** paki nataṁol.
3SG.S=IPFV make tight~RED=3SG.OBJ 3SG=IPFV speak tight~RED to people
'He was preparing it, he was explaining to the people.'

In (123), *pai* 'pack' combines with *suksuk* to produce the meaning 'pack quickly'. In this example, the woman heard her son yelling, so she quickly packs the yams she was digging to go check on her son:

(123) Nina, fterki nge e=rog=ea taplange,
then woman DEF 3SG.S=hear=3SG.OBJ like.this

e=**pai** **suk~suk** nawi nge paki kotor nae, se e=tuṁalua.
3SG.S=pack tight~RED yam DEF to basket 3SG.POSS while 3SG.S=leave
'Then, the woman heard him like this, she quickly packed the yam in her basket, and she left.'

In addition, there are a few forms ending in *suksuk* which appear to be not analysable in terms of post-verb constructions. *Suksuk* was fused to these roots and the resulting forms can only be synchronically treated as verb roots with fixed meanings. This is shown in (124) with *mursuksuk* 'prepare', and in (125) with *mtasuksuk* 'put aside'. In (124), the speaker observes that when preparations for a wedding are done properly, the wedding invitees are happy:

(124) Go mala wan ku=**mursuksuk** wia raki-nia, ku=laka=e lag...
and when if 2SG.S=prepare be.good follow-3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP

te=laapa aginta ur=panmei, ur=lailai.
3SG.S=be.many 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=come 3PL.S=be.happy
'And when you prepare properly for it, you see that... many of our people come, they're happy.'

In (125), the speaker explains that people make funerary mats for their elders in advance before they pass, then store the mats until they are needed:

(125) Ur=mnaara pat tena e=kat wane,
3PL.S=3PL.BEN make SBST.DEM 3SG.S=CERT lie

kut **mtasuksuk**=ia e=kat to.
CERT put.aside=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=CERT stay
'We make this one for them, and we put it aside.'

10.5.2.3 Result: *punu* 'dead', *lwa* 'removed', *paksaki* 'clean', *gor* 'block'

These four post-verbs express different results when they occur with activity verbs. The verb expresses the activity performed to reach the result expressed by the post-verb. Note that when these post-verbs occur with *pat* 'make', the construction encodes the generic activity leading to the result expressed by the post-verb:

pat punu	'make' + 'dead'	'kill'
pat lwa	'make' + 'removed'	'remove'
pat paksaki	'make' + 'clean'	'clean'
pat gor	'make' + 'cover'	'cover; block'

- *punu* 'dead'

In this construction, the verb specifies the mode of killing, and the post-verb the result. Some attested combinations are shown below:

pat punu	'make' + 'dead'	'kill'
p̃a punu	'hit' + 'dead'	'kill by hitting'
tp̃a punu	'punch' + 'dead'	'kill by punching'
lao punu	'spear' + 'dead'	'kill by spearing'
si punu	'shoot' + 'dead'	'kill by shooting (with a gun)'

tpa punu	'shoot' + 'dead'	'kill by shooting (with a bow)'
kis punu	'press' + 'dead'	'kill by strangling'
suk punu	'stab' + 'dead'	'kill by stabbing'
kat punu	'bite' + 'dead'	'kill by biting; mangle to death'
sfa punu	'cut circularly' + 'dead'	'kill by biting (said of sharks)'
ta punu	'cut' + 'dead'	'kill by cutting'
ta punu	'peck' + 'dead'	'kill by pecking'

However, in textual data the form that occurs most commonly is *p̃a punu* 'kill by hitting', followed by the generic construction *pat punu* 'kill'. Note also than in most occurrences of *p̃a punu* the mode of killing is actually not hitting. This suggests that *p̃a punu* is becoming the default way of expressing 'kill'. For instance, in (126) the speaker relates a pig-hunting session. It is known from context that the weapon used to kill the pig was a gun, so hitting was likely not the mode of killing:

(126) Mala tu=**p̃a** **punu**=ea tapla, tu=slat=ia pa.
when 1PL.INCL.S=hit dead=3SG.OBJ like.this 1PL.INCL.S=carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'When we kill it like this, we carry it away.'

In (127), killing is expressed with *pat punu* 'kill'. The speaker asks the hearer to kill the heron without specifying the mode of killing, leaving this choice to the hearer:

(127) Nag ku=tae magnou **pat** **punu** ofa ?
2SG 2SG.S=can 1SG.BEN make dead heron
'Can you kill the heron for me?'

- *lwa* 'removed'

This post-verb typically occurs with verbs of getting/grabbing, such as *wus* 'get' *pu* 'pull', *rka* 'hold with tongues', *pla* 'pick from ground', *saf* 'pick from tree', etc. It also occurs with verbs of digging such as *fes* 'dig' and *traf* 'dig with hands' to encode the activity of digging something out. As shown in the list below, constructions with *lwa* are largely compositional, even if some are not, such as *sru lwa* 'shit' + 'remove' > 'shit a lot'.

pat lwa	'make' + 'removed'	'remove'
pa lwa	'go' + 'removed'	'remove'

msug lwa	'transport' + 'removed'	'remove by transporting'
sla lwa	'carry' + 'removed'	'remove by carrying'
wus lwa	'get' + 'removed'	'remove by getting'
pu lwa	'pull' + 'removed'	'remove by pulling'
pla lwa	'pick.from.ground' + 'removed'	'remove by picking from the ground'
saf lwa	'pick.from.tree' + 'removed'	'remove by picking from a tree'
rka lwa	'remove.stones' + 'removed'	'remove stones from ground oven'
ske lwa	'pick.with.tongs' + 'removed'	'remove with tongs'
fes lwa	'dig' + 'removed'	'dig out'
tra lwa	'dig.w.hands' + 'removed'	'dig out with hands'
rako lwa	'empty' + 'removed'	'empty out'
nat lwa	'throw.stones' + 'removed'	'remove by throwing stones at'
tagtof lwa	'chop' + 'removed'	'chop out'
sura lwa	'shit' + 'removed'	'shit a lot'

In (128), *lwa* occurs with the verb of getting/grabbing *wus* 'get':

(128) E=**wus** **lwa** noana nanu nge nae.
3SG.S=get removed fruit coconut DEF 3SG.POSS
'He took out his coconut.'

It also occurs with verbs of carrying such as *slat* 'carry' in (129). In this example, the speaker explains how he changed names several times in the course of his life, to mark advance in social status:[10]

(129) Ur=mro **sla** **lwa** nagi konou.
3PL.S=again carry removed name 1SG
'They removed my name again.'

In (130), *lwa* occurs with *rako* 'empty':

[10] Changing names is a common practice in Lelepa. Names are removed and re-assigned to people by men with high status.

(130) A=**rako** **lwa** nati rarua.
3pl.s=empty removed banana canoe
'I emptied out the bananas from the canoe.'
[elicited]

Two constructions, with *pat* 'make' and *pa* 'go' as verbs, express identical meanings, that of removing without specifying how:

(131) E=lgaki=nia, kat **pat** **lwa**=e paki Tuktuk pa.
3SG.S=marry=3SG.OBJ CERT make removed=3SG.OBJ to Tuktuk GO
'He married her, and took her to Tuktuk.'

Note that with *pa lwa* 'go+remove > remove', there is no motion involved:

(132) Ee, konou a=**pa** **lwa** namul=go na to.
no 1SG 1SG.S=go removed skin=1SG.POSS DEM STAT
'Well, I removed my skin.'

Finally, note that an equivalent construction is found in Bislama. The suffix *aot*, related to English *out*, is productively paired with transitive verbs to give the forms *tekemaot* 'remove by taking', *karemaot* 'remove by getting', *pulumaot* 'remove by pulling', *sakemaot* 'throw away', etc. Note that Bilsama also has the transitive verb *aotem* 'remove'.

- *paksaki* 'clear; clean'

Activity verbs combine with the post-verb *paksaki* 'clear; clean' to specify the mode of cleaning or clearing. *Paksaki* can be used when the object of the cleaning/clearing refers to a house, a garden, or a canoe in the making, but also to smaller items, e.g. yams or fruits that were harvested and need cleaning.

pat paksaki	'make' + 'clean'	'clear; clean'
ta paksaki	'cut' + 'clear'	'clear by cutting'
mas paksaki	'saw' + 'clear'	'clear by sawing'
sra paksaki	'sweep' + 'clean'	'clean by sweeping'
plus paksaki	'wipe' + 'clean'	'clean by wiping'
tp̃o paksaki	'push' + 'clear'	'clear by pushing'

In (133), *pat paksaki* expresses the activity of cleaning a garden:

(133) Go... a=**pat** **paksaki** tera agnem,
and 1SG.S=make clean garden 1PL.EXCL.POSS
'And... I cleaned our garden,'

In (134), *sra paksaki* expresses the activity of sweeping the floor clean:

(134) Ale, tu=ga **sra** **paksaki** ntan,
then 1PL.INCL.S=IRR sweep clean=3SG.OBJ ground
'Then, we sweep the ground clean,'

In (135), *tp̃o paksaki* denotes the action of a bulldozer pushing vegetation to the ground to clear a piece of bush:

(135) Malmauna, buldos e=panei pusum nkas,
now bulldozer 3sg.s=come push tree

e=**tp̃o** **paksaki** nalia kane...
3SG.S=push clean place but
'Now, bulldozers come to push trees to the ground, they clear places by pushing vegetation to the ground, but...'

In (136), the object of *plus paksaki* 'wipe clean' refers to limes that were harvested, cleaned and squeezed:

(136) E=**plus** **paksaki-nia** pan pan pa,
3SG.S=wipe clean-3SG.OBJ GO GO GO

e=nou tapla, e=m̃ul=ia.
3SG.S=be.finished like.this 2SG.S=squeeze=3SG.OBJ
'He wiped them clean on and on, it was done, then he squeezed them.'

- *gor* 'block; cover'

Like *suk*, *gor* is undergoing grammaticalisation. Morphologically, it is still analysable as a post-verb in some instances, while it has been fused to a root in others. Semantically, constructions with *gor* express meanings that range from being compositional to non-compositional. While *gor* is glossed 'block; cover', the meaning of non-compositional post-verb constructions are best expressed by the free translation. *Gor* generally occurs with activity verbs, but there are a few instances in which it occurs with stative verbs, for instance *tap gor* 'be taboo + block > wed'. Analysable and non-analysable forms are shown below:

kul gor	'cover' + 'block'	'cover (with soft implement)'
tp̃a gor	'punch' + 'block'	'prohibit'
seisei gor	'meet' + 'block'	'negotiate without reaching agreement'
mu gor	'go.in' + 'cover'	'cover by going in (of tide)'
pu gor	'pull' + 'cover'	'cover s.t. by pulling s.t. over'
ta gor	'cut' + 'cover'	'cover s.t. by cutting vegetation to cover it'
tun gor	'bury' + 'cover'	'bury completely'
tap gor	'be.taboo' + 'cover'	'wed (of pastor)'
raki gor	'follow' + 'cover'	'close a march'
sragor	'cover'	
tarp̃agor	'forget'	
tugor	'obstruct'	

Post-verb constructions with *gor* are always syntactically transitive, with a subject and an object. However, semantically they have three participants (an agent, a patient and an additional participant such as an instrument). In (137), there are two syntactic participants represented by two syntactic arguments, but three semantic participants:

(137) Ur=**kul** **gor**=ea tapla se ur=tum̃alua.
3SG.S=cover block=3SG.OBJ like.this while 3PL.S=leave
'They covered it like this while they left.'

In (138), *gor* combines with *pu* 'pull' to give the compositional meaning 'cover by pulling'. Like in (137), there are three participants: the subject performing the covering, the object that is covered and a third participant, an instrument used to do the covering. Again, only the subject and the object are overtly realised:

(138) To se, e=mro **pu** **gor**=ea,
stay while 3SG.S=again pull block=3SG.OBJ
'Then he covered it again (by pulling something over it).'

Gor has cognates in a number of Vanuatu languages which show comparable grammaticalisation paths. In some languages such as South Efate (Thieberger 2006:227) and Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:284), these cognate forms are analysed as verbs with similar glosses

which occur in a range of compositional and non-compositional constructions. In languages such as in Abma, in which *goro* has a wide range of meanings, it is a verb grammaticalising into a preposition (Schneider 2010:196). Finally, in some languages such Mwotlap, cognates of *gor* are not analysable as verbs but occur in predicative constructions which show a high degree of non-compositionality (François 2000).

10.6 Clause-final particle constructions

These particles mark the right boundary of the basic clause and of the verb complex. They encode aspectual values such as stative (*to, mato*, *wane* 'STAT'), durative (*pa* 'GO'; *pan pa* 'GO GO'), and whether an event occurred before another one (*pea* 'FIRST'). They also mark direction towards the deictic centre (*panei* 'COME') or away from it (*pa* 'GO'). They are the result of grammaticalisation: the same forms also occur as main verbs and as auxiliaries.

	Gloss	**Function**
to	STAT	stative
mato		
wane		stative (when subject is in a low/lying position)
pa	GO	durative, direction away from speaker/deictic centre
pan pa	GO GO	durative
panei	COME	direction towards speaker/ deictic centre
pea	FIRST	marks event which happened before other events

Table 10.8. Functions of clause-final particles

10.6.1 Stative: *to*, *mato*, *wane*

These particles occur with two types of verbs: stative intransitives and telic verbs. When they occur with stative verbs, the state is viewed as being perpetuated and no change is envisaged. In contrast, when they occur with telic verbs, the particles encode the fact that an endpoint has been reached and that the event is now a state. These particles do not occur with dynamic verbs expressing activities such as eat, run, sleep, etc. In (139) and (140), *to* occurs with the stative verbs *to* 'stay' and *pura* 'be full':

(139) E=panei to Fatum̃a **to**.
3SG.S=come stay p.name STAT
'He came and stayed in Fatum̃a.'

(140) Tum̃o nge, e=pura **to**.
p.name DEF 3SG.S=be.full STAT
'As for Tum̃o (i.e. a rockpool), it was full.'

In contrast, in (141) and (142), *to* occurs with *wus* 'get' and *lgaki* 'marry', which are both non-stative verbs with an endpoint:

(141) A=wus=ia **to**, nam̃aliar-go **to**.
1SG.S=get=3SG.OBJ STAT hand-1SG.POSS STAT
'I got it, (it is) in my hand.'

(142) Ar=to pan pan pa e=nou,
3DU.S=stay GO GO GO 3SG.S=be.finished

ar=kat mnaara lgaki-ra **to**.
3DU.S=CERT 3PL.BEN marry-3PL.OBJ STAT
'They stayed for some time, then they got married (and remained so).'

The particle *mato* occurs in the same environments and has similar semantics. As a verb, *mato* 'stay long' denotes staying for a longer time than *to* 'stay', and it is likely that as a stative particle, *mato* expresses a state that is to remain unchanged for a longer time than *to*. In (143) and (144) it occurs with the stative verbs *lao* 'stand' and *ne* 'be with s.o.', and in (145) with the telic verb *tun* 'bury':

(143) Ur=mro lao **mato**.
3PL.S=AGAIN stand STAT
'They are standing.'

(144) Tu=kat ne=ra **mato**.
3PL.S=CERT be.with=3PL.OBJ STAT
'We live with them.'

(145) A=tun=ia **mato** warampa.
1SG.S=bury=3SG.OBJ STAT there.forward
'I buried her (and she remains) there.'

Wane expresses an additional contrast that is not encoded by *to* and *mato*: in addition to the stative, it expresses the fact that the subject is in a lying or low position. For instance, in (146) *wane* occurs with the stative verb *tapla* 'be like this', and the subject is a group of women sitting down and preparing a feast:

(146) Tena ur=tapla **wane**, ur=kat to maginta mãrka,
SBST.DEM 3PL.S=be.like.this STAT 3PL.S=CERT IPFV 1PL.EXCL.BEN make.laplap

ur=to pat nafnaga=n aleat.
3PL.S=IPFV food=POSS:NH food=POSS:NH middle.day
'Those who are like this (in a low position, sitting down), they make laplap for us, they are preparing lunch.'

Similarly, in (147) it occurs with the telic verb *liko* 'hang', and the subject is in the water, swimming with their canoe, and thus is both in a lying and low position:

(147) Wan rarua nag e=ga mũru, p̃a=ti trups=ia mau,
if canoe 2SG.POSS 2SG.S=IRR sink 2SG.S:IRR=NEG leave=3SG.OBJ NEG2

p̃a=liko=s **wane**.
2SG.S:IRR=hang=3SG.OBJ STAT
'If you canoe sinks, do not let it go, hang on to it.'

10.6.2 Durative: *pa*, *pan pa*

In (148) *pa* 'GO' occurs in a clause with an activity verb, the transitive *net* 'plane'. While the first clause denotes a durative activity with *pa,* the following clause denotes the completion of the activity with the post-verb *pkout* 'completely':

(148) E=ga net=ia **pa**, e=ga net **pkout**=ia.
3SG.S=IRR plane=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=IRR plane completely=3SG.OBJ
'He will plane it on and on, he will plane it completely.'

Examples (149) to (150) exemplify clause-final *pa* occurring with non-motion verbs as a marker of duration. In (149), the activity of planting is durative, as shown by the occurrence of *pa* and by the reduplication of *lao* 'plant':

(149) Nalaklak naara ur=lao~lao **pa**, elo tra tapla, like.this
white.eye 3PL 3PL.S=RED~plant GO sun shine

ur=ftunu, ur=marou...
3PL.S=be.hot 3PL.S=be.thirsty
'The white-eyes planted and planted, the sun was shining, they were hot, they were thirsty...'

Similarly, in (150) the activity of bathing is durative, which is emphasised by the occurrence of clause-final *pa*. It could be argued that *pa* is marking motion away from the deictic centre, especially given the occurrence of the auxiliary verb pa before *los* 'bathe'. However, since the

main verb is not a verb of motion, clause-final *pa* is regarded as marking duration rather than motion away:

(150) E=pea pa los **pa**, grunkiki e=pa los, e=jenj,
3SG.S=first go bathe GO girl 3SG.S=go bathe 3SG.S=change

e=kat panei to uta to.
3SG.S=CERT come stay seawards STAT
'She went to bathe first, the girl went to bathe, she changed, and she came to stay on the beach.'

Clause-final *pa* very commonly combines with *pan* 'go' to form the complex particle *pan pa* 'GO GO'. Although this is a different construction from the one described so far, its function is very similar to when *pa* occurs without *pan*, as *pan pa* also denotes that an event is durative. *Pa* and *pan pa* contrast in that the latter is used not only to express duration, but also to signal that a following event is to take place. In this sense *pan pa* is similar in meaning to English 'until'. Although *pan pa* is viewed as a single particle on a grammatical level, it forms two phonological words as each syllable is stressed. In (151), it occurs at the end the first clause, showing that the event denoted by the first clause has duration but also signalling that the second clause is in a sequence with the first one:

(151) E=ufa=e **pan** **pa**, e=oufaki-nia warange, Maroa,
3SG.S=carry=3SG.OBJ go go 3SG.S=bury-3SG.OBJ there p.name

taafa=n Maroa.
inlandwards=POSS.NH p.name
'She carried her on and on, then she buried her there, in Maroa, up the hill in Maroa.'

Pan can be repeated to encode an unusually long duration, as in (152) and (153). This shows iconicity between the form of the particle (repeated several times) and the duration of the event (especially long). In (152) *pan pan pa* occurs twice, to encode the long duration of a plane trip:

(152) Ur=sfa **pan** **pan** **pa** aleat Mande,
3PL.S=run GO GO GO day Monday

ur=mro sfa **pan** **pan** **pa** Mande, e=mro malogo.
3PL.S=AGAIN run GO GO GO Monday 3SG.S=AGAIN be.dark
'We travelled on and on until the Monday, we travelled again for a long time on the Monday, until it was night again.'

In (153), *pan* is repeated five times, denoting an unusually long length of time:

(153) Pasta Lori e=mro pi intemodereta agnem,
pastor p.name 3SG.S=AGAIN COP inter-moderator 1PL.EXCL.POSS

e=stat 1980 nge,
3SG.S=start 1980 DEF

e=to pat na-wesi-na **pan** **pan** **pan** **pan** **pan** **pa**,
3SG.S=IPFV make N.SPEC-work-NMLZ GO GO GO GO GO GO
'Pastor Lori became our inter-moderator, he started in 1980, he worked on and on and on and on,'

10.6.3 Previous events: *pea*

In contrast to the other clause-final particles, *pea* 'FIRST' is rare in the textual data. It marks an event as occurring before another event, as in (154):

(154) Kalontan e=ɲa punu=ea **pea**.
p.name 3SG.S=hit dead=3SG.OBJ FIRST
'Kalontan killed him beforehand.'

Many occurrences of *pea* as a particle are in conjunction with *fea/pea* 'first:IRR/R' as an auxiliary, as seen in (155). In this case, clause-final *pea* denotes the fact that the event it marks is part of a sequence with following events:

(155) Tu=ga fea pa-ki nlak-na **pea**.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR first:IRR go-TR trunk-3SG.POSS FIRST
'We will go to its trunk first.'

10.6.4 Direction away from deictic centre: *pa*

It was shown that *pa* encodes durative aspect with activity verbs. With motion verbs, verbs of throwing, carrying, or any verb which entails motion, *pa* expresses direction away from the speaker or the deictic centre. In (156) and (157), it occurs with the motion verbs *suara* 'walk' and the SVC *sfa llu* 'run return > run back':

(156) Malmauna, ta=ga to suara **pa** raki te=ftauri.
now 1DU.INCL.S=IRR IPFV walk GO towards SBST=be.married
'Now, let's walk (away from here) towards the married couple.'

(157) Konou a=kat mal-ki-go, p̃a=sfa llu **pa**.
1SG 1SG.S=CERT not.want-TR-2SG.OBJ 2SG.S=run return GO
'I don't want you, run back (away from deictic centre).'

In (158), it occurs with the motion verb *sale* 'drift'. Note that *sale* and *tataliop* 'turn on itself' are two intransitive verbs also forming a SVC:

(158) Faatu namsal na,e=wane sale ta~taliop **pa**.
stone pummice DEM 3SG.S=IPFV drift RED~turn.around GO
'As for this pummice stone, it was drifting away in circles.'

In (159), it occurs with the throwing verb *tarp̃aki* 'drop'. The speaker describes how coconut fronds are left on roof ridges then sewn together tightly to make ridges waterproof:

(159) Ur=pan pan pa, tarp̃aki-nia **pa** nṕou fatu a=lag,
3PL.S=go GO GO drop-3SG.OBJ GO top ridge LOC=up

ur=sel suk~suk~suk=ia.
3PL.S=sew tight~RED~RED=3SG.OBJ
'They go on and on, drop it on the ridge, then they sew it very tightly.'

In (160) and (161), it occurs with the carrying verbs *slat* 'carry' and *msug* 'transport':

(160) E=po mag fterki nge slat=ia **pa**.
3SG.S=SEQ BEN woman DEF carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'Then he brought it to the woman.'

(161) Trak e=po to msug-ra **pa**.
truck 3SG.S=SEQ IPFV transport-3PL.OBJ GO
'Then the truck takes them away.'

In (162), it occurs in a copular clause. While there is no verb entailing motion in this clause, *nam̃oru* as a predicate expresses a certain idea of distance between the deictic centre (here, the surface of the sea) and the bottom of the sea:

(162) E=pi nausausa kiki wane go e=pi na-m̃oru **pa**.
3SG.S=COP reef.crack be.small STAT and 3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-hole GO
'It is a narrow crack in the reef and it is very deep.'

10.6.5 Direction towards deictic centre: *panei*

Panei 'COME' is in direct contrast with directional *pa* 'GO'. It occurs with the same range of verbs and encodes motion towards the deictic centre. It occurs with verbs of motion, as in (163) with *sua* 'go down', in (164) with *wus* 'follow', and in (165) with *pkas* 'chase':

(163) Ar=kat lag ar=ga sua **panei**.
3DU.S=CERT say 3DU.S=IRR go.down COME
'They (two) said they (two) would come down.'

(164) Tu=po wus napua **panei**.
1PL.INCL.S=SEQ follow road COME
'We're following the road back.'

(165) E=raus=ra, e=pkas=ra **panei**.
3SG.S=follow=3PL.OBJ 3SG.S=chase=3PL.OBJ COME
'He followed them, he chased them (towards deictic centre).'

It occurs with verbs of carrying, as in (166) with *msug* 'transport':

(166) Ur=msug nae srago nag-na **panei** paki lau,
3PL.S=carry 3SG things ASS-3SG.POSS COME to seawards

ur=panei, ur=mro tfag nasuña tap ke-tolu.
3SG.S=come 3SG.S=AGAIN build house taboo ORD-three
'They brought its pieces down to the beach, they came, and they built the third church.'

It is also possible for directional particles to occur with verbs which do not encode any motion. When this is the case, *panmei* encodes both direction and motion:[11]

(167) Pasta e=kat pea panmei, ur=kat talofa **panmei**.
pastor 3SG.S=CERT first come 3SG.S=CERT shake.hands COME
'The pastor comes first, they are shaking hands (coming towards us).'

[11] No functional or semantic difference between *panmei* and *panei* has been observed, and they seem to be in free variation. My thanks go to Frank Lichtenberk who pointed out that it is likely that *panmei* comes historically from **pano mai* 'go hither', in which case the form *panei* is innovative (Lichtenberk *pers. com.*).

Chapter 11 — Aspect and Modality

11.1 Introduction

Although aspect and modality are distinct concepts (see 11.1.1 on terminology), they are treated together because they are interacting categories in the language. Lelepa does not display a grammatical category of tense (see 11.4), but in contrast aspect and mood are overt categories. Modality is obligatorily encoded in every clause and aspect is optional but often marked. The clause in (1) has a realis reading but no overt realis marking; and in (2) the irrealis particle *ga* 'IRR' occurs in both clauses to mark irrealis mood.[1] These two examples show that a clause with *ga* 'IRR' is in the irrealis, while a clause without it is in the realis. This means that irrealis is overtly marked with *ga*, and realis is unmarked. An alternative analysis of these two examples would posit a past/future distinction, but note a present reading is possible for (1). In addition, the irrealis is also used to encode other meanings, such as the possibility for an event to occur and the imperative (see 11.2.1.2).

(1) E=to sarik taplange,
3SG=stay a.little like.this
'He waited a little like this,'

(2) Tu=**go** trus=ia, e=**ga** to sarik.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR leave=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=IRR stay a.little
'We will leave it, it'll wait a little.'

Mood and modality are often distinguished on a form/semantics basis, whereby mood is used to designate the forms which encode modality, while modality is regarded as a unit of meaning. However, mood and modality are sometimes used interchangeably without distinction. In this study, these two labels are used along a form/semantics distinction, whereby mood is the grammatical expression of modality (see 11.1.2).

[1] Note that the irrealis marker can surface with the back vowel /o/ instead of /a/, due to a regular process of assimilation discussed in 2.4.5.

11.1.1 Terminology

In this section I introduce the terminology used in this chapter, and particularly the notions of aspect, mood, modality, realis and irrealis, as well as time of speech and time of reference. Since many of these terms are used in different ways in the literature, I define them in the way I use them in the present work to avoid terminological confusions.

Aspect. As often noted in the literature, aspect is a hotly disputed domain in linguistics (see Sasse 2002 for a survey and a historical review of the evolution of this concept in linguistics). Despite differences, it is well accepted on a theoretical point of view that there are two distinct domains to consider when looking at aspect, which could possibly be viewed as two different kinds of aspects: *grammatical* or *verbal* or *viewpoint* aspect (or Aspect1 in Sasse 2002) on the one hand, and *lexical aspect*, *actionality*, *Aksionsart* or *situation aspect* (Aspect2 in Sasse 2002) on the other. In Binnick's definition (Binnick 2012:32), the former is a language-specific category which interacts with the latter, which is regarded as a 'language-independent categorization of types of eventualities and/or their lexical expression.' It is interesting to note that although grammatical aspect is not further defined by Binnick, the interaction between the two kinds of aspects is recognised, as Binnick states that 'lexical aspect constrains grammatical aspect', while '[grammatical] aspect may serve to transform ("coerce") one Aksionsart into another' (Binnick 2012:32). In the present study, I follow Comrie 1976's definition in which aspect pertains to the internal temporal structure of an event. An event can be temporally bounded or unbounded: a bounded event can be encoded by the inceptive (if only the initial boundary of the event is encoded), the perfective (if both initial and final temporal boundaries of the event are know) or the perfect (when the final boundary of the event is known and has present relevance). In the case in which the event is unbounded, its temporal boundaries are unknown and the event can be viewed as ongoing, in progress or habitual: such events can be encoded in the imperfective. More specifically, I use the term *aspect* to refer to the notion of *grammatical*, *verbal* or *viewpoint aspect*. In cases where I need to refer to the notion of lexical aspect, I use the term *lexical aspect* to avoid confusion with *aspect*.

Mood and Modality. A traditional way of distinguishing these two notions is to regard moods as ways to grammatically encode modalities (Palmer 1986:21). However, it also happens that both notions are not clearly distinguished and used interchangeably (see Timberlake 2007). In this study, mood and modality are distinguished according to Palmer's definition: modality

refers to the semantic space grouping the different modalities together while mood refers to the overt grammatical devices present in the languages to encode those modalities.

Realis and irrealis: these notions refer to two opposite mood values expressing whether the speaker classifies a particular event as actualised or not. An event marked as realis is happening or has happened, while one marked as irrealis has not been actualised – it hasn't happened. In Lelepa, the realis is used to express past and present events, while the irrealis is used to express future events, as well as conditionals and imperatives. Note that negation interacts with both the realis and the irrealis: a negated clause can be marked either as realis or irrealis (see 7.7 on negation).

Time of speech and time of reference: the time of speech is the time when the speaker produces a particular utterance, while the time of reference is the time expressed in a particular utterance. When time of speech and time of reference are the same, this correlation can be referred to as present time. Alternatively, when the time of reference is anterior to the time of speech, this is referred to as past time and when the time of reference is located ahead of time with respect to the time of speech, this is referred to as future time.

11.1.2 Aspect and mood: two overt categories

Aspect is overtly marked with particles occurring in several places in the clause. There are four positions for aspect particles, with two pre-verbal positions and two post-verbal ones. The pre-verbal positions include the aspect and modality particles' position and the auxiliary position (see fig. 9.1). Post-verbally, one position is dedicated to encoding the perfect, and the other is for encoding duration and stativity with clause-final particles (see 7.1.2, 10.6). Recall from 10.3.2.1 and 10.6 that *to* 'stay' is an intransitive verb that has grammaticalised into an imperfective auxiliary (*to* 'IPFV') and a clause-final particle (*to* 'STAT'). Thus *to* is found in verbal, auxiliary and clause-final particle positions. In (3), *to* is the main verb in the clause, in (4) it occurs in auxiliary position to mark the imperfective with a progressive reading, and in (5) it occurs as a clause-final particle to mark the event as a state:

(3) A=panei pa-ki uta nakerker taare Naktaf,
1SG.S=come go-TR landwards sand white p.name

a=ti msau-na lag a=ga fut=ia mau,
1SG.S=NEG want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR pull:IRR=3SG.OBJ NEG2

nlakan a=kano **to** rarua put=ia.
because 1SG.S=cannot stay canoe pull=3SG.OBJ
'I came ashore on the beach at Naktaf, I didn't want to pull it, because I couldn't stay on the canoe and pull it.'

(4) Ur=**to** pat n-sale-na, ur=**to** taakae.
3PL.S=IPFV make ART-dance-NMLZ 3PL.S=IPFV dance
'They were having a dance ceremony, they were dancing.'

(5) Konou, a=tapla **to**, a=ga mas pa lwa namulu-go na.
1SG 1SG.S=like.this STAT 1SG.S=IRR must go removed skin-1SG.POSS DEM
'As for me, I am like this, I will have to remove my skin.'

Irrealis mood is marked with the particle *ga* 'IRR', as seen in (2) above. Alternatively, when *ga* does not occur, the clause has a realis reading. Subject proclitics could be regarded as having the additional function of marking realis, but this would imply that the realis marking carried by the subject proclitic is neutralised when *ga* occurs. This explanation can be avoided by stating that the irrealis is marked with *ga* and the realis unmarked. Mood is also overtly marked in a group of verbs which undergo lenition of their initial consonant from *p* to *f* when they are immediately preceded by the irrealis particle *ga*. I call this process *stem-initial mutation* (see 11.2.2) after Thieberger (2012). These verbs are *p*-initial when not immediately preceded by *ga* and an *f*-initial when preceded by *ga*. This is shown in (6) and (7) with the verb *pan*/*fan* 'go:R/go:IRR': *pan* occurs in a realis clause and *fan* in an irrealis one:

(6) A=**pan**, a=pa tagau e=pi põg.
1SG.S=go 1SG.S=go fish 3SG.S=COP night
'I went, I went fishing at night.'

(7) 'Ae, ta=ga **fan**, ta=ga loso lau.
hey 1DU.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR 1DU.INCL.S=IRR bathe seawards
'Hey, let's go, let's bathe down at the beach.'

As seen in (6) and (7) one function of this process is to participate in mood marking, thus it is regarded as an overt manifestation of mood. Note also that this process not only affects verbs but also *p*/*f* -initial aspect and modality markers, and auxiliaries (see 11.2.2).

Epistemic modality is marked in the verb complex in the AM slot (see 9.3.3 and fig. 9.1), with the two particles *kat* 'CERT' and *lag* 'MAYBE'. In (8) and (9) both *kat* and *lag* are shown in irrealis clauses:

(8) Ur=ga mro sra kiki=nia garau,
3PL.S=IRR again dig be.small=3SG.OBJ chisel

e=ga msalsal ur=ga **kat** put=ia pa-ki lau.
3SG.S=IRR be.light 3PL.S=IRR CERT pull=3SG.OBJ go-TR NEG2
'They will hollow it out a bit with the chisel again, it will be light and they will pull it to the shore.'

(9) E=ga **lag** puro ri... e=puro.
3SG.S=IRR MAYBE be.empty sorry 3SG.S=be.empty
'It may be empty, sorry… it is empty.'

11.2 Modality

11.2.1 The first division: realis and irrealis

Every clause is coded for mood. Realis clauses are unmarked (see 11.2.1.1) and irrealis clauses are marked with the particle *ga* 'IRR' or the subject proclitic *p̃a*= '2SG:IRR' (see 11.2.1.2). Another way of marking these mood values is stem-initial mutation, a process restricted to some verbs and which is sensitive to both modality and transitivity (see 11.2.2).

11.2.1.1 Realis clauses

Realis clauses denote events which can have a past or a present reading and cannot be used to denote an event whose time of reference is located after the time of speech. See the elicited (10) which can have both a past and a present reading, but not a future reading:

(10) Ur=faam taafa.
3PL.S=eat:F inlandwards
'They eat/ate inland'
[elicited]

Although it seems that having a single category covering both past and present could lead to ambiguities, there are clues for disambiguation. An important one is lexical framing of time (see 11.4). Contextual clues also play a crucial role in disambiguating past and present time. For instance, in (11) the speaker talks about their holidays in Fiji. As an introduction to the narrative, the speaker sets the temporal frame of the event by giving its specific temporal

location (i.e. September 2006), which is anterior to the time of speech. In this way, the temporal context is set, and subsequent clauses with a realis marking have a past reading:

(11) Konou a=ga traos marmaro-na agnou
1SG 1SG.S=IRR recount rest-NMLZ 1SG.POSS

Fiji atlaga=n Septemba 2006.
p.name month=POSS:NH September 2006

Konou a=pa marmaro Fiji **namba fotin septemba** gane fren agnou.
1SG 1SG.S=go rest p.name number fourteen september with friend 1SG.POSS

Ar=pa-ki Fiji, ar=marmaro wan wik,
1DU.EXCL.S=go-TR p.name 1DU.EXCL.S=rest one week

afta, ar=mro panei.
then 1DU.EXCL.S=AGAIN come
'I will talk about my holidays in Fiji from September 2006. I went to have a holiday in Fiji on the 14th of September with my friend. We went to Fiji, we had a holiday for a week, then, we came back.'

Sometimes, the extra-linguistic settings of a particular speech event can suffice in indicating the temporal context. For example, (12) is extracted from a conversation in which the speaker and addressee share the deictic settings of the reference, so no ambiguity is possible. The sentence is in the realis, and has a present reading – a past reading would be impossible, as the temporal reference is immediately accessible to both the speaker and the hearer. Note that the imperfective *to* 'IPFV' occurs with the realis, but has no function of anchoring the reference in time, as it can also occur in the irrealis (see 11.2.1.2):

(12) Naara wei na ur=to suara panmei,
3PL TOP DEM 3PL.S=IPFV walk come

ur=kat to suara panmei pa raki namta.
3PL.S=CERT IPFV walk come GO towards entrance
'It's them who are walking our way, they are walking our way towards the entrance.'

11.2.1.2 Irrealis clauses

Recall from 11.1.2 that most irrealis clauses are marked with *ga*. However, when the subject of an irrealis clause is second person singular, the subject proclitic *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR' occurs instead of the expected but unattested **ku=ga* '2SG.S=IRR'. This means that for second person singular

only, the subject proclitics effectively have the additional function of marking mood, with *ku*= encoding realis and *p̃a*= irrealis, as seen in (13) and (14) respectively:

(13) **Ku=lop̃a** taikiki nag, ur=kut plag-ki-go tapla mato.
2SG.S=see young.sibling 2SG.POSS 3PL.S=CERT look.for-TR-2SG.OBJ like.this STAT
'You see your little brothers; they are looking for you like this.'

(14) **P̃a=sralesko** Iesu, p̃a=fafatu=s!
2SG.S:IRR=believe p.name 2SG.S:IRR=trust=3SG.OBJ
'Believe in Jesus, trust him!'

The alternation between *ku*= '2SG.S' and *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR' possibly shows a change in progress which could result in the emergence of a full set of subject proclitics marking irrealis, while the current paradigm of subject proclitics would be marking the realis. South Efate has separate paradigms of subject proclitics encoding the realis/irrealis distinction (Thieberger 2006:105).[2] However, at this stage, Lelepa subject proclitics are regarded as encoding the subject of a clause in person and number, to the exception of the proclitics *ku*= '2SG.S:IRR' and *p̃a*= '2SG.S' which also mark mood.

Irrealis clauses have a number of functions: they locate the event they denote in time, occur in complement clauses denoting an event which belongs to the irrealis domain, occur in some conditional clauses introduced with *wan* 'if', and finally, express the imperative. Unlike realis clauses, irrealis clauses are not ambiguous with respects to temporal location of an event. When they encode temporal location, it is always future, as in (15):

(15) Ur=kat mato pa raki wara ur=**ga** tof=ra=s.
3SG.S=CERT IPFV go precede place 3PL.S=IRR elevate=3PL.OBJ=3OBL
'They are going to the place in which they will elevate them.'

The irrealis also occurs in certain complement clauses introduced by *lag* 'COMP'. These clauses typically occur as the complement of complement-taking predicates such as the desiderative *msau* 'want'. There are no examples in the corpus in which a complement clause of *msau* is not in the irrealis. Thus:

[2] South Efate went further in developing a third paradigm of subject proclitics encoding perfect aspect/aspectual past in addition to the paradigms of realis and irrealis subject proclitics (Thieberger 2006:105; 110-111).

(16) Ku=msau-na **lag** **p̃a=**fa-ki maket malmauna,
2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR-TR market now

p̃a=mas msug srago nag lans.
2SG.S:IRR=must carry things 2SG.POSS speedboat
'You want to go to the market nowadays, you'll have to carry your things on a speedboat.'

(17) E=msau-na **lag** e=**ga** faam neik.
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR eat:F fish
'He wanted to eat fish.'

However, if the event denoted by the complement clause has been actualised and is thus part of the realis domain, that clause is in the realis, as in (18) and (19):

(18) Te=matua ur=til=ia **lag** e=pitlaka natkon larua.
SBST=be.old 3PL.S=say=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=have village seven
'The elders said that there were seven villages.'

(19) Kane e=lop̃a=e **lag** ur=pi nafnag nae to nge.
but 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=COP food 3SG.POSS STAT DEF
'But he saw that they were his own food.'

The irrealis also occurs in some conditional clauses. Such clauses are introduced by *wan (lag)* 'if, when' and set a condition for a future event to be realised: the irrealis is needed as the events have not been actualised and so are not part of the realis domain. This is shown in (20), in which both conditional clauses introduced by *wan* are in the irrealis. The clauses following the conditional clauses have a future reading as they denote future events, to be realised under the condition expressed in the clause introduced by *lag*:

(20) **Wan** **p̃a=**to, **p̃a=**wia, **p̃a=**sak panei
if 2SG.S:IRR=stay 2SG.S:IRR=be.good 2SG.S:IRR=go.up come

p̃a=lpis konou nṍou ntaafa.
2SG.S:IRR=watch 1SG head NMLZ-inlandwards

Kane **wan** **p̃a=**sa, **p̃a=**kat to tan to,
but if 2SG.S:IRR=be.bad 2SG.S:IRR=CERT stay downwards STAT

p̃a=kat roten m̃ol wur tan pan.
2SG.S:IRR=CERT rotten only pass downwards GO
'If you wait, you will be fine, you will come up and see me on top of the hill. But if you're bad, you will stay down, you will just rot down.'

The irrealis also occurs in clauses which denote events that may possibly occur, as seen with the first occurrence of *ga* in (21). In this clause the speaker sees the situation as a possibility but does not take a stance regarding the possibility of it becoming a reality. The next clause has a future reading, and the speaker has now taken a clear stance that the situation is leaving the realm of possibilities to become a reality.

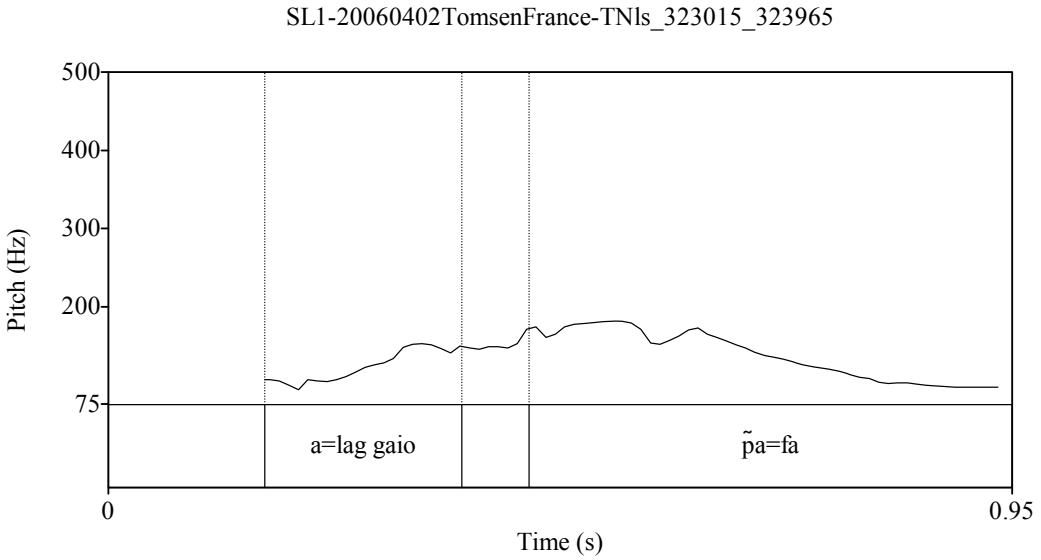
(21) Memis p̃ela aginta e=mato m̃ae to,
knife big 1SG.INCL.POSS 3SG.S=staylong far STAT

se a=**ga** mro pa put=ia na?
while 1SG.S=IRR AGAIN go pull=3SG.OBJ DEM

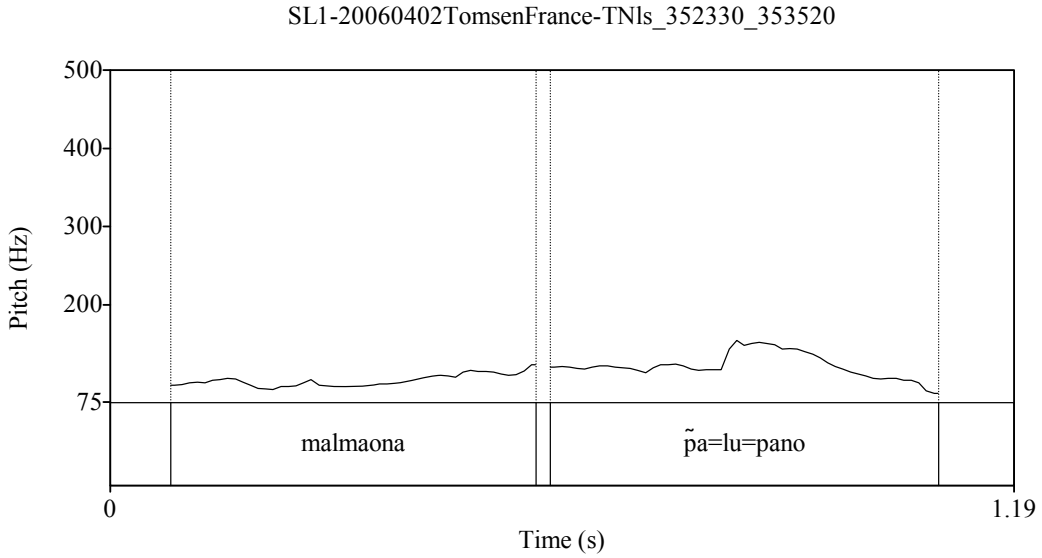
Gaio, a=**ga** fut=ia pnot.
OK 1SG.S=IRR pull=3SG.OBJ go.away
'Our machete is afar, should I get it? Ok, I'll go get it.'

Examples (22) – (26) compare irrealis clauses denoting the future and the imperative. As such clauses have the same modal value, distinguishing them can be difficult. However, the shape of intonation contours in irrealis clauses is a reliable indicator. While non-imperative clauses end in a flat to falling pitch, imperative clauses are realised with a sharp rise towards the end, followed by a fall. Compare (22), a future clause, with (23), an imperative:

(22) A=lag, "gaio, p̃a=fa."
1SG.S=say okay 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR
'I said, "Okay, you'll go."'



(23) Malmauna, põa=llu pano!
now 2SG.S:IRR=return go
'Now, go back!'



Clues for distinguishing imperative and future may also be found in certain non-linguistics characteristics of the speaker and hearer. For instance, differences in social status can be relevant: people with higher social status are expected to use the imperative when addressing people lower in the social hierarchy. This is seen in (24) in which a father gives a command to his daughter, and in (25) in which a chief gives a command to his people:

(24) Mameia=g grunkiki e=rki-nia=s lag,
father=POSS:NH girl 3SG.S=tell-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP

"**põa=**fa-ki põag pa."
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR-TR inside GO
'The girl's father told her, "Go inside."'

(25) Kur=**ga** **mro** lko fatu naña-na, kur=**ga** salea-ki-nia,
2PL.S=IRR AGAIN tie stone neck-3SG.POSS 2PL.S=IRR float-TR-3SG.OBJ

kur=**ga** fa taroaki-nia lau.
2PL.S=IRR go:IRR throw-3SG.OBJ seawards
'Tie a stone to his neck, put him in the water, throw him away in the sea.'

In (26), the speaker leads a visitor, and insider vs. outsider status is relevant. The imperative reading is justified as the speaker-insider is guiding the hearer-outsider through his own community:

(26) Malmauna, **p̃a=**suaru panmei,
now 2SG.S:IRR=walk come

ta=ga fa lop̃a takanei na
1DU.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR see how DEM

ur=kut pea taon kapu=n gotfan tu.
3PL.S=CERT first bake laplap=POSS.NH afternoon STAT
'Now, come, let's go see how they bake tonight's laplap.'

11.2.2 Stem-initial mutation

This process concerns a small group of verbs which switch their initial consonant from *p* to *f* in two different situations. In the first one, *p*-initial verbs occur with an initial *f* when they are immediately preceded by the irrealis particle *ga* or the subject proclitic *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR'. In this case, stem-initial mutation is a mood-sensitive process, as it applies according to the presence of irrealis markers. The second situation concerns *p*/*f*-initial ambitransitive verbs (see 8.4), which are able to function with or without an object. These verbs surface as *p*-initial when they have an object and as *f*-initial when they function intransitively, regardless of the mood of the clause. This second situation is thus sensitive to transitivity and not to mood. Consequently, stem-initial mutation is a process with two separate functions: one is to mark irrealis mood, and the other intransitivity. Although only one of these functions is related to mood, both are discussed in this section, because this process is fairly minor in the language and concerns a minority of verbs, of which an even smaller number is ambitransitive and undergoes stem-initial mutation to mark intransitivity. Some of these verbs are shown in table 11.1:

Intransitives			**Transitives**			**Ambitransitives**		
***f*-initial form**	***p*-initial form**	**Gloss**	***f*-initial form**	***p*-initial form**	**Gloss**	***f*-initial form**	***p*-initial form**	**Gloss**
fag	*pag*	'climb'	*fagan*	*pagan*	'feed'	*faam*	*paam*	'eat'
false	*palse*	'paddle'	*fai*	*pai*	'pack'	*faos*	*paos*	'weave'
fanei	*panei*	'come'	*farus*	*parus*	'drill'	*fnak*	*pnak*	'steal'
frau	*prau*	'be.long'	*fat*	*pat*	'make'	*fsruki*	*psruki*	'speak'

Table 11.1. Verbs undergoing stem-initial mutation

Linguists working on Vanuatu languages have long known of this phenomenon, as seen in early works such as Codrington (1885), MacDonald (1889) and Ray (1926). Later, it was described in more detail for the individual languages Nguna (Schütz 1968), Raga (Walsh 1982), Bierebo (Tryon 1986), Nāti (Crowley 1998b:124-125), Paamese (Crowley 1982), Southeast Ambrym (Crowley 1991), Lewo (Early 1994), Sye (Crowley 1998a), and South Efate (Thieberger 2006, 2012), amongst others. In these languages, stem-initial mutation is associated with mood marking, except in Sye (Crowley 1998a). Additionally, in some of these languages this process has a role in compounding and nominalization: in South Efate, deverbal nouns from verbs undergoing stem-initial mutation use the *f*-initial form of the verb (Thieberger 2006:133), as is the case in Lelepa (see 3.4.1.1).

Interestingly, stem-initial mutation in Lelepa and South Efate has developed an additional function, that of intransitivity marking. This is not discussed in the other languages mentioned above, so it may be an innovation of Lelepa and South Efate. There are seventy-four known Lelepa verbs which participate in stem-initial mutation, of which eight are ambitransitive and participate in both mood and intransitivity marking. Note also that some verbs seem to be good candidates for stem-initial mutation but do not participate in it. For instance, *fe* 'read; count:TR' and *fef* 'read; count:INTR' do not have a *p*-initial form. Others, such as the ambitransitive *pnak*/*fnak* 'steal' participate in mood-related stem-initial mutation but not in transitivity-related stem-initial mutation.

11.2.2.1 Mood-related stem-initial mutation

The main function of stem-initial mutation is to mark irrealis, in addition to *ga* 'IRR' and *p̃a*= '2SG:IRR'.[3] Verbs undergoing this process can be in auxiliary or main verb position, but mutation only occurs when they immediately follow *ga* or *p̃a*. In (27), *pag* 'climb' occurs as the main verb in a realis clause, while its *f*-initial counterpart *fag* 'climb:IRR' occurs immediately after *ga* in (28):

[3] Because *f*-initial forms of verbs occur in nominalisation constructions, and that *ga* 'IRR' and *p̃a* '2SG:IRR' do not occur in such construction, stem-initial mutation is not simply regarded as a morpho-phonemic device triggered by the occurrence of these two morphemes.

(27) E=mro legat=ia taplange,
3SG.S=AGAIN sing=3SG.OBJ like.this

fterki e=kat panei **pag** wara gara.
wife 3SG.S=CERT come climb place be.dry
'He sang it again thus, the woman got on dry land.'

(28) Au=mersera tapla, ur=lag au=ga **fag** lans,
1PL.INCL.S=try like.this 3PL.S=MAYBE 1PL.INCL.S=IRR climb:IRR speedboat

lans e=ga sfa.
speedboat 3SG.S=IRR run
'We tried like this, they said to get on the boat, and that the boat would go.'

In (29), *palse* 'paddle' occurs in a realis clause, while in (30) the *false* 'paddle:IRR' hosts *p̃a=* '2SG:IRR':

(29) E=**palse** llu pa-ki suṁa pa.
3SG.S=paddle return go-TR house go
'He paddled back home.'

(30) Kane wan ku=lag p̃a=**false** raus rarua fea nge,
but if 2SG.S=say 2SG.S=paddle:IRR follow canoe first:IRR DEF

narua nmat e=go fu kumu na rarua pa raki Artok pa.
current low.tide 3SG.S=IRR pull:IRR 2PL DEM canoe GO towards p.name GO
'But if you think that you'll paddle following this first canoe, the low tide will pull you to Artok.'

In (31), *pkas* 'chase' occurs in a realis clause while in (32) *fkas* 'chase:IRR' occurs immediately after *ga* 'IRR':

(31) M̃autariu e=kao naṕe nae se e=**pkas**=ia pan.
p.name 3SG.S=arm club 3SG.POSS while 3SG.S=chase=3SG.OBJ GO
'M̃autariu armed his club and chased him away.'

(32) E=maroa-ki-nia lag e=ga **fkas** ṁaata nge.
3SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR chase:IRR eye DEF
'He thought that he would chase the snake.'

When verbs normally affected by stem-initial mutation do not immediately follow *ga* or *p̃a=* in irrealis clauses, the process does not apply. If other elements of the verb complex occur between the irrealis marker and the verb, the *p*-initial form of the verb occurs. In (33), the

auxiliary verb *to* occurs between the irrealis marker and the verb *paam* 'eat:P' and blocks the application of the process, as the *f*-initial form of the verb does not occur:

(33) E=pi nasifara agnou, a=**ga** to **paam=ia**
3SG.S=COP banana.sp 1SG.POSS 1SG.S=IRR IPFV eat:P=3SG.OBJ
'It is my *nasifara* banana, I will eat it.'

Similarly, in (34) the negator *ti* 'NEG1' occurs between *ga* and the auxiliary verb *pa* 'go:R', blocking the process as well:

(34) Nlakan wan a=**ga** ti **pa** lwa namulu-go mau,
because if 1SG.S=IRR NEG go removed skin-1SG.POSS NEG2

a=ga matua sa, a=go mate na.
1SG.S=IRR be.old very 1SG.S=IRR die DEM
'Because if I don't remove my skin, I will be very old, and I will die.'

In (35), the aspect particle *mro* 'AGAIN' occurs between the subject proclitic *p̃a*= '2SG.S:IRR' and the verb *put* 'pull', prompting the *p*-initial form to occur:

(35) **P̃a**=mro **put=ia** gaskei wei!
2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN pull=3SG.OBJ IRR.INDEF TOP
'Pull out another one!'

In (36), the benefactive pronoun *magnou* '1SG.BEN' occurs between the irrealis marker and the verb. Again, the process of stem-initial mutation does not apply and this results in the occurrence of the *p*-form of the verb:

(36) A=ga maginta **pat** natrausina kiki skei.
1SG.S=IRR 1PL.INCL.BEN make story be.small INDEF
'I will make a little story for us.'

11.2.2.2 Transitivity-related stem-initial mutation

The other function of stem-initial mutation is to mark intransitivity. This only applies to the subclass of ambitransitive verbs, which can function with or without an object (see 8.4). This is a small class with thirty known members, of which only eight can undergo transitivity-related stem-initial mutation (see table 11.2):

***p*-form**	***f*-form**	**Gloss**	***p*-form**	***f*-form**	**Gloss**
psapseiki	*fsapseiki*	'teach:P/F'	*paam*	*faam*	'eat:P/F'
psruki	*fsruki*	'speak:P/F'	*paus*	*faus*	'weave:P/F'
patka	*fatka*	'be enough:P/F'	*pnak*	*fnak*	'steal:P/F'
pes	*fes*	'dig.w.hands:P/F'	*psatra*	*fsatra*	'answer:P/F'

Table 11.2. Ambitransitive verbs undergoing stem-initial mutation

For the present discussion, the verb *paam*/*faam* 'eat' is taken as representative of the process, see (37) to (45). In (37), *paam* 'eat:P' occurs in an irrealis marked clause with an object. The verb occurs in its *p*-form as it functions transitively. Note that the clause is in the irrealis, but the verb, directly following *ga*, occurs in its *p*-form rather than its *f*-form as would be expected in mood-related stem-initial mutation:

(37) Kar=ga ftol, kar=ga **paam** nafnag ar=magmu pai=a.
2DU.S=IRR hungry 2DU.S=IRR eat:P food 1PL.EXCL.S=2PL.BEN pack=3SG.OBJ
You will be hungry, you will eat the food we packed for you.'

Similarly, in (38), the *f*-form of the verb occurs despite the clause being in the realis. This shows that mood is not relevant here since the distribution of the *f*- and *p*-form does not conform to patterns of mood-related stem-initial mutation. The condition for the process to apply in (38) is that *faam* 'eat:F' functions intransitively:

(38) Tu=**faam**, tu=rogo wia,
1PL.INCL.S=eat:F 1PL.INCL.S=feel be.good

tu=pitlaka srago mauna tu=msau-na raki na-ftauri-na.
1PL.INCL.S=have things every 1PL.INCL.S=want-3SG.OBJ towards N.SPEC-marry-NMLZ
'We eat, we feel good, we have everything we want for the wedding.'

In (39) and (40), *paam* has an object and thus the *p*-initial form occurs. Again, note that in both examples the *p*-form occurs regardless of mood:

(39) E=go **paam** tena nm̃au-na e=to=s.
3SG.S=IRR eat:P SBST.DEM feather-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=stay=3OBL
'He will eat the one with feathers on.'

(40) E=to **paam** ntai-na nge,
3SG.S=stay eat:P excrement-3SG.POSS DEF
'She was eating his excrement,'

However in (41) and (42), the *f*-initial form occurs, and in both cases *faam* has an object, which is a similar environment to that of (39) and (40). This contrast relates to the definiteness of the object. In (39) and (40), the objects are definite: in (39) *tena* is a demonstrative pronoun further specified by a relative clause, thus its referent is definite. In (40), *ntai-na* 'excrement-3SG.POSS' is also definite as it is possessed and takes the definite determiner *nge*. In contrast, the objects in (41) and (42) are indefinite: *neika* 'fish' is generic and thus indefinite, and *nmatuna kas gaskei* 'something sweet' is also indefinite: the head noun *nmatuna* is lexically indefinite, while the occurrence of the indefinite determiner *gaskei* 'IRR.INDEF' strengthens the indefinite status of the referent of the object:

(41)

E=msau-na	lag	e=ga	**faam**	neika.
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ	COMP	3SG.S=IRR	eat:F	fish

'He wanted to eat fish.'

(42)

A=msau-na	lag	a=ga	**faam**	nmatuna	kas	gaskei.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ	COMP	1SG.S=IRR	eat:F	something	be.sweet	IRR.INDEF

'I want to eat something sweet.'

At this point, we have seen that transitivity-related stem-initial mutation is not only sensitive to the presence of an object, but also to its definiteness: when the verb functions intransitively as in (38), the *f*-form occurs, whereas when the verb functions transitively, the *f*-form occurs if the object is indefinite, while the *p*-form occurs if the object is definite. In other words, the process treats the lack of an object and the occurrence of an indefinite object as identical environments. In terms of Hopper and Thomson's criteria to determine high and low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252-253), this does not seem to be surprising: an event with a single participant is low in transitivity, and an event with two participants in which the object is non-individuated is also low in transitivity.[4] Thus (38), (41) and (42) are low in transitivity, which explains why the *f*-form of *faam* occurs in these examples. That said, (43) to (45) seem problematic under this analysis. In (43), the *p*-form of the verb occurs even though the object *natam̃ol* 'people' is indefinite and non-referential, thus non-individuated:

[4] Hopper and Thompson define an individuated object is as referential and definite, and a non-individuated one as non-referential and indefinite (Hopper and Thompson 1980:253).

(43) Kane ku=tae, mutuama ur=pi natam̃ol ur=to **paam** natam̃ol.
but 2SG.S=know ogre 3PL.S=COP people 3PL.S=IPFV eat:P people
'But you know, ogres are people who eat people.'

In contrast, in (44), the *f*-form of the verb occurs while the object pronoun *=ko* '2SG.OBJ' has a referential, definite and thus individuated referent. Example (45) is also problematic as both forms of the verb occur, while in both occurrences the verbs have an individuated object. What the objects *natam̃ol* 'people' and both occurrences of *=ko* in (44) and (45) have in common is that their referents are humans. In contrast, the referent of *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' in (45) is non-human. This means that the humanness of the object is also relevant, and if the referent of an object has a [+human] value, this has the effect of blocking the application of transitivity-related stem-initial mutation. Again, this conforms to Hopper and Thomson's predictions, as an object with a [+human] value is regarded as individuated (Hopper and Thompson 1980:253)Further, these examples also show that mood-related stem-initial mutation applies instead, as the distribution of the *p*- and *f*-initial forms complies with mood-marking in these clauses:

(44) Ku=pa lwa taptap, pakoa e=po **paam**=ko.
2SG.S=go removed float shark 3SG.S=SEQ eat:P=2SG.OBJ
'You let go of your float, and the sharks eat you.'

(45) P̃a=ti **paam**=ia mau, mesa a=ga **faam**=ko.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG eat:P=3SG.OBJ NEG2 today 1SG.S=IRR eat:F=2SG.OBJ
'(If) you don't eat it, today I'll eat you.'

This section has shown that stem-initial mutation in Lelepa is an intricate process sensitive to mood, verb class, transitivity, and definiteness and humanness of the object. The process has two functions, mood marking and intransitivity marking, and concerns a small but nevertheless significant group of verbs. In addition to being complex, this process is marginal, and its rules can be summarised as follows:

(46) Stem-initial mutation rules

- Non-ambitransitive verbs occur in their *f*-initial when they immediately follow an irrealis marker, either *ga* 'IRR' or *p̃a=* '2SG.S:IRR'. If this constraint is not satisfied, *p*-initial forms occur in irrealis clauses.

- Ambitransitive verbs alternate their *p-* and *f-*initial forms according to features of transitivity: low transitivity, defined as either the absence of an object or the occurrence of an indefinite object, conditions the occurrence of *f-*initial forms. High transitivity, manifested by the occurrence of a definite object, correlates with the occurrence of *p-*initial forms. This rule does not apply if the object encodes a human referent, in which case transitivity-related stem-initial mutation is neutralised and mood-related stem-initial mutation applies.

11.2.3 Epistemic modality in the verb complex

The two particles *lag* 'MAYBE' and *kat* 'CERT' encode epistemic modality: they allow speakers to express their own judgment regarding the truth of a proposition. These particles are mutually exclusive: *kat* allows speakers to judge whether an event has happened or not, while *lag* expresses their own stance on the possibility for an event to occur. As the language lacks clausal and sentential adverbials expressing epistemic modality, they have a high functional load and are frequent in the textual corpus while being fully optional. They occur in the AM slot of the verb complex (see fig. 9.1 and table 9.2), and can occur with some aspect particles (see 11.3.1) as well as with some auxiliaries. Note that it is possible for speakers to assert the truth of a particular portion of discourse with sentences such as (47) which does not make use of these particles. Instead, the speaker uses the verb *sralesko* 'believe' in the first clause and *lesko* 'true' in the final one to express his judgment on the truth value of the proposition expressed in the subordinate clause introduced by *lag* 'COMP':[5]

(47) Go **a=sralesko=s** lag warange, e=pi nalia tap naara,
and 1SG.S=believe=3SG.OBJ COMP there 3SG.S=COP place be.taboo 3PL.POSS

e=pi **lesko**.
3SG.S=COP true
'And I believe that there, it is their taboo area, it is true.'

11.2.3.1 Hypothetical: *lag* 'MAYBE'

The particle *lag* is used when speakers want to express that they regard the event denoted by the clause as hypothetical, or as a possibility which may be realised or not. It occurs in both

[5] Note that *sralesko* 'believe' is a lexicalised and non-analysable compound formed with *lesko* 'true' and *sra* which occurs in a number of verbal compounds but cannot be analysed on its own.

realis and irrealis clauses, thus a combination of realis and hypothetical does not mean that the event is part of the realis domain, but that the speaker hypothesises that it may or may not be part of it. In contrast, when *lag* occurs in the irrealis, the clause has a future reading, and the speaker hypothesises that the event may happen in the future. In (48), the main character of a story is feeling sick and possible reasons for him being unwell are given in two clauses marked with *lag*. The speaker is using *lag* because he is not sure that the reasons he gives are the right explanation for the event denoted in the final clause:

(48)

E=**lag**	pkate	palse,	e=**lag**	pkate	paam	kapu	nge,
3SG.S=MAYBE	too.much	paddle	3SG.S=MAYBE	too.much	eat	laplap	DEF

e=rog=ea...	e=ti	rogo	wia	kiki=s	mau.
3SG.S=feel=3SG.OBJ	3SG.S=NEG	feel=3SG.OBJ	be.good	be.small=3OBL	NEG2

'Maybe he paddled too much, maybe he ate too much of the laplap, he felt... he didn't feel very good about it.'

In (49) *lag* occurs in two clauses, first with the stative intransitive *sa* 'bad' then with the auxiliary *kano* 'cannot' and the transitive *lo͂pa* 'see'. Note that while these two clauses are marked with hypothetical modality, the preceding one is marked with *kat* which expresses certainty. The speaker asserts that he is an old man, and that consequently his vision may be impaired:

(49)

Kane	a=**kat**	pi	marka	tapla,
but	1SG.S=CERT	COP	old.man	like.this

namta-go	e=**lag**	sa,
eye-1SG.POSS	3SG.S=MAYBE	be.bad

a=**lag**	kano	lo͂pa	tena	e=to	a=m̃ae.
1SG.MAYBE	cannot	see	SBST.DEM	3SG.S=stay	LOC=far

'But for sure, I am an old man, my eyes may be bad and I may not be able to see what is far.'

Lag can also be used emphatically, as in (50). In this example, although the speaker knows that the yam patch is devoid of wild yams, he uses the hypothetical emphatically, in conjunction with the particle *ri* 'sorry' to express his regrets that someone lacks wild yams:

(50)

Ee,	kano	n-e=to,	niao	nae	e=**lag**	puro	ri.
no	man	REL-3SG.S=stay	wild.yam	3SG.POSS	3SG.S=MAYBE	be.empty	sorry

'Well, as for this guy, his wild yam patch may be empty, poor guy.'

In (51), *lag* occurs in an irrealis clause. The clause has a future reading and the speaker hypothesises on the number of puddings that will be made with a yam he just dug out:

(51) E=ga **lag** pi rp̃ok garua, kete e=ga fia na-e?
3SG.S=IRR MAYBE COP pudding IRR.two or 3SG.S=IRR how.many DEM-ADD
'Maybe it will be two puddings, or how many?'

11.2.3.2 Certainty: *kat* 'CERT'

Complementing *lag* in the expression of epistemic modality, *kat* expresses the speaker's certainty regarding the event denoted by the clause. It can occur in both realis and irrealis clauses, and in the realis *kat* reflects either speakers' first-hand experience or else their certainty over a particular event despite not having first-hand experience of it. In an irrealis clause, the speaker's first-hand experience of the event is not available, and this situation *kat* expresses the speakers' certainty that the event denoted by the clause will happen. Example (52) is extracted from a personal narrative, which by definition is likely to reflect first-hand experience. The speaker recounts his first travel overseas, and the first time he wakes up in a new and unfamiliar place:

(52) Kane a=**kat** ti tae takanei a=ga fat=ia mau.
but 1SG.S=CERT NEG know how 1SG.S=IRR make=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'But I certainly didn't know what to do.'

In (53), the speaker also has first-hand experience as she hears the child crying in the distance:

(53) Te=rua kiki wa-n ar=pag-ki ntalia,
SBST=two be.small DEM-DIST 3DU.S=climb-TR tropical.almond

ar=roa, skei e=mato, nge e=**kat** to kai.
3DU.S=fall INDEF 3SG.S=stay.long DEF 3SG.S=CERT IPFV cry
'These two little ones climbed the tropical almond tree, they fell down, one is down and the other is crying.'

As mentioned earlier, first-hand experience is not needed for speakers to express their certainty with *kat*. In (54), the speaker relates a series of historical events regarding the coming of Christianity to the Lelepa region. Even though the speaker wasn't born at the time the event in

(54) occurred, his knowledge of the event allows him to use *kat*,[6] and the various historical records also corroborate what the speaker is saying:

(54) Na-lotu-na na e=panei,
N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ DEM 3SG.S=come

e=pea atlake... e=lao Erakor go Pago.
3SG.S=first start 3SG.S=stand p.name and p.name

Naara ur=**kut** pea lotu.
3PL 3PL.S=CERT first pray

Ur=**kut** pea lotu, ur=**kut** marma,
3PL.S=CERT first pray 3PL.S=CERT be.lit

ur=**kut** tae Atua takanei to.
3PL.S=CERT know God how STAT
'Christianity came, it started in... it stood in Erakor and Pango. For sure, they (i.e. people from Erakor and Pango) worshipped first. They worshipped first, they were enlightened, and they knew what God was about.'

However, *kat* is not only used to mark events over which the speaker has first-hand experience, or to mark events which are corroborated by historical records. Any event which the speaker wants to express his certainty about can be marked with *kat*. In (55) to (57), the speakers express their certainty that the event has happened or will happen, even though the intrinsic truth value of the different propositions is unknown:

(55) E=**kat** pi rarua, go ur=**kut** tae palse-ki-nia.
3PL.S=CERT COP canoe and 3PL.S=CERT can paddle-TR-3SG.OBJ
'It is a canoe, and they can paddle it.'

(56) Malmauna, ur=**kut** maturu, na-ɲogi-na e=**kat** matua-ki-ra.
now 3PL.S=CERT sleep N.SPEC-night-NMLZ 3SG.S=CERT be.old-TR-3SG.OBJ
'Now, they're certainly asleep, and for sure it is the middle of the night for them.'

(57) Kanokik nge naara e=to, ur=**kut** lag ur=ga fkal=ea.
boy DEF 3PL.POSS 3SG.S=STAY 3SG.S=CERT say 3SG.S=IRR raise=3SG.OBJ
'Their boy stayed, and they certainly thought that they would raise him.'

[6] Note that in this example the certainty particle surfaces as *kut* following a process of vowel assimilation to the vowel of the subject proclitic (see 2.5.4).

11.3 Aspect

Aspect is encoded pre-verbally and post-verbally in the verb complex. Pre-verbal aspect marking is done with aspectual particles occurring in the AM slot and by auxiliaries (see fig. 9.1, sections 9.3.3, 9.3.6, 10.3.3). Post-verbally, the perfect is marked with the particle *sua* 'PRF', and durative aspect is marked with the clause-final particle *pa* 'GO' (see 10.6.2, 10.6.4). In addition, certain aspectual values are encoded by complex predicates: some serial verb constructions mark sequentiality (see 10.4.3.2), while completion is encoded by post-verb constructions with *pkout* 'completely' (see 10.5.2.1). This section discusses aspectual particles occurring in the AM slot, auxiliaries marking aspect and the perfect.

11.3.1 Pre-verbal aspect particles

There are three aspect particles occurring: *mro* 'AGAIN' marks an event as being re-iterated, *po* 'SEQ' marks an event as being in a sequence with a previous event, while *plo* marks an event as ongoing.

11.3.1.1 Iterative and emphatic: *mro* 'AGAIN'

Mro mostly occurs with non-stative verbs. The semantics of *mro* can be split along a 3-way distinction: a basic meaning, an extended meaning, and an abstract, grammaticalised meaning. In its basic meaning, *mro* encodes re-iteration of an event. The extended meaning is somehow close to the basic one, and denotes an event that is similar to a previous event but not its exact repetition. For instance, when an event affecting a particular object has been completed, a similar event, denoting the same activity but affecting a different object may be marked with *mro*. Finally, the abstract meaning encodes emphasis on a completely new event. In (58) to (61), *mro* occurs in its basic, iterative meaning. It can occur in both realis and irrealis clauses:

(58) Ur=**mro** palse,
3PL.S=AGAIN paddle

ur=palse palse panei panei pan pa pa-ki A=magas.
3PL.S=paddle paddle COME COME GO GO go-TR LOC=p.name
'They paddled again, they paddled and paddled on and on to Magas.'

(59) E=**mro** rki-nia na-fsa-na skimau nge.
3SG.S=AGAIN tell-3SG.OBJ N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ be.same DEF
'He told her the same thing again.'

(60) E=to se, e=**mro** tum̃alua.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=AGAIN leave
'Then, he left again.'

(61) Tu=ga faam Krismas, konou a=ga **mro** tae rki kumu=s.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR eat:F Christmas 1SG 1SG.S=IRR AGAIN can tell 2PL=3SG.OBJ
'We will eat at Christmas (i.e. we will have Christmas dinner), and I will be able to tell it to you again.'

In it extended meaning, *mro* encodes the fact that an event has similarities with the previous one. For instance, it can encode the same activity as in a previous event, but with a different object, as in (62), in which the speaker explains that after having woven one side of a mat, she weaves the other side. The activity is similar (weaving the sides of a mat) but the object is different:

(62) Tu=ga **mro** pau narp̃an ke-rua pan pan pa e=ga fa nou,
1PL.S=IRR AGAIN weave side ORD=two GO GO GO 3SG.S=IRR go:IRR be.finished
'We will weave the other side until it will be done,'

Similarly, in (63) there is no iteration of a previous event, which would mean that the speaker wants to return to a location. Rather, the speaker tells the hearer that they should change location – they are digging yam at a place that is not favourable:

(63) Tu=ga **mro** pa-ki warampa.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR AGAIN go-TR there.forward
'Let's go there (i.e. let's change location).'

In its emphatic meaning, *mro* encodes the importance of the event in the eyes of the speaker. Technically, this distinction takes *mro* closer to modality than to aspect, as it encodes the speaker's stance. Also, in this meaning *mro* can occur with stative verbs, which is not the case with the other meanings. In (64), the speaker uses *mro* to convey that the event is important, adding a warning for the hearer that the command should be accomplished:

(64) P̃a=kat pa pat nmatuna nge,
2SG.S=CERT go make something DEF

p̃a=**mro** ti pat na-maroa-na nag galaapa mau.
2SG.S=AGAIN NEG make N.SPEC-think-NMLZ 2SG.POSS IRR.be.many NEG2
'You will go do this thing, make sure you do not think about too many things.'

In (65), *mro* adds emphasis on the event denoted by *to* 'stay', and particularly on the duration of the stay:

(65) Malange, ur=**mro** to Tahiti wik mau skei.
then 1PL.EXCL.S=AGAIN stay p.name week all INDEF
'That time, we stayed in Tahiti for a whole week.'

In (66) it occurs with the stative verb *paatka* 'be enough'. In this example, the speaker uses *mro* to emphasise the fact that his budget was enough for the wedding of his son Bruce:

(66) tena=g Bruce, e=**mro** paatka skei,
SBST.DEM=POSS:H p.name 3SG.S=AGAIN be.enough INDEF

a=pitlaka wan andred fifty.
1SG.S=have one hundred fifty
'With Bruce's, it was enough really, I had one hundred and fifty (thousand vatu).'

11.3.1.2 Ongoing/continuous: *plo* 'STILL'

This particle marks an event as ongoing. There are no other known lexemes in the language such as adverbials to mark an event as being continuous or ongoing. *Plo* does not occur in irrealis clauses and must occur with the imperfective with dynamic verbs such as *ta rarua* 'canoe cutting', *seisei* 'have a meeting' or *tagau* 'fish'. In contrast, with stative verbs or non-dynamic activity verbs such as *to* 'stay', *maroparkat* 'remember' and *wia* 'be good', *plo* can occur without the imperfective. Dynamic verbs need the imperfective to be further marked as ongoing events with *plo*. In this situation, the imperfective can be seen as a deriving a semantic subclass of predicates, that of stative predicates. When *mro* occurs with dynamic verbs, a semantic incompatibility occurs and needs to be repaired with the imperfective *to*: this represents a form of aspect shift and coercion (De Swart 1998). Note that most occurrences of *plo* in the textual data are in clauses in which *to* 'stay' is the main verb. This is not surprising as *to* is possibly the most salient non-dynamic verb in the language as it grammaticalised into an imperfective auxiliary and a stative particle. In (67), *plo* occurs with the non-dynamic *to* 'stay':

(67) E=mro pu lwa fefe ke-rua,
3SG.S=AGAIN pull removed leaf ORD-two

e=loɲa=e se **e=plo** to.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=STILL stay
'She pulled out the second leaf, he had a look while staying there.' (*lit. he still stayed*)

Similarly in (68) to (72), *plo* occurs with other non-dynamic verbs, and the imperfective *to* does not occur. In (68), *plo* occurs with *maroa parkat* 'think catch > remember':

(68) Konou **a=plo** maroa parkat=ia to,
1SG 1SG.S=STILL think catch=3SG.OBJ STAT

a=msau-na lag a=ga til=ia malmauna.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR tell=3SG.OBJ now
'I still remember it, I want to tell it now.'

In (69), *plo* occurs with the stative *wia* 'be good' and the stative particle *to* 'STAT'. Stative verbs cannot occur with the imperfective, but can occur with the stative particle to encode the fact that the state is continuing and no change is expected (see 10.6.1):

(69) Tu=pa laka naɲas aginta se **e=plo** wia to.
1PL.INCL.S=go see meat 1PL.INCL.POSS while 3SG.S=still be.good STAT
'We go check on our meet and it's still fine.'

In (70), *plo* occurs with *laotu* 'be standing', which denotes the state of being in a standing position, and in this example, the subject is a church building. The church was built and stood for many years, as shown by the reduplication of *pan pa* 'GO GO'. *Plo* encodes that the church is still in the state of standing after many years:

(70) A=maroa-ki-nia lag ur=lag pat=ia 1913 taplange pa,
1SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=MAYBE make=3SG.OBJ 1913 like.this GO

1914 wei.
1914 TOP

Ur=to pan pan pan pan pa,
3PL.S=stay GO GO GO GO GO

nasuña tap nge e=to, e=**plo** laotu.
house be.taboo DEF 3SG.S=stay 3SG.S=STILL stand
'I think that maybe they did it around 1913, or rather 1914. They stayed on and on, the church remained, it was still standing.'

In (71) *plo* occurs with the stative *mu* 'be.in [tide]', which denotes the state of a tide being in:

(71) Kane p̃ulp̃og e=**plo** mu, **na-mu-na** rgona!
but morning 3SG.S=STILL be.in N.SPEC-be.in-NMLZ huge
'But in the morning it was still in, a huge tide!'

In contrast to non-dynamic verbs, dynamic verbs must occur with the imperfectives *to* or *wane* to occur with *plo* as well. In (72), *maturu* 'sleep' occurs with the imperfective auxiliary *wane* 'IPFV', which allows *plo* to mark the event as ongoing:

(72) E=pan se fterki e=**plo** **wane** maturu.
3SG.S=go while woman 3SG.S=STILL IPFV sleep
'He went while the wife was still asleep.'

In (72), *plo* occurs with the imperfective and with activity verbs. Activities and states share some properties; in particular they both denote events that are atelic and durative. However, they differ in that states denote static events, while activities do not (see Smith 1997, Bertinetto 1997 and Riemer 2010):

(73) E=**plo** **to** palse-ki rarua.
3SG.S=STILL IPFV paddle-TR canoe
'He is still paddling.'
[elicited]

(74) E=**plo** **to** ta rarua.
3SG.S=STILL IPFV cut canoe
'He is still cutting canoes.'
[elicited]

(75) E=**plo** **to** tagau.
3SG.S=STILL IPFV fish
'He is still fishing.'
[elicited]

(76) Ur=**plo** **to** seisei.
3PL.S=STILL IPFV meet
'They're still having a meeting.'
[elicited]

11.3.1.3 Sequential: *po* 'SEQ'

Po 'SEQ' marks an event as being in a sequence with previous events. It is optional and clauses in series denoting events in a sequence do not require its occurrence. When it occurs, it never does to mark the first event in the series, but in clauses denoting subsequent events. For this reason it is analysed as a sequential marker, and not as an inceptive or inchoative marker. In (77) it occurs marking the second and last event of the series:

(77) Naara ur=to pan pan pa,
3PL 3PL.S=stay GO GO GO

wan namtaɲaga=n ntau tapla,
if end=POSS.NH year like.this

ur=**po** to psamuru nafanua.
3PL.S=SEQ IPFV say.farewell land
'They waited until the end of the year, then they said farewell to the land.'

In (78) *po* occurs in the second and third clause. These clauses are in a sequence and present two different formulations of the same event. The speaker describes the burial practice of wrapping the deceased in mats and laying them inside canoe hulls prior to burial. In the first clause, the verb *mate* 'die' denotes the start of the sequence (i.e. the dying), then *po* occurs in the following clauses, which encode the wrapping event with *pai* 'pack' and the laying event with *taroaki* 'drop':

(78) Nataɱol ur=mate, ur=**po** pai=ra=s.
people 3PL.S=die 3PL.S=SEQ pack=3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ

Ur=**po** taroaki-ra pa-ki rarua nge.
3PL.S=SEQ drop=3PL.OBJ go-TR canoe DEF
'People died, and then they would put them in it. They would drop them in the canoe.'

Example (79) is extracted from a narrative about the coming of Christianity to Lelepa. The speaker talks about MacDonald, a missionary posted in the region, then makes a digression about another part of that history. Coming back to his main point about MacDonald, he explains in the first clause that the event he described in his digression took place before MacDonald's arrival, and in the following clause, marked with *po* 'SEQ', he states that the missionary came after:

(79) Malange, e=pea-ki-nia, Macdonald e=**po** panei nge.
then 3SG.S=be.first-TR-3SG.OBJ p.name 3SG.S=SEQ come DEF

Ta=ga mro llu pa-ki stori=gMacdonald.
1DU.S=IRR AGAIN return go-TR story=POSS:H p.name
'As for that time, it was before him, MacDonald came later. Let's go back to MacDonald's story.'

In (80), there are three clauses in a sequence. Only the second clause is marked with *po*, while the third clause is the final event in the sequence. This shows that *po* can occur to mark only one event in a sequence, and not necessarily the last one:

(80) A=mro pa-ki namlas,
1SG.S=AGAIN go-TR bush

a=**po** ta ntal nag-na panei pa,
1SG.S=SEQ cut rope ASS-3SG.POSS COME GO

a=p̃ra=e e=nou,
1SG.S=split=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=be.finished
'I go back to the bush, then I cut its rope, I split it until done,'

In contrast, in (81) both clauses are marked with *po*. They are part of a larger sequence describing the making of a canoe, so even though *po* occurs in the first clause of the example, this clause is not the first clause of the sequence. The fact that the second clause is marked shows that two subsequent clauses in a sequence can be marked with *po*:

(81) A=**po** pau suk~suk nasma nag-na pa-ki nakiat nag-na,
1SG.S=SEQ weave RED~tight outrigger ASS-3SG.POSS go-TR crossboom ASS-3SG.POSS

go e=**po** pi rarua.
and 3SG.S=SEQ COP canoe
'Then I tie its outrigger to its crossbooms very strongly, and then it is a canoe.'

11.3.2 Auxiliaries marking aspect

The AUX slot is populated by a closed set of auxiliary verbs, some of which mark aspectual distinctions, while others encode direction and modality (see 9.3.3, 10.3.3). This section expands the discussion of the imperfective auxiliaries *to*, *mato* and *wane* started in 10.3.3.1.

11.3.2.1 Imperfective: *to* and *mato* 'IPFV'

The auxiliary *to* has grammaticalised from its position and semantics as a main verb meaning 'stay' to an aspectual marker encoding the imperfective-type meanings of progressive and habitual. As an auxiliary, *to* occurs with activity and process verbs but not with stative verbs. It can occur in realis and irrealis clauses, thus the event can be actualised or not, and take place at several points in time (past, present and future). In (82) the speaker describes the flattening of a canoe's stern with *pas* 'flatten'. His description occurs as the activity is taking place, so the event is marked with *to* and has a progressive reading:

(82)

Tarei	e=**to**	pas=ia,	e=**to**	pas	pkea.
p.name	3SG.S=IPFV	flatten=3SG.OBJ	3SG.S=IPFV	flatten	stern

'Tarei is flattening it, he is flattening the stern.'

In (83), *to* occurs in a realis clause which encodes a past event, as the speaker talks about the time when missionaries were based on Efate, in the late nineteenth Century. The occurrence of *to* has a habitual reading as suggested by the occurrence of *sara ntau* 'each year', denoting an event that usually happens every year:

(83)

misi	laapa	nge,
missionary	many	def

ur=pitlaka	naara	n-seisei-na	skei	e=**to**	pa-ki	liga	sara	ntau.
3PL.S=have	3PL.POSS	ART-meet-NMLZ	INDEF	3SG.S=IPFV	go-TR	out	each	year

'As for these many missionaries, they had their meeting that used to occur every year.'

In (84), *to* occurs in the realis. The event is not connected to a particular point in time but more to a general current time, as *malmauna* 'now' suggests. The reading of the imperfective is also habitual, as when one goes to Maua they see *Komagal*, a traditional site located there:

(84) A=maua malmauna ku=**to** loɲa=e, e=pi tewei na-e,
LOC=p.name now 2SG.S=IPFV see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=COP SBST.TOP DEM-ADD

e=pi Komagal na-e wa.
3SG.S=COP p.name DEM-ADD DEM
'In Maua nowadays you see it, it is the one, it is Komagal.'

The imperfective also occurs in the irrealis, with both progressive and habitual readings. In (85) *to* occurs in an irrealis clause which has a future and progressive reading:

(85) Ku=lag ɲa=**to** tuɱa-ɱa pseiki-go, kane ɲa=lo parkat=ia.
2SG.S=say 2SG.S=IPFV RR-2SG.POSS show-2SG.OBJ but 2SG.S:IRR=look catch=3SG.OBJ
'You think you'll be showing off, but be careful.'

In (86), *to* occurs in an irrealis subordinate clause. Although the narrative relates past events, subordinate clauses occurring as complements of *msau-na* 'want-3SG' are always in the irrealis (see 12.4.3.5). There are two subordinate clauses following each other in (86) and the imperfective occurs in both. These clauses have a habitual reading as suggested by the occurrence of *sral* 'often':

(86) Naara ur=msau-na lagur=ga **to** ɱalaɱala to,
3PL 3PL.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=IRR IPFV be.naked STAT

ur=ga **to** taakae sral.
3PL.S=IRR IPFV dance often
'They wanted to stay naked, they danced often.'

Another imperfective auxiliary is *mato* 'IPFV'. Similarly to *to*, it can function as a main verb and as an auxiliary. Both forms are etymologically and semantically related but their semantic differences are difficult to pinpoint. While some of their semantic differences can be teased out when they function as main verbs (contrast *to* 'stay' and *mato* 'stay long; reside'), as auxiliaries they are glossed identically.[7] The examples below show that *mato* encodes aspectual values similar to *to*. However, it is possible that the same sort of semantic differences found between *to* and *mato* are valid when they occur as auxiliaries. In (87) and (88), *mato* occurs in realis clauses with a progressive reading:

[7] The semantic distinction that exists with *to* and *mato* as verbs could not be established for *to* and *mato* as auxiliaries.

(87) E=**mato** los pan pa e=ga nou,
3SG.S=IPFV bathe GO GO 3SG.S=IRR be.finished

e=kat pa lwa mul=la.
3SG.S=CERT go removed skin-3SG.POSS
'He bathed on and on until it would be done, then he removed his skin.'

(88) Ur=**mato** suaru pan.
3PL.S=IPFV walk GO
'They are walking away.'

The imperfective auxiliaries cannot occur with stative verbs. However, recall that *to* can occur with stative verbs in clause-final particle position to mark a state as persistent, and with telic verbs to encode that a state ensues after the endpoint of the activity encoded by the telic verb (see 10.6.1). In (89), *to* occurs with the stative verb *wia* 'be good':

(89) Kane srago ntas aginta,
but things sea 1PL.INCL.POSS

tu=paam=ia se nmat e=wia to.
1SG.INCL.S=eat=3SG.OBJ while tide 3SG.S=be.good STAT
'But as for our seafood, we eat it while the tide is favorable.'

In (90), *to* occurs as a stative particle with the telic verb *sasake* 'sit down', but cannot occur with this verb as an imperfective auxiliary, as seen in (91):

(90) E=sasake **to**.
3SG.S=sit.down STAT
'He is sitting down.'
[elicited]

(91) *E=**to** sasake.
3SG.S=IPFV sit.down
'He is sitting down.'
[elicited]

11.3.2.2 Imperfective: *wane* 'IPFV'

The other marker of imperfective is the auxiliary *wane*. Similarly to *to* and *mato*, it occurs as a main verb and as a grammaticalised auxiliary and clause-final particle (see 10.6.1). As a main verb, *wane* 'lie' expresses the state of being in a lying or low position (such as sitting on the floor), and can be used with human and non-human subjects, including inanimates, as shown in (92) and (93):

(92) Brij na e=**wane** sua, ur=to pat=ia.
bridge DEM 3SG.S=lie PRF 3SG.S=IPFV make=3SG.OBJ
'This bridge which has been there, we were making it.'

(93) Ur=patnatañol mat e=ga **wane**=s.
3PL.S=make person dead 3SG.S=IRR lie=3OBL
'They make dead people lie in it.'

As an auxiliary, it denotes the same aspectual values as *to* and *mato* (ie. progressive and habitual), while expressing the fact that the subject is in a lying or low position. In (94), the subject of the second clause performs the activity of telling stories in a sitting position:

(94) Ur=**wane** suña=g Nafet, ur=**wane** traus nakai.
3PL.S=lie house=POSS.H p.name 3PL.S=IPFV tell trad.story
'We are at Naviti's house, and we are telling traditional stories (sitting down).'

Verbs encoding an activity which entail a lying position like *maturu* 'sleep' must occur with *wane* when marked with the imperfective. With such verbs, the imperfective cannot be marked with *to* or *mato*, as shown by (95) and (96):

(95) E=**wane** maturu põg se e=lag maroa-ki-nia.
3PL.S=IPFV sleep night while 3PL.S=MAYBE think-TR-3SG.OBJ
'He was sleeping at night while maybe he missed her.'

(96) *E=**to** maturu põg se e=lag maroa-ki-nia.
3PL.S=IPFV sleep night while 3PL.S=MAYBE think-TR-3SG.OBJ
'He was sleeping that night and maybe he missed her.'
[elicited]

11.3.3 Perfect

Perfect is marked with the particle *sua* 'PRF' which occurs in the verb complex (see 9.4.2). A general, cross-linguistic definition of the perfect is that it denotes a previous situation which is still relevant at the time of reference (Comrie 1976:62). Another definition along the same lines is that a perfect presents a situation as a state, extending back in time from the contextual occasion and projected to continue in the future (Timberlake 2007:304). With such definitions, it is important to note that the focus is not so much on the completion of the denoted event but rather on the continued relevance of a previous, bounded, or completed, event. This is illustrated by (97), in which the speaker explains that he planted several types of crops in

preparation for the wedding of his son, and had already, previously, planted kava. The fact that the kava was already planted and growing is relevant at the time of reference, because while food crops such as yam have a yearly or biannual yield, kava needs to be in soil for several years to reach a satisfactory growth stage. The planting of the kava is relevant at the time the subsequent gardens were planted, as it shows that the wedding's preparations were organised in order, and its relevance is continuing in time as the hearer knows that planting kava before food crops will ensure that these items will be ready on time for the wedding. In (97), the clause denoting the planting of the kava is marked with *sua* while the other adjacent clauses are not:

(97) A=pat tera nge, a=to lao raki=nia;
1SG.S=make garden DEF 1SG.S=IPFV plant follow=3SG.OBJ

go a=lao **sua** nmaluku skei,
and 1SG.S=plant PRF kava INDEF

a=lao nawi, a=lao nafnag tete.
1SG.S=plant yam 1SG.S=plant food some
'I made the garden, I planted for it (i.e. the wedding); and I had already planted kava, then I planted yam, I planted some other crops.'

While other elements of the verb complex are fixed in order, *sua* is attested to occur both before and after objects and obliques. As discussed below, this variation only occurs in the realis, in irrealis clauses the perfect must precede the object in transitive clause, or the oblique in the case of intransitive clauses with an oblique argument. Given the fact that Lelepa is left-headed, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that when *sua* occurs before the object or oblique, it modifies the verb directly, rather than the whole clause, whereas in a post-object/oblique position it may modify the whole verb complex. The examples below show *sua* in both positions. When it occurs in some realis transitive clauses, *sua* occurs before the object as seen in (97) to (99):

(98) Male e=leyem[8] **sua** natul-la,
once 3SG.S=lay PRF egg-3SG.POSS

e=rki natul-la=s lag, "P̃a=to."
3SG.S=tell egg-3SG.SP=3SG.OBJ COMP 2SG.S:IRR=stay
'Once he has laid his egg, he tells his egg, "stay."'

(99) Wara-e, a=kat rki **sua**=ko=s na-e
there-ADD 1SG.S=CERT tell PRF=2SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ DEM-ADD

lag e=pi nali tap aginta.
COMP 3SG.S=COP place sacred 1PL.INCL
'There, I already told you that it is our sacred place.'

In some realis intransitive clauses with an oblique argument, *sua* occurs before the oblique as in (100):

(100) Ur=munu **sua** ti pan pa enou,
1PL.EXCL.S=drink PRF tea GO GO 3SG.S=be.finished

ur=kut pa-ki Nagsumtas pa.
3PL.S=CERT go-TR p.name GO
'We had breakfast, and we went to Nagsumtas.'

However, there are instances in which *sua* occurs after the object in a realis clause, as in (101) and (102):

(101) Male tu=ga fa-ki skul panmei,
once 1PL.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR-TR church come

tu=pa-ki na=to suki-na **sua** panmei,
1PL.INCL.S=go:TR ART=stay tight-NMLZ PRF come

tu=ga fanei faam wara.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR come:IRR eat:F here
'Once we go to the church and back, once we have gone to the wedding and back, we will come to eat here.'

[8] The transitive verb *leyem* 'lay' is a borrowing from Bislama.

(102) A=to pat suk~suk srago laapa **sua** pan pa,
1SG.S=IPFV make RED~tight things many PRF GO GO

a=laka=e lag e=kat paatka.
1SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=CERT enough
'I had been preparing lots of things for a while, until I saw that it was enough.'

Elicited sentences such as (103) and (104) show that the position of *sua* is variable. The verb *munu* 'drink' is intransitive and can take an oblique argument, which in these examples is realised with the NP *ti* 'tea'. The perfect can occur in a pre- and post-oblique position without a change in meaning. This suggests that the position of *sua* is in free variation with respect to oblique arguments:

(103) Ur=munu **sua** ti.
3PL.S=drink PRF tea
'They had breakfast.'
[elicited]

(104) Ur=munu ti **sua**.
3PL.S=drink tea PRF
'They had breakfast.'
[elicited]

However, in some transitive clauses, *sua* is restricted to occur before the object, as seen in the contrast between the elicited (105) and (106):

(105) A=pau **sua** rarua.
1SG.S=weave PRF canoe
'I assembled the canoe.'
[elicited]

(106) *A=pau rarua **sua**.
1SG.S=weave PRF canoe
'I assembled the canoe.'
[elicited]

While the textual data shows that *sua* has a variable position in some realis clauses, it is in pre-object position in all examples of irrealis clauses in which it occurs. Thus it seems reasonable to posit that *sua* does not vary its position in irrealis clauses and always occurs pre-object, but the conditions for the variation in realis clauses have not been determined. Examples (107) and (108) shows that *sua* must occur in a pre-object position in irrealis clauses:

(107) Tu=ga fat suk~suk **sua** srago galaapa,
1PL.INCL.S=IRR make:IRR RED~tight PRF things IRR.be.many

tu=ga fa.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR
'We will have prepared many things, then we'll go.'

(108) *Tu=ga fat suk~suk srago galaapa **sua**,
1PL.INCL.S=IRR make:IRR RED~tight things IRR.many PRF

tu=ga fa.
1PL.INCL.S=IRR go:IRR
'We will have prepared many things, then we'll go.'

Note also that the homophonous form *sua* is an intransitive verb meaning 'go down, descend', as seen in (109) and (110):

(109) A=pan, male a=**sua**, te=laapa mauna, ur=po **sua**.
1SG.S=go when 1SG.S=go.down SBST=be.many all 3PL.S=SEQ go.down
'I went, when I went down, many people, everyone was going down.'

(110) Ar=**sua** panei, ar=suaru panei panei panei paki...
3DU.S=go.down COME 3DU.S=walk COME COME COME to

kane e=pi a=m̃ae a=m̃ae.
but 3SG.S=COP LOC=far.away LOC=far.away
'They (two) came down, they (two) walked and walked, but it was really far away.'

While Thieberger notes, after Hopper and Traugott (1993:79), that it is not uncommon for terms meaning 'down' to be grammaticalised into completive/perfective markers in the world's languages (Thieberger 2006:266), Timberlake points out that perfects also historically derive from particles such as 'already' or verbs with meanings such as 'finish', 'arrive', and other similar meanings (Timberlake 2007:292). It is plausible that in Lelepa, the perfect has grammaticalised from the intransitive verb *sua* but that the process may still be ongoing, explaining its variable position.

11.4 Lack of tense category and lexical encoding of time

Lelepa lacks a grammatical category for encoding tense, which certainly does not mean that it is not possible to encode temporal distinctions in the language. So-called tenseless languages

have been known for a long time and have a wide distribution cross-linguistically. Regarding Oceanic languages, the lack of a tense category is not uncommon (see Jauncey (2011) for Tamambo, Schneider (2010) for Abma, Thieberger (2006) for South Efate, Hyslop (2001) for Ambae). At the same time some Oceanic languages have an overt tense category (see Palmer (2009) for Kokota, Guérin (2008; 2011) for Mavea). In the latter case, it is common for these languages to only encode a limited range of temporal values (present and future but not past for Kokota, future only for Mavea). Lelepa lacks grammatical tense while offering speakers the ability to locate events in time by using lexemes expressing temporal meanings. Such lexemes generally occur once at the beginning of a narrative to establish the temporal frame of the event. Alternatively, if the temporal frame needs to be changed in the course of a narrative or 'refreshed', these lexemes occur again. Table 11.3 presents these lexemes, which are all adverbs:

Lexeme	**Gloss**	**Temporal Reference**	**Word Class**
tuei	long ago	past	adverb
slafea	before, initially	past	adverb
nanou	yesterday	past	adverb
nanos	before yesterday	past	adverb
malange	then, at that time	past	adverb
nagsange	then, at that time	past	adverb
mesa	today	present	adverb
malmauna	now	present	adverb
matmai	day.after	future	adverb

Table 11.3. Lexemes used in lexical framing of time

In (111), *slafea* 'before' occurs at the start of a personal narrative in which the speaker relates his hunting practices as a younger man. The whole text relates events located before the time of speech, that is, in the past, and *slafea* occurs just once, establishing the temporal frame for the whole text. Note that no overt mood marker occurs, since the clause is in the realis mood:

(111) **Slafea**, **a=**pi natam̃ol skei na **a=**to pa-ki namlas.
before 1SG.S=COP person INDEF REL 1SG.S=IPFV go-TR bush

Wan **a=**pa-ki namlas, mala **a=**tum̃alua naure,
if 1SG.S=go-TR bush when 1SG.S=leave island

a=msug koria, **a=**palse pa-ki Fate.
1SG.S=carry dog 1SG.S=paddle go-TR p.name
'Before, I was a man who used to go to the bush. If I went to the bush, when I left the island, I took dogs, I paddled to Efate.'

In (112), *malmauna* 'now' establishes the temporal frame of the event so that the time of speech and the time of reference are the same:

(112) Konou, **a=**plo maroa parkat=ia,
1SG 1SG.S=STILL think catch=3SG.OBJ

a=msau-na lag a=ga til=ia **malmauna**.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR tell=3SG.OBJ now
'As for me, I still remember it, and I want to tell it now.'

Like *malmauna* in (112), *mesa* 'today' in (113) sets the event time and speech time in the present. It occurs twice, once to give the date of the day the utterance took place and subsequently to encode the temporal frame of the event:

(113) **Mesa**, e=pi nalati ralma rua atmate lima,
today 3SG.S=COP day twenty two units five

go e=pi atlaga=n June,
and 3SG.S=COP month=POSS:NH June

go **mesa** e=pi n-aleati na ur=to mursuksuk naftaurina=g
and today 3SG.S=COP NMLZ-be.day REL 3PL.S=IPFV prepare wedding=POSS.H

Bruce naaram fterki nae Katie.
p.name and wife 3SG.POSS p.name
'Today, we are the 25th, and it is the month of June, and today is the day that we prepare for Bruce and his wife Katie's wedding.'

In (114) and (115), *matmai* 'day.after' occurs and sets the time of reference ahead of time speech, in the future. Note that in both clauses in which *matmai* occurs, the irrealis marker *ga* also does:

(114) **Matmai**, ten nalia nagrun ur=ga fanmei.
day.after SBST.POSS:NH place woman 3PL.S=IRR come:IRR
'Tomorrow, those from the woman's place will come.'

(115) E=pi wago wei tu=ga faam=ia **matmai** na-e.
3SG.S=COP pig TOP 1PL.INCL.S=IRR eat:IRR=3SG.OBJ day.after DEM-ADD
'This is the pig we will eat tomorrow.'

These examples have shown that the language uses lexemes to set the temporal frame of an event, but does not use tense as a grammatical category. The examples also suggest that some of these lexemes occur with the realis (*slafea* 'before', *malmauna* 'now', *mesa* 'today') and others with the irrealis (*matmai*). However, some of these adverbs are not constrained to a particular mood. In (116), *malmauna* 'now' occurs in an irrealis clause which denotes an event located in the near, immediate future:

(116) Go **malmauna** a=ga traus=ia tapla.
and now 1SG.S=IRR tell=2SG.OBJ like.this
'And now I will recount it like this.'

In (117), *mesa* 'today' occurs twice, first in a realis clause, then in an irrealis clause which encodes an event located in the near future:

(117) Nag ku=to pnak nanu agnou **mesa**?
2SG 2SG.S=IPFV steal coconut 1SG.POSS today

A=ga p̃a punu nag, a=ga faam nag **mesa**.
1SG.S=IRR hit dead 2SG 1SG.S=IRR eat:F 2SG today
'You are stealing my coconuts today? I will kill you, I will eat you today.'

In (118) *matmai* occurs in a realis clause. This example is taken from a personal narrative relating an event located in the past. In this occurrence, *matmai* does not set the temporal frame of a future event in relation to the time of speech, but locates an event as following a preceding one, while both events are in the past.

(118) E=to pan pa, **matmai** e=mro palse llu pan pa laka=e.
3SG.S=IPFV GO GO day.after 3SG.S=again paddle return GO GO see=3DG.OBJ
'He stayed for a while, the next day he paddled again to go see it.'

In addition to the lexemes in table 11.3, other temporal expressions can be used to set the temporal frame of a particular event. Such temporal expressions are NPs like *wik nepa* 'last

week' as in (119) or *p̃ogi=n mesa* 'tonight' as in (120). Others are *wik fao* 'next week', *wik na* 'this week', *ntau nepa* 'last year', *ntau fao* 'next year', *ntau na* 'this year', amongst others.

(119) Rarua na Tafman e=pat=ia, e=maora **wik** **nepa**.
canoe REL p.name 3SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=break week last
'As for the canoe that Tafman made, it broke last week.'

(120) Ur=kut taplange to lag, "man! Kinta **p̃ogi=n** **mesa**,
3PL.S=CERT like.this STAT COMP EXPL 1PL.EXCL night=POSS:NH today

tu=ga fa-ki sei pa na-e?"
1PL.INCL=IRR go:IRR-TR where GO DEM-ADD
'We were like this and said, "Damn! As for us tonight, what are we gonna do?"'
(*lit. where are we going to go?*)

Chapter 12 — Coordination and subordination

12.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how NPs and clauses combine. Following Haspelmath (2007), I use the label *coordinator* to refer to morphemes performing coordinating functions. Coordinators mark the following relationships: conjunctive (*go* 'and'), disjunctive (*kite* 'or'), adversative (*kane* 'but'), sequential (*nina* 'then') and simultaneous (*se* 'while'). Conversely, I use the term *subordinator* to refer to overt markers of subordination. The complementisers *lag*, *se* and *takanei* introduce complement clauses, and the relativiser *na* is restricted to relativisation. In addition, there are a number of subordinators introducing adverbial clauses: *nlakan* introduces reason clauses, *mala* time clauses and *lag* purpose clauses, in addition to its complementiser function. Coordination is discussed in 12.2, and 12.3 addresses how coordination and subordination can be distinguished. The later sections are dedicated to subordination: complement clauses (12.4), adverbial clauses (12.5), and relative clauses (12.6).

12.2 Coordination

12.2.1 Asyndetic coordination

In asyndetic coordination, no overt coordinator occurs and the coordinands are simply juxtaposed (Haspelmath 2007:7). In Lelepa, this type of coordination conjoins both NPs and clauses. Asyndetic coordination of NPs is conjunctive, whereas asyndetic coordination of clauses can be conjunctive or sequential. Other types of relationships such as disjunctive and adversative coordination are not attested in asyndetic constructions. In (1), four NPs introduced by the prepositional verb *taos* 'like' are conjoined together with asyndetic coordination:

(1) Nafnag taos **nati**, **poti**, **maniok**, **nanua**;
food like banana ladyfinger tapioca coconut

srago taplange taos=ia
things like.this like=3SG.OBJ

tu=po to laka=e maket malmauna.
1PL.INCL.S=SEQ IPFV see=3SG.OBJ market now
'Food such as banana, ladyfinger banana, maniok, coconuts; things like this that we find at the market now.'

In (2), asyndetic coordination is used to conjoin several clauses. A comma occurs at the end of these clauses to indicate an intonation break. Note that the coordinator *go* 'and' occurs to link the third and fourth clause. In this example, asyndetic coordination is conjunctive, as it lists different activities that are part of a job described by the speaker:

(2) A=to kuk, a=to was, a=to wus leta pa-ki postofis,
1SG.S=IPFV cook 1SG.S=IPFV wash 1SG.S=IPFV take letter go-TR post.office

go a=to pa-ki stoa, a=to pagtof agnem nafnag.
and 1SG.S=IPFV go-TR shop 1SG.S=IPFV buy 1PL.INCL.POSS food
'I used to cook, I used to wash, I used to take letters to the post office, and I used to go to the shops, I used to buy our own food.'

In contrast, asyndetic coordination in (3) marks sequentiality between the first two clauses: the event denoted by the first clause is set to occur before the one denoted by the second clause. Note that the final clause presents a different formulation of the event denoted by the second clause, and is not in a sequential relationship with the preceding ones:

(3) kur=ga mro lko faatu naŋa-na, kur=ga salea-ki-nia,
2PL.S=IRR AGAIN tie stone neck-3SG.POSS 2PL.S=IRR float-TR-3SG.OBJ

kur=ga fa taroaki-nia lau.
2PL.S=IRR go:IRR throw-3SG.OBJ seawards
'Tie a stone to his neck, put him in the sea, throw him in the sea.'

12.2.2 Conjunctive coordination with *go* 'and'

The coordinator *go* 'and' is used to conjoin NPs, clauses and sentences. In textual data, it functions mostly as a clause conjoiner, while only a few occurrences of *go* link coordinate NPs. In (4), *go* links the NPs *taatia naara* 'their grandmother' and *terua kik* 'the two little ones':

(4) Ur=to se, taatia naara **go** te=rua kiki ur=sfa.
3PL.S=stay while mat.grandmother 3PL.POSS and SBST=two be.small 3PL.S=run
'They stayed, then their grandmother and the two little ones ran.'

When more than two NPs are conjoined, the coordinator generally does not occur between each NP, but only once. It can occur before the last NP, as in (5), or before an earlier NP, as in (6):

(5) E=pseiki-nia lag A=moso, A=guna, **go** A=llapa,
3SG.S=show-3SG.OBJ COMP LOC=p.name LOC=p.name and LOC=p.name

ntaafa nag-ra e=tugor=ea.
hill ASS-3PL 3SG.S=block=3PL.OBJ
'It shows that as for Moso, Nguna, and Lelepa, their hills are blocking him.'

(6) Taos naa... naɱapẽ, nakafka, mago, madari, aranis,
like HESIT tree sp. tree sp. tree sp. tree sp. tree sp.

go namali, napkoro, noatkus taplange.
and tree sp. tree sp. fruit like.this
'Thus... Tahitian chestnuts, Malay apples, mangoes, mandarins, oranges, and great hog plums, bush nuts, fruits like this.'

The referents of NPs conjoined with *go* are alike in some respects; for instance they may all be human, or non-human, or inanimate. This is seen (5) in which the conjoined NPs refer to places, and in (6) in which they refer to different sorts of fruit. This is well attested in languages of the world and referred to as *natural coordination*. It contrasts with *accidental coordination* which refers to the coordination of conjuncts which are not alike or unexpectedly coordinated (Haspelmath 2007:23). In Lelepa, natural conjunction can be asyndetic as in (1) or marked with *go* as in (4). However, accidental coordination can only be marked with *go*, as seen in the contrast between (7) and (8):

(7) A=tua Naomi memis **go** wago.
1PL.S=give p.name knife and pig
'I gave Naomi a knife and a pig.'
[elicited]

(8) *A=tua Naomi memis wago.
1PL.S=give p.name knife pig
'I gave Naomi a knife and a pig.'
[elicited]

As a clause and sentence conjoiner, *go* marks sequentiality and thematic unity. That is, clauses talking about the same theme can be conjoined with *go*. In (9), *go* links clauses referring to sequential events, and marks the fact that the eating event will take place before the dancing event:

(9) Ur=ga faam pkout **go** ur=ga sale natm̃ate.
3PL.S=IRR eat:F completely and 3PL.S=IRR dance peace.ceremony
'They would finish eating and they would dance at the peace ceremony.'

Similarly in (10), *go* links two clauses denoting two events in a sequence:

(10) E=til=ia lag e=ftag pa-ki Ifira,
3SG.S=say=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=ask go-TR p.name

go, e=mro ftag pa-ki M̃ele.
and 3SG.S=AGAIN ask go-TR p.name
'It (i.e. the story) says that he asked those from Ifira, and then he asked those from Mele.'

In contrast, clauses in (11) and (12) are conjoined with *go* to mark thematic unity. In these examples, the speakers talk about particular themes and add information to these by using *go*:

(11) Ur=psruki nafsana laapa kasu nge **go** ur=mato naure to.
3PL.S=speak language many too.much DEF and 3PL.S=stay.long island STAT
'They spoke too many languages and lived on the island.'

(12) E=pi tena au=ga fa raika
3SG.S=COP SBST.DEM 1PL.EXCL.S=IRR go:IRR spearfish

go au=ga fai kaafe.
and 1PL.EXCL.S=IRR pack:IRR crab
'So that we would go spearfishing and collect crabs.'

12.2.3 Conjunctive coordination with *naaram* 'and'

Naaram 'and' is restricted to coordinating NPs with animate referents, particularly humans and higher animates.[1] *Naaram* is not used to coordinate clauses. In (13) and (14), it conjoins NPs whose referents are human:

[1] Higher animates include domesticated animals (animals raised for consumption as well as pets) and animals occurring as characters in traditional stories, which are generally treated as humans.

(13) Nagrun **naaram** nanoai! Ur=panei panei p̃algat=ia.
woman and man 3PL.S=come come open=3SG.OBJ
'Women and men! Many came to open it.'

(14) P̃a=lop̃a mamei nag **naaram** tetei nag, ar=panmei.
2SG.S=see father 2SG.POSS and mother 2SG.POSS 3DU.S=come
'Look at you father and mother, they (two) came.'

In (15), *naaram* is used to conjoin personal names whose referents are human:

(15) Te=rua nge, ar=pi kapenta rua na ar=atlake=s,
SBST=two DEF 3DU.S=COP carpenter two REL 3DU.S=start=3OBL

e=pi John Kalorua **naaram** Tom Kalori
3SG.S=COP p.name p.name and p.name p.name
'As for these two, they were the two carpenters who started it, it was John Kalorua and Tom Kalori.'

In (16), the referents of both conjoined NPs refer to two stones, which are inanimates. However, these stones are culturally important, have their own traditional story and are known to have supernatural powers. In the text from which (16) is extracted, they are depicted as human-like beings involved in activities such as walking, fighting and raising pigs. They are treated as humans and conjoined with *naaram*. Additional evidence for this treatment is seen in the use of the possessive enclitic *=g* 'POSS.H', which denotes a human possessor:

(16) E=pi na-fsa-na matua=g M̃autariu **naaram** Puṁa.
3SG.S=COP N.SPEC-speak-NMLZ be.old=POSS.H p.name and p.name
'This is the story of M̃autariu and Puṁa.'

While example (6) above showed that conjoining NPs with inanimate referents can be done with *go*, elicitation has revealed that inanimates cannot be conjoined with *naaram*. In (17), *naaram* is used to coordinate higher animates, while in (18) coordinating animates and inanimates with *naaram* is ungrammatical:

(17) A=tua Naomi toa, waago, **naaram** pus.
1SG.S=GIVE p.name chicken pig and cat
'I gave Naomi a chicken, a pig, and a cat.'
[elicited]

(18) *A=tua Naomi toa, waago, **naaram**naɱ̃it.
1SG.S=give p.name chicken pig and mat
'I gave Naomi a chook, a pig, and a mat.'
[elicited]

In (19), grammaticality is re-instated by substituting *naaram* with *go*:

(19) A=tua Naomi toa, waago, **go** naɱ̃it.
1SG.S=give p.name chicken pig and mat
'I gave Naomi a chook, a pig, and a mat.'
[elicited]

Finally, (20) shows that it is ungrammatical for *naaram* to coordinate inanimates:

(20) *P̃a=magnou pagtof poti gaskei **naaram** les gaskei.
2SG.S=1SG.ben pay banana IRR.INDEF and pawpaw IRR.INDEF
'Buy me a bunch of bananas and a pawpaw.'
[elicited]

Note that there is a single exception to this in the textual data, as seen in (21). In this example, the referents of both coordinated NPs are inanimates. The speaker is talking about the past when people could only go to the mainland using canoes, and that it was difficult in the context of going to the market in town to sell market produce. He then explains that nowadays this does not happen as people use speedboats and trucks. A possible explanation for this exception is that although trucks and speedboats are inanimates, they contrast with canoes as they can move at speed and make noise, similarly to higher animates:

(21) Lans **naaram** trak!
Speedboat and truck

Ku=kano msug srago rarua malmauna lagp̃a=fa-ki maket.
2SG.S=cannot carry things canoe now PURP 2SG.S=go:IRR-TR market
'(Just) speedboats and trucks! Nowadays, you can't carry your produce on canoes in order to go to the market.'

12.2.4 Disjunctive coordination with *kite* 'or'

The disjunctive coordinator *kite* 'or' is used to coordinate NPs and clauses, and does not have restrictions based on animacy or humanness of referents. In (22), the NPs coordinated with *kite* have referents which are both inanimate and abstract:

(22) Sufate e=mour, ur=mas palse tp̃a=e pa-ki Fate pan p̃ulp̃og,
south.wind 3SG.S=blow 3PL.S=must paddle face=3SG.OBJ to p.name GO morning

malsau **kite** p̃og.
dawn or night
'The South Wind blew, they had to paddle to Efate facing it in the morning, at dawn or at night.'

Kite is also used to coordinate NPs with inanimate, non-abstract referents such as in (23):

(23) Ur=lop̃a=e se srago nge e=tau we!
3PL.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP things DEF 3PL.S=stay EMPH

Nap̃o-na e=to fif sak,
smell-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=IPFV waft up

taos painape, nati memi, mago, **kite** namali.
like pineapple banana ripe mango or tree.sp
'They saw that... the things down there! Their smell was wafting up into the air, like pineapples, ripe bananas, mangoes, or great hog plums.'

Finally, (24) shows that *kite* is also used to coordinate NPs with human referents:

(24) Nan-m̃a, nan-m̃a **kite** ta-m̃a skei,
offspring-2SG.POSS offspring-2SG.POSS or friend-2SG.POSS INDEF

taos=ia wan e=ga trabol nmatunagaskei,
like=3SG.OBJ if 3SG.S=IRR be.in.trouble something IRR.INDEF
'Your child, your child or one of your friends, like if he's in trouble with something,'

When *kite* is used to coordinate more than two NPs, it does not need to occur between each NP, but is only before the final one, as in (25):

(25) Wan male=n naftaurina, nmatena, **kite** nsfa,
if time=POSS:H wedding funeral or what

tu=pa slat=ia panei.
1PL.INCL=go carry=3SG.OBJ COME
'If there is a wedding, a funeral, or anything else, we bring it.'

Examples (26) to (28) show *kite* coordinating clauses. In (26), it links two subordinate clauses introduced by the complementiser *lag*. Note that the matrix clause is negated, as well as the second subordinate clause. Both negated clauses are recognizable by the fact that they carry the negator *ti* 'NEG', while the first subordinate clause does not:

(26) Kane malange ur=panei kasem taafa,
but then 3PL.S=come to inlandwards

a=ti tae lag ur=po pre taikiki naara nge=s
1SG.S=NEG know COMP 3PL.S=SEQ bathe young.sibling 3PL.POSS DEF=3OBL

kite ur=ti pre=a=s mau.
or 3PL.S=NEG bathe=3SG.OBJ=3OBL NEG2
'But at the time they arrived inland, I don't know whether they then bathed their brother there or if they didn't bathe him there.'

In (27), *kite* coordinates two clauses with the verb *sla* 'carry':

(27) Tu=pan, wan e=pi wago,
1PL.INCL.S=go if 3SG.S=COP pig

tu=sla wala **kite** tu=sla sisi,
1PL.INCL.S=carry spear or 1PL.INCL.S=carry rifle

tu=p̃a punu=ea nmatuna tu=slat=ia pa.
1PL.INCL.S=hit dead=3SG.OBJ thing 1PL.INCL.S=carry=3SG.OBJ GO
'We go, if it is a pig, we carry a spear or we carry a rifle, we kill it with the thing we carried.'

In (28), *kite* coordinates two clauses denoting two alternative possibilities to answer the question posed in the example:

(28) Kano nge e=to uta wara to, **kite** e=pueli?
man DEF 3SG.S=IPFV landwards here STAT or 3SG.S=not.be.here
'Is the man here on the shore, or is he not here?'

Kite is also attested as a tag question marker, as in (29). In this example it has a similar function to the English tags 'or what?'/'or not?' used at the end of questions. In this function, *kite* gives the hearer the opportunity to agree or disagree with the proposition contained in the question:

(29) A=ga lag tla lwa=e kal kas wa-s **kite**?
1SG.S=IRR MAYBE lever removed=3SG.OBJ digging.stick wood DEM-PROX or
'Should I lever it out with this wooden stick or what?'

12.2.5 Adversative coordination with *kane* 'but'

The main function of *kane* is to coordinate clauses in an adversative relationship. Additionally, it also marks a clause presenting a change in the discourse's topic. Adversative coordination

can be defined as expressing an opposition between two states of affairs, in contrast to disjunctive coordination which presents an alternative between two states of affairs or referents. In (30), *kane* opposes the past, when times were hard, with the present, which is seen as easier:

(30) Malange, e=pi mala kasua,
then 3SG.S=COP time hard

kane malmauna e=po pi mala wia na.
but now 3SG=SEQ COP time be.good DEM
'Then, those were hard times, but now these are easy times.'

In (31), *kane* opposes two states of affairs: one denoting that the prawns are in a particular location ('here' in the narrative), and the other denoting that the prawns are not in that location:

(31) A=to plaga ura agnou skei a=trus=ia to wara to,
1SG.S=IPFV look.for prawn 1SG.POSS INDEF 1SG.S=leave=3SG.OBJ stay here STAT

kane e=kat pueli.
but 3SG.S=CERT not.be.there
'I am looking for my prawns that I left here, but they're gone.'

In (32), the speaker uses *kane* to oppose two states of affairs: a previous one, in which he has forgotten the name of the girl he is talking about, and the current one in which he remembers her name and gives it in the narrative:

(32) Grunkiki nge, a=taŋargor nagi-na,
girl DEF 1SG.S=forget name=3SG.POSS

kane nagi-na e=pi Tuaraka
but name-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=COP p.name
'As for the girl, I forgot her name, but her name was Tuaraka.'

Kane also changes the topic of discourse.[2] Consider (33) which gives the first three sentences of a narrative. There is no opposition between these three distinct states of affairs; however, in the second and third sentences the speaker changes the topic of his narrative. The first sentence opens the narrative. *Kane* occurs at the start of the second sentence to allow the

[2] Here, topic does not refer to the information structure category of topic discussed in 7.6.

speaker to talk about something different. In the third sentence *kane* occurs again to signal another change, this time to go back to the narrative:

(33) A=ga mnag sraus nafsana matua skei.
1SG.S=IRR 2SG.BEN repeat language be.old INDEF

Kane nagi konou e=pi John Naviti.
but name 1SG 3SG.S=COP p.name p.name

Kane nafsana matua nge, te=rua nge,
but language be.old DEF SBST=two DEF

nagi-ra e=pi laua naaram ofa.
name-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=COP cardinal.fish and heron
'I am going to tell you an old story. By the way my Name is John Naviti. And also regarding this story, as for these two, their names were Cardinal Fish and Heron.'

12.2.6 Sequential coordination with *nina* 'then'

The coordinator *nina* links clauses denoting chronologically ordered events. It occurs in two positions: clause-finally before a pause as in (34), or clause initially after a pause as in (35):

(34) Ar=pa-ki uta panei **nina**,
3DU.S=go-TR landwards COME then

ar=kat mato nlaka=n nrau nge **nina**,
3DU.S=CERT stay.long trunk=POSS:NH tree.sp DEF then

kusue e=kat pag pa.
rat 3SG.S=CERT climb GO
'They (two) got ashore okay, they (two) went to the Dragon Plum tree next, and the rat climbed up.'

(35) E=laka=e, e=ɲalake=s, **nina** e=sfa.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=afraid=3OBL then 3SG.S=run
'She saw it, she was afraid of it, then she ran.'

These examples also show that *nina* interacts differently with intonation contours. In (34), it is part of the intonation contour of the first clause. In contrast, in (35) it is part of the intonation contour of the second clause. A third pattern is also possible, in that *nina* is part of its own intonation contour, as seen in (36):

(36) E=pañosko=s ñaata nge e=to nous to.
3SG.S=find=3SG.OBJ snake DEF 3SG.S=stay wild.cane STAT

Nina, e=lag e=ga p̃at=ia
then 3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR hit=3SG.OBJ
'He found out that the snake was in the wild cane. Then, he said that he would kill it.'

Nina can also have a more specific sequential function and link two clauses in a cause-effect relationship, as in (37):

(37) E=p̃a p̃ra rarua naara,
3SG.S=hit split canoe 3PL.POSS

nina ntas e=kat to pura rarua taplange panei.
then sea 3SG.S=CERT IPFV full canoe like.this COME
'He broke open their canoe, then seawater was filling up their canoe.'

12.2.7 Simultaneity coordination with *se* 'while'

Se is a clause conjoiner which denotes a range of relationships. Its main function is to link two clauses denoting simultaneous events, but it can also denote adversative and sequential meanings. However, it is consistently glossed 'while' and the particular distinctions it encodes in each occurrence are given in the translation. Recalling Haspelmath's (2007:23) views on natural and accidental conjunction, simultaneity coordination with *se* is interesting as it appears that it can encode both natural and accidental coordination, in contrast with other coordinators such as *naaram* which tend to concentrate on natural coordination. An example of simultaneity and natural coordination is given in (38). In this example the speaker talks about a hunting party he joined with other men. There are three clauses denoting simultaneous events: the speaker's hunting partners go into the forest first, and while he follows them he hides the path they are taking by cutting branches and leaving them behind:

(38) Go naara ur=to pea,
and 3PL 3PL.S=stay FIRST

se konou a=raki go a=ta gor napua.
while 1PL 1SG.S=follow and 1SG.S=cut block road
'And they stay first, while I follow and hide our road (by cutting branches and leaving them on the path).'

Similarly in (39) and (40), *se* coordinates two clauses denoting simultaneous events in natural conjunction:

(39) Marka ur=mato psruki,
old.man 3PL.S=stay.long speak

kenem ur=to takorog **se** ur=psruk~sruki pan pan pa,
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV listen while 3PL.S=RED~speak GO GO GO
'The old men were speaking, we were listening while they spoke and spoke on and on,'

(40) Mala koria ur=pueli, tu=suara **se** tu=to takorog
when dog 3PL.S=not.be.there 1PL.INCL.S=walk while 1PL.INCL.S=IPFV listen

lag koria ur=ga rm̃aki.
COMP dog 3PL.S=IRR bark
'When the dogs are gone, we walk while listening for the dogs' barking.'

Another example of natural coordination is given in (41). In this example, two copular clauses are linked with *se*:

(41) E=pi nausausa kiki wan **se** e=pi nam̃uru pa.
3SG.S=COP narrow.place be.small STAT while 3SG.S=COP deepness GO
'It is a small and narrow place while at the same time it is very deep.'

In contrast, *se* can also perform accidental conjunction and link two coordinands that are not part of a single conceptual whole. In (42), the two clauses linked by *se* denote simultaneous events and are in accidental conjunction, as the sitting event and the fact that night comes are not conceptually linked with each other:

(42) E=sasake=s **se** n-malogo e=kat malogo
3SG.S=sit=3OBL while NMLZ-be.dark 3SG=CERT be.dark
'She sat on it while the night fell.'

In addition to simultaneity, other uses of *se* include sequential and adversative coordination. In (43), it links two clauses denoting events in a sequence. The first event is the turning of the canoe, and the second is the drilling of it:

(43) Mala e=nou tapla,
when 3SG.S=be.finished like.this

a=to rwa rarua **se** a=parus=ia pa e=nou.
1SG=push turn canoe while 1SG.S=drill=3SG.OBJ GO 3SG.S=be.finished
'When it is finished like this, I turn the canoe over and I drill it until done.'

Similarly, in (44), the reading provided by *se* is not one of simultaneous coordination, but of sequentiality:

(44) A=ga laka=e **se** a=ga kat pa.
1SG.S=IRR see=3SG.OBJ while 1SG.S=IRR CERT go
'I will look at it then I will go.'

Se can also take an adversative reading similar to *kane* 'but' (see 12.2.5). In (45), the referent of the subject proclitics *a*= '1SG.S' is a young woman sent by her parents to meet her prospective husband. Once she finds out that the husband is not a man but a giant snake, she tells her parents that she is not interested in marrying him:

(45) A=pan **se** e=pi m̃aata, a=mal-ki=nia
1SG.S=go while 3SG.S=COP snake 1SG.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ
'I went but it's a snake, I don't want him.'

In (46), a father asks his son if he is serious about going to a foreign country when he doesn't know the language spoken there. Note that in this example, both simultaneous and adversative readings are appropriate, as shown with the alternative translations:

(46) Nag ku=ti tae nafsana mau **se** ku=lag p̃a=fa?
2SG 2SG.S=NEG know language NEG2 while 2SG.S=say 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR
'You don't know the language **but** you say you will go?'
'You don't know the language **and at the same time** you say you will go?'

In (46), the subject of *plaga* 'look for' is looking for his prawns, but they are nowhere to be found. Note that *se* is repeated, with a clear rise in pitch on the second occurrence of *se*, followed by a sharp fall, possibly to add a dramatic effect to the narrative:

(47) E=plaga=s **se** **se**... ura nge e=kat pueli.
3SG.S=look.for=3SG.OBJ while while prawn DEF 3SG.S=CERT not.be.here
'He looked for them but... the prawns were gone.'

Finally, a common use of *se* is to occur in very short clauses containing the verb *to* 'stay'. The function of these clauses is to create a transition inside a narrative. Essentially, this use is sequential and more or less equivalent to *nina*, but differs in that the coordinator is the whole short clause rather than just *se*. Such clauses can be seen as fillers: they do not introduce new information or refresh older information. Instead, they signal that new information will be

added in the following clause, acting like a transitional step allowing a new development in a narrative. They have distinct intonation patterns as they occur in their own intonation contour which ends with a rise in pitch. This use of *se* is illustrated in (48) and (49) below:

(48) Ar=rog=ea lag naɲa-ra e=ptunu=s.
3DU.S=feel=3SG.OBJ COMP neck-3PL.POSS 3SG.S=sore=3OBL

Ar=to se, ar=kraksuksuk.
3DU.S=stay while 3DU.S=ready
'They (two) felt sad about it. Then (*lit. they stayed and*), they (two) got ready.'

(49) Go m̃aata e=panei natul=la e=pueli,
and snake 3SG.S=come egg=3SG.POSS 3SG.S=not.be.there

e=to se, e=pkas=ra.
3SG.S=stay while 3SG.S=chase=3PL.OBJ
'And the snake came, its eggs were gone, then (*lit. it stayed and*), it chased them.'

12.3 Distinguishing coordination from subordination

I follow Haspelmath (2007:47) who contrasts coordination and subordination (or dependency) in terms of symmetry and asymmetry: coordinate structures are symmetrical and there is no hierarchical relationship between their constituents, while subordinate structures are asymmetrical and contain a head and a dependent. In a subordinate structure, I refer to the head as the main or matrix clause, and to the dependent as the subordinate clause. Lelepa subordinate clauses include complement clauses (12.4), adverbial clauses (12.5), and relative clauses (12.6).

Haspelmath (2007:46-47) points out that it can be difficult to distinguish coordination and subordination in individual languages. In Lelepa, the internal syntax of coordinate and subordinate clauses is identical, but they can be distinguished according to the coordinator or subordinator occurring with them. Table 12.1 presents the coordinators and subordinators and shows that no form marks both coordination and subordination. Thus, when either form occurs, there is no ambiguity as to whether it marks coordination or subordination:

Coordinators		Subordinators	
go	'and'	*lag*	'COMP', 'PURP'
naaram	'and'	*se₂*	'COMP'
kite	'or'	*takanei*	'how'
kane	'but'	*nlakan*	'because'
se₁	'while'	*mala*	'when'
		wan	'if'
		na	'REL'

Table 12.1. Coordinators and subordinators

Another criterion is that certain types of subordinate clauses can be subject to specific constraints on their inflectional features, whereas this is not the case with coordinated clauses. For instance, purpose clauses must be in the irrealis (see 12.5.1).

In (50) and (51), the clauses following *go* 'and' and *lag* 'PURP' have a number of similarities: they have the same verb *fai* 'pack:IRR', take an object and are in the irrealis. However, there is no ambiguity between coordination and subordination between these two examples as *go* in (50) is a coordinator conjoining two clauses and *lag* 'PURP' in (51) is a subordinator introducing a purpose clause:

(50) Kane malange e=pi mala=n nmat rer nge,
but then 3SG.S=COP time=POSS:NH tide king.tide DEF

au=ga siwo **go** **au=ga** **fai** **kaafe**.
1PL.EXCL.S=IRR collect.seafood and 1PL.EXCL.S=IRR pack:IRR crab
'But then it was the time of the king tides, we would collect seafood from the reef and gather crabs.'

(51) Nina, e=pu rog nge kat panei pa-ki tan
then 3SG.S=pull food.basket DEF CERT come go-TR down

lag **e=ga** **fai** **nmarta-na** **nge**.
PURP 3SG.S=IRR pack:IRR guts-3SG.POSS DEF
'Then, she pulled the food basket down in order to pack her guts.'

However, there are three types of ambiguities that can occur between coordination and subordination. First, ambiguities arise between the two homonymous forms *se₁* 'while' and *se₂* 'COMP' which link clauses only. *Se₁* is a coordinator marking simultaneity (see 12.2.7), while *se₂* is a complementiser borrowed from Bislama and in free variation with the native complementiser *lag* (see 12.4.2). Ambiguities can be resolved by comparing coordination with *se₁* and subordination with *se₂*. In coordination, any verb can occur in the coordinated clauses, in contrast with subordination and particularly complementation, which can only be done with

a limited number of complement-taking predicates (see table 12.2). However, some verbs can occur in both constructions, as *lop̃a* 'see' in (52) and (53), in which *lop̃a* occurs with the same subject and object proclitic. The distinction can be done by investigating context and particularly whether the object enclitic on *lop̃a* has a referent in discourse or not. When the object enclitic has a referent, this is a case of coordination, as in (52). In contrast, if the enclitic has no referent in discourse as in (53), *se* marks subordination, since transitive verbs in a matrix clause take a third person singular object enclitic which does not have a referent in discourse. The function of this enclitic is to index the complement clause (see 12.4.1):

(52) **E=lop̃a=e** **se** e=lag,
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ while 3SG.S=say

"ee, kano nge e=ti to waraa to mau."
no man DEF 3SG.S=NEG stay here STAT NEG2
'She saw it and she said, "no, the man is not here."'

(53) Go kanokik nge **e=lop̃a=e** **se** ur=p̃a punua=ra tapla,
and boy DEF 3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=hit dead=3PL.obj like.this

e=kai.
3SG.S=cry
'And the boy saw that they killed them like this, he cried.'

The second type of ambiguity comes from the subordinators *lag* 'COMP' and *lag* 'PURP' which can mark complement and purpose clauses. Note that this is not an issue in distinguishing coordination and subordination but in contrasting two distinct subordinating functions. In complementation, the verb of the matrix clause needs an object marker to index the complement clause, while this is not the case with adverbial clauses. In addition, complement clauses immediately follow the verb of the matrix clause, while adverbial clauses are adjuncts occurring outside of the basic clause, following clause-final particles or other adjuncts. In (54), the verb *msau* 'want' is a complement-taking predicate taking an object suffix. This suffix does not have a referent in discourse but indexes the following complement clause:

(54) **E=msau-na** **lag** e=ga tuagoto pa-ki Artok.
3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR cross go-TR p.name
'I wanted to go across to Artok.'

In contrast, *lag* introduces a purpose clause in (55). This adverbial clause occurs after the clause-final particle *pa* 'GO' in the extended clause, which is not a position complement clauses

occur in. Note also that the verb of the main clause *lkot* 'tie' hosts the object *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' enclitic which refers to a character from the narrative this example is extracted from:

(55) Ar=lkot=ia tapla pan pan pa **lag** e=kasua tapla to.
3DU.S=tie=3SG.OBJ like.this GO GO GO PURP 3SG.S=be.strong like.this STAT
'They tied him up like this on and on so that it would be strong like this.'

Finally, the third issue to consider when distinguishing coordination and subordination arises because complementisers and relativisers are optional (see 12.4.2 and 12.6). When these optional subordinators are left out, ambiguities between asyndetic coordination and subordination may arise. However, such ambiguities can be resolved by using context and intonation. In (56), we know from context that the object enclitic on *lop̃a* 'see' refers to a participant in a narrative, while the pause between the two clauses (marked by a coma) indicates that each clause occurs in its own intonation phrase. This indicates that the two clauses are coordinate rather than subordinate:

(56) P̃a=lop̃a=e, p̃a=kat pa!
2SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=CERT go
'You will see it, and you will go!'

In contrast, in (57) the object enclitic occurring on *lop̃a* 'see' has no referent in the narrative. Also note that the whole example is uttered in a single intonation phrase. This shows that (57) is a single clause with a matrix and a complement clause, even though no complementiser occurs:

(57) A=lop̃a=e ku=lao martinik na.
1SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=plant yam.sp DEM
'I see that you planted this martinik yam.'

12.4 Complement clauses

12.4.1 Defining Lelepa complement clauses

There are two main criteria for recognising complement clauses in Lelepa:

1. If the verb of the matrix clause is transitive, ambitransitive, or ditransitive, it must take a third person singular object marker indexing the complement clause. In contrast, intransitive verbs do receive any marking to index the complement clause.

2. The complementisers *lag, se* and *takanei* immediately follow the object marker occurring on the verb of the matrix clause.

I follow Noonan's (2007:52) definition of complementation as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate". By this definition, it is expected that complement clauses share properties with other types of arguments (subjects, object and obliques). Recall from 7.4.1 that subjects are obligatorily realised with proclitics and optionally realised with a co-referential NP, while objects and obliques are realised either with an enclitic or an NP, but not by both. Complement clauses differ from objects and obliques in that they are realised both as full constituents (the complement clause itself) and with third person singular object enclitics. These enclitics occur on the verb of the matrix clause and their form depends on verb class: Class 1 transitive and ambitransitive verbs take the third singular object markers *=ia*, *=e*, *=a* or *-na*, while Class 2 transitive and ditransitive verbs take the third singular object enclitic *=s*. These enclitics do not have a referent in discourse, but function to index the following complement clause. In (58), the verb of the main clause *laka* 'see' hosts the object enclitic *=e* '3SG.OBJ' and is followed by a complement clause introduced by *lag* 'COMP'. Note that there is no third person singular participant in this example that *=e* can refer to. In addition, there is no participant in discourse that *=e* indexes to. The object enclitic on *laka* is thus regarded as indexing the complement clause itself:

(58) Ku=laka**=e** **lag** te=laapa aginta ur=panmei, ur=laelae.
2SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP SBST=many 1SG.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=come 3PL.S=happy
'You saw that lots of us came, they were happy.'

In (59), the verb of the matrix clause is the ditransitive *paoseki* 'ask'. It takes a third plural object enclitic, the referent of which is the participant asked, as well as the object enclitic *=s* '3SG.OBJ' which has no referent but indexes the following complement clause:

(59) E=paoseki-ra=s **lag** naara ur=ga fanmei.
3SG.S=ask-3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL 3PL.S=IRR come:IRR
'He asked them to come.'
[elicited]

The second criterion states that the complementisers *lag*, *se* and *takanei* immediately follow the verb of the matrix clause, which takes a third person object marker. This seen in (58), (59) and (60) to (62):

(60) Konou a=**maroa-ki-nia lag** a=ga fa.
1SG 1SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR
'I thought that I would go.'

(61) e=**loɲa=e** **se** nɲou grunkik e=kat pa-ki liga.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP head girl 3SG.S=CERT go-TR out
'He saw that the girl's head came out.'

(62) Ur=lo suk=ia **takanei** e=to pat=ia.
3PL.S=look tight=3SG.OBJ how 3SG.S=IPFV make=3SG.OBJ
'They watched closely how he was doing it.'

The complementisers can be omitted and so are regarded as optional. In contrast, the object enclitics are obligatory. Example (63) shows a complementation structure without complementiser. The verb of the matrix clause hosts a third person singular object enclitic which has no referent in discourse. In addition, the entire clause in (63) is uttered in a single intonation phrase. Thus it is regarded as a complementation structure rather than two separate clauses:

(63) A=**loɲa=e** ku=lao martinik na
1SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S=plant yam.sp DEM
'I see that you planted martinik yam.'

12.4.2 The complementisers *lag*, *se* and *takanei*

The most straightforward way to recognise a complementation structure is the presence of a complementiser. Three complementisers are found in the language: *lag* 'COMP', *se* 'COMP' and *takanei* 'how'. *Takanei* is a fairly specialised form which tends to occur with propositional attitude predicates (see 12.4.3.2) and achievement predicates (see 12.4.3.8). Note this form also functions as a question word interrogating the manner an event is performed, as seen in (64):

(64) A=tae slae=ko, **takanei**?
1SG.S=able help=2SG.OBJ how
'I can help you, how?'

Lag and *se* are in free variation and optional. In (65) and (66), they occur in turn with the main clause verb *lop̃a* 'see'. No change in meaning is notable between the main clauses in both examples:

(65) Go tapla, ur=**lop̃a**=e **lag** ur=mal-ki-nia.
and like.this 3PL.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ
'And thus, they saw that they didn't want it.'

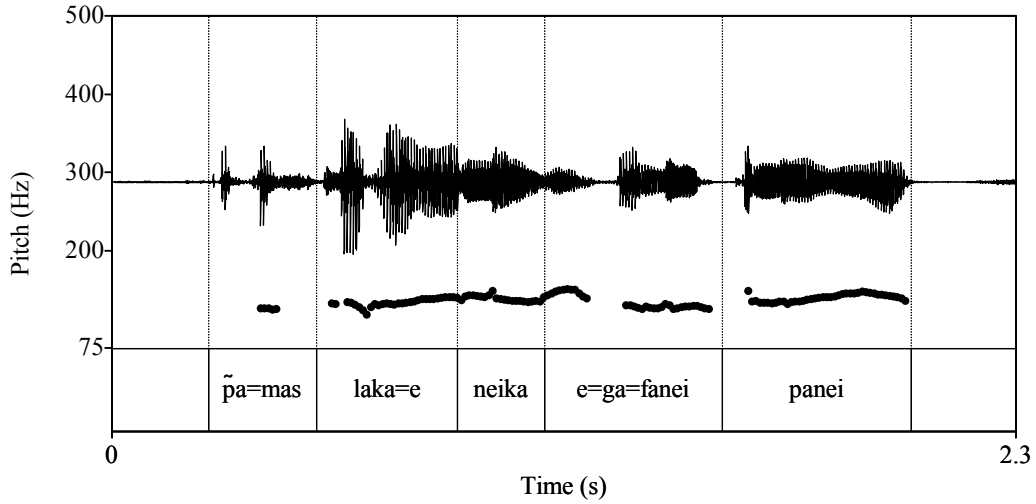
(66) E=**lop̃a**=e **se** e=pi grunkiki wia.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=COP girl be.good
'He saw that she was a nice girl.'

However, in (67), no complementiser occurs, but this example is still analysed as a subordinate structure with a matrix and a complement clause:

(67) P̃a=mas **laka=e** neika e=ga fanei panei,
2SG.S:IRR=must see=3SG.OBJ fish 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR COME
'You'll have to watch for the fish coming your way,'

An alternative analysis of (67) would posit two main clauses, with *lop̃a* 'see' and *sara* 'run' as the verbs of these clauses. However, prosody provides clues regarding the structural status of this example. Coordinate clauses occur in their own intonation phrase, with subordinate clauses included in the same intonation phrase as matrix clauses. An intonation phrase is a phonological unit generally separated from other intonation phrases by pauses. However, in fast speech these pauses can be difficult to assess as they can be greatly reduced. The other clue allowing the recognition of intonation phrase boundaries is pitch. A final high or low pitch indicates the end of an intonation phrase. In the spectrogram of (67), the clause is uttered as a single intonation phrase, because there are pauses at the start and the end of the soundwave, and a fall in pitch at the end. For these reasons (67) is analysed as a single clause:

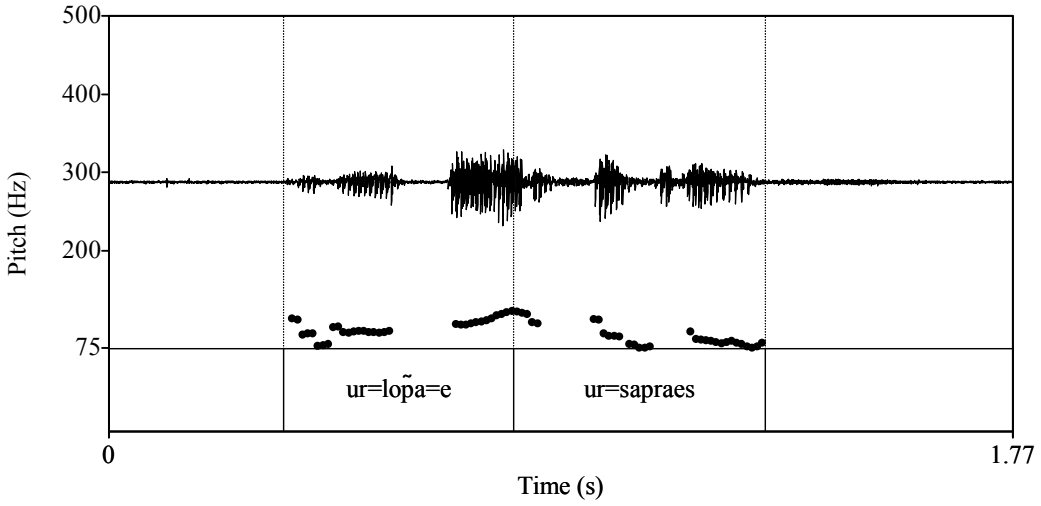
Fig. 12.1. Intonation pattern of a subordinate clause
SL1-20080415Spearfishing-SUKnar_65400_67700



In contrast, (68) shows two main clauses realised as distinct intonation phrases. As seen in the spectrogram associated with (68), the presence of a pause between the two clauses is difficult to assess. However, there is a significant rise in pitch as the end of the first clause, followed by a pitch reset at the start of the second one. This shows that pitch changes are more reliable evidence than pauses in fast speech. In addition to prosodic evidence, context shows that the object enclitic *=e* '3SG.S' has a referent in discourse. Thus (68) is analyzed as two clauses rather than as a single one:

(68) Ur=lop̃a=e, ur=saprae=s.
3PL.S=see=3SG.S 3PL.S=surprise=3SG.OBJ
'They saw it, they were surprised with it.'

Fig. 12.2. Intonation pattern of two juxtaposed clauses
SL1-20060402TomsenFrance-TNls_264990_266760



Note that purpose clauses are introduced by the subordinator *lag* 'PURP' which is homophonous with the complementiser *lag* 'COMP'. In 12.3, it was shown that complement and purpose clauses have different positions, the former occurring in the basic clause and the latter in the extended clause. However, when no clause-final particle occurs to mark the end of the basic clause (see 7.1.2), it can be difficult to distinguish whether *lag* is a complementiser or a subordinator of purpose. The verb *til* 'tell' in (69) occurs in a complementation structure, since its object enclitic has no referent in discourse and thus indexes the complement clause. In contrast, *lo parkat* 'look after' in (70) is not a CTP because its object enclitic refers to *nalwaa* 'arrow', and *lag* functions as a purpose subordinator:

(69)

Natusina	nge	e=**til=ia**	**lag**	e=pi	naara	wei	nge.
story	DEF	3SG.S=tell=3SG.OBJ	COMP	3SG.S=COP	3PL	TOP	DEF

'The story tells that it was them.'

(70)

Mala	mutuama	nge	e=lop̃a	nalwaa	nge,
when	ogre	DEF	3SG.S=see	spear	DEF

e=kat	malua	lo	**parkat=ia**
3SG.S=CERT	later	look	catch=3SG.OBJ

lag	natlak	ur=ga	plaga	nalwaa	nge.
PURP	owner	3PL.S=IRR	look.for	spear	DEF

'When the ogre saw the arrow, he looked after it later on, as the owners would look for the arrow.'

12.4.3 Complement-taking predicates

Complement-taking predicates (CTPs) are predicates taking a whole clause as one of their arguments. Noonan (2007:120-145) proposes a typology of complement-taking predicates based on the semantics of those predicates. This section uses Noonan's typology to classify Lelepa CTPs. In table 12.2, Noonan's classification is compared with the complement-taking predicates found in the language. While a number of Noonan's categories have corresponding Lelepa predicates, there are also a few categories which are not attested as CTPs in the language. This is not surprising as these are cross-linguistic categories rather than language-specific ones. For instance, the category of negative CTPs is rare (Noonan 2007:144), as negation tends to be expressed using negation particles rather than complementation structures (see 12.4.3.8).[3] Also, some predicates in Lelepa can express several different categories. For example, *lag* 'say' expresses utterance as well as phasal predicates, and *lo͂pa* 'see' can express both acquisition of knowledge and immediate perception predicates.

[3] Interestingly however, negative CTPs are found in Fijian (Noonan 2007:144), also an Oceanic language.

Complement-taking predicates typology (Noonan 2007)	**Lelepa predicates**
Utterance predicates	*lag* 'say' *til* 'say' *rki* 'say; tell' *poaseki* 'ask'
Propositional attitude predicates	*maroaki* 'think' *maroa m̃asko* 'be sure (think + clear) *sralesko* 'believe' *pi lesko* 'be true' *tae* 'know'
Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge predicates	*sralesko* 'believe' *pam̃osko* 'find' *lpisi* 'watch carefully' *lop̃a* 'see' *laka* 'see'
Fearing predicates	*mtouki* 'fear' *mtak* 'be afraid' *malier* 'be ashamed' *p̃alake* 'be afraid'
Desiderative predicates	*msau* 'want' *maroaki* 'hope (thinks)'
Phasal predicates (aspectuals)	*atlake* 'start'
Immediate perception predicates	*rogo* 'hear' *lpisi* 'watch carefully' *lop̃a* 'see' *laka* 'see'
Achievement predicates	*lo parkat* 'look after' *pi* 'COP'
Pretence predicates	Not expressed by a complementation structure
Commentative predicates	
Manipulative predicates	
Modal predicates	
Negative predicates	
Conjunctive	

Table 12.2. Lelepa CTPs in a typological perspective

12.4.3.1 Utterance predicates

Utterance predicates that take complements are expressed with *lag* 'say', *til* 'say, tell' and *rki* 'say; tell'. The construction with *lag* 'say' is of particular interest as it is the only complementation structure in which the verb of the matrix clause and the complementiser cannot co-occur. *Lag* 'say' and *lag* 'COMP' cannot be doubled as seen in (71), probably because the complementiser has not fully grammaticalised from the verb. When *lag* occurs, it is either as a verb or a complementiser. In (72) and (73), it occurs as a verb:

(71) So... e=**kat** **lag** (*lag) e=pi natrausina mau wei nge.
So 3SG.S=CERT say COMP 3SG.S=COP story all TOP DEF
'So... it means that it is the whole story.'

(72) Kane natusina nge e=**lag**
but story DEF 3SG.S=say

ur=tagto ntal nge na e=liko=s panei.
3PL.S=cut rope DEF REL 3SG.S=hang=3OBL COME
'But the story says that they cut the rope he hung from.'

(73) Namuan e=**lag** Sebas e=pa-ki Vila.
p.name 3SG.S=say p.name 3SG.S=go-TR p.name
'Namuan said that Sebas went to Vila.'
[elicited]

In contrast, in (74) and (75) *lag* occurs as a complementiser. The examples show the utterance predicates *til* 'say' and *rki* 'tell' occurring as CTPs:

(74) Tu=ga **til**=ia **lag** ur=pat ntal nge
1PL.INCL.S=IRR say=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=make rope DEF

taos 'namba eit'.
like number eight
'We would say they made the rope in the shape of an eight.'

Note that with *rki* in (75), the object suffix *-ra* '3PL.OBJ' refers to the recipient, while the object enclitic *=s* '3SG.OBJ' is acting as a cross-reference device for the complement clause:

(75) E=**rki**-ra=s **lag** ur=su pa-ki lau.
3SG.S=tell-3PL.OBJ=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=go.down go-TR seawards
'He told them to go down to the beach.'

12.4.3.2 Propositional attitude predicates

These predicates allow speakers to express beliefs and opinions. In Lelepa, they are expressed by a variety of constructions, from simple verbs such as *tae* 'know' *maroaki* 'think' and *sralesko* 'believe' in (76) - (78), to serial verb constructions such as *maroa m̃asko* 'think clear > be sure' in (79):

(76) E=ti tae=a **takanei** e=ga tuagoto mau.
3SG.S=NEG know=3SG.OBJ how 3SG.S=IRR cross NEG2
'He didn't know how he would go across.'

(77) Malange a=to **maroa-ki-nia** laga=ga fat naloana
then 1SG.S=IPFV think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 1SG.S=IRR make:IRR preparation

nag-na.
ASS-3SG.POSS
'Then I was thinking that I would do the preparations for it.'

(78) A=**sralesko**=s lag kano neto e=p̃a fterki nae.
1SG.S=believe=3SG.OBJ COMP man DEM 3SG.S=hit woman 3SG.POSS
'I believe that this man hits his wife.'
[elicited]

(79) A=**maroa** **m̃asko=s** lag kaonsela e=ga lao, ur=ga foto=s.
1SG.S=think clear=3SG.OBJ COMP counsellor 3SG.S=IRR stand 3PL.S=IRR vote=3OBL
'I am sure that the counsellor will stand (for the elections), and that they will vote for him.'
[elicited]

12.4.3.3 Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge predicates

With such predicates, speakers express their knowledge and beliefs, or how they acquired a particular belief or piece of knowledge. The verb *sralesko* 'believe' classified as a propositional attitude predicate is also used with knowledge predicates, as seen in (80). Other verbs used are *pam̃osko* 'find', *lpisi* 'watch carefully; realise', *lop̃a* and *laka* 'see':

(80) Ur=ga **sralesko**=s lag e=pi lesko.
3PL.S=IRR believe=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=COP true
'They will believe that it is true.'

In (81), *pam̃osko* 'find' functions as an acquisition of knowledge predicate:

(81) Nina, ku=**pam̃osko**=s lag m̃aata na e=to=s to
then 2SG.S=find=3SG.OBJ COMP snake REL 3SG.S=stay=3OBL STAT

e=pi m̃aata tap aginta.
3SG.S=COP snake taboo 1PL.INCL.POSS
'Then, you found that the snake which stayed there was our taboo snake.'

Similarly, in (82), *lpis* 'notice; realise' also functions as an acquisition of knowledge predicate. Note that when functioning as a CTP, *lpis* has the meaning 'realise', as in (82):

(82) Rev.Murray e=lag, "oh!",
p.name 3SG.S=say oh

e=**lpis**=ia lag e=pi nmatuna wia skei.
3SG.S=watch.carefully=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=COP something be.good INDEF
'The Reverend Murray said, "Oh!", he realised that it was something good.'

In contrast, *lpis* has the meaning 'notice' when it functions as a verb in a simple clause, as in (83):

(83) E=pan, e=lpis nlak nkas na e=to mlatig-ki nauraen taare.
3SG.S=go 3SG.S=notice stump tree REL 3SG.S=stay close-TR sand be.white
'He goes, then he notices a tree stump close to the beach.'

Interestingly, while verbs of seeing function as immediate perception CTPs (Noonan 2007:142), in Lelepa *laka* 'see' and *lop̃a* 'see' express immediate perception and acquisition of knowledge when functioning as CTPs. The latter is shown shown in (84) and (85):

(84) Ur=**laka=e**
3PL.S=see=3SG.OBJ

lag ur=ga mro ti pam̃osko mala kasua nge mau,
COMP 3PL.S=IRR AGAIN NEG find time be.hard DEF NEG2

nlakan trak e=kat laapa.
because truck 3SG.S=CERT be.many
'They saw that they wouldn't have such hard times again, because there are many trucks.'

(85) Ur=ga fanei pa-ki na-lotu-na, ur=ga susu,
3PL.S=IRR come:IRR go-TR N.SPEC-pray-NMLZ 3PL.S=IRR be.dressed

ur=ga fat traose,
3PL.S=IRR make:IRR trousers

go tapla ur=**lop̃a**=e lag ur=mal-ki-nia.
and like.this 3PL.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3PL.S=not.want-TR-3SG.OBJ
'They would embrace Christianity, they would wear clothes, they would wear trousers, and thus they realised that they didn't want this.'

Similarly to (85), *lop̃a* does not express immediate perception in (86). However, it also differs from (85) in that it does not express knowledge or acquisition of knowledge, but expresses the speaker's opinion, or what he thinks has happened:

(86) A=loɲa=e **lag** e=pag rarua.
1SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=climb canoe
'It seems like he got on the canoe (*lit.* I saw that he got on the canoe).'
[elicited]

In contrast, (87) expresses immediate perception, but not in a complementation structure. Rather, it is an example of paratactic complementation (Noonan 2007:120-145):

(87) A=loɲa=e, e=pag rarua.
3SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=climb canoe
'I saw him, he got on the canoe.'
[elicited]

12.4.3.4 Fearing predicates

These predicates are used to express fears that a particular event may happen. Verbs used in these predicates are *mtouki* 'fear', *mtak* 'be afraid of', *malieri* 'be ashamed of' and *p̃alake* 'be afraid of'. While *mtouki* and *mtak* appear to have similar meanings, *mtouki* is used when there is fear of danger, as in (88) and (89), while *mtak* is used when there is a more abstract fear, such as fear of social disapproval, as in (90):

(88) Ur=to **mtouki-nia** lag e=pi nalia tap.
3PL.S=IPFV fear-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=COP place be.taboo
'They were afraid that it was a taboo place.'

(89) Naomi e=**mtouki-nia** lag e=ga fnot.
p.name 3SG.S=fear-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR go.away:IRR
'Naomi is afraid to go.' (Something dangerous is making her afraid to come, such as dogs, snakes, dangerous people, etc)
[elicited]

(90) Naomi e=**mtak** lag e=ga fnot.
p.name 3SG.S=be.afraid COMP 3SG.S=IRR go.away:IRR
'Naomi is afraid to go.' (There is nothing dangerous, but she is afraid to appear in front of particular people)
[elicited]

The verb *malieri* 'be ashamed' has a meaning close to *mtak*, as seen in (91). Note that *mtak* and *malier* are intransitive and do not take an object. When occurring as CTPs, they do not take an object or oblique enclitic to index the complement clause either, in contrast to transitive verbs which function as CTPs:

(91) Naomi e=**malieri** lag e=ga fanei.
p.name 3SG.S=be.ashamed COMP 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR
'Naomi is ashamed to come.'
[elicited]

12.4.3.5 Desiderative predicates

These predicates express desires. The most common verb used in these constructions is *msau* 'want', while *maroaki* 'think about' is used with a meaning close to English 'hope'. Subordinate clauses with *msau* as a CTP are in the irrealis, and *msau* takes the suffix *-na* which is a lexically conditioned allomorph of the third person singular object enclitic (see 9.4.3.3.3). *Msau* is exemplified in (92) and (93), and *maroaki* in (94):

(92) kenem au=kasua, au=**msau-na** lag
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=BE.strong 1PL.EXCL.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP

nkarkik agnem ur=ga fitlaka na-tae-na.
child 1PL.EXCL.POSS 3PL.S=IRR have:IRR N.SPEC-know-NMLZ
'We were determined, we wanted our children to have an education.'

(93) Tena Siviri ur=ti **msau-na** lag
SBST.DEM p.name 3PL.S=NEG want-3SG.OBJ COMP

ur=ga fuilt=ia mau.
3PL.S=IRR paint:IRR=3SG.OBJ NEG2
'Those from Siviri didn't want to paint it.'

(94) Nous e=fag, e=**maroa-ki-nia** lag e=ga fkas mãata nge.
wild.cane 3SG.S=burn 3SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=IRR chase:IRR snake DEF
'The wild cane was burning, he hoped this would chase the snake.'

12.4.3.6 Phasal predicates (aspectuals)

These predicates denote the different phases of an event, such as its inception, completion, and termination. In Lelepa, only the inception phase of an event can be expressed by a CTP, with the verb *atlake* 'start'. When it does not function as a CTP, *atlake* is an intransitive verb. As seen in (95), *atlake* does not take an enclitic to index the complement clause when it occurs as a CTP:

(95) Mala tu=**atlake** lag tu=ga fau nam̃it,
when 1PL.INCL.S=start COMP 1PL.INCL.s=IRR weave:IRR mat
'When we start to weave mats,'

12.4.3.7 Immediate perception predicates

Such predicates express that the subject of the matrix clause directly perceives the event expressed by the complement clause. This is done in the language with the polysemous verb *rogo* 'hear; feel', and with verbs of seeing such as *lpis* 'watch', *laka* 'see' and *lo͂pa* 'see'. Note that in (97) the native complementiser *lag* occurs while in (98) the borrowed complementiser *se* occurs instead:

(96) Ña=**laka**=e lag narua e=put=ia,
2SG.S:IRR=see=3SG.OBJ COMP current 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ
'You will see that the current pulls it, '

(97) Ar=paam=ia se ar=**rog**=ea **lag** e=kase wia we!
3DU.S=eat=3SG.OBJ while 3DU.S=feel=3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=be.sweet be.good EMPH
'They ate it and they felt that it was really delicious!'

(98) E=**rog**=ea **se** nanua skei e=roa nat ntan tapla nina,
3SG.S=feel=3SG.OBJ COMP coconut INDEF 3SG.S=fall throw ground like.this then
'He heard that a coconut fell hard on the ground like this, then,'

12.4.3.8 Achievement predicates

These predicates allow the speaker to express the manner in which an achievement is realised. These predicates are typically introduced by *takanei* 'how' rather than with the other complementisers. In (99), the CTP *lo parkat* 'manage' takes a complement clause introduced with *takanei*:

(99) Ur=pitlak naara komiti naara na ur=to lo parkat=ia
3PL.S=have 3PL.POSS committee 3PL.POSS REL 3PL.S=IPFV look catch=3SG.OBJ

takanei ur=to tp̃oki=ra panei.
how 3PL.S=IPFV send=3PL.OBJ COME
'They had their own committee which managed how they used to send them here.'

Example (100) shows that the copula can express achievement predicates. In this example the variant form *kanei* 'how' occurs:

(100) E=lagpi **kanei** a=to lao neika.
3SG.S=MAYBE COP how 1SG.S=IPFV spear fish
'It may be how I spear fish.'

12.4.3.9 Categories not expressed by CTPs

Table 12.2 showed that some CTPs in Noonan's typology are not present in Lelepa: pretence, commentative, manipulative, modal, achievement, negative, and conjunctive predicates. However, the language has other constructions which are semantically equivalent. Some of these are briefly exemplified below. For instance, the function of commentative predicates is to express a judgment on the proposition contained in the complement clause (Noonan 2007:127-128). In Lelepa positive and negative judgments can be expressed using a serial verb construction involving the intransitive *lo* 'see' as the main verb, and either *wia* 'good' (for a positive judgment) or *sa* 'bad' (for a negative judgment) as manner modifiers. In (101), the speaker expresses a positive judgment. Note that the SVC is transitivised to accommodate an object, which denotes the object of the speaker's judgment:

(101) Konou a=**lo** **wia**-ki kanokik n-e=to ta~taliop tapla to.
1SG 1SG.S=look good-TR boy REL-3SG.S=IPFV RED~turn like.this STAT
'I think it's good that the boy is turning like this (i.e. I regard the fact that the boy is turning like this positively).'

Modal predicates express epistemic and deontic modality, and particularly moral obligation, moral necessity and ability (Noonan 2007:137-138). These are expressed in Lelepa by preverbal elements: auxiliaries and modality particles (see 10.3, 11.2). In (102), ability is expressed with auxiliary *tae* 'able':

(102) Kenem ur=ti tae psa-ki Inglis mau.
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.S=NEG can speak-TR English NEG2
'We couldn't speak English.'

12.5 Adverbial clauses

To define adverbial clauses in the language, I follow the functional definition given by Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007:237), who characterise adverbial clauses as "mechanisms whereby one clause can be said to modify another in a way similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition." In Lelepa, there are five types of adverbial clauses occurring in the extended clause (see 7.1.2) and introduced by dedicated subordinators:

- Purpose clauses introduced by *lag* 'PURP'
- Reason clauses introduced by *nlakan* 'because'
- Conditional clauses introduced with *wan (lag)* 'if (maybe)'

- Time clauses introduced with *mala* 'when'
- Manner clauses introduced with *takanei* 'how'

These five subordinators are not optional, in contrast to complementisers. Thus they are regarded as sufficient evidence to recognise adverbial clauses. In addition, they provide a straightforward means to classify adverbial clauses according to their semantic role. Note that some subordinators result from the grammaticalisation of other lexemes. For instance, the noun *mala* 'time' has grammaticalised as a subordinator for time clauses, and *takanei* 'how' introducing manner clauses is also attested as a question word interrogating the manner an event occurred. Similarly, *nlaka=n* 'stump=POSS:NH' is a noun that has grammaticalised into *nlakan* 'because' which introduces reason clauses. Its basic meaning has been extended to express the reason for an event to occur.[4]

12.5.1 Purpose clauses

They express the purpose for the event expressed in the main clause. Purpose clauses are postposed to the matrix clause and introduced by *lag* 'PURP'. When flagging a purpose clause, the subordinator *lag* is translated as 'to' or 'in order to'. Also note that purpose clauses are always in the irrealis. Distinguishing purpose clauses from complement clauses can be difficult, since they are formally identical and *lag* also functions as a complementiser (see 12.4). However, as shown in 12.3, there are two main tests for distinguishing them. First, the verb occurring before a complement clause takes an enclitic which has no referent in discourse but indexes the complement clause. Second, adverbial clauses occur at the margins of clauses, after clause-final particles signalling the end of the basic clause (see 7.1.2). In contrast, complement clauses immediately follow the verb of the matrix clause. Additionally, while purpose clauses are always in the irrealis, complement clauses can be either in the realis or irrealis, according to the mood restrictions assigned to each CTP. Finally, the semantics of the subordinate clause are important. If the clause introduced by *lag* has a purposive meaning, it is not a complement clause. In (103) and (104), there is no ambiguity that the clauses introduced by *lag* are purpose

[4] Note that there are several Vanuatu languages that use a grammaticalised form of the word meaning 'stump' as a subordinator for reason clauses. See for instance South Efate (Nicholas Thieberger (2011-05-05) Dictionary of South Efate (http://paradisec.org.au/SELexicon/index-english/main.htm). In addition, this is also present in Bislama with the word *stamba* 'trunk, stump' also used to express reason. The fact that it is present in several Vanuatu languages suggests that Bislama borrowed it from its substrate rather than the opposite.

clauses rather than complement clauses as they follow the clause-final particles *pan* 'GO' and *panei* 'COME':

(103) E=kat sua pan
3SG.S=CERT go.down GO

lag e=ga fanei pa-ki suña=n kia-ra.
PURP 3SG.S=IRR come:IRR go-TR house=POSS:NH LOCAL-3PL.POSS
'He went down in order to come to their house.'

(104) A=mnag slat=ia panei **lag** p̃a=munu=s.
3SG.S=2SG.BEN carry=3SG.OBJ COME PURP 2SG.S:IRR=drink=3OBL
'I brought it for you in order for you to drink it.'

In (105), *lag* occurs twice. In the first occurrence, it functions as a complementiser after the CTP *laka=e* 'see=3SG.OBJ', while in the second occurrence it introduces a purpose clause. Note that the object enclitic *=e* '3SG.OBJ' on *laka* 'see' does not have a referent in the discourse, showing that *laka* functions as a CTP. Also, note that *wia* 'be good' is not a CTP:

(105) A=laka=e **lag** warei e=wia **lag** a=ga lao luku=s.
1SG.S=see=3SG.OBJ COMP place 3SG.S=be.good PURP 1SG.S=IRR spear hole=3OBL
'I see that this place is appropriate for me to hollow out the canoe hole.'

12.5.2 Reason clauses

Reason clauses express the reason why the event in the main clause is performed. They are introduced with *nlakan* 'because'. In contrast to purpose clauses, reason clauses have no restrictions regarding their position, as they can be either preposed or postposed to the main clause, as seen in the examples below. In addition, there is no mood restriction with reason clauses which either realis or irrealis. In (106) and (107), the reason clauses are in the realis and postposed to the main clause:

(106) Kinta tu=pitlak kutu e=to nɲ̃ou kinta
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.S=have louse 3SG.S=stay head 1PL.INCL

nlakan e=pi kutu nge e=lao nɲ̃ou marka mutuama.
because 3SG.S=COP louse DEF 3SG.S=stand head old.man ogre
'We have lice on our heads because the louse was on the ogre's head.'

(107) E=lage=ga fat kastom pa-ki misi
3SG.S=say 3SG.S=IRR make:IRR custom go-TR missionary

nlakan e=p̃a punu tewa-n.
because 3SG.S=hit dead SBST.DEM-DIST
'He said that he would do a reconciliation ceremony with the missionary because he killed that one.'

Example (108) shows a reason clause in the irrealis and postposed to the main clause:

(108) Ar=pan pa,
3DU.S=go GO

ar=puria pa **nlakan** ar=ga tao nap̃as nge naara.
3DU.S=light.earth.oven GO because 3DU.S=IRR bake meat DEF 3PL.POSS
'They went on, they lit the earth oven because they would roast their meat.'

In contrast, example (109) shows a reason clause preposed to the main clause:

(109) **Nlakan** e=sop̃alua wia tapla, nafnaga nag-na e=pa-ki tan.
because 3SG.S=grow be.good like.this food ASS-3SG.POSS 3SG.S=go-TR down
'Because it grew again properly like this, its edible part is down deep.'

Example (110) shows a conditional clause embedded in a reason clause. In this case, the two subordinators follow each other, with the conditional subordinator *wan* 'if' following the reason subordinator *nlakan*:

(110) Konou a=tapla to, a=ga mas pa lwa namulu-go,
1SG 1SG.S=like.this STAT 1SG.S=IRR must go remove skin-1SG.POSS

nlakan **wan** a=ga ti pa lwa namulu-go mau,
because if 1SG.S=IRR NEG go removed skin-1SG.POSS NEG2

a=ga matua sa, a=ga mat na.
1SG.S=IRR be.old very 1SG.S=IRR be.dead DEM
'I am like this, I will have to remove my skin, because if I don't remove my skin, I will be very old, I will die.'

12.5.3 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced with the conditional subordinator *wan lag* 'if (maybe)', or simply with *wan* 'if'. Recall that *lag* 'MAYBE' also occurs as a modality particle within the verb complex, marking an event as hypothetical (see 11.2.5.1). Thus it is possible that when it follows the subordinator *wan* 'if', *lag* adds a semantic element expressing a hypothetical state of

affairs, which is not surprising considering that *lag* also marks hypothetical clauses, although in a different position, inside the verb complex (see 9.3.3). Note, however, that *lag* never occurs by itself to introduce a conditional clause, which shows that *wan*, rather than *lag*, is the subordinator. Other properties of conditional clauses are that they are preposed to the main clause and can be realis or irrealis.

Examples (111) and (112) are all introduced by *wan lag*, with the conditional clauses in the irrealis. There is a correlation between the occurrence of *wan lag* and irrealis mood, as there are no examples in the corpus of *wan lag* introducing a conditional clause in the realis:

(111) **Wan** **lag** nanua e=ga far, konou a=ga sara=e.
if MAYBE coconut 3SG.S=IRR fall 1SG 1SG.S sweep=3SG.OBJ
'If coconuts fall down, I will sweep them together.'

(112) **Wan** **lag** rarua aginta e=ga maora,
if MAYBE canoe 1PL.INCL.POSS 3SG.S=IRR break

se konou a=tae rri, a=taerri pa.
while 1SG 1SG.S=able fly 1SG.S=can fly GO
'It our canoe breaks, then I can fly, I can fly away.'

In (113) to (115), conditional clauses are introduced by *wan* only. In this situation, the clauses can be in the irrealis as seen in (113) and (114), or in the realis as in (115):

(113) Gaio, **wan** a=ga llu pan, a=malo pag plen.
okay if 1SG.S=IRR return GO 1SG.S=not.want climb plane
'Fine, if I go back, I don't want to get on a plane.'

(114) Kane **wan** ña=fes=ia, ña=lo parkat natña̱n.
but if 2SG.S:IRR=dig.with.hands=3SG.OBJ 2SG.S:IRR=look catch thorns
'But if you dig it with your hands, beware of thorns.'

(115) **Wan** ar=pam̃osko natul toa mla, ar=pla=e panei.
if 3SG.S=find egg fowl be.wild 3SG.S=pick=3SG.OBJ COME
'If they found wild fowl eggs, they picked and brought them.'

Subordinate clauses can be embedded within each other, as seen previously in (110). In (116), a purpose clause introduced with *lag* is embedded within a conditional clause. In this situation, the conditional clause functions as the main clause with regards to the purpose clause. This is shown by the fact that the purpose clause is postposed to the conditional clause, as we have seen in 12.5.1 that purpose clause are postposed to their main clause:

(116) **Wan** ku=pan **lag** ña=sil falea tapla, naoko namta=n falea,
if 2SG.S=go PURP 2SG.S:IRR=enter cave like.this mouth eye=POSS:NH cave

ku=loña faatu skei n=e=to, faatu skei e=roa to namta to.
2SG.S=see stone INDEF REL=3SG.S=stay stone INDEF 3SG.S=fall stay eye STAT
'It you go to enter the cave, right at the entrance of the cave, you see a stone there, a stone fell down by the entrance.'

12.5.4 Time clauses

Time clauses locate the event expressed in the main clause in time. They are introduced by the subordinator *mala* 'when', a noun which has grammaticalised to take the additional function of subordinator. In (117) we see *mala* functioning as a noun. It heads a subject NP and is modified by the possessive *nae* '3SG.POSS'. As a noun, *mala* is glossed 'time':

(117) E=to pan pan pa e=nou, **mala** nae e=nou,
3SG.S=stay GO GO GO 3SG.S=be.finished time 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=be.finished

e=kat pa.
3SG.S=CERT GO
'He stayed until it was finished, his time was finished, he went.'

In the following examples, *mala* is shown functioning as a subordinator, and glossed 'when'. Time clauses can be either preposed or postposed to the main clause. In examples (118) to (120), the time clauses are preposed to the main clause:

(118) **Mala** mutuama nge e=loña nalwaa nge,
when ogre DEF 3SG.S=see arrow DEF

e=kat malua lo parkat=ia
3SG.S=CERT later look catch=3SG.OBJ

lag natlak ur=ga plaga nalwaa nge.
PURP owner 3PL.S=IRR look.for arrow DEF
'When the ogre saw the arrow, he looked after it later on, as the owners would look for the arrow.'

(119) **Mala** koria e=rm̃aki, tu=tae lag koria e=rm̃aki wago,
when dog 3SG.S=bark 1PL.INCL=know COMP dog 3SG.S=bark pig

kite e=rm̃aki plok.
or 3SG.S=bark bullock
'When the dogs bark, we know they bark at a pig, or they bark at a bullock.'

(120) **Mala** misi Peter Milne e=panei pa-ki A=guna, A=guna,
when missionary p.name p.name 3SG.S=come go-TR LOC=p.name LOC=p.name

ur=ti pi te=lotu rogo mau.
3PL.S=NEG COP SBST=pray feel NEG2
'When the missionary Peter Milne came to Nguna, in Nguna, they hadn't tried Christianity yet.'

In (121) and (122), the time clauses are postposed to the main clause. In (121), there are two occurrences of *mala*. In the first one, *mala* is a noun heading an object NP, and it is modified by the indefinite determiner *skei*. In the second occurrence however, *mala* is a subordinator introducing an adverbial time clause.

(121) Go a=mro to pa-ki **mala** skei,
and 1SG.S=AGAIN stay go-TR time INDEF

mala a=kat panei pi eldar.
when 1SG.S=CERT come COP elder
'Then I waited until a time, when I became an elder.'

(122) OK, tenge e=lag pi namtaɲaga=n stori agnou,
OK SBST.DEF 3SG.S=MAYBE COP end=POSS:NH story 1SG.POSS

mala a=mato nfano naara to.
when 1SG.S=stay.long country 3PL.POSS STAT
'OK, this is probably the end of my story, when I lived in their country.'

12.6 Relative clauses

12.6.1 Properties of relative clauses

For a general definition of relative clauses (RCs), I follow Andrews (2007b:206) who defines them in terms of their semantic function: "a relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC." In this description of RCs, $NP_{[MOD]}$ refers to the matrix NP modified by the RC and $NP_{[REL]}$ to the relativised NP. $NP_{[REL]}$ surfaces as a pronominal copy in the RC when in argument position, but if $NP_{[REL]}$ is an adjunct, no pronominal copy surfaces within the RC. In the examples below, $NP_{[MOD]}$ is underlined while $NP_{[REL]}$ is in bold letters. In Lelepa, RCs have the following properties:

- They modify nouns and occur in final position in the NP (see fig. 5.1, 5.4.5).

- The head noun must occur and is indexed within the RC using a pronominal copy when $NP_{[REL]}$ is an argument. If, in contrast, $NP_{[REL]}$ is an adjunct, the head noun occurs but is not indexed within the RC (see 12.6.2.5).
- RCs are structurally identical to main clauses, with the only restriction that the subject of the RC can only be realised by a subject proclitic, and not by a co-referential NP.
- They are optionally introduced by the relativiser *na* 'REL'.

While the relativiser is optional, a pronominal copy of the relativised argument is obligatory in the RC, thus Lelepa uses a pronoun-retention strategy. This strategy is widespread across languages, and in a WALS sample of 112 languages, 55 languages use pronoun retention, which represents the most common strategy across the sample (Comrie and Kuteva 2013). Lelepa RCs are post-nominal, which is typical in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:43), and the dominant pattern across languages (Dryer 2013b). The properties of Lelepa RCs can be observed in (123):

- The relative clause (in bold) is introduced by the relativiser *na* and modifies the relativised participant (underlined) *nafnag* 'food',
- *nafnag* is indexed within the RC with the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ',
- The RC specifies referent of *nafnag* 'food': the food in question is not any food but that which will be eaten at the wedding's preparations.
- This example also shows that RCs can have subordinate clauses. Here, the RC has an adverbial clause of time introduced by *mala* 'when'.

(123)

E=ga	fi	<u>nafnag</u>	**na**	**tu=ga**	**faam=ia**
3SG.S=IRR	COP	food	REL	1PL.INCL.S=IRR	eat=3SG.OBJ

mala	**naloana=n**	**na-ftauri-na**	**nge.**
time	preparations=POSS:NH	N.SPEC-get.married-NMLZ	DEF

'It will be the food we will eat during the wedding's preparations.'

Note that the relativiser *na* 'REL' is potentially ambiguous with the demonstrative *na* 'DEM' as they are homophonous. The vowel of the relativiser is commonly truncated before a vowel-initial subject proclitic, in which case the relativiser is reduced and forms a phonological word with the subject proclitic and the following morpheme. However, this does not happen with the demonstrative *na* which receives stress. A RC with a reduced relativiser is shown in (124), and an NP with the demonstrative *na* is shown in (125):

(124) A=pa laka napuka **n-e=laotu** **len** **wia.**
1SG.S=go see Gyrocarpus REL-3SG.S=stand.up be.straight be.good
'I went and saw a Gyrocarpus which stood up straight nicely.'

(125) Moa, nasifara wei **na**, a=tun=ia mato warampa.
well banana.sp TOP DEM 1SG.S=bury=3SG.OBJ STAT there.forward
'Well, this banana, I buried it there.'

12.6.2 Functions of $NP_{[REL]}$

The NP modified by the relative clause (or $NP_{[MOD]}$) can be a subject, object, complement of a copular clause, or an oblique in the matrix clause. While it is common cross-linguistically to allow any NP in the matrix clause to be relativised, there are restrictions on the form of $NP_{[REL]}$ which occurs within the RC. In Lelepa, $NP_{[REL]}$ can be subject, object, oblique, possessor or adjunct in the RC, as will be seen below. Oceanic languages tend to allow $NP_{[REL]}$ to bear most syntactic functions inside the RC (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:43), thus Lelepa is typical in that respect. Since Keenan and Comrie (1977) work on relativisation, it is well known that languages with gapping strategies tend to allow the common NP to bear syntactic functions higher in the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) (e.g. subjects), rather than lower ones such as possessors. Conversely, in languages using the pronominal retention strategy such as Lelepa, $NP_{[REL]}$ can bear functions lower down the AH (e.g. obliques and possessors). It is also important note that Lelepa allows adjuncts to be relativized using a gapping hierarchy (see 12.6.2.5). The AH is represented as follows (adapted from Keenan and Comrie 1977:66):

subject>direct object>indirect object>oblique>possessor>adjuncts

It implies that languages which allow the common NP to bear a given function in the hierarchy also allow the common NP to bear the higher functions. That is, it predicts that a language which relativises on possessors also relativises on all other positions. This prediction is verified for Lelepa, which allows relativisation on possessors and adjuncts as well as on all the higher functions.

12.6.2.1 $NP_{[REL]}$ is subject

$NP_{[REL]}$ can be a subject. When this occurs, a subject proclitic in the RC is co-referential with the matrix NP (i.e. $NP_{[MOD]}$). In (126), $NP_{[MOD]}$ and $NP_{[REL]}$ are both subjects. No relativiser occurs but the $NP_{[REL]}$ is encoded with the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S' inside RC:

(126) kane fterki nge **e=panmei** e=pi tetei nae.
but woman DEF 3SG.S=come 3SG.S=COP mother 3SG.POSS
'But the woman who came was her mother.'

In (127), the NP in which the relative clause occurs is a left-dislocated subject. $NP_{[REL]}$ is a subject in the RC, as it is encoded with the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S':

(127) Taikiki agnou **na** **e=mato** **Malakula** **to**,
young.sibling 1SG.S.POSS REL 3SG.S=stay.long p.name STAT

nae e=sor nmaluku.
3SG 3SG.S=sell kava
'As for my younger brother who lives in Malakula, he sells kava.
[elicited]

In (128), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is an object in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is a subject in the RC:

(128) Ur=self nmal nkas tete **na** **e=roa** **wane** **napua**.
3PL.S=beside trunk tree some REL 3SG.S=fall lie road
'They were next to some tree trunk which fell down on the road.'

In (129), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is a secondary object in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is a subject in the RC:

(129) Ur=ti tua=e nalia **na** **e=pi** **nalia** **wia** **wa-n** mau.
3PL.S=NEG give=3SG.OBJ place REL 3SG.S=COP place be.good DEM-DIST NEG2
'They didn't give him the place which was that good place.'

In (130) the $NP_{[MOD]}$ *wara skei* 'place INDEF > a place' is a secondary object in the matrix clause. In the RC, $NP_{[REL]}$ is a subject encoded with the subject proclitic *e*= '3SG.S', while the suffix *–nia* '3SG.OBJ' indexes the following complement clause (see 12.4.1) rather than being co-referential with $NP_{[MOD]}$. The interesting feature here is that the RC shows a case of relativisation that involves long-distance dependency, as $NP_{[REL]}$ occurs as a pronominal copy *e*= '3SG.S' in a complement clause embedded within the RC itself:

(130) Ur=tua=e wara skei
3PL.S=give=3SG.OBJ place INDEF

na ur=mtouki-nia lage=pi nalia tap.
REL 3PL.S=fear-3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.S=COP place be.taboo
'They gave him a place that they feared was a taboo place.'

Certain languages allow relativisation on subjects by gapping while they use pronoun retention to relativise on positions lower down the AH (Comrie and Tatteva 2013). In Lelepa however, given that subject proclitics are obligatory,[5] and that no other obligatory free form indexing the common NP occurs in the language, if $NP_{[REL]}$ is a subject, it must be encoded by a subject proclitic.

12.6.2.2 $NP_{[REL]}$ is object

$NP_{[REL]}$ can be an object in the RC, in which case it is encoded with a bound object marker. In (131), the NP modified by the RC is a left-dislocated subject and $NP_{[REL]}$ is an object in the RC, as it is encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ':

(131) Grun wa-n **ku=pat=ia pan pa**, e=kat pa-ki sei pa?
woman DEM-DIST 2SG.S=make=3SG.OBJ GO GO 3SG.S=CERT go-TR where GO
'That woman you were with for a while, where did she go?'

In (132), both $NP_{[MOD]}$ and $NP_{[REL]}$ are objects. Like (130), this is another case of long-distance dependency in relativisation, as $NP_{[REL]}$, which is encoded with the object enclitic *=ia* '3SG.OBJ', occurs in a complement clause embedded in the relative clause:

(132) Ku=kano pa pat nmatuna nge **nag ku=msau-na lag**
2SG.S=cannot go make thing DEF 2SG 2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMP

p̃a=fa pat=ia.
2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR make=3SG.OBJ
'You couldn't go to do this thing that you wanted to do.'

In (133), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is an oblique in the matrix clause while $NP_{[REL]}$ is an object in the RC:

(133) A=pa-ki skul skul nge **na ur=tfag=ia**.
1SG.S=go-TR school school DEF REL 3PL.S=build=3SG.OBJ
'I went to school at the school they built.'

[5] Recall that they can be dropped in limited structural context such as coordination (see 10.1.2).

We have seen that in RCs that are monotransitive, $NP_{[REL]}$ can be an object. If the RC is ditransitive, $NP_{[REL]}$ can also be a secondary object, in which case it is encoded with *=s* '3SG.OBJ' in the RC. In (134), the relativised argument *neika* 'fish' is a left-dislocated object, as seen by the fact that it is encoded with *=ia* '3SG.OBJ' in the matrix clause. In the relative clause however, $NP_{[REL]}$ is a secondary object encoded by *=s* '3SG.OBJ'. It follows the primary object *Tomseni* 'p.name':

(134) Neika **ku=tua** **Tomseni=s**, nae e=sor=ia pa-ki Tafman.
fish 2SG.S=give p.name=3SG.OBJ 3SG 3SG.S=sell=3SG.OBJ go-TR p.name
'As for the fish you gave Thompson, he sold it to Tafman.'
[elicited]

12.6.2.3 $NP_{[REL]}$ is oblique

$NP_{[REL]}$ can be an oblique, in which case it is encoded by the oblique enclitic *=s* '3OBL' in the RC. In (135), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is a subject in the matrix clause while $NP_{[REL]}$ is an oblique encoded with *=s* '3OBL' in the RC:

(135) Ña=laka tena ur=to uta to,
2SG.S=see SBST.DEM 3PL.S=IPFV landwards STAT

natañol nge **ku=to** **kai=s** e=to wara to
man DEF 2SG.S=IPFV cry=3OBL 3SG.S=stay here STAT

kite e=pueli?
or 3SG.S=not.be.here
'Look at those who are on the shore, is the man whom you are crying for there or not?'

In (136), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is an object in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is an oblique in the RC:

(136) Ku=sor neika **na** **ku=tagau=s** pa-ki Thompson.
2SG.S=sell fish REL 2SG.S=fish=3OBL go-TR p.name
'You sold the fish you caught to Thompson.'
[elicited]

In (137), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is a secondary object in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is an oblique in the RC:

(137) Ku=tua Thompson neika **na** **ku=tagau=s**.
2SG.S=give p.name fish REL 2SG.S=catch=3OBL
'You gave Thompson the fish you caught.'
[elicited]

In (138), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is a complement of the copula *pi* 'COP' in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is an oblique in the RC. This is an instance of locative relativisation, in which the matrix NP is semantically a locative, while $NP_{[REL]}$ is also treated as a locative oblique in the RC:

(138) Wara e=pi nalia **na** **tu=ga** **fat** **naftaurina=s**
here 3SG.S=COP place REL 1PL.INCL.S=IRR make:IRR wedding=3OBL
'Here is the place in which we'll have the wedding.'

In (139), both $NP_{[MOD]}$ and $NP_{[REL]}$ are obliques. In Lelepa, locatives are generally treated as obliques, except when they occur as object of transitive verbs like *pa-ki* 'go-TR' or *wuru* 'pass'. Like in (138), both $NP_{[MOD]}$ and $NP_{[REL]}$ are semantically locatives, and they are treated as obliques in relativisation:

(139) E=oufaki=nia warange **na** **ur=to** **pat** **nsalena=s.**
3SG.S=bury=3SG.OBJ there REL 3PL.S=IPFV make dance.ceremony=3OBL
'She buried her there, where they had the dance ceremony.'

12.6.2.4 $NP_{[REL]}$ is possessor

$NP_{[REL]}$ can be a possessor in the RC, which is one of the lowest position in the AH. In Lelepa, this is indicated by the fact that $NP_{[REL]}$ is encoded by a possessive pronominal within the RC. There are several possessive constructions in the languages (see chapter 6) which can have a pronominal or nominal possessor (see 6.3 and 6.4 respectively). Given that Lelepa RCs use a pronoun retention strategy, the possessive constructions occurring in RCs have a pronominal possessor which can be either free or bound, rather than a possessor encoded by a noun or a full pronoun. In (140), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is the object NP *nate skei* 'a man' in the matrix close, while $NP_{[REL]}$ is a pronominal possessor in the RC, encoded with the free possessive pronominal *nae* '3SG'. In this example, the speaker explains a traditional practice in which hunters obstruct the paths they take in the bush with branches, as this will prevent them from worrying about personal problems, or loved ones such as their wives:

(140) Nkas nge e=kat tarɲagor namaetona nge mpan,
tree DEF 3SG.S=CERT cover anger DEF GO

kite nate skei **nagrun** **nae** **e=tina** **to,** se tu=mau pan.
or person INDEF woman 3SG.POSS 3SG.S=pregnant STAT while 1PL.INCL=all go
'The wood covers the anger, or (protects) a man whose wife is pregnant, while we all go.'

In (141), $NP_{[MOD]}$ is subject in the matrix clause and $NP_{[REL]}$ is possessor in the RC. In contrast with (140), the possessor is encoded with a bound pronominal, in this case the possessor-indexing suffix *-na* '3SG.POSS':

(141) Taos tena na tu=to põag nag-na to malmauna
like SBST.DEM REL 1PL.INCL.S=stay inside ASS-3SG.POSS STAT now

e=mro fanpata.
3SG.S=AGAIN be.different
'Thus this one in which we are now is different again.' (*lit. this one which we stay in the inside of*)

12.6.2.5 $NP_{[REL]}$ is adjunct

Some examples in the corpus seem to show that the language allow $NP_{[REL]}$ to be adjunct as well. However, in such cases, the language employs the gapping strategy instead of the pronominal copy strategy, which is used on all higher functions. In (142), *ntau* 'year' is relativized but no pronominal copy shows up in the RC. In contrast, in the following clause *nali* 'place' is relativized but in this instance the pronominal copy strategy is used with *=s* '3OBL' occurring in the RC:

(142) Go ntau na a=to psa pseiki,
and year REL 1SG.S=IPFV speak show

nali a=to psa pseiki=s e=pi wara.
place 1SG.S=IPFV speak show=3OBL 3SG.S=COP here
'And the year I was teaching, the place I was teaching at, it was here.'

While it appears unusual that the gapping strategy is used for a low-end function such as adjunct, this is consistent with the properties of Lelepa grammatical relations. Recall from p.264, table 7.6 that an adjunct is never realized as a pronominal, thus it is expected that no pronominal copy surfaces in the RC when $NP_{[REL]}$ is an adjunct.

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Appendix: Texts

Text 1: When Thompson went to France

Author: Thompson Namuan

Date recorded: April 2, 2006

Place recorded: Lelepa, Sailapa.

In this personal narrative, Thompson Namuan talks about his trip to France in the sixties, to work as a homekeeper.

(1) konou, nagi konou Thompson.
1SG name 1SG p.name
Me, my name is Thompson.

(2) A=msau-na lag a=ga magmu til=ia lag
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL 1SG.S=IRR 2PL.BEN tell=3SG.OBJ COMPL

mala n-a=pa-ki Franis.
time REL-1SG.S=go-TR p.name
I want to tell you about the time I went to France.

(3) Malange a=pa-ki Franis a=to wok wuru Vila pan pa,
then 1SG.S=go-TR p.name 1SG.S=IPFV work pass p.name GO GO
At the time I went to France, I used to work in Port-Vila...

(4) kasem naleati skei kenem tat Masok
to day INDEF 1PL.EXCL.S pat.great.uncle p.name

ar=towok wuru aaa...
1DU.EXCL.S=IPFV work pass HESIT
until one day, my paternal great-uncle Masok and I, we were working at...

(5) nasuña=n lamned malmauna, ur=po pat=ia
house=POSS:NH lemonade now 3PL.S=SEQ make=3SG.OBJ

pi naa naa nasuña=n lamned kane slafea,
COP HESIT HESIT house=POSS:NH lemonade but before

e=pitlaka naa brij na e=wane sua,
3SG.S=have HESIT bridge REL 3SG.S=lie PRF

ur=to pat=ia.
1PL.EXCL.S=IPFV make=3SG.OBJ
at (what is now) the Vanuatu Beverage factory, they would make it into the Vanuatu Beverage factory but before, there was a bridge that was there, we were making it.

(6) Se masta Tekrons e=msau-na lag nate gaskei
while mister p.name 3SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL someone IRR.INDEF

e=ga ne=a ar=ga rua,
3SG.S=IRR be.with=3SG.OBJ 3DU.S=IRR two

e=ga mnae ne=a paki Franis pa.
3SG.S=IRR 3SG.BEN be.with=3SG.OBJ to p.name GO
Meanwhile, Mr. Tekrons wanted somebody to go with him, to go to France with him for his benefit.

(7) Mameia=g kaltalu e=panei pan pa e=rki konou=s
father=POSS:H p.name 3SG.S=come GO GO 3SG.S=tell 1SG=3SG.OBJ
Kaltalu's father came and told me.

(8) A=lag, "ae, konou a=msau-na laga=ga fa."
1SG.S=say hey 1SG 1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL 1SG.S=IRR go:IRR
I said, "hey, I want to go."

(9) E=to se, mala skimau nge e=msug lwa konou.
3SG.S=stay while time be.same DEF 3SG.S=take removed 1SG
Then, at that time he took me away.

(10) E=rki masta=n LaSmeti=s,
3SG.S=tell boss=POSS:NH p.name=3SG.OBJ
He told the boss of LaSMET,

(11) e=msug konou ar=kat pa-ki bellevue pa.
3SG.S=take 1SG 1DU.EXCL.S=CERT go-TR p.name GO
then he took me and we (two) went to Bellevue.

(12) a=to mato=s to pan pa,
1SG.S=IPFV stay.long=3OBL STAT GO GO

e=magnou pat paspot agnou,
3SG.S=1SG.BEN make passport 1SG.POSS
I was living there on and on, he made my passport for me,

(13) e=pat sragmauna pa e=nou pkout, e=lag,
3SG.S=make everything GO 3SG.S=be.finished completely 3SG.S=say

"malmauna p̃a=fa-ki naure p̃a=rki mamei nago=s."
now 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR-TR island 2SG.S:IRR=tell father 2SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ
He did everything until it was finished, then he said, "now go to the island and tell your father."

(14) A=panei rki mamei agnou=s,
1SG.S=come tell father 1 SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ
I came to tell my father,

(15) mamei agnou e=lag, "ae, nag ku=tae
father 1 SG.POSS 3SG.S=say hey 2SG 2SG.S=know

a=sei lag p̃a=fa-ki wara-e pa?
LOC-who COMPL 2SG.IRR=go-TR there-ADD GO

konou, a=ti pa-ki wara-e mau."
1SG 1SG.S=NEG go-TR there-ADD NEG2
my father said, "hey, do you know where you'll go? As for me, I didn't go there."

(16) a=lag, te=m̃ol, a=ga fa.
1SG.Ssay SBST=just 1SG=IRR go:IRR
I said, "that's fine, I'll go."

(17) E=lag, "nag ku=ti tae na-fsa-na mau se
3SG.S=say 2SG 2SG.S=NEG know ART-speak-NMLZ NEG2 while

ku=lag p̃a=fa?"
2SG=say 2SG.IRR=go:IRR

A=lag, "e=pi te=m̃ol."
1SG.S=say 3SG.S=COP SBST=just
He said, "you don't know the language, and you say you will go?" I said, "that's fine."

(18) A=pan pan pan pa kasem naure tapla,
1SG.S=go GO GO GO to island like.this

ur=pat na-fsa-na laapa=s,
3PL.S=make ART-speak-NMLZ be.many=3OBL

konou a=maroa-ki-nia lag a=ga fa
1SG 1SG.S=think-TR-3SG.OBJ COMPL 1SG.s=IRR go:IRR
I went on and on to the island, they talked a lot about it, I thought I'd go.

(19) A=to=s pa, kat pa-ki Vila pan pan pa,
1SG.S=stay= 3OBL GO CERT go-TR p.name GO GO GO

a=pag plen A=vila,
1SG.S=climb plane LOC=p.name
I stayed there, then I went to Port-Vila, I got on a plane in Port-Vila,

(20) e=msug konou pan pan pa kasem Nouméa,
3SG.S=carry 1SG GO GO GO to p.name
it took me on and on to Nouméa,

(21) a=maturu Noumea a=maturu na-p̃ogi-na skimau,
1SG.S=sleep p.name 1SG.S=sleep ART-night-NMLZ one
I slept in Noumea, I slept one night,

(22) ur=to Noumea, a=mro pag plen Noumea,
1PL.EXCL.S=stay p.name 1SG.S=AGAIN climb plane p.name

ur=sfa raki Franis.
1PL.EXCL.S=run towards p.name
we stayed in Noumea, I got on a plane again in Noumea, we travelled towards France.

(23) Ur=tuñalu põgi=n Saapat, ur=pan pan pa,
1PL.EXCL.S=leave night=POSS:NH Saturday 3PL=go GO GO

aliati Mande,
be.day Monday
We left on Saturday night, we travelled on and on until the Monday,

(24) ur=mro sfa mande pan pan pa, e=mro malogo,
1PL.EXCL.S=AGAIN run monday GO GO GO 1SG.S=AGAIN be.dark
we travelled again on Monday, until it was night again,

(25) Tusde gotfan ur=kasem aaa Paris.
Tuesday afternoon 1PL.EXCL.S=reach HESIT p.name
Tuesday afternoon we arrived in Paris.

(26) So malange a=kat taplange pan pa a=skei-go.
so then 1SG.S=CERT like.this GO GO 1SG.S=one-1SG.POSS
So at that time, I was like that, I was by myself.

(27) A=ti tae psruki na-fsa-na=n Franis mau.
1SG.S=NEG can speak ART-speak-NMLZ=POSS:NH p.name NEG2
I couldn't speak French.

(28) Malange a=psruki nafsana=n kia-gta,
then 1SG.S=speak ART-speak-NMLZ=POSS:NH LOCAL-1PL.INCL.POSS

go Bislama A=vila, a=mato to kasem malange.
and Bislama LOC=p.name 1SG.S=stay.long STAT to then
At that time, I spoke our language, and Bislama in Port-Vila, I remained thus until then.

(29) Okay, malange a=tuñalu pan a=pu rarua kiki skei
okay then 1SG.S=leave GO 1SG.S=pull canoe be.small INDEF

pi tena ur=ga lo tae konou nlakan
COP SBST.DEM 3PL.S=IRR look know 1SG because

warampa-n se, e=pitlak te=loa.
there.forward-DIST too 3SG.S=have SBST=be.black
OK, then I left, I got a little canoe so they could recognise me because there too, there are black people.

(30) Misis agnou e=lag, "wan põa=fan,
boss.wife 1SG.POSS 3SG.S=say if 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR.

ur=ga taf plen, nag põa=raki,
3PL=IRR get.out plane 2SG 2SG.S:IRR=follow

mastanag e=ga to raki-go."
boss 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=IRR stay follow-2SG.OBJ
My boss's wife said, "If you go, they will get out of the plane, you will follow, and your boss will wait for you."

(31) A=pan, mala a=sua, te=laapa ur=po sua,
1SG.S=go when 1SG.S=go.down SBST=be.plenty 3PL=SEQ go.down

ur=to tuñalua, tuñalua pkout, konou a=po raki mau.
3PL.S=IPFV leave leave completely 1SG 1SG.S=SEQ follow LIM
I went, when I went down, lots of people went down, they were leaving, they all left, then I just followed.

(32) Mala a=laotu plen tapla tu,
time 1SG.S=stand plane like.this STAT

a=loña masta e=mato ske nar-ra,
1SG.S=see boss 3SG.S=IPFV hold.up hand-3SG.POSS

a=ske rarua kiki skei,
1SG.s=hold.up canoe be.small INDEF

a=pseiki-nia=s, e=lo tae lag e=pi konou,
1SG.S=show-3SG.OBJ=3SG.OBJ 3SG.S=look know COMPL 3SG.S=COP 1SG

e=kat to=s, e=kat to walof konou.
3SG.S=CERT stay= 3OBL 3SG.S=CERT IPFV wave 1SG
When I was standing in the plane like this, I saw that the boss was holding up his hand, I held up a little canoe, I showed it to him, he recognised me, he stayed there, he was waving at me.

(33) A=pan pan pa kasem masta agnou, e=lag,
1SG.S=go GO GO to boss 1SG.POSS 3SG.S=say

"malmauna põa=lik o konou,
now 2SG.IRR=hold 1SG

põa=liko suk~suk konou nlakan natañol ur=laapa."
2SG.IRR=hold tight~RED 1SG because people 3PL=be.plenty
I went to my boss, he said, "now, hold on to me, hold on to me tight, because there are a lot of people."

(34) Ar=to=s taplange,
1DU.EXCL.S=stay= 3OBL like.this

ar=magnou plag naala agnou pan pa,
1DU.EXCL.S =1SG.BEN look.for basket 1SG.POSS GO GO

ar=put=ia tapla,
1DU.EXCL.S=pull=3SG.OBJ like.this
We stayed there like this, we went to get my luggage for me, we got it like this,

(35) ar=pan pa lao mato pano=n taxi.
1DU.EXCL.S=go GO stand STAT sign=POSS:NH taxi
then we went to wait at a taxi sign.

(36) Taxi skei e=panei e=msug kenem.
taxi INDEF 3SG.S=come 3SG.S=carry 1PL.EXCL.S
A taxi came and took us.

(37) ar=pa kasem warange e=pi fo oklok,
1DU.EXCL.S=go to there 3SG.S=COP four o'clock

af pas fo af pas faif,
half past four half past five
We got there it was four o'clock, half past four, half past five,

(38) taxi e=msug kenem, ur=sfa pan pan pa
taxi 3SG.S=carry 1PL.EXCL.S 1PL.EXCL.S=travel GO GO GO

kasem wara a=maturu=s, e=pi eit oklok.
to place 1SG.S=sleep=3OBL 3SG.S=COP eight o'clock
the taxi carried us, we travelled on and on to the place I slept at, it was eight o'clock.

(39) Tenge, a=maturu pan pa, p̃ulp̃og a=pula taplange,
SBST.DEF 1SG.S=sleep GO GO morning 1SG.S=wake.up like.this

a=lo pa-ki katam taplange,
1SG.S=look go-TR outside like.this

e=pi malange taos=ia a=kat maroa-ki kia-gta.
3SG.S=COP then like=3SG.OBJ 1SG.S=CERT think-TR LOCAL-1PL.INCL.POSS
That was it, I slept on and on, in the morning I woke up like this, I looked outside like this, it was then that I thought about home.

(40) Kane a=kat ti tae takanei a=ga fat=ia mau.
but 1SG.S=CERT NEG know how 1SG.S=IRR make:IRR=3SG.OBJ NEG2
But I didn't know what I would do.

Text 2: Three *naluokia*

Author: Eunice Touger

Date recorded: April 11, 2008

Place recorded: Mangaliliu

The *naluokia* are a form of oral tradition found in Lelepa and in the Nakanamanga speaking area. They are similar to proverbs in that they consist of short sentences and are often metaphorical. During my fieldwork I tried to record as many as possible because only a few people in the community know them. Here, Eunice presents three *naluokia*, and explains their meanings. The first one is about how to manage currents when planning a return canoe trip from Efate to Lelepa, the second one is about the difficulty of making decisions, and the final one points out that people are often attracted by new, shiny things and neglect what they have.

(1) Konou, nagi konou e=pi Eunice.
1SG name 1SG 3SG.S=COP p.name
Me, my name is Eunice.

(2) Konou a=panei to Magallu to mala kiki,
1SG 1SG.S=come stay p.name STAT time be.small
I came to stay in Mangaliliu for a short time,

(3) a=msou-na a=ga til naluokia e=tolu.
1SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ 1SG=IRR tell proverb 3SG.S=three
I want to tell three *naluokia*.

(4) Naluokia fea, natowia ur=til=ia lag,
proverb be.first:IRR elders 3PL.S=tell=3SG.OBJ say

"namta nag e=ga to rarua fea."
eye 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=IRR stay canoe be.first:IRR
As for the first *naluokia*, the old people said, "your eyes should be on the first canoe."

(5) E=tapla e=lag,
3SG.S=like.this 3SG.S=say

wan ku=pa-ki Fate, ku=to Fate to,
if 2SG.S=go-TR p.name 2SG.S=stay p.name STAT

ku=msau-na lag p̃a=fa-ki naure.
2SG=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL 2SG:IRR=go:IRR-TR island
It is like this, it says that if you go to Efate, you stay on Efate, then you want to go back to the island.

(6) ku=kat msomso rarua nag,
2SG.S=CERT load canoe 2SG.POSS

ku=msau-na lag p̃a=fa-ki naure,
2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL 2SG.S:IRR=go:IRR-TR island

se rarua skei e=kat pea mato palse pa.
while canoe INDEF 3SG.S=CERT first IPFV paddle GO
You have loaded your canoe, you want to go back to the island, but a canoe has gone first.

(7) Namta nag e=ga to rarua fea nge.
eye 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=IRR stay canoe be.first:IRR DEF
Your eyes should be on that first canoe.

(8) P̃a=laka=e lag narua e=put=ia,
2SG.S:IRR=see=3SG.OBJ COMPL current 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ

narua nmat e=put=ia pa raki Artok,
current low.tide 3SG.S=pull=3SG.OBJ GO towards p.name

p̃a=ti palse raus-ia mau.
2SG.S:IRR=NEG paddle follow=3SG.OBJ NEG2
You will see that the current pulls it, the current of the low tide pulls it towards Artok, do not paddle following it.

(9) Nag p̃a=false rarua nag p̃a...
2SG 2SG.S:IRR=paddle:IRR canoe 2SG.POSS 2SG.S:IRR

p̃a=fat rarua nag
2SG.S:IRR=make:IRR canoe 2SG.POSS

e=ga liko M̃autariu kite Nagsumtas.
3SG.S=IRR hang p.name or p.name
You will paddle your canoe, you... you'll have your canoe pointing at M̃autariu or Nagsumtas.

(10) Kane wan ku=lag p̃a=false raus rarua fea nge,
but if 2SG.s=say 2SG.S:IRR=paddle:IRR follow canoe be.first:IRR DEF

narua nmat e=ga fu kumu ne rarua pa raki Artok pa.
tide low.tide 3SG.S=IRR pull:IRR 2PL be.with canoe GO towards p.name GO
But if you think that you will paddle following this first canoe, the low tide will pull you and your canoe to Artok.

(11) Naluokia ke-rua, natowia ur=til=ia lag naa...
proverb ORD-two elders 3PL.S=tell=3SG.OBJ say HESIT

e=pi p̃laka=n Saone.
3SG.S=COP bird.sp=POSS:NH p.name
As for the second *naluokia*, the old people said... it is the buff-banded rail from Saone.

(12) lag p̃laka=n Saonewa-n e=laotu naa...
MAYBE k.o.bird=POSS:NH p.name DEM-DIST 3SG.S=stand.up HESIT

e=marou, e=pan lag e=ga fa munu,
3SG.S=be.thirsty 3SG.S=go PURP 3SG.S=IRR go:IRR drink

e=ga fa munu naa...
3SG.S=IRR go:IRR drink HESIT

e=ga fa munu nuwai.
3SG.S=IRR go:IRR drink water
The buff-banded rail from Saone was standing up... he was thirsty, he went to drink, to drink... to drink water.

(13) e=pan se se,
3SG.S=go while while

e=pitlaka nuwai ar=rua e=sara.
3SG.S=have water 3DU.S=two 3SG.S=run
He went, and there were two rivers that were running.

(14) Nae, p̃laka=n Saone nge e=laotu naa... m̃aleputa=n napua.
3SG k.o.bird=POSS:NH p.name DEF 3SG.S=stand.up HESIT middle=POSS:NH road
As for him, the buff-banded rail from Saone, he was standing up... in the middle of the road.

(15) E=lag, "a=ga mun sei?" e=lag, "a=ga munu sei?"
3SG.S=say 1SG.S=IRR drink where 3SG.S=say 1SG.S=IRR drink where

nlakan naa nuwai e=sara wuru naa narp̃an=an ar=rua.
because HESIT water 3SG.S=run pass HESIT side=POSS:NH 3DU.S=two
He said, "Where should I drink?" he said "where should I drink?" because... the rivers were running... on both sides.

(16) E=to m̃aleputa=n napua,
3SG.S=stay middle=POSS:NH road

e=to paapte taplange,
3SG.S=stay go.back.forth like.this

e=lag, "a=ga munu narp̃an ke-rua,"
3SG.S=say 1SG.S=IRR drink side ORD-two

e=to lag e=ga fa munu narp̃an ke-rua pan pa,
3SG.S=IPFV say 3SG.S=IRR go:IRR drink side ORD-two GO GO
He was in the middle of the road, he was going back and forth like this, he said "I will drink on the other side," he was saying that he would drink on the other side on and on,

(17) nae e=pkate marou pan pa,
3SG 3SG.S=too.much be.thirsty GO GO

naa e=kat mat wane naa naa napua.
HESIT 3SG.S=CERT die lie HESIT HESIT road
he was too thirsty, and... he died... on the road.

(18) e=lag wan naa...
3SG.S=say if HESIT

ku=msau-na lag naa p̃a=fat nmatuna gaskei,
2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL HESIT 2SG.S:IRR=make:IRR thing IRR.INDEF

na-maroa-na nag e=ga kat skimau.
ART-think-NMLZ 2SG.POSS 3SG.S=IRR CERT one
It says that if... you want to do something, you should have a single idea.

(19) P̃a=kat pa pat nmatuna nge,
2SG.S:IRR=CERT go make thing DEF

p̃a=mro ti pat na-maroa-na nag galaapa mau.
2SG.S:IRR=AGAIN NEG1 make ART-think-NMLZ 2SG.POSS IRR.be.many NEG2
You will go to do this thing, do not think about too many things.

(20) Kane wan ku=pat na-maroa-na nag laapa,
but if 2SG.S=make ART-think-NMLZ 2SG.POSS be.many
But if you think about too many things,

(21) ku=kano pa pat nmatuna nge nag ku=msau-na lag
2SG.S=cannot go make thing DEF 2SG 2SG.S=want-3SG.OBJ COMPL

p̃a=fa pat=ia.
2SG:IRR=go:IRR make=3SG.OBJ
you cannot do this thing that you wanted to do.

(22) Natowia ur=psa tonaki=nia lag naa,
elders 3PL.S=speak put=3SG.OBJ say HESIT

"p̃laka=n Saone wa-n."
k.o.bird=POSS:NH p.name DEM-DIST
The old people explained it by saying... "(it's) the buff-banded rail from Saone."

(23) Naluokia ke-tolu, natowia ur=til=ia lag,
proverb ORD-three elders 3PL.S=tell=3SG.OBJ say

ku=paam nafnaga=n mala wia,
2SG.S=eat food=POSS:NH time be.good

ku=tarp̃agor nafnaga=n mala sa=s.
2SG.S=forget food=POSS:NH time be.bad=3OBL
As for the third *naluokia*, the old people said, "you eat food from the good times, you forget food from the bad times."

(24) E=tapla, e=lag wan tu=pi nkarkik to,
3SG.S=like.this 3SG.S=say when 1PL.INCL.S=COP child STAT
It is like this, it says that when we were kids,

(25) te=matua aginta ur=to lo parkat kinta,
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=IPFV look catch 1PL.INCL

te=matua skei aginta ur=to lo parkat kinta
SBST=be.old INDEF 1PL.INCL.POSS 3PL.S=IPFV look catch 1PL.INCL

mala tu=pi nkarkik.
when 1PL.INCL.S=COP child
our elders used to look after us, our elders used to look after us when we were kids.

(26) Tu=sa to, ur=to pagan kinta,
1PL.INCL.S=be.bad STAT 3PL.S=IPFV feed 1PL.INCL

to lo parkat kinta pan pa,
IPFV look catch 1PL.INCL GO GO

mala tu=panei pi p̃ela tapla,
when 1PL.INCL.S=come COP big like.this

tu=lop̃a te=p̃ata skei,
1PL.INCL.S=see SBST=be.different INDEF

tu=kat raus=ra pa.
1PL.INCL.S=CERT follow=3PL.OBJ GO
We were little (*lit: we were bad*), they used to feed us, look after us on and on, and when we became adults like this, we met other people, and we went with them.

(27) Tu=kat raus-ra pan tapla,
1PL.INCL.S=CERT follow=3PL.OBJ GO like.this

tu=kat mato mnaara pat srago to,
1PL.INCL.S=CERT stay 3SG.BEN do thing STAT

tu=kat ne=ra mato.
1PL.INCL.S=CERT be.with=3PL.OBJ STAT
We went with them like this, we used to do things for them, we lived with them.

(28) Tu=kat tarp̃agor te=matua aginta
1PL.INCL.S=CERT forget SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS

naara ur=pea to,
3PL 3PL.S=be.first STAT
We forgot our elders who were first,

(29) te=matua aginta skei
SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS INDEF

na ur=pea to lo parkat kinta,
REL 3PL.S=first IPFV look catch 1PL.INCL

to pagan kinta pan pa tu=panei pi natam̃ol m̃askosko.
IPFV feed 1PL.INCL GO GO 1PL.INCL.S=come COP people be.mature
our elders who first used to look after us, fed us until we became adults.

(30) Mala tu=loɲa te=p̃ata tapla,
when 1PL.INCL.S=see SBST=be.different be.like.this

tu=kat raus=ra pa,
1PL.INCL.S=CERT follow=3PL.OBJ go

tu=kat tarp̃agor te=matua aginta,
1PL.INCL.S=CERT forget SBST=be.old 1PL.INCL.POSS

na ur=pea to lo parkat kinta.
REL 3PL.S=first IPFV see catch 1PL.INCL
When we saw other people like this, we went with them, we forgot our parents who first used to look after us.

(31) Ur=psa tonaki=nia lag,
3PL.S=speak put=3SG.OBJ say

"ku=paam nafnaga=n mala wia,
2SG.S=eat food=POSS:NH time be.good

ku=tarp̃agor nafnaga=n mala sa=s."
2SG.S=forget food=POSS:NH time be.bad=3OBL
They explained this by saying, "you eat the food from the good times, you forget the food from the bad times."

(32) Tenge, e=nou warange.
SBST.DEF 3SG.S=be.finished there.
This, this is finished there.