Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 33

A Grammar of South Efate

An Oceanic Language of Vanuatu

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University of Hawai'i Press

Honolulu

Printed in the United States of America

11 10 09 08 07 06 6 5 4 3 2 1

Publication of this work was assisted by a publication grant from
the University of Melbourne and from the Research and Graduate Studies
Committee, Faculty of Arts, the University of Melbourne.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Thieberger, Nick.
A grammar of South Efate : an oceanic language of Vanuatu / Nicholas Thieberger.
p. ; cm. — (Oceanic linguistics special publication ; no. 33)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8248-3061-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8248-3061-X (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. South Efate language—Grammar. I. Title. II. Series.
PL6231.Z9S687 2006
499'.5—dc22

2006014324

Camera-ready copy for this book was prepared under
the supervision of the series editor.

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet
the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources

Printed by IBT Global

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Preface

This volume presents topics in the grammar of South Efate, an Oceanic language of Central Vanuatu as spoken in Erakor village on the outskirts of Port Vila. There has been no previous grammatical description of the language, which has been classified as the southernmost member of the North-Central Vanuatu subgroup of languages. In this description I show that South Efate shares features with southern Vanuatu languages, including a lack of serial verb constructions of the kind known for its northern neighbors and the use of an echo-subject marker. The phonology of South Efate reflects an ongoing change in progress, with productive medial vowel deletion and consequent complex heterorganic consonant clusters.

A key feature of South Efate grammar is the grammaticization of a benefactive phrase in pre-verbal position. There is thus a discontinuous verbal complex including a closed class of auxiliary verbs that occur in a fixed order preceding the benefactive phrase and then the verb.

Mood-marking is central to any utterance in South Efate and there is no grammatical expression of tense. The interplay between mood and aspect marking is an interesting feature of the language.

The present research is set in the context of increasing attention being paid to the state of the world's smaller languages and their prospects for being spoken into the future. In addition to providing an outline of the grammar of the language, I describe the process of developing an archivable textual corpus that is used to make example sentences citable and playable, using software developed in the course of the research. A set of texts is provided as an appendix. The attached DVD provides playable versions of most example sentences and of the example texts and includes a dictionary and finderlist, and other documentation in South Efate.

Acknowledgments

It has been some years now that I have been working on South Efate which means I have a number of people to thank. Research of this kind relies on advice and assistance in many forms which I am pleased to be able to acknowledge here.

In Vanuatu: The Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta was both a sponsor of my research on South Efate and a most congenial workplace. I want to thank the Director, Ralph Regenvanu, in particular for having developed a national research policy that clarifies the rights and responsibilities of researchers working in Vanuatu. Bigfala tangkiu i go long olgeta fren blong mi long VKS, mo Nasonal Laebri, mo spesli Seru Kuautonga, Takaronga Kuautonga, Regina Batick, Martha Kaltal, Willie Damelip, Dikinson Dik, Jenny Tasale, Jean Tarisese, Henline Halele, Jennyfer Toa, mo Sael Avock.

Terry Crowley and John Lynch suggested South Efate as a focus for study and continued to support my work throughout. John arranged for me to have an office at USP during my fieldwork, which was most useful.

Annie Walter provided plant identification photographs and discussed plant use in South Efate for which I am grateful.

Many people have been good friends and have offered hospitality on my way through Vila: Peter Walker and Jo Dorras (and the rest of the Smolbags, especially Lucy Seresere for questions on South Efate answered in Melbourne), Simon and Serah Swale, Ann David, Helen Corrigan and Edward Nalial, Louise Nauka, Bill Palmer, and Hans Schmidt.

I am grateful to Erakor community for their welcome and acceptance of an outsider and the Erakor Council for permission to work in Erakor. In particular I thank the late Apu Kalsarap Namaf and his family for many Wednesday mornings of recording and drinking orange-leaf tea with bread and jam. The late William Wayane, Erakor Council secretary, and family, my host in the village, provided not only a base for my work, but a network of relatives and friends. Thanks to Manuel Wayane, William's brother, for transcribing many cassettes of stories in South Efate and for guiding me around Erakor, apsawikik. Kalsakar Wayane and Endis Kalsarap helped with elicitation, paradigm checking, and definitions in the dictionary.

Special thanks too to Tokelau Takau, who saw the value in recording her knowledge and to John Maklen and Sailas Kalfaβun for walks in the forest identifying plants.

Thanks to all of those who agreed to talk about South Efate: Kar Albert, Frank Alfos, †Russell Andre, Tim Arsen, Binaues Carlot, Gilou Carlot, John Carlot, Iokopeth, Jinane, Metu Josef, Sailas Kalfabun, John Kalfau, Malau

Kalkot, Helen Kalman, Petro Kalman, Toutuel Meriam Kalmary, Linuk Kalmer, Nmak Kalmet, Tim Kalmet, Apet Kalokis, Kali Kalopog, Endis Kalsarap, Limas Kalsarap, Kaloros Kaltaf, †John Kaltapau, Wilson Kaluat, Dick Lauto, Harry Lauto, Kalfapun Mailei, John Maklen, Limok Milian, Kalsarap Namaf, Kalsarur Nawen, Harris Takau, Winnie Taurua, Waia Tenene, Toufaakal, Elsie Waoute, Patrick Waoute, Roger Waoute, Daisy Wayane, Kalsakar Wayane, Manuel Wayane, Nancy Wayane, Kalokis Wisau, George Zachri, Peter Zachri.

Thanks also to one-time Erakor residents Sean Bracken and Lisa Mauro-Bracken for discussions and use of their house during my stay in the village.

Elsewhere, thanks to:

- Jane Simpson and David Nash for ongoing support and advice over many years.
- Margaret Florey for discussions on the role of linguists in working with endangered languages, and for suggestions that improved Chapter 1.
- Linda Barwick for help in establishing PARADISEC which has provided the repository for data on South Efate.
- Peter Newton for access to the Capell's material in Sydney.
- Lissant Bolton, Greg Rawlings, and Kirk Huffman for discussion of the ethnography of Efate.
- John Henderson for Nisus hints that facilitated presentation of example sentences.
- Janet Fletcher, John Hajek, and Mark Harvey for discussions of phonology.
- Shirley MacRae, ex–missionary teacher for sharing reminiscences and her knowledge of the language of South Efate.
- Loraine Tompson for discussion about her grandfather, the missionary Dr. Daniel Macdonald.
- Jean–Claude Rivierre for providing a wordlist recorded with Maxime Carlot Korman in the 1960s.
- Michel Jacobson of LACITO for assistance with his audio/text linking software, SoundIndex.

Melbourne University provided a Melbourne University Research Scholarship and travel funds which facilitated fieldwork in Erakor village.

My supervisors, chronologically: Peter Austin, Anna Margetts, and Nick Evans for discussion of the data and analysis. Peter Austin encouraged me to produce texts and a dictionary, as well as having a strong interest in the possibility of linking text and audio in a language description. Anna Margetts stepped in for supervision and shaped much of my thinking about presentation of the analysis, even after leaving the University of Melbourne. Finally, Nicholas Evans helped me form a more cohesive overview of the language in the rush to complete. John Lynch and Nikolaus Himmelmann, my PhD examiners, provided very useful feedback. Thanks to fellow students for discussions and cups of coffee, Jeanie Bell, Yusuf Eades, Anthony Jukes, Simon Musgrave, and my

co-submitter, Adam Saulwick. Thanks also to Chandra Jayasuriya for her careful production of the maps and to Mignon Turpin for copy editing.

My mother, Dina Thieberger, for typing transcripts. Both my parents for all of their work in establishing a family in a new country and for providing an environment in which multilingualism was taken for granted, dzękuję, mille grazie, graciis amundi, vielen Dank, a dank aych zeyer.

Merrin for years of love and support and special thanks for putting up with me in the last two months of this epic. Louis and Milla for being the best kids in the world.

Abbreviations

a.a.	used for the common backchannel and confirmation interjection, realised variously as [mʔm], [nʔn], or [aʔa]
AD	addressee deictic, deictic close to addressee (*go*)
ambi	ambitransitive
ART	article (used of *na-*)
ass.pl	associative plural (*mana*)
BEN	benefactive (used of possessive pronouns in pre-main verb position)
CND	conditional (*f* in PVC). The related form *fla* is glossed as 'may'.
COMP	complementizer
CONC	concluding particle (*nta*)
COP	copula
CTP	complement-taking predicate
d.	dual
DET	determiner (*te-*)
ditr	ditransitive
DK	dyadic kinterm marker (used of *tem* as in *tem-palun* 'a group of brothers')
DP	direct possession
DST	distant (used of *=n* clitic to distinguish a more distant location) (only glossed when necessary due to considerations of space)
DUR	durative (*ta* in the PVC)
ES	echo-subject (*kai*)
ex/excl	exclusive, *ex* is used in glossing, and *excl* is used in tables and in the body of the text
EXCL	exclamation
HAB	habitual (*to* in the PVC)
HESIT	hesitation, typically used of conventionalized hesitation markers like: *na*, *nana*, but also used to gloss false starts
IF	intensifier (used of *pe* in 'verb *pe* verb')
in/incl	inclusive, *in* is used in glossing, and *incl* is used in tables and in the body of the text
INJ	interjection/exclamation (as in *a?* tag question, or *a.a.* affirmation)
INT	interrogative (question-forming final tags like *a? go?*)
intr	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IR	irrealis (on verbs with initial mutation, e.g., *freg* 'make:IR')
IRR	irrealis subject
LOC	locative
NEG	negation particle (*ta*)
NEG2	second negation particle (*mau*)
NMLS	nominalizer (used of *wen/ien* on nominalised verbs)

Abbreviations

NP	Noun Phrase
O	object
OBL	oblique, used of one of the pronoun paradigms which encodes non-core case roles (not subject or object)
O1/O2	first object, second object (of ditransitive verbs)
p.	plural (used in glosses to avoid a clash with the capital I in irrealis forms. In other cases the standard abbreviation *pl* is used.
p.name	proper name (including placenames)
PF	perfect (glosses the aspect marker *pe,* and the post-verbal particle *su*)
POc	Proto-Oceanic
POS	possessive
PR	presentative particle (*kia*)
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive (of *to* in the PVC)
PS	perfect subject
PSP	prospective (used for the aspect marker *po/fo*)
PURP	purpose, used of *na* 'in order to'
PVC	pre-verbal complex
R	realis (on forms that undergo initial mutation, e.g., *preg* 'make.R'). The realis form is taken as basic and so is not marked except where needed to make a particular point.
RC	relative clause
RED	reduplication of previous morpheme, especially of habitual *tototo* or 'until' from *pan* 'go' (*panpanpan*) also written as a full stop between the reduplicated forms (e.g., *mai.mai*)
REL	relativizer (used of *nen, na, nag,* and *kin*)
RR	reflexive/reciprocal (used of the PVC particle *tme/tmo*)
RS	realis subject
sg	singular
S	transitive and intransitive subject
STAT	stative (used for the PVC *to*)
SUB	subordinator
SVC	serial verb construction
TMA	Tense, Mood, Aspect
TOP	topic marker (used of *wan*, and *ki* in post nominal position)
TR	transitivizer (used of *-ki*)
TS	transitive suffix (used to allow an O suffix to be expressed)
V	used for the epenthetic vowel preceding DP suffixes
VC	verbal complex made up of pre-verbal particles, the auxiliary and the verb, and optional O suffix

Conventions

In general the conventions followed in this volume are fairly standard for a grammar of our era. An innovation of this work is that sources for example sentences are given in one of several ways. If the example has linked audio then it has the name of the tape followed by a start and end point in seconds, e.g., (98003bz, 58.3400, 63.4200). If the example comes from a transcript as yet unlinked to its audio file then it appears with the speaker's initials and the tape number, or just the tape number, e.g., (EK, 98015a), (98015b). If the example comes from one of the glossed texts it has the text number followed by the sentence number if available, e.g., (80:34). Other sources for examples, such as 'elicited' and 'written example', are self-explanatory.

The use of audio data as a primary authority means that examples may include discourse phenomena such as hesitation and speech errors in order to be proper representations of the data. False starts and broken-off utterances are represented thus [-].

Tape numbers followed by the letter 'z' refer to non-archival versions of the audiofiles, those that were digitized before having access to appropriate equipment as discussed in §1.4.

References to the exemplary texts (in Appendix A) cite the text number and the line number, so Text 1, line 18 is Text 1:18.

The abbreviations p. (plural) and d. (dual) are used to avoid having the letter *l* followed by *I* in irrealis forms and so being difficult to distinguish in e.g., '3dIIRR', which I write '3d.IRR'.

Compound forms with analyzable subparts are joined with a hyphen. Glosses of more than one word for a single South Efate word are given with a full stop (e.g., *pak* 'go.to', *leg* 'be.straight').

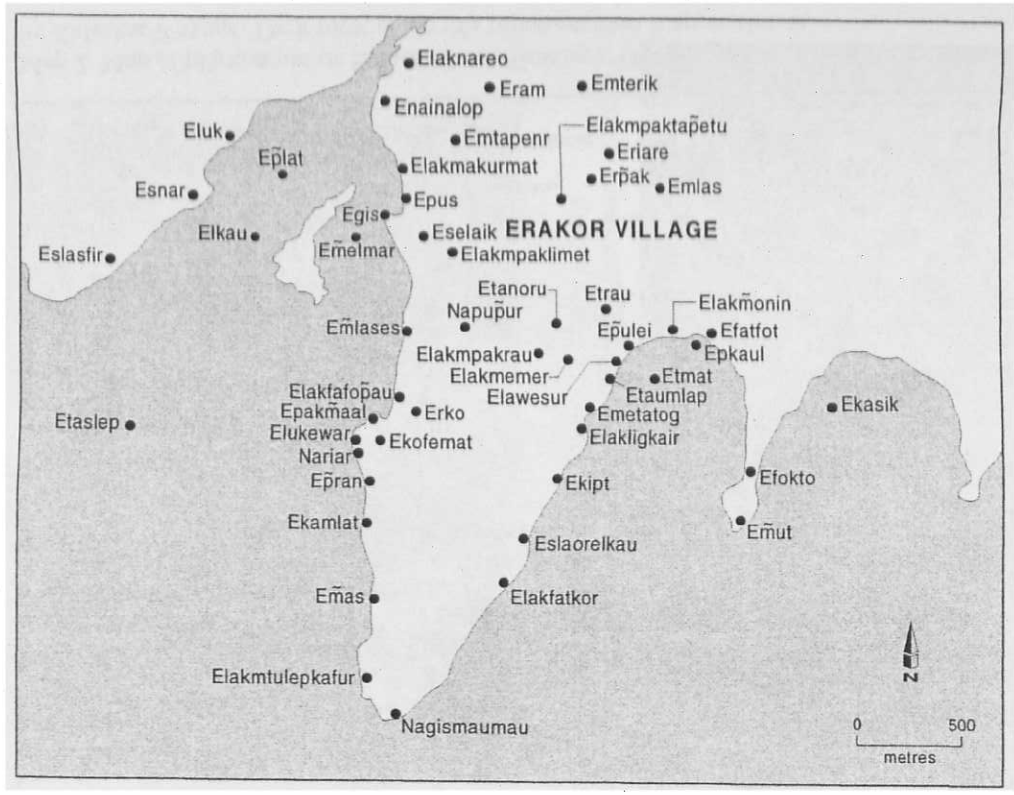
The full stop is used in different contexts to indicate a syllable boundary, e.g., *kul.kror*.

Symbols used

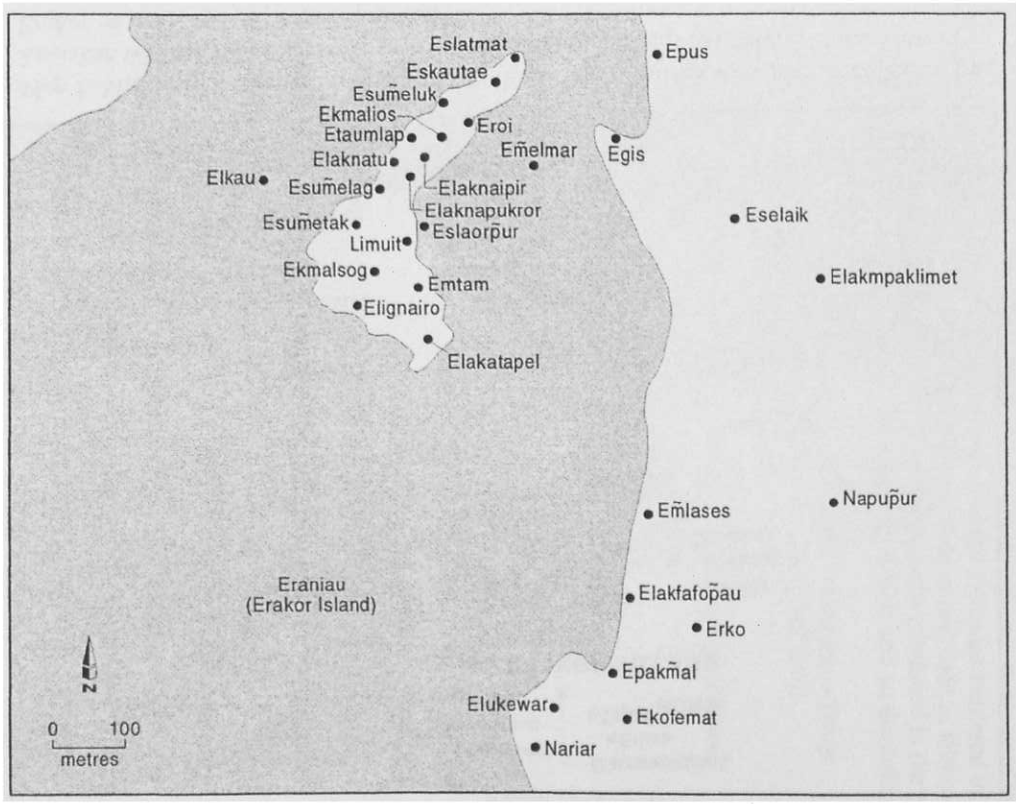
(?)	used to mark data which I am unsure of but which I have some reason for including
ø	the zero expression of 3sgO
Ø	indicates where expected material is absent (e.g., subject proclitics absent in clause chains)
=	indicates a clitic break
-	indicates an affix break. Also used to link two compound verbs.
m$, p$	this is the ASCII representation of the character rendered in this volume by the font IPATimes as tilde *m* and tilde *p*, labio-velar nasal and stop respectively. Some datasets produced in the process of writing this volume require plain ASCII and so the dollar symbol <$> appears
'	used to indicate primary stress on the following syllable
%	used to enclose a hypothesized or underlying form e.g., %*na-tok-on*% for *natkon* village

Orthographic conventions followed in the present work are as follows.

g	velar nasal
m̃	simultaneous velar and labial nasal stop
p̃	simultaneous velar and labial oral stop

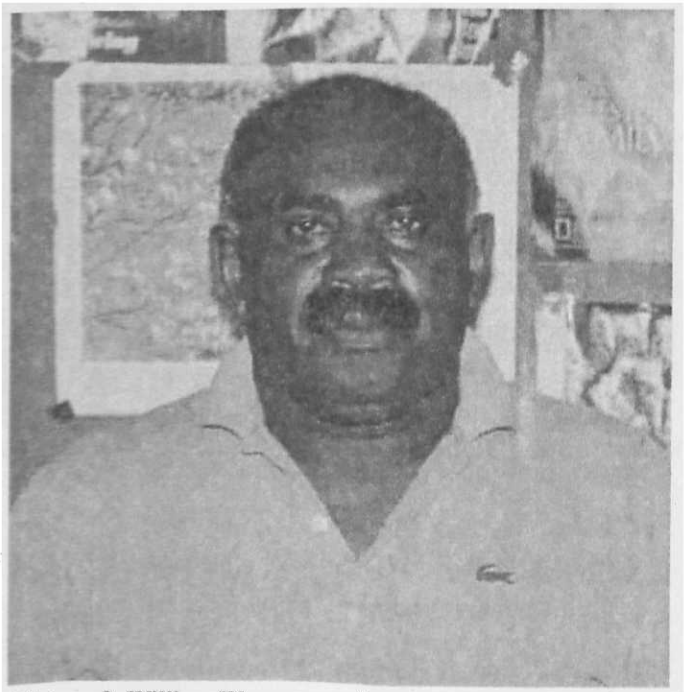


Map 1. Map of placenames around Erakor village. These names were mainly collected by Kalsakar Wayane. Their location on this representation is approximate. A closer view of Erakor island (Eraniau) is given in Map 2.

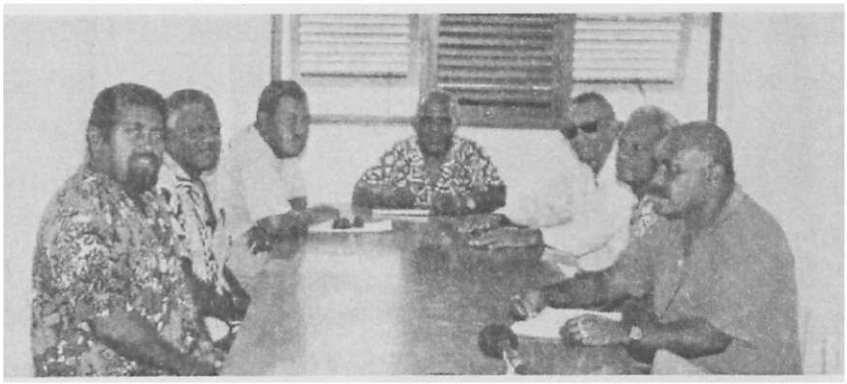


Map 2. Map of placenames on Erakor island (Eraniau). These names were mainly collected by Kalsakar Wayane. Their location on this representation is approximate.

Picture 1: Limas and Kalsarap Namaf outside their house by the lagoon in Erakor village. (1998) (All photos by the author)

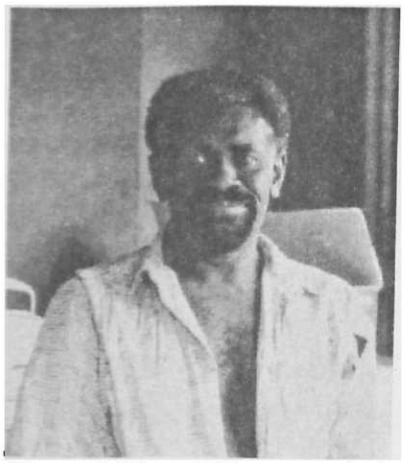


Picture 2: William Wayane, my host in Erakor village, in his house in Erakor village. (1998)

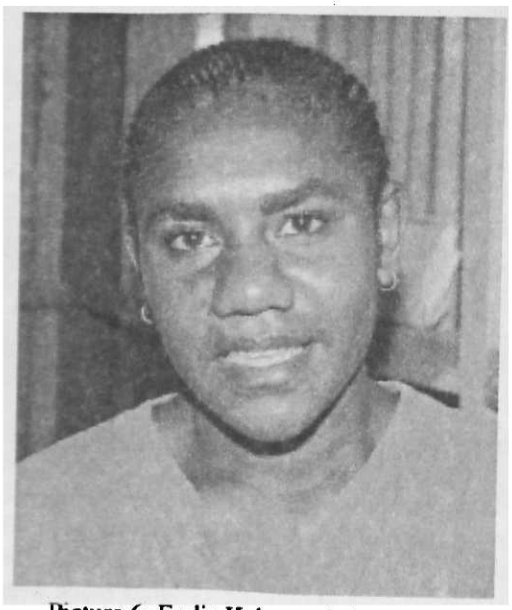


Picture 3: The Erakor town council in the town hall after a court hearing in 1998. The then chief of Erakor, Waia Tenene, is in the center of the photograph. The late William Wayane, town secretary and my host in Erakor, is on the left.

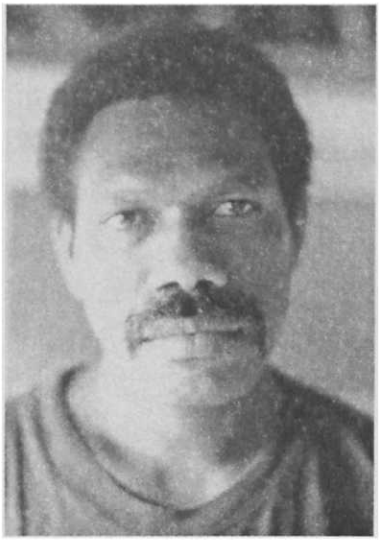
Picture 4: Tokelau Takau outside her house in Erakor village. (1998)



Picture 5: Manuel Wayane, a good friend and assistant in the village, who subsequently became the Cultural Centre's fieldworker for Erakor. (1998)



Picture 6: Endis Kalsarap helped with checking and translation. (1998)



Picture 7: Silas Alban, the Cultural Centre's fieldworker for South Efate in the mid-1990s. (1997)

Picture 8: An Erakor housing "yard." The yard next door to William Wayane's house. The kitchen shed with an earth oven for making *laplap* is on the right. In the center is a common style of housing, concrete block with a thatched roof. On the left is a more traditional style of construction, like Tokelau Takau's house in Picture 4, bamboo walls and long, sloping thatched roof. (1998)

A Grammar of South Efate

1. Introduction

This work presents an overview of the grammar of South Efate,[1] an Oceanic language of central Vanuatu. Recognizing that much more always remains to be done in the description of any language some effort has been put into creating a reusable corpus for the language. One result of creating this corpus is that most example sentences in the present work cite their audio source and are playable,[2] and that example texts are also playable audio or video documents.

1.1. Methodology

This grammar is the result of three periods of fieldwork in the villages of Eratap and Erakor in South Efate, Vanuatu, between 1995 and 2000. I first went to Vanuatu in 1995 as an Australian Volunteer Abroad[3] with my family. I planned to learn one of the local languages during the two or three years that we would be living there. On arriving in Vanuatu I was struck by the incredible mix of languages, and daunted by the seeming impossiblity of understanding the complexity of the language situation. As we will see in Chapter 2, there are three official national languages, Bislama,[4] English, and French, as well as over 110 indigenous languages. In my first few months in Vanuatu I attended an intensive Bislama language course which assisted considerably in learning the language. I was then able to use Bislama for most daily interactions. This was particularly important when, in 1996, I started working at the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (Vanuatu Cultural Centre) (VKS) which is a predominantly Bislama-speaking workplace.

At the VKS I assisted with the work of supporting the network of some 75 VKS volunteer fieldworkers around Vanuatu. They record local *kastom* (customary knowledge), and usually assist any researchers working in their region (see Huffman 1996). Most of the fieldworkers have an interest in recording their languages and have begun work on wordlists and collections of stories. I organized a workshop on dictionaries with the fieldworkers in 1997. Ralph Regenvanu, the VKS Director, had suggested working with the local South Efate fieldworker, Silas Alban, who had already begun writing a wordlist of his language. In discussions with John Lynch and Terry Crowley in Vila it became

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[1] There is no indigenous name for the language which is referred to locally as *nafsan* ('language' or 'story'). I will follow the practice established by Tryon (1976) and Clark (1985) of referring to the collection of dialects spoken in the south of Efate as South Efate.

[2] I use the term 'playable' to mean that audio data can be played using the three-part citation form of audioname, start, end. A current instantiation of these audio links is presented on an attached DVD as discussed in §1.4.

[3] Now known as Australian Volunteers International (AVI).

[4] A Melanesian pidgin language related to Tok Pisin (PNG) and Solomon Islands Pidgin.

clear that the most appropriate language for me to work on would be South Efate, which, despite being spoken in villages that formed the outskirts of the capital city, Port Vila, had received little attention from linguists (Lynch and Crowley 2001:111).

When I met with Silas we agreed on the aim of producing a set of stories and a wordlist of the language. He had produced a handwritten English-to-language list that I keyboarded and checked, and then we added example sentences where possible. We met occasionally, either in Silas's village, Eratap, situated a few kilometers east of Vila, or in Vila, working between 7:30 and 11:30, the usual morning work time in Vanuatu. As Silas's other commitments impinged on the time he could devote to this work, I began visiting Kalsarap Namaf, a then 87-year-old Erakor man, and recorded stories with him, as well as eliciting vocabulary and grammatical information. Kalsarap lived in Erakor village by the lagoon facing Eraniau (Erakor Island) and I lived on the other side of the same lagoon in the Vila suburb of Nambatri. One of the early projects I undertook was to document the building of a canoe,[5] and that canoe was then my means of transport to Kalsarap's house for regular Wednesday morning fieldwork. The motivation for this work was recording life histories and *kastom* narratives, and the beginnings of the production of a dictionary. During this time I was learning South Efate but most of my interactions with South Efate people were in Bislama, the national language of Vanuatu.

In 1998 we returned to Australia and I received a University of Melbourne Research Scholarship in the Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics to undertake doctoral research on South Efate. Preparatory to further fieldwork, I undertook library research to find early sources on the language. I also interviewed Shirley McRae, a missionary who had worked in South Efate in the 1950s and was then living in Ballarat, and Lorraine Tompson, granddaughter of the missionary Daniel Macdonald who had worked in the north-west of Efate in the late 1800s and who had published extensively on the languages of Efate (see §2.3.5 for a list of publications on South Efate).

This research provided background information on the history of the region, and also turned up documents in South Efate including a brief tape recording of two South Efatese men, Kalsei and Kalagis,[6] together with some texts in Arthur Capell's papers written by Pastor Sope, presumably in the 1950s. A page image of these stories is presented in Figure 1:1. The form of the language recorded in these sources is archaic, but still recognizably South Efate, as we can see from some example words in Table 1:1. One feature that distinguishes these early sources from current South Efate is the presence of medial vowels that are no

[5] A photographic summary of how to build a canoe in South Efate was placed on this site in 1998: http://arts.anu.edu.au/arcworld/vks/kenu.htm

[6] Reproduced on tape 98008.

longer used in equivalent South Efate forms today (as discussed in Chapter 3). The tape recording was taken back to the village in 1998. The stories were typed and reproduced with a current South Efate and Bislama parallel version.[7]

Table 1:1. Correspondence of forms in Sope's stories and in current South Efate

This table gives examples of archaic forms found in Pastor Sope's handwritten notes from the 1950s, compared with current forms, and shows the presence of vowels, both medially and finally, in the archaic forms that are absent from the current ones.

Sope	current	meaning
baki	*pak*	to (preposition)
bakutofi	*paktofi*	to pay for
bereg	*preg*	to make
bisol	*psol*	to lay an egg
bunak	*pnak*	to steal
emulatig	*emeltig*	near
isikei	*iskei*	one
lotu	*lot*	to pray
misal	*msal*	different
miti	*mit*	short
nafisan	*nafsan*	language
natokon	*natkon*	village
naulalikes	*nalkis*	medicine
pisawi	*psawi*	to thank
toa	*to*	fowl

Later in 1998 I returned to Erakor village for three months, funded by the Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, during which time I attempted to become a more fluent speaker of South Efate, an aim that was realized sufficiently to allow me to converse with speakers and to prevent them switching to Bislama in our recording sessions. The town secretary, the late William Wayane, invited me to live in his house, which provided a base for my work in the village. In those three months I interviewed a number of Erakor residents and recorded narratives on audiotape. I also recorded information about plant use with several particularly knowledgeable people, and plants were photographed for identification purposes. In early 2000 I undertook a further ten-week fieldtrip. During this visit I checked my analyses and data and ran two dictionary workshops that have improved the content of the still formative draft of the dictionary.

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[7] Pastor Sope's stories, both as written by him and in current South Efate and Bislama, were produced as *Natrausuen ni Pastor Sope ni nafsan ni ntau 1950 mana* for distribution in Erakor village and are on the acccompanying DVD.

Capell Papers
(To be Lodged with National Library)

File (Text 16) NL/U/Ef-1

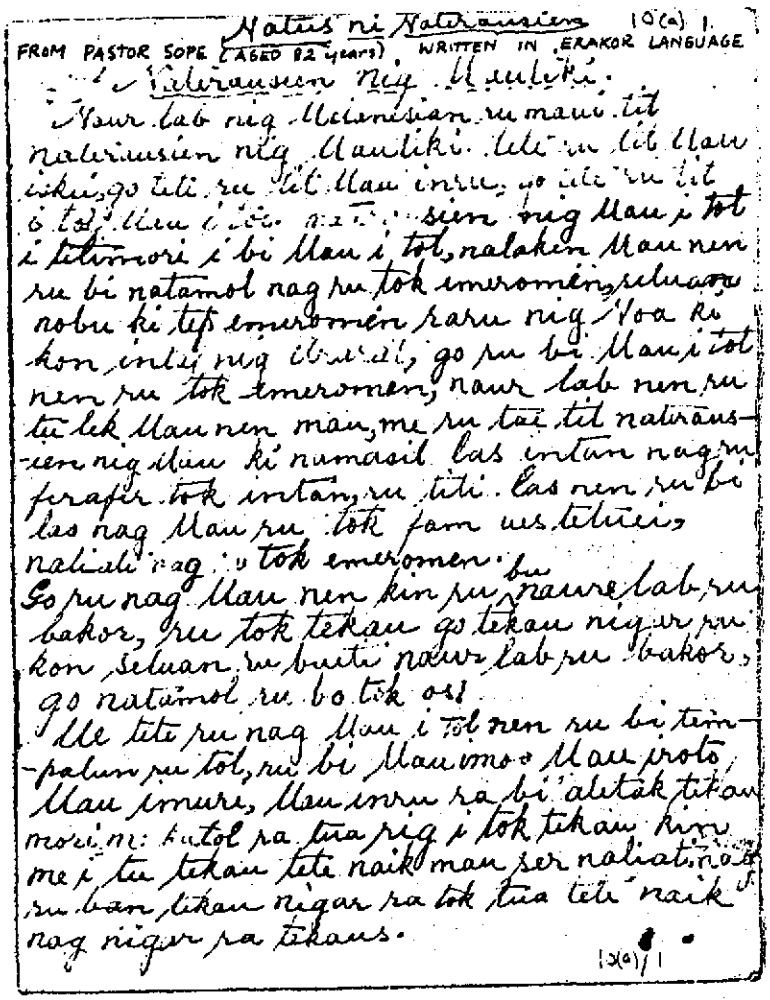
Natus ni Katarausien 10(a) 1.
FROM PASTOR SOPE (AGED 82 years) WRITTEN IN ERAKOR LANGUAGE
Katarausien nig Manliki.
Mour lab nig Melanesian ru mani til
katarausien nig Manliki. Iete ru tit Mau
iskis go iete ru tit Mau inru, go iete ru tit
i tol Mau i ioo ... sien nig Mau i tol
i tetimori i bi Mau i tol, nalaken Mau nen
ru bi natamol nag ru tok emeromen, ruluaga
nobu ki tets emeromen karu nig Noa Ro
kon, inig nig Ebud, go ru bi Mau i tol
nen ru tok emeromen, naur lab nen ru
tu lek Mau nen mau, me ru tai til natraus-
-sen nig Mau ki namasil las intan nag ru
feraf tok intan, ru titi. Las nen ru bi
las nag Mau ru tok fam us tetuei,
naliali nag i tok emeromen. Ba
Go ru nag Mau nen kin ru naur lab ru
bakor, ru tok tekau go tekau nigar ru
kon seluan ru buiti naur lab ru bakor,
go natamol ru bo tok os!
Ile tete ru nag Mau i tol nen ru bi tem-
-palun ru tol, ru bi Mau mo Mau proto,
Mau imuru, Mau inru ra bi alatak tikau
mori ni: katol ra tua nig i tok tekau kirru
me i tu tekau tete naik man ser naliat no
ru ban tikau nigar ra tok tua tete naik
nag nigar ra tikaus.
1(a)/1

Figure 1:1. An image of the front page of Pastor Sope's stories from the Capell papers.

1.2. The corpus

Much of my time in Erakor village was spent recording stories with villagers. Nearly 50 villagers kindly agreed to tell me stories, usually of their own choosing, but also on topics of my prompting. The speakers are men and women, young and old (from children to nonagenerians). The type of stories told include personal histories, customary (or *kastom*) stories, and accounts of historical events. Two hearings in the village court were recorded with permission of the town council. These include multi-participant discourse with switching between Bislama and South Efate and total over two hours duration. One conversation of some fifteen minutes duration was recorded with the permission of the participants. Children at the kindergarten were recorded performing songs and recitations of stories. Over 40 hours of recordings have resulted from this work, including about an hour recorded in the language of Lelepa Island, to the west of Efate. I also video-recorded some narratives, parts of a church service, and a string band[8] performance.

Almost every recording was transcribed by Manuel Wayane in Erakor village who wrote the transcript into an exercise book with a Bislama translation, and transcripts were typed in a standard word processor as text files (mostly by Dina Thieberger in Melbourne). I then checked the transcripts against the digitized version of the tape as I went through and linked utterances to timecodes, as described below (§1.4).

Elicitation and data checking was mainly conducted with a few speakers and in particular with two younger speakers, Endis Kalsarap and Kalsakar Wayane. Endis was particularly patient in working through the questionnaire on tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) (included as an interlinearized document on the accompanying DVD).

All of this data became part of a textual corpus that was indexed by a concordance. The portion of the data that was linked to audio files was also accessible via a concordance. Texts extracted from this data were interlinearized and a selection was made into a book of narratives (Thieberger 2000).

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[8] String band music is the national popular music medium. A string band consists of guitars, ukeleles, a 'bush bass' (made of a tea-chest resonator and single stretched string), and variously, thongaphones (bamboo tubes struck with rubber slip-on sandals or 'thongs'), glass bottles tuned with varying content of water, and small percussion instruments. The lyrics of string band performances are often sung in local languages, as is the case for those I recorded in Erakor village.

South Efate data that will be archived[9] as a result of the present work includes the following:

- Digitized versions of 32 sides of fieldtapes (around 18 hours) with time-aligned transcripts exported as XML, Quicktime, and Shoebox format.
- Three Digital Video cassettes.
- Some 250 digitized transparencies, including pictures of storytellers, Erakor scenery, plant photos as an aid to identification.
- Keyboarded texts from historical sources: Genesis in South Efate and English (Bible 1874); keyboarded version of handwritten stories by Pastor Sope from the 1950s found in Arthur Capell's papers; Jean-Claude Rivierre's South Efate wordlist; twelve glossed stories from the monolingual book *Tesa!! Mal natrausuen* (Wai et al. 1983).
- Dahl's (1985) aspect questionnaire data for South Efate (interlinearized).
- A lexical database in backslash or standard format (currently in Shoebox).

1.3. Language documentation and the South Efate corpus

Grammars are necessarily partial documents (as argued by Duranti 1997:114). They contain analysis of the parts of the language that we currently consider it necessary to include in a style that is currently fashionable. Looking back over grammars written in the past makes one aware of how such fashions change and how difficult it can be to find information about topics not covered in the grammar. Efforts to relearn languages based on historical materials (as is becoming increasingly important to many Indigenous Australians, for example) have also highlighted the importance of a well-described broad range of language usage data that is securely archived.

In 2000 I co-taught a course at the Australian Linguistics Institute (with Margaret Florey) on issues specifically related to working on endangered languages. We explored the need for a researcher to be recording as much information in as many contexts in the field as possible, as their recordings may well be the only documentation made of the language. We also emphasized the importance of data management for the preservation of our audio and video recordings and photographs so that they would be available for others beyond our own use of them. Himmelmann (1998) observes that documentation and description are two parts of the activity engaged in by field linguists, but that documentation has traditionally been considered a secondary task to the production of a language description. In a similar vein, Woodbury (2003) notes that language documentation has always been a part of the linguistic effort, but that new technological approaches offer a way of refocusing our work. The technological consequences of developing a dataset that will endure over time and remain accessible are discussed by Bird and Simons (2003).

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[9] With PARADISEC (the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures), http://paradisec.org.au

Emphasizing the documentation means that certain products of our work, such as text collections and dictionaries, become primary rather than incidental. Similarly, our concern with the reusability of our work takes on a primary focus so that the data has a use for others after we have done our analysis. Reusability is a concept from computer programming and from ecology ('Reduce, reuse, recycle') whereby we should do a task once and then be able to address the outputs of that process rather than repeating the work involved.

In the present work I am concerned to provide an overview of aspects of the grammar of South Efate, but in a form that allows access to the data. To this end the documentation of South Efate has taken into account newly emerging tools and processes that can be used to represent language. Specifically these tools permit text and audio to be linked. There are currently some 20 hours of digitized fieldtapes that can be accessed via a textual concordance, as described further in §1.4. While a normal grammar of this generation of linguists would not include such detail in the production of the data, my personal conviction is that it is necessary. Thus a significant part of the current work has involved preparing a dataset for analysis in a manner that will be reusable and archivable.This carries with it certain implications for the data (adapted from Bird and Simons 2003), namely that:

1) it is stored on media that will persist into the future;
2) it is adequately described using standard controled vocabularies so that it can be located;
3) its description is available for researchers via standard search mechanisms;
4) it is in a form that will be legible over time (not locked into transient proprietary formats) and documents the use of any special fonts;
5) the presentation and the structure of the data are kept separate so that the former is derived from the latter;
6) recordings are provided unsegmented and with time-aligned transcripts to allow others to verify an analysis;
7) it is described at a level of granularity that allows citation of individual utterances;
8) its copyright and intellectual property conditions are explicit and enforced.

I address each of these points in turn below with reference to the present data.

1) All tapes have been digitized and are stored in the archive established by PARADISEC with copies held at both the University of Sydney and at the Australian Partnership for Advanced Computing.
2) The metadata, or cataloging information associated with the deposited material, conforms to the present standards agreed to by the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC)[10] and uses their controlled vocabularies for the role of participants, language names, and so on.

[10] http://www.language-archives.org/

3) The metadata can be searched via OLAC, or on the LinguistList pages (http://linguistlist.org/olac/). As the metadata conforms to the Open Archives Initiative (OAI)[11] guidelines it can also be searched by any OAI conformant search engine.
4) The transcripts of audio files are in plain text format marked-up to show the timecodes. Glossed texts are in text format and presented via Shoebox output. The dictionary is also a plain text file that is exported via Shoebox. The special characters required for South Efate are described in the metadata, and are rendered as m$ and p$ in ASCII plain text format, the equivalent forms required for representation using the IpaTimes font.
5) Presentation formats for the data derive from its structure (for the texts, transcripts, and dictionary). The grammar is produced in a word-processor and will need to be converted to a more suitable format when one becomes apparent. It is archived in pdf format.
6) Recordings are archived and reference is made to the unsegmented audio file to maintain the context of utterances and to allow other researchers to access the data.
7) Audio files are transcribed to utterance level.
8) Copyright and moral rights of speakers are asserted in the present work, and the archived data can only be accessed by password.

Recently there has been a great deal of discussion in the Humanities about the need for data management strategies to be incorporated into our work practices (Landow and Delany 1993, Lawler and Dry 1998). The data that we create as part of our normal intellectual endeavor should be reusable, both by ourselves and by others, first because any claims that we make based on that data must themselves be replicable and provable by others, and second, because the effort of creating a digital representation of the data should not be duplicated later by others, but used as a foundation that can be built on.

Linguists routinely record endangered languages for which no prior documentation exists. This is vitally important work that often records language structures and knowledge of the culture and physical environment that would otherwise be lost (see, e.g., Maffi 2001). However, while it is typical for the interpretation and analysis of this data to be published, the raw data is rarely made available. The data—tapes, fieldnotes, photographs, and perhaps video—are often not properly described, catalogued, or made accessible, especially in the absence of a dedicated repository. Developments in technologies now make it possible for audio and video data to be made widely available and readily searchable, subject to intellectual property issues, the enforcement of which is also gaining more attention.

In working to create reusable, citable, and archivable data for South Efate my main effort has been in developing methods for interacting with digital data and then on establishing a repository for safekeeping of that data.

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[11] http://www.openarchives.org/

1.4. Audio-linkage

> "Il n'est pas d'avantage possible à la linguistique de représenter fidèlement le parler des langues vivantes même à l'aide de ces transcriptions arbitraires, tout à fait insuffisantes, imaginées faute de mieux, et qu'aucun accord n'est parvenu à uniformiser. ... tout celà dont la linguistique est incapable, le phonographe dès maintenant en offre la possibilité." [12] (Léon Azoulay 1900:175)

Having committed myself to provide digitized audio as part of my work I then had to create a method for doing this work. Audio recording technology is over a century old, and the possibilities of linguistic recording were understood from early in the twentieth century as the quote from Azoulay (above) shows. Personal computers have been around since the mid-1980s but there was still no method for linking text and audio that was appropriate to my needs in the late 1990s. It has been possible since the late 1980s to link digital audio and sound by segmenting the sound into utterance-length chunks (see Valentine 1992 or Thieberger 1994, for example). However, as I wanted to create an analytical tool whereby I could access all of my fieldtapes via a textual representation, I ruled out segmentation as being too time-consuming, and also as destroying the very context of the utterances it was so important to preserve.

On returning from Vanuatu in 1998 and starting work on the data, I digitized my audio cassettes using the inbuilt soundcard on a Macintosh 7200 computer with SoundEdit software at 22khz, 8bit, or 16bit. These files then became the basis for time-aligned transcripts and the larger audio-corpus. In 1999 a digitization project at Sydney University (led by Jane Simpson and Linda Barwick) generously offered to digitize all of my fieldtapes at a higher standard than I had used. The crucial difference, apart from the sampling rate, was that the project made use of a superior soundcard to that which is standard in a desktop computer.

I then had two versions of the digital files. As the cassettes were played back on different machines, they were of different lengths. The difference in length was not linear, so there was no simple way of transferring the time-aligned transcripts from the first set to the second. This has meant that the time-alignment is to the non-archival versions of the files. In computer-speak this is 'sub-optimal'. The lesson is that it is crucial to establish the best possible digital version of the data in the first instance as the basis for all future work. Further, these files need to have persistent identification that can be tracked over time.

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[12] "Nor is it possible for linguistics to faithfully represent the speech of living languages even with the help of its arbitrary and totally insufficient transcriptions, made up for want of better and which no agreement has ever made uniform.. ... all that of which linguistics is incapable, the phonograph from now on makes possible."

I used the program *SoundIndex* by Michel Jaccobson to time-align transcripts to the digital media. Having established a time-aligned transcript (one that had a chunk of text together with a start and end point in the audio file) there was no simple way of then instantiating those links (that is, of hearing the audio associated with any given textual chunk). I wrote a working tool in HyperCard (called *Audiamus*) to allow me to access the linked data instantly. I combined *Audiamus* with a version of Mark Zimmerman's 'FreeText'[13] to provide a concordance point of entry to the data. A second version of *Audiamus* has been prepared using the cross-platform software, Runtime Revolution. The data in this corpus is citable by timecode, and, in the repository established with PARADISEC, it is locatable via a universal resource identifier (URI).

The simple expectation that digitized sound could be linked to its transcript did not take account of the formative nature of the technology and the solution proved to involve considerable effort. Nevertheless, I consider it to be an important part of the present work that all possible examples and all exemplary texts can be heard by the reader. A representative version of the fieldtapes is also presented with this volume. If we believe that linguistics employs the scientific method, then accessible presentation of the data is necessary. In other sciences data is provided so that claims can be tested and results can be replicated. In linguistics theses to date the data is usually given as an example sentence, often with no indication of its status or provenance.

1.5. Overview of the present study

This volume is a description of the grammar of the language of South Efate, with a particular focus on verbal morphosyntax, nouns and the noun phrase, and sentence construction.

The present chapter summarizes the approach taken to the data in this research project. The whole work is developed with an emphasis on producing not only a grammatical outline of the language, but of embedding that grammatical outline within a corpus that has the potential to be archived and accessed in the future. Chapter 2 provides an ethnographic history of the region with particular reference to Erakor village and then gives some background to the languages of Vanuatu and the local region and to previous work published on the South Efate language.

I then discuss the phonology of South Efate in Chapter 3. There are fifteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. For English speakers the labio-velar stop *p̃* and nasal *m̃* are unusual as is the prenasalized trill phoneme *nr* but otherwise the sounds of South Efate are fairly straightforward. The orthography used in this volume follows that established by early missionaries. As we have seen, the tilde is used over /m/ and /p/ to indicate co-articulation. The velar nasal is written as /g/. It is in the phonotactics that South Efate displays some

[13] Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive item: aseda.aiatsis.gov.au:0311

unusual features with a preference for heterorganic over homorganic stop clusters, most likely due to a historical reshaping of words and an ongoing process of medial-vowel deletion.

In Chapter 4 I describe word classes of the language, with particular attention paid to those classes that are not covered elsewhere in this volume. Next, in Chapter 5, I describe the class of nominals that includes pronominals and nouns. There are eight pronominal paradigms, made up of free and bound forms. Pronouns distinguish inclusive and exclusive and singular and plural, with a set of dual proclitics but no free dual pronouns. Bound proclitics are portmanteau morphemes that encode subject role, person, and number, and a three-way mood/aspect split of realis, irrealis, and perfect. Nouns are divided between those that take direct possessive marking (typically for inalienable possession) and others.

In Chapter 6 I discuss mood and aspect and show that the primary distinction made in South Efate is between realis and irrealis mood, as all proclitics encode mood and as proclitics are obligatory elements in all sentences. This chapter also provides an analysis of the application of the Dahl TMA questionnaire to South Efate. Verbs (Chapter 7) fall into several major classes, intransitive, semitransitive, and ambitransitive, with a small group of transitive and ditransitive verbs. There are several valency increasing and decreasing processes that help identify the classes of verbs and these are discussed in Chapter 8. Verb combinations are discussed in Chapter 9 where we see that verb serialization as described for languages to the north of Efate does not play a role in South Efate today. The group of verb-oriented chapters concludes with a discussion of how pre-verbal particles and auxiliary verbs combine with verb stems in the Verb Complex (Chapter 10).

Simple sentence structure is discussed in Chapter 11, including verbless and verbal sentences, and discourse prominence strategies like topicalization and clefting. The prepositional phrase is next, and is followed by a description of the benefactive phrase, which is an unusual feature of South Efate in that it is a phrasal element that occurs between the subject proclitic and the main verb. I then describe question formation and negation. The final chapter discusses complex sentences, including coordination, subordination, complementation, and other forms of clause linkage.

2. South Efate, place, people, and language

This chapter presents a general introduction to the history of Efate,[14] with special attention to ethnographic accounts of the people of South Efate. There is no general written history of Efate so this account will provide the necessary background to an understanding of the impact of the coming of Europeans in the nineteenth century. The ethnographic perspective is important because Efate is today considered as lacking *kastom*, the Bislama term now widely used both in South Efate and in Vanuatu more generally to describe a complex mixing of tradition and customary practices, and used as a justification for many, sometimes opposing, current practices. While not attempting to reconstruct an authentic traditional period, it is useful to explore the changes in cultural life on Efate since European settlement. General work on the anthropology of Vanuatu is not cited below, except where special reference is made to Efate. Naturally there are many features of Efate life that are shared with other peoples of the archipelago and the reader is directed to Speiser (1990) and Bonnemaison et al. (1996) for a general ethnographic account.

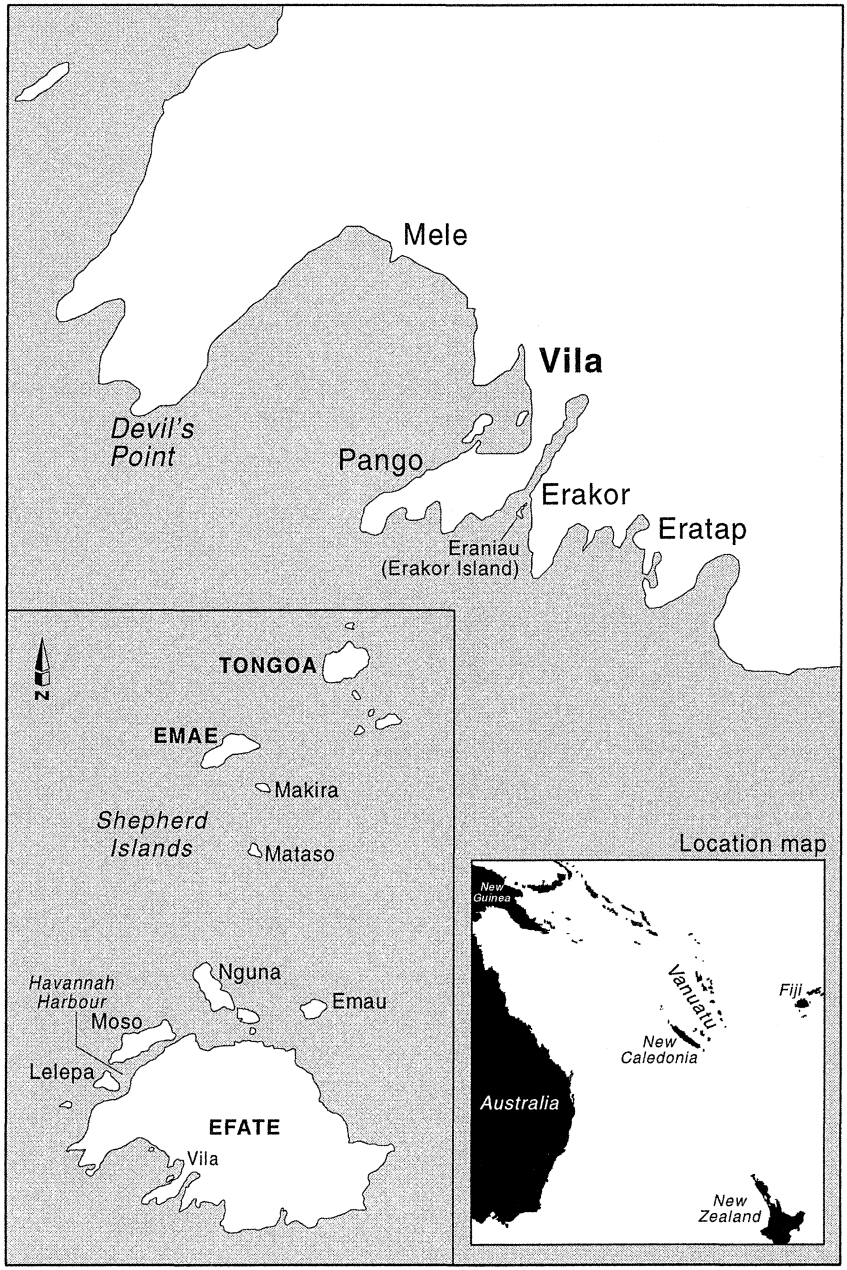
In the second part of the chapter I review the literature on the language of South Efate and its neighbors. This review will provide a background to the grammar of South Efate. I then discuss the language situation in Vanuatu and the postion of the vernaculars, Bislama, and the metropolitan languages, English and French.

2.1. South Efate, the place

Efate is an island in central Vanuatu (formerly known as the New Hebrides) at around 168.5 degrees East, 17.5 degrees South. It is 46 km long, 33 km at the widest point, with an area of 980 sq km. The highest point is Mt. Macdonald at 647 meters (Harcombe and O'Byrne 1995). The interior is hilly and densely vegetated. While much of the coast is fringed with reefs, the island itself is not a coral atoll, but was formed from a Pliocene volcano; an uplift formation that continues rising out of the sea in periodic events. Somerville (1928:107) notes an uplifted coral lump found at 1800 feet above sea level. For the residents of the island these periodic events take the form of earthquakes of varying degrees of severity.

Fringing reefs circle lagoons and coral islands off the mainland of Efate, islands that provided habitation away from the vector-borne diseases of the mainland. Erakor and Eratap are names shared by mainland villages and coastal islands abandoned in the late 1950s due to the damage caused by a particularly

[14] Efate island has also been known historically as Vate, Fate, and Sandwich Island.



Map 3. Location of Erakor village and Efate island

strong cyclone. Two other islands (Fila/Ifira and Mele) were settled at some stage by speakers of a Polynesian outlier language (Clark 1998; 2002). Garanger (1972:32) notes the 1930 population of one of these islands, Mele, which measures less than a square kilometer, as 500.

While Efate is not volcanic, the islands to the north (Nguna and the Shepherds) are extinct volcanoes. The Shepherds were created in 1452 or 1453 when the volcano Kuwae exploded, creating an immense cloud of ash and dust that covered the region and travelled over the northern hemisphere. This layer of ash has been a useful benchmark in dating archaeological excavations in the region.[15] It has been claimed (Luders 1996) that this volcano was responsible for a migration of the residents of the former island of Kuwae to Efate, and then a resettlement of the Shepherds by Efatese (see also Clark 1996 on linguistic implications of the Kuwae eruption).

2.2. History and social organization of South Efate

To understand the current linguistic situation on Efate we need to know something of the history of the island. It is a story of settlement, migration, and mixing of populations. As little of this information is publicly available, I will summarize primary sources in this chapter. I also want to explore the pre-Christian beliefs and customs of Efate in order to understand the cultural history of South Efate. I will draw on the work of various anthropologists and on my own observations to illustrate how tradition and language continue to operate in South Efate.

Elkin, writing an overview of research in the region (1953) says of Efate (or Sandwich Island):

> No research has been done on this the 'capital' island of the New Hebrides. Our early knowledge, which is purely descriptive, of obvious, and often unpleasant customs (war, cannibalism, infanticide) comes from missionaries. (Elkin 1953:129)

Little has changed in the amount of documentation available publicly on South Efate in general or Erakor in particular, with the exception of the work of Philibert (1976; 1990) in Erakor in the 1970s and Rawlings (2002) in the nearby village of Pango.

2.2.1. Archaeology

Archaeological evidence for South Efate is not abundant, but the work of Garanger (1972), the Shutlers (1968), and more recently Spriggs (1997), suggests that the earliest human occupation of the island is in the order of 3,000 years ago. In 2004 a significant Lapita burial site was located at the mouth of the

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[15] The Kuwae eruption was one of the eight great volcanic events in the last 10,000 years and resulted in ash circling the earth for three years. This cloud of ash is credited with contributing to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Luders 1996:291).

Teouma River, near Eratap village (Bedford p.c.), the first colocation of skeletal and pottery material from the Lapita period. Kirch (1997) summarizes the archaeological evidence on 'Remote Oceania' (the Pacific to the east and south of the Solomon Islands and PNG) that he says "knew no human footprints until the advent of the Lapita peoples." Lapita is a pottery style that

> ... is distributed in space from the Bismarcks to New Caledonia and eastwards to Samoa and Tonga [and] has come to be recognized as the ancestral cultural stock from which the modern diversity of Oceanic-speaking peoples and cultures ultimately arose. (Kirch 1997:xxi)

Kirch notes that the Mangaasi pottery of North Efate was (arguably) a successor to the Lapita pottery tradition (Kirch 1997:160). Significantly, the use and manufacture of pottery was lost in Efate before Europeans arrived.

While the archaeological record shows a straightforward picture of southward colonization through the Vanuatu archipelago, there are local creation stories (e.g., in Macdonald 1898a:759) that locate Efate as the first land and home to Maui-tikitiki, his wife Lei Maui-tikitiki, and his grandchild Tamakaia (whose parents are not mentioned in the story). The grandfather and grandson enter into a competition, one result of which is Tamakaia pulling Efate out of the ocean and founding it on the bones of a whale he has just consumed. Macdonald also recounts a story about pottery in which Lei Maui-tikitiki, who is identified with the moon, dashes the water pots she is carrying to the ground. She does this as the island is rising out of the water and by doing it stabilizes the island. The fragments of pottery found over Efate are (Macdonald says) called *nabura mai ki Lei Maui-tikitiki* or *nabura ki supe*, which Macdonald translates as 'shells of Lei Maui-tikitiki', or 'shells of the ancestors'. These terms are not known to the Erakor people asked about them today.

A significant historical event for which there are both oral accounts (Garanger 1997) and archaeological evidence is the rule of a strong leader sometime in the past five or six hundred years, called Roy Mata. In the early 1950s Garanger (1972) found the burial site of an obviously powerful leader on Retoka island, off the west coast of Efate. Spriggs (p.c.) has subsequently excavated at related sites and redated the burial to after the Kuwae eruption, placing it at earliest in the mid-fifteenth century.

Accounts of the significance of this leader abound, and it is always difficult to extricate historical from ideological positions. The current view of Roy Mata is that he brought the people of Efate under one law, joining the warring villages by use of the *naflak* or clan system, whereby each villager became a member of one of a number of exogamous matrilineal clans, hence promoting intermarriage between rather than within villages. However, missionary and other records (e.g., Turner 1861; Don 1918:42) describing the inter-village warfare of the mid-nineteenth century indicate that the unity attributed to Roy

Mata is more of an ongoing wish for peace rather than a statement about it having been achieved once and for all in the fifteenth century. One of the few early observers to have lived at Erakor was the missionary James Mackenzie who wrote, "They are still killing and devouring one another and often the helpless, sick people and infants are buried alive. Last week a powerful inland chief ... was killed, and now the people of one of the heathen villages nearest ... are away taking vengeance on the people who killed him" (Mackenzie n.d. March 21, 1875). Furthermore, Layard (n.d.), writing in the 1920s on the *naflak* system and its origins, makes no mention of Roy Mata as the source of the clan system.[16] The ideology of the Polynesian origin of Roy Mata is today emphasized by those who would benefit from a patrilineal chiefly line in Erakor and who therefore reject the matrilineal *naflak* system as a foreign imposition.

2.2.2. Population

There has been a migration from inland Efate to the coast in the past century or more. Intensive missionary work from the middle of the nineteenth century encouraged the growth and establishment of coastal villages, which may have contributed to movement away from inland settlements. The inland villages of Bufa (Eṗuf), Wurantobau, and Imtang, among others, ceased to exist by 1900 (Miller 1987:54), although older residents continued to move to the coast as late as the 1930s (Huffman p.c.). Rivers observes:

> Not long ago Fate, or Sandwich Island, had a considerable population in which, as usual in Melanesia, it was possible to distinguish between the bush-people and those living near the coast. Now the bush-people have wholly disappeared and the few survivors of the coastal districts have left the main island and live on one or other of the small islands, such as Eratap and Erekor [sic], which fringe its coasts. (Rivers 1922b:84). (And see §2.2.6. on the depopulation of the interior through the labor trade.)

The movement of villages from the hinterland to the coast has linguistic repercussions. Erakor people have not been one cohesive group over centuries in the way that one might expect of a village. Rather, they are, for the most part, a group that have only lived together for the past one to three generations. Previously some lived at Eratap, or Eṗuf, or Teouma, or even further to the north east at Eton. Clark (1985:27) suggests that depopulation and migration to the coast have had little disruptive effect on dialect variation because "the interior settlements were socially and hence linguistically simply a hinterland of the coastal areas... so that the speech of the newcomers would not have been very different from that of the original coastal dwellers." It appears from my fieldwork that there is greater knowledge of terrestrial life, especially forest flora,

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[16] "In the Efatese villages these are called *Naflak*; in the villages of Vila and Meli and in Nguna *Metrau*" (Layard 1915:7). In South Efate both terms are current, but it seems that *nametrau* refers to the patriline.

than of aquatic life, which may also reflect the comparatively recent movement of Erakor people to the coast from the interior, but also fits with Lynch's observation that "At some stage after the settlement of at least the central and southern islands of Vanuatu, people turned away from the sea and towards the land as the major source of food" (Lynch 1996:21).

Erskine (1853:333) says the population of Efate "appears to be considerable, but to be divided into tribes of three or four hundred persons, which are frequently, as a matter of course, at war with each other."

Turner (1861) estimates the population of the island in the 1850s to have been 12,000. McArthur says that such estimates were commonly wildly inaccurate, usually taking the relative sizes of islands and multiplying from known population densities on other islands. She suggests there were "perhaps 2,000 inhabitants of Efate in 1874" (McArthur 1981). Spriggs queries some of McArthur's conclusions and estimates the population decline on Aneityum, the southernmost inhabited island in Vanuatu, to have been in the order of 97 percent over the period 1830–1941 (Spriggs 1997:255).

Figures from Efate show that the population there suffered severe decline in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, a product of new diseases and the local communities' responses to them. Miller notes epidemics in 1891, 1895, and 1903 that resulted in "many adult deaths" (Miller 1987: 54). Mackenzie (n.d, March 21, 1875) observes that consumption "seems to be the prevailing sickness on this island and is depopulating it very fast." On Nguna, the island immediately to the north of Efate, the population was 3,160 in 1884, 2,000 in 1889, and 1,361 in 1908 (Miller 1987:139), a decline of 43 percent in 24 years. In 1966 it was estimated that 4,448 people lived on Efate (Anglo-French Condominium 1966).

Speakers of the different varieties of South Efate today live in villages around the coast of Efate. A recent census (National Planning and Statistics Office 1991), conducted in 1989, gives the following population figures:

East Efate	1,070
South Efate (excluding Pango and Erakor)	1,255
Erakor	1,387
Pango	758

There are no data on the number of speakers of the languages, but it is safe to assume that most, if not all of the population in these four locations speak the local language. Lynch and Crowley (2001:11) put the number of speakers of all dialects of South Efate at just over 6,000.

There have been no linguistic surveys of the area, and there is no information about transmission of the language to younger people. My experience with

several families in Erakor is that the children are spoken to and speak in their own language, as well as in Bislama. Conversations with children overheard from neighboring houses or around the village were all in the local language.

A number of people I recorded in Erakor told me that the village name referred to a fence (*kor*) behind which the villagers provided sanctuary for others from all over Efate and other islands. This story reflects the fact that many Erakor residents have ancestors from places other than Erakor. A significant minority of the population has strong ongoing links with Mare in New Caledonia, including the chief in the late 1990s, Waia Tenene, who says (in Text 7 in the Appendix) that police from Mare were brought to the New Hebrides by the French administration, aparently to assist in pacifying Malakula in the early 1920s, and some stayed on in Erakor. Hollyman (1976:31) notes that many Efatese worked in New Caledonia in the 1860s.[17] This long-standing population of descendants of migrants are completely assimilated into Erakor and speak South Efate. More recent migrants vary in their linguistic abilities, but I know people from the distant and linguistically distinct islands of Ambrym and Ambae who have moved to live with their spouses in Erakor and who speak South Efate.

2.2.3. Kastom

Kastom, the appeal to a body of customary practices, is a powerful force in Vanuatu today that can justify most actions (cf. Tonkinson 1982) or, as Rawlings (2002:106) puts it, "Kastom is always contingent." Certain parts of Vanuatu are considered to be strongholds of *kastom*, and this can include emphasis on the everyday use of local languages and on rejection of Christianity. However, *kastom* is usually defined by current requirements and may be used by opposing factions, religions, or political parties to justify their policies. A minister in the government in 1996 whose allegedly corrupt deals had been the target of a number of reports by the Ombudsman appealed to *kastom* in his attempt to have the Ombudsman dismissed. The same minister is renowned for his personal wealth, and that of his home community.

Such appeal to the ideology of *kastom* is less open to the people of South Efate who acknowledge that they have given up aspects of tradtional life that are still practised elsewhere in Vanuatu. At the time of national independence in 1980, Philibert reports that Erakor villagers sent a recorded message to Radio Vanuatu saying that Erakor had sacrificed traditional culture so that the new world could come about. "Ni-Vanuatu from other islands now working and living in Port Vila were the beneficiaries of this sacrifice and they should not forget it" (Philibert 1992:128). The inland villages of Efate and their dancing

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[17] My host in the village, the late William Wayane, was a member of an extended family whose surname is reported by Dubois (1975) as being a mythical giant from Mare.

grounds are now long abandoned. The fact that they are known and identified by the present-day population provides a sense of continuity with the *kastom* past.

The only anthropological work in Erakor has been that of Jean-Marc Philibert whose 1976 PhD thesis was concerned with the impact of modernity and in opposing Erakor with the fundamentalist *kastom* of John Frum on Tanna (Philibert 1976:6) which he says represent the two poles of New Hebridean reaction to cultural contact. Erakor is, he says, very receptive to outside ideas: "The inhabitants of Erakor cut themselves off from their past, now forgotton, to turn completely towards the future." ... "To embrace the 'world of the light', they abandoned their wars, their festivals, and the dances between villages; they also left behind them their traditional religion, ancestor cults, and the men's house" (ibid:7).

Erakor, he argues in later writings, exhibits 'conspicuous consumption' (Philibert 1990; 1992) implying that consumption (and the prerequisite entry into the cash economy) is an end in itself, rather than a means to an end. Further, this consumption is equated to an increase in focus on individual achievement in contrast to a supposed collective past. Philibert and Jourdan (1996:65) say, "The ideal of the 'good life' in Erakor is, in fact, one of excessive consumption or over-consumption of [manufactured] goods." However, in this same article they note that there were forty refrigerators in the village of 130 households at the time they are reporting on, hardly excessive consumption, but rather an attempt to enjoy cool water and preserve food. It is quite possible that there is more consumption of manufactured goods than is found in villages on other islands, but this does not constitute the complete acceptance of cargo to the exclusion of *kastom* that Philibert and Jourdan suggest. If consumption in Erakor is conspicuous, it is because there is so little of it, certainly in comparison to the excessive and conspicuous consumption indulged in by the first world residents of Port Vila.

Thus Erakor is known through the literature as being the home of people who have abandoned *kastom* and embraced consumerism, in an essentialist all-or-nothing approach. This, together with Erakor's proximity to Vila, the capital of the country, may lead one to expect little in the way of survival of *kastom* or traditional knowledge.

However, a great deal of customary knowledge still circulates in Erakor. There is no doubt a breakdown in the intergenerational transmission of *kastom* stories that is common to many parts of Vanuatu, but Christianity and schooling over the past 160 years have not been entirely successful in 'bringing light' to Erakor. Spirits are widely known about and feared as the cause of mischief or worse. These spirits vary from *sputan*, small hairy creatures who eat unattended food, through to the major *marik, mtulep,* or *natopu* who inhabit particular locations. A few *kastom* ceremonies continue, notably weddings, that typically include both a *kastom* and a church event. Increase sites (the location at which

an offering can be made to influence future events) are still known, but I am not sure that the rituals required to maintain them are still observed. Erakor people avoid places known to be inhabited by dangerous spirits, and accord respect by way of offerings to those spirits if required. Individuals know their totemic matrilineal clan affiliation (or *naflak*) although the practice of marrying out of one's clan is not as strong as it used to be (Kalsarap p.c., Philibert 1992). Swidden agriculture is still responsible for a large part of the food consumed in Erakor, and the labor of gardening is seen by many as the proper way to live a healthy life. This involves the clearing of garden plots and planting of banana, taro, and yam, as well as sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), manioc (*Manihot esculenta*), pawpaw (*Carica papaya*), and other crops.

Language is another link to the past. As in most places, knowing the right story or the right word is a powerful position to be in (see Lindstrom 1990 for a fine exposition on the power of knowledge on the southern Vanuatu island of Tanna). Land tenure, the basis for agricultural production and hence the economic base of the society, relies on oral accounts to determine succession. Whether these accounts have more force if they are in the local language or in Bislama remains to be investigated, but at the moment the keepers of *kastom* knowledge are old people who regard the use of traditional language and knowledge of *kastom* as being two sides of the same coin.

The Bislama term *storian* is used to describe a key feature of everyday life in village Efate: sitting and discussing events. *Storian* occupies a great deal of time and is the venue for sharing information about everyday events, and for more general socializing.

Exegesis of revealed wisdom plays a key role in establishing personal authority both in local tradition and in the Christian tradition (Lindstrom 1990) and the resulting use of parables, metaphor, and allegory continues into Christian syncretized faith. Stories in South Efate continue the tradition of opacity through which tellers can reveal interpretations open only to themselves.

Animist beliefs sit comfortably with a professed Christianity. Despite the perception that European culture has more influence in South Efate (see for example, Philibert and Jourdan 1996) than in other parts of Vanuatu, there is a strong popular belief in sorcery and the power of spirits. Jesus is another force to be used in the constant struggle of good and evil spirits. Prayer is used to ward off evil spirits or to protect against 'leaf' magic (the use of leaves as media for malevolent magic).

2.2.4. Social organization

Surprisingly little information is available in written sources about pre-missionary times in Efate, especially considering the knowledge the missionaries had of the local language. A story told by Kalsarap of Erakor village (Thieberger 2000:4), apocryphal though it may be, suggests that any written records kept by the

earlier missionaries about the *kastom* or pre-contact life of the people of Efate were destroyed by the missionary Dr. Mackenzie in his struggle against 'darkness'. The story recounts how Dr. Mackenzie asked Chief Samuel to fill his canoe with papers and books, paddle out to the ocean and throw them over the side. 'Darkness' is the term still used by Christians in Vanuatu to talk about pre-Christian times. Philibert (1992:458 fn) observes that Mackenzie stopped warfare and cannibalism and abolished polygamy, the ancestor cult, kava drinking, inter-village feasts, dancing, and the use of the men's house. Steel quotes Mackenzie proclaiming that

> We have a fence around our church of what was once their heathen gods. These gods were made from a hard kind of a tree. ...They had set them up, a great many of them together, in their dancing ground. (Steel 1880:223)

The missionaries had deliberately destroyed symbols of the previous religious beliefs. These vertical drums, or slitgongs, are a feature of much of Vanuatu,[18] and were described as follows:

> The dancing place at Pango consists of an open space; in the centre are placed trunks of trees, upright and hollowed out, all of different sizes, being cut open something after the fashion of a violin; on being struck with a piece of wood they emit a dull monotonous though varied sound. (Palmer 1871:70)

While still a feature of dancing grounds in other parts of Vanuatu, these gongs are now absent from the villages of Pango and Erakor.

Traditionally everyone on Efate is born into an exogamous matrilineal clan group or *naflak*, named for the plant or animal with which it is identified, the characteristics of which they are said to share. Some of the clans and their characteristics (according to Sailas Alban of Eratap village) are: *kram,* a shell that sits on the beach in good times but buries itself in the sand in bad times; *nm̃al,* a wild yam whose shoots don't follow the rope you put on it to train it; *namkanr,* a plant that grows quickly, takes firm hold, but dies soon after; *ntal,* taro whose skin is a little bitter but the inside is good; *nawi* yam—these people control their feelings; and *wit*, the octopus who changes color depending on its surroundings. Layard (n.d.) gives a detailed description of the *naflak* system in Pango from around 1915.

Macdonald (1892:723) maintains that the chiefly line was handed down by choice of the incumbent, and that there were several chiefs in a village. This varies with the current view that there is a chiefly line from which a unique chief should be drawn. He gives the following description of a typical Efate village: "The Efatese people lived in small communities called *launa*, each occupying a certain territory or district. Each *launa* was independent, and comprised: *(n)afiti*,

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[18] The slitgongs of Efate are illustrated in Speiser 1990:Plate109.

slaves; *(n)atatoko*, native-born freemen; *(na)manaki*, sojourners (admitted from other *launa*); and the civil and religious heads, *(na)uota*, and *natamole tabu*" (Macdonald 1907:xi). These terms are recognized today but their significance has changed as the social structure of the village has changed.

A story in Ngunese told by Jack Taviñasoe (Schütz 1969b:274) elaborates on the status of slaves who were people who had exhausted the ability of the chief to rule them through their general misbehavior. They could be put to death unless another chief intervened and took them to his village, where they would then spend their lives working for no pay at the bidding of the chief.

Housing is not well described, but a large house is noted in two sources, one as the "common house of the village", 100 feet x 28, all open on one side, bones suspended from rafters (Erskine 1853:331), the other as Chief Tongalulu's house at Havannah Harbor in 1852: "in his house were bones suspended from the roof, a memento of every living creature he had eaten" (Miller 1975:129). It is unclear that this was more than a personal prediliction of this particular chief, but Turner (1861:393) notes, "The greater the chief, the greater the display of bones."

Janet Cosh, one of the first missionaries to South Efate, in a letter to her sister from Pango (15/12/1866), says "Native houses are low structures built of grass and reeds—without side walls but just a roof sloping up from the ground." Somerville (1928:131) describes a village from the west coast of Efate as "not more than four or five huts, surrounding a small irregularly shaped open space. I did not count heads, but there were about twenty inhabitants, of whom more than three-quarters were men." This style of hamlet made up of small groups of houses along walking trails is common in other parts of Vanuatu today, and contrasts with the large agglomerations of villages like Erakor today. Nevertheless, some houses in Erakor are still built in this traditional style, as can be seen in photographs 4 and 8 on pages xii and xiv. Hébert (1965) is a survey of the literature on housing in central Vanuatu and includes designs and images of construction styles.

Traditional features of Efate life noted by early observers include: cannibalism; live interment of the infirm, widows, and unwanted newborn children; ancestor worship; and fierce intertribal warfare (Turner 1861). Some of these practices are reported on and publicized by missionaries whose observations must be read in the context of their seeking funds to further their enterprises, hence painting a less flattering picture of local life than might another observer.

> Efate clothing of last century is described as follows:
> ...a wide yellow belt made of bark or grass matting, with white and black patterns in it. Their hair was tied in a lump behind their head, and formed, as it were, a bundle of wool, surmounted, in some of them by a wooden stick or ornament, in others by the

> long points of crabs' claws hanging from either side of their head. For earrings they had small sticks or shells....Many of them had the cartilage of their noses transfixed for the purpose of inserting ornaments, which consisted, for the most part, of small round pieces of wood. Many had a large, round, flat piece of shell suspended from their necks. (Benchley 1873:222)

Women sometimes had a strip hanging from the belt "worked grass matting, expanding at the end into a fringe a foot and a half long, and reaching to the calf of the leg, looking very much like a tail" (Benchley 1873:222–223).

> And another observer notes:
> They are girded round the waist with half a dozen turns of fancy matting belts, eight inches deep. Another strip is passed down in front and up behind. Hair woolly and short. Trinkets around the neck. Amulets are also worn. No tatooing. (Turner 1861:393)

> Janet Cosh (15/12/1866) says:
> The people go about with only a narrow strip of calico twisted round their loins, and the little children scamper quite merrily as naked as the day they were born.

Lissant Bolton (p.c. 1998) points out that "the textile designs and other clothing would indicate rank and/or kin affiliations (on the basis of evidence from elsewhere in the region)."

Macdonald (1892:725) describes the people at Havannah Harbor as wearing a bunch of feathers, maybe pig's tusks attached to the hair round the base of the skull, with tortoiseshell earrings. Dyed cords were wound round the waist or legs. Men wore a hand woven mat girdle, and bark waist cloth (still manufactured in Erromango, but not in Efate). Women were 'not so decent' with a belt of strings, woven mat of 'small dimensions' terminating in a bulky fringe.

While the missionaries were responsible for introducing Western clothing, there came a point at which some missionaries questioned whether less clothing might have actually suited the climate ("We have to rid ourselves of the idea that clothes make for a higher morality", Rev. W.J. Durand 1922; see also Rivers 1922a throughout). Regardless of these efforts to return to local indigenous attire, South Efatese today wear European clothes exclusively.

Funerals were accompanied by a great wailing and by faces being scratched until streaming with blood. Bodies were buried. Spirits go west and the entrance to the afterworld is guarded by Salatau with a hatchet in his hand (Turner 1861:394). A point on the western side of the island, Tukituki (or Devil's Point, it is unclear which), is the entrance to the afterworld; everyone dies six times, each time passing to a lower stage in the following sequence, following

the first death in this world: 1- Bokas, 2- Magapopo, 3- Magaferafera, 4- Maganaponapo, 5- Matika (a similar account in Ngunese is text 22 in Schütz (1969b)). This accords with the fact that graves on Efate were at one stage oriented toward Devil's Point (Garanger 1997:329).

Friends came and put presents of cloth on the dead body for their relatives in the afterworld. Women covered themselves in ashes and scraped the skin off their cheeks and temples. The chief's grave was called 'zakkes', and was sacred. Feasts were then held every fifth day until 100 days. "On the death of another chief, three men were killed and their bodies sent round to neighboring villages to be eaten." Sometimes a dog was killed when a human died (Macdonald 1892:727–728). Burial in Erakor today is in a cemetery with a Christian ceremony, with a five-day feast and subsequent periodic feasts marking stages in the decomposition of the body.

The following information on childbirth is from the missionary Daniel Macdonald who was based at Havannah Harbor from the 1880s onward (Macdonald 1892:720): the main midwife (*mitamauri*) uses leaves of a plant called *nasuafa* and performs an operation called *koro* on its leaves; the assembled women then attach these to their waist bands, they must stay for five days until the performance of another ceremony *koroing* of the *noas* (native cabbage) leaves; these are cooked and given to the mother to be eaten. The mother and child are both purified with sea water. Men fear childbirth, believing that if they approach it they will be weakened. On the thirtieth day, if it is a girl, one goes before carrying a *nala* (female carrying basket) and *intei* (red powder) and paints objects on the way with *intei*, and hangs the *nala* on the shore. If a boy, a bow is hung on the shore. Deformed newborn infants were buried.

Children were named using a prefix denoting the father's 'tribe',[19] and a general term often suggested by the circumstances or time of birth. It is unclear what Macdonald is referring to here as a tribe (*nakainanga*). It could be the matrilineal clan, but this has a different name today (*naflak* discussed elsewhere in this chapter), and why a child would be named for the father's clan (in a matriclan system) is not made clear. Landholding was matrilineal according to Boyle (quoted in Maconi 1954:99) and was passed from a man's mother's brother rather than from his father, which Maconi suggests implies a respect relationship between a man and his mother's brother. Macdonald says that a boy's primary instructor was his maternal uncle who was of the same 'tribe' (or *naflak*). An avoidance relationship noted by Macdonald was between men and

[19] "Thus let the child's name be *Turi tamate – tamate* means peace, and *Turi* denotes that the father of the child is of the *Nakainaga naui* (yam tribe). *Tamate* (a very common name) may be given, and no doubt originally was given, because peace was prevailing at the time of birth." (Macdonald 1892:722)

their mothers-in-law: if passing where he was she crouched low. A man and his father-in-law did not touch each other, and if they did, they had to kill a pig (Macdonald 1892:723).

The status of women is commented on by a number of observers. It is a difficult area for outsiders to understand, and is frequently used today (as it was by the early missionaries) as an example of the problematic nature of Melanesian society. Macdonald, in his diary for July 1882, notes that one of their teachers, Teribo, had been suspended for "brutally beating his wife." Domestic violence today is a serious issue in Vanuatu (Mason 2000), perhaps more so in the urban centers in which traditional authority has broken down. Polygamy was practised on Efate (Maconi 1954; Turner 1861) and Macdonald (1892:723) notes that a widow was inherited as part of the property. Speiser (1990:334) also observes that a widow was passed on to her husband's brother.

2.2.5. Economic base of South Efate society

The traditional base of the Vanuatu archipelago, as of Melanesian societies in general, has been swidden agriculture (described in §2.2.3). Gardens are still an important source of food in South Efate, and excess crops are sold at regional markets, or in Vila. Store-bought and mainly imported products such as tinned meat and fish and rice are a popular and integral part of the South Efate diet today.

Cash cropping was introduced by the missionaries to promote notions of reward for labor. The Biblical material from late last century was printed with the proceeds of the community's arrowroot sales. For example, a note stuck in the National Library of Australia's copy of the translation into mixed Efate languages of Luke (Bible 1883) says, "The cost [of printing] was £60 which was borne by the Bible Society, and refunded by the proceeds of sales of arrowroot." In addition, in 1905, the mission was able to remit ten pounds to the mother church in Nova Scotia (Miller 1987:57).

Subsequent cash cropping focused on copra—dried smoked coconut flesh, sold for export. This is a flexible crop that need only be processed when additional money is required, for example, to pay for school fees. Other cash crops have been tried in south Efate, including cotton and various fruit (guava, cacao, and vanilla, among others).

In Erakor in 1983, 137 men and 111 women earned wages (Philibert and Jourdan 1996:64) while much of the population still used gardens as a means of providing staple foods. Philibert's thesis is that the increasing use of Western goods has resulted in more emphasis on the individual rather than the collective in Erakor. Further, he suggests that proximity to Vila and poverty are factors in the marriage of villagers to outsiders:

> ...young Erakor men have started to cohabit in the village with women coming from other islands, rather than marrying Erakor

> women, while the most socially mobile among the latter now live in town with well-off urban dwellers. Unable to fulfil village social expectations and obligations, the poor are undermining the collective dimension by asserting their social identity as individuals, rather than as members of large social networks based on age, friendship or kinship.

If this is the case then we would expect some impact on the use of the local language, especially for those leaving Erakor and living with non-speakers of South Efate.

2.2.6. Outside contact and settlement

De Quiros was apparently the first European explorer to find the New Hebrides, in 1606, followed by de Bougainville in 1768, and Cook in 1774. These visits did not result in immediate colonization, mainly due to the reputation of the archipelago as a rich source of disease and the fierce reception offered by the indigenous population (Shineberg 1967:23). J.R. Forster, a member of Cook's expedition, apparently recorded a list of words on July 26, 1774, in the Havannah Harbor dialect (reproduced in Lanyon-Orgill, 1970:73), but Geraghty (1983) casts doubt on the authenticity of Lanyon-Orgill's work as a whole, and on the Havannah Harbor list in particular, as it is unclear that Forster actually landed at Havannah Harbor.

Contacts increased when sandalwood was discovered, especially on Erromango and Santo, but also Efate. Shineberg (1967) gives a detailed account of the sandalwood trade, beginning with the balance of trade problems with China experienced by Australia, mainly due to an excess of tea consumption, and the need to find an export (sandalwood) that China wanted in return for the tea for which Australians had developed a strong desire. This is the beginnings of the intertwining of the history of Australia with that of the New Hebrides. The other major part of this relationship was the labor trade, also known as blackbirding, in which New Hebrideans were enticed, kidnapped, and contracted to work in the sugar cane fields of Queensland until about 1911 (Corris 1973) (although the labor trade to Fiji and New Caledonia continued for another thirty years (Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta 1996)). Returning laborers introduced new ideas including both Christianity and its converse—disrespect for the missionaries. They had seen the way Europeans lived, and how churches did not have the sort of control in Queensland that they did in the islands. They were often rebellious, either evangelical Christians or pro-*kastom*, and so, as Spriggs (1997:275) and Corris (1973) point out, they were a destabilizing influence in the indigenous political system.

Corris (1973:33ff) notes the importance of the bush/saltwater distinction in the Solomon Islands in explaining the renewal of blackbirding when, in 1884, the Queensland government banned the use of rifles as payment for 'returns' (islanders who had finished their contracts in Queensland). The coastal people, who had previously made up most of the labor trade, and who had by then returned with their rifles and other trade goods, were disinclined to assist in arming their inland potential adversaries. When weapons were no longer used as payment, the saltwater people took on the role of employment brokers for the bush people. This would have been similar to the situation in the New Hebrides, except that the New Caledonian and German (Samoan) recruiters who worked the New Hebrides did not have the same legal constraints as did those operating out of Queensland. Nevertheless the dynamic of the coastal people having privileged access to trade goods would have contributed to depopulation of the interior of Efate. Crowley (1995a:340) notes that, despite their long contact with outsiders, it is the coastal people's confidence in their use of their own language and their sense of their own identity that prevents them from shifting away from use of their own language (see §2.3.8. below for a discussion of language shift in Vanuatu).

Local tradition records that a Samoan warrior, Sualo, came to Efate and married the daughter of the chief of Erakor, Pomare, with ongoing consequences for the chiefly line that still resonate today. Campbell (1974:34) dates this event to around 1825 and records that some fifty Samoans and Tongans arrived at Erakor in a double-hulled canoe. After twenty years only nine survived. Sualo[20] returned to Samoa in 1852 (Miller 1975:128) together with his wife (the daughter of Pomare) and four children. Macdonald records that "The last such canoe came to Mai about thirty or forty years ago with a large number of people on board who had a musket, and who were all killed except one or two. A piece of that canoe is in my possession" (Macdonald 1889b:9).

The first large European settlement on Efate was at Havannah Harbor in the 1860s where land was acquired for plantations of cotton, and later maize, coffee, and coconuts (Scarr n.d.). Disease and severe cyclones drove the planters away so that in 1879 there were only five Europeans living on the whole of Efate. The focus of European settlement then shifted to Port Vila but the missionary, Daniel Macdonald, stayed on at Havannah Harbor from 1872 until 1908. In 1894 there were 119 Europeans (including children) on Efate, running thirty-four plantations.

Initial incursions by missionaries met with little success. The first missionaries in the New Hebrides settled on Aneityum in 1818, followed by Erromango and Tanna (Davillé 1895). White missionaries did not settle on Efate until they had

[20] Elkin (1953:129) reports that Sualo had lived "amongst the Efatese for perhaps twenty years" and was the source of Turner's (1861) description.

tested the waters sufficiently with Samoan 'teachers', Mose or Iaone and Setefano at Erakor in 1845 (Thomas 1886:301), followed by five more in 1846 (Campbell 1974:35). In 1852, the Presbyterian missionary John Geddie visited the Samoan teachers at Erakor and took Setefano to Havannah Harbour, leaving Iaone at Erakor (Miller 1975:129). The Samoans were unpopular with the Efatese (according to Campbell 1974), although Geddie notes (Miller 1975:128) that there were some 100 villagers attending church on Sundays in Erakor. Two Samoan teachers who had settled at Pango in 1853 were killed, together with their wives and a child (and eaten if we are to believe Campbell's account). In 1854 all the missionaries had left Efate and it was four more years before three Raratongans, Teamara, Teautoa, and Toma, settled at Erakor. Rev. Donald Morrison arrived in August 1864 and was joined by Rev. James Cosh in 1866 (at Pango). Morrison left in 1867 and in 1868 two more Raratongans, Ru and Kakita, came to Erakor until Rev. Dr. James Mackenzie arrived in 1872.

In the late 1860s Morrison had placed a missionary at Eratap but he was killed the first night he was there. Mackenzie settled a teacher there some ten years later (Steel 1880:223). In 1853 Lelepa people had killed (and, so the account goes, eaten) five Samoan missionaries. Geddie bemoans the fate of the Samoans (through disease or through being killed by locals): "This splendid land has been a most fatal field of labour to the poor teachers" (Miller 1975:58). Turner in 1848 noted no conversions yet at Pango or Erakor (Turner 1861:445). He recognized that locals feared Christianity thinking that it brought disease and death (ibid:164). The teacher at Pango (Taavili) had his house burned down because his wife "would not yield to the wicked proposals of a neighboring chief." Eratap was abandoned by the mission in 1847 after the teachers Mose and Sepania saved a European from being killed (Turner 1861:447) and had to flee.

Resistance to Christianity is still a feature of some '*kastom* villages' in other parts of Vanuatu today, and in the early days must have been ubiquitous. Macdonald's diary entry of March 3, 1875 details how, during a prayer service, some local people beat drums and sang and danced, mocking, "so that we could not be heard." Marifalu (of Lelepa) got up, brandished weapons, and threatened to kill Macdonald. These attempts to reject the outsiders proved to be rearguard actions. By 1859 Turner (1861:497) claims Erakor's entire population was nominally Christian. A few years later Macdonald (n.d.) proudly proclaimed (in his diary) that at Havannah Harbour, on October 18, 1875 "This is the formal abandonment of heathenism... the old village is to be burned next Monday."

The Catholics did not begin missionizing until 1886 (after a brief earlier failed attempt on Aneityum in 1847). The Catholic historian Monnier (1995:3) notes: "On Sandwich [Efate] nearly all the locals have been won over by the English

Protestants. There is only one tribe that has resisted: that of Mele which is well-placed on the coast. That is the only place to establish a mission." After two years of exhausting struggle ("*une lutte épuisante*") (ibid:18) at Mele, the Catholic missionary Charles Leforestier left and joined the mission at Malakula.

The Catholic mission compound and school at Montmartre in the hills above Vila was started by Père Loubière in 1903 (Monnier n.d.). In 1899 Joseph Lambotin built a mission house in Vila and Mele (which was then called Franceville). He came into conflict with Macdonald. At Lelepa he said "Macdonald's followers are rebelling against him and are counting on Father (Lambotin) to take their part and to speak for them" (ibid:138). Lambotin says Macdonald was a hard man (*coriace*), "He accuses us of stealing natives and raping their wives. Twice he sent his men to build a school at Lelepa, and twice the people of Lelepa destroyed the building posts."[21] Macdonald then armed a gang of his followers and they forced Lelepa to pay ten pigs as compensation (ibid:215).

There was constant conflict between the Presbyterian English and the Catholic French (Maclellan and Chesneaux 1998:42) that continued throughout the Condiminium and up to the present with disastrous consequences for language policy and the education of the ni-Vanuatu population (see §2.3.8. below). What have survived of Macdonald's diaries and correspondence are chiefly concerned with land conflict with French settlers. Davillé, a French historian, observes that:

> One must never lose sight of the fact... that, if behind the English missionary there is nearly always a merchant, there is always a political agent. (Davillé 1895:110)

Miller (1987:27) notes resistance to Christianity from the inland village of Bufa (Ẽpuf) and Eratap in the early 1870s, but there had been a remarkable conversion by the 1890s (Erskine 1853). In 1884, 655 out of 1,000 were 'heathen', by 1891 the position was reversed. Miller (1987:11) describes the first school at Erakor using "the Erakor dialect of Efatese" in daily classes with literacy in the language being the main goal. In section §2.3.5. I outline the publications translated into South Efate by the early missionaries, Cosh, Morrison, and Mackenzie. However, in 1891 Synod resolved that missions aim to spread "the English language among the natives as thoroughly and as quickly as possible."

This brief history shows that the people of Efate were reasonably keen to follow the missionaries and adopt new values, however syncretically. A population of some thousands of Efatese was persuaded by a handful of missionaries and

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[21] "Il nous accuse de voler les indigènes et de violer leurs femmes. Deux fois, il a envoyé sa bande essayer de construire une école au village de Leleppa. Deux fois Leleppa détruisit les potaux de la case."

sporadic contacts by blackbirders, whalers, and sandalwood traders. Cultural change and relocation to large coastal villages away from the interior of the island, together with abandonment of many long-standing traditions, marks the history of South Efate in the second half of the nineteenth century.

2.3. The language of South Efate

There are three main languages on the island of Efate, each with dialects based in a geographic spread of villages, as shown in Map 4. To the north is Nakanamanga, that takes in Ngunese and dialects spoken in the north of Efate, also sometimes called North Efate, and including Lelepa, according to Lynch and Crowley 2001. Ifira-Mele (also known as Mele-Fila and Atara Imere), is a Polynesian outlier language. The interior of Efate is mountainous and currently largely uninhabited, hence the shaded area in Map 4.

South Efate is spoken in villages from Epau in the northeast to Devil's Point in the west. South Efate is a language classified as part of the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian (Figure 2:1.), and more specifically part of the group of languages descended from Proto Central Vanuatu (Lynch 1994). More recent work (Lynch 2001; 2004) proposes that South Efate shares a number of innovations with languages of southern Vanuatu that make for two potential subgroups for which Lynch has coined the names Proto Erakor-Kwenyji (a high level subgrouping that takes in Proto New Caledonia) (Figure 2:2.), or Proto Erakor-Tafea (taking in only South Efate and Proto Southern Vanuatu) (ibid:189). In either case there is clearly more work to be done here and it is hoped that the present work will provide more usable data towards that end.

Basic word order for free and verbal pronominal forms is SVO, as it is for all of the described languages of Vanuatu except Anejom̃ (Lynch 2000:11) and the main form classes are verbs and nominals (nouns, pronouns, and bound-pronouns, also known as preverbal particles, or verbal pronouns) with a small class of prepositions and adverbs. The free pronouns distinguish subject, object and possessive forms, and have an inclusive/exclusive distinction. Bound pronouns in the verbal complex distinguish realis/irrealis and perfect (past) subject and a direct and oblique object. Bound verbal pronouns all distinguish a singular and plural number, and a dual with limited person distinction, unlike the free forms where there is no dual expressed at all. Unlike some other languages of the region there is no paucal (as in Paamese) nor is there a trial (as in Sakao and Anejom̃). In common with other eastern Melanesian languages, there is also a possession affix directly suffixed to some nouns.

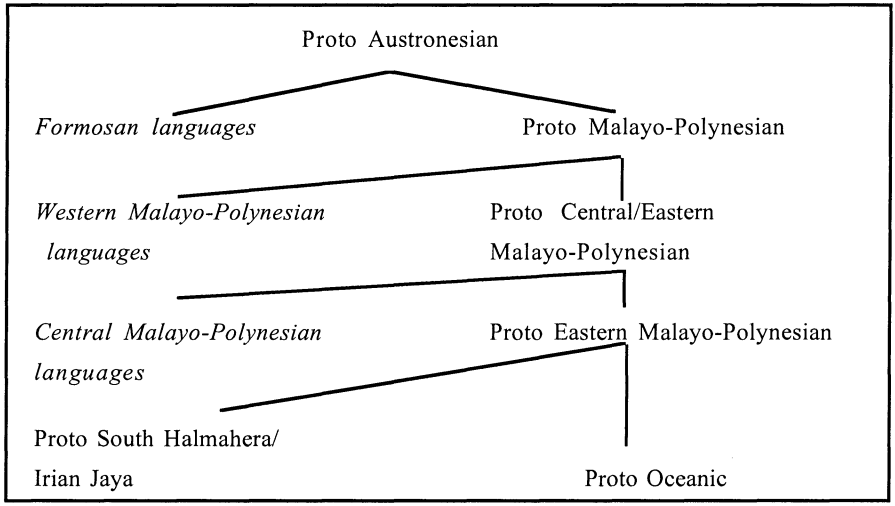


Figure 2:1. Austronesian subgroups (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:4, after Blust)

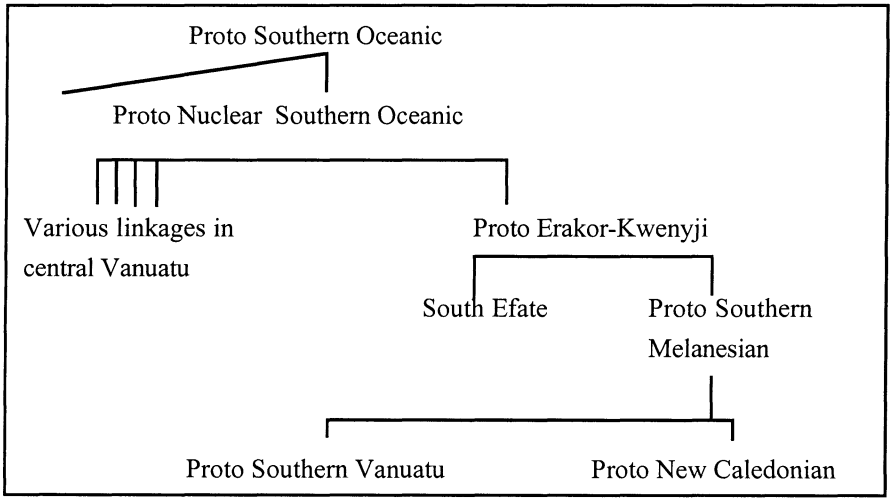
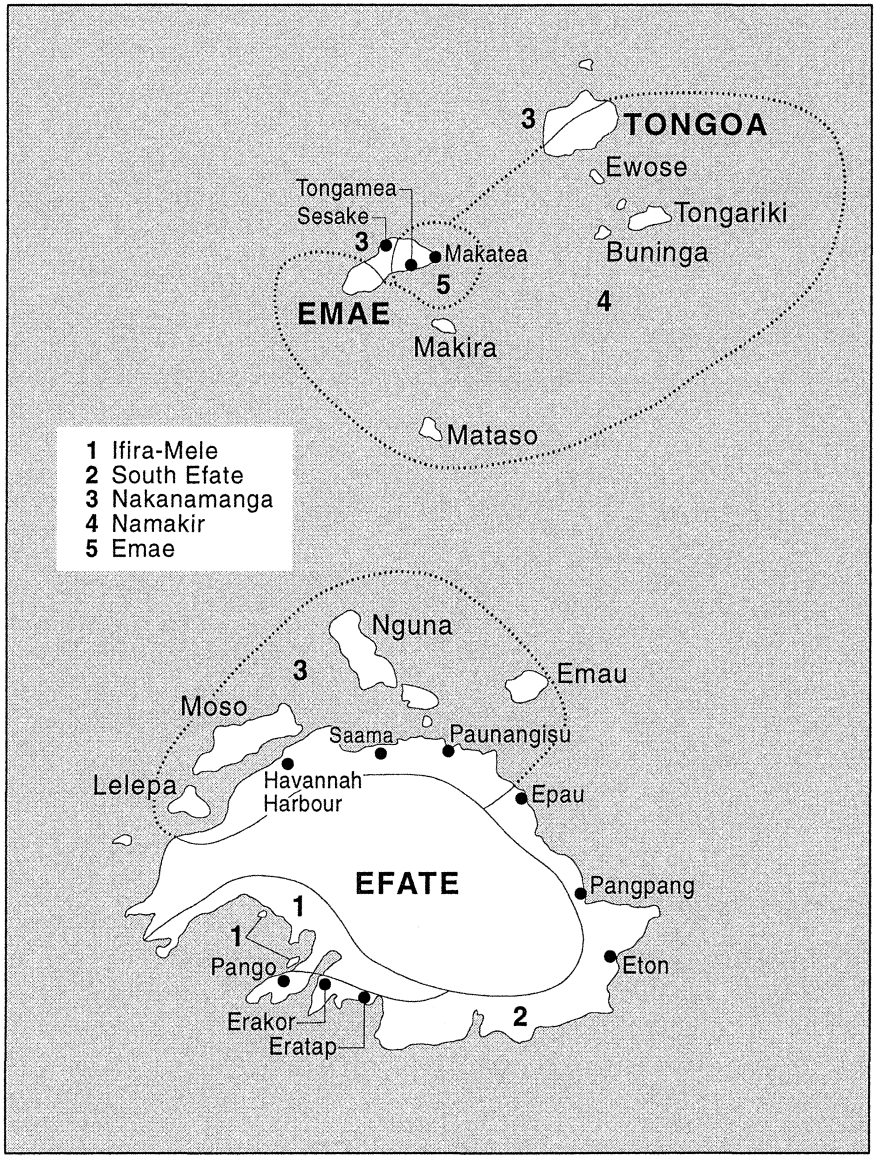


Figure 2:2. Southern Oceanic subgrouping (Lynch 2001:165)



Map 4. Languages of Efate and the Shepherd Islands, adapted from Lynch and Crowley 2001:108.

Features shared by this language with neighboring languages include: initial consonant alternation in some verbs reflecting aspect (also found in Nakanamanga/ Ngunese and Namakir); separate pronoun paradigms reflecting mood and aspect (as in Sye to the south and Nakanamanga/Ngunese to the north, although the South Efate system appears more complex than that of Nakanamanga/Ngunese). A feature shared with southern languages is the lack of a productive system of verb serialization, unlike the northern languages Namakir (Sperlich 1993) and Nakanamanga/Ngunese (in what Schütz calls 'embedded phrases' (1969a:57)). A further feature shared with Sye (Crowley 1998) and other southern languages is the use of an echo subject pronoun.

There are processes undergone by South Efate that have resulted in innovations not seen in its northern neighbors (especially final consonant dropping and medial vowel loss). This conforms to Clark's observation (1985:22) that South Efate dialects are innovative compared to those on the north of the island.

2.3.1. Writing South Efate

As can be seen from the list in §2.3.5. of previous work written in South Efate, there is an established orthography for the language that still has currency, especially among older people whose schooling included writing in South Efate. This orthography is used in the present work. The main idiosyncracies of this system are that the velar nasal is written as /g/ and that the labio-velars have a tilde over them, /p̃/, /m̃/.[22] A report by Wislon Kaluat (1999) outlines the orthography chosen by speakers of South Efate at Pango. The present work conforms largely with that orthography.

2.3.2. Previous work on the language

The first publication in this language appears to be *Nadus iskei nig Fat* (1864), a seven-page booklet of Biblical material, printed in Aneityum and translated by local teachers, followed by other work translated by the Rev. Donald Morrison (at Erakor from 1864–1867), then Rev. James Cosh (1867–1872), and then the Rev. Dr. James Mackenzie. The earlier work that I have seen appears to be in South Efate, more particularly the Erakor/Pango dialect of South Efate, but the later material produced by Mackenzie and Macdonald is a mixture of pan-Efate/Shepherds dialects:

> Mr. Mackenzie and I thought it possible to make a kind of compromise literary dialect for the whole of the people so understanding each other when speaking; and most desirable, not only as lessening the expense of printing the Scriptures, but also as a means of uniting the people together, and so helping, in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, to put an end to the

[22] Due to variable font representations, the labiovelars may appear as m$ and p$ which is the ASCII representation of the font plus tilde combination in the font IPATimes.

> separation of tribe from tribe that had been so large a feature of, and so fruitful a source of evil in, the heathen state, and to make it impossible for the future. (Macdonald 1889a:8)

Peter Milne in 1916 said the Old Testament translated as *Tusi Tab Tuai* was "not generally useful...on account of over two thirds of it being in the dialects which they scarcely understand" (Miller 1987:82). However, this criticism needs to be seen in the light of the subsequent vitriolic dispute between Milne and Macdonald over demarcation of their respective territories and the language to be used in Christian books on Efate. In an extraordinary set of events that lasted over fifteen years, the two entered into conflict over various issues. In 1885 Milne got permission from synod to use *supe* for 'god' while Macdonald and Mackenzie used *atua*. The dispute then escalated over who should missionize the island of Emae to the north of Efate. Macdonald banned Milne's work on Efate (Miller 1987:89). Kakula island, a small uninhabited island between Efate and Nguna, became the neutral ground in which north Efate people who wanted to read the language of Nguna could do so, away from the mainland of Efate. In 1885, some 40 people lived there after Milne settled some teachers there the year before to provide religious instruction in Ngunese (with *supe*).

Macdonald wrote and published widely, especially on his theory of a Semitic link to Efate (Macdonald 1883; 1887; 1889a; 1889b; 1892; 1894; 1898a; 1898b; 1902a; 1902b; 1904; 1907; 1913). He noted that there were "several dialects of Efatese, differering from each other as do provincial dialects of England or Scotland" (Macdonald 1889a:6). His dictionary of some 3,600 entries is marred due to words not being provenanced clearly for the dialect they are from. This is perhaps because the variety he was describing was actually being used at Havannah Harbour, as the then British commissioner, Captain Rason, wrote:

> ...the language of the mission station became a medley of all the dialects around. This gradually coalesced into a special dialect which became a lingua franca with the natives and was partially understood by all. As the heathen natives died out or became Christian the mission language was claimed as the language of the island. Then the Bible was translated into this language and Dr. Macdonald wrote a dictionary of it as if the missionary language was the original language of the various villages before they were Christian. The poor man only deceived himself and is now deceiving others, but it is not wilful scientific dishonesty...It is a case of self-deception. (quoted in Churchill 1911:11)

Arthur Capell conducted a survey of the languages of the region, and wrote of Efate:

> ...there has been a complete change of the patterns of dialect distribution since Macdonald's day. His dialect is practically extinct: in fact there is some doubt as to what it represents. Macdonald's earliest translations (e.g., Luke in 1877) were

> remembered in 1957 by only two old men, now living in Moso and Siviri respectively. The latter informed the present writer that it was really a hill dialect whose speakers moved to the coast when the Mission was established.
>
> Leleppa alone retains its own dialect which may be regarded as the present-day form of Macdonald's Havannah Harbour. (Capell 1962:219)

These observers paint a picture of a mixing of dialects that subsequently became the lingua franca of Havannah Harbor over the period of some forty years in which the settlement was in existence. Macdonald's "compromise literary dialect" appears to have been based on this lingua franca, but failed to be accessible to speakers of other dialects.

2.3.3. Codrington and Ray

Codrington (1885:471) sketches the grammar of the language of 'Fate' based on a translation from the Gospel of St. Luke published in 1877. This is clearly the mixed language from Havannah Harbor.

Ray (1926) based his work on Bible translations and states that "Of the four main languages[23] [of Efate] the Nguna is undoubtedly the fullest and the best understood. ...the diction and words [are] less abbreviated than in the two Efate dialects. Of these the Erakor is greatly contracted" (ibid:197). He has some examples from Erakor, and notes the consonant alternation (p/f), the loss of word-final vowels, and medial vowel loss ("Sometimes in E. the vowel is omitted, at other times the full vowel appears: *msak* or *masak*, sick") (ibid:199) and then proceeds to present a grammar of Ngunese. His earlier work (Ray 1893) includes a substantial comparative wordlist of languages of the New Hebrides. List number 16 is from Macdonald's mixed Efate, and list 17 is of Ngunese.

2.3.4. Recent work

The most detailed work on the language is that done by Shirley McRae in the 1950s, a schoolteacher who recorded the language of various villages of South Efate including Ifira-Mele. The only copy of this work is held by Wilson Kaluat of the Vila SIL office. I have had a brief look at it and found texts, three exercise books of example sentences and translations, and a large set of paper slips with words and English equivalents. There is also a brief grammar sketch, written in a classical style. She used a phonetic script in some places. It is to be hoped that this material will be copied and safeguarded for future use. I met Miss McRae in July 1998 and she told me that she had attended an International Missionaries Bible translation course at Berwick in Victoria (a precursor to the Summer Institute of Linguistics) for linguistic training. She became fluent in

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[23] The four 'languages' Ray refers to are Havannah Harbour in the north, Erakor and Pango (which are the same language) in the south, and the Polynesian language of Mele and Fila islands.

the language and notes that all church services at the time were in the language. Schools at Pango and Iririki used the local language for the first few years, with readings from the Bible in English.

Arthur Capell recorded a wordlist and texts in Efate languages. His manuscript grammar sketch (Capell n.d.) is part of his estate and will be deposited with the National Library of Australia.

The only linguist to have worked on South Efate recently is Ross Clark. His main interest has been in the Polynesian outlier known as Mele-Fila (cf. Clark 1998), spoken in the southern village of Mele and the island of Ifira. He has written on the relationship between the Efate languages, and between them and the local Polynesian outliers (Clark 1978; 1982). His focus has been lexicostatistics and reconstruction of lexical forms but he has also written on transitivity (Clark 1973) using data from Ngunese.

Clark (1985:19) notes that "in careful speech speakers of both Tongoan and North Efate pronounce all orthographic vowels. In all other dialects, at least some vowels appear to be categorically lost." I will return to this point when I discuss the phonology of South Efate and suggest that this process continues today, and that careful speech in South Efate is still characterized by the presence of vowels that are lost in fast speech. As this alternation is also noted in Ray (1926) it would appear to be either a stable feature of the southern dialects, or reflect a long process of change working its way through the lexicon. Whichever is the case, it has certainly contributed to a phonotactic pattern for the language that stands in contrast to those of its more predictable northern neighbors (§3.5).

In his comparison of the dialects of South Efate, Clark (1985) shows that Eton (on the east coast) is the most innovating of the South Efate dialects, but that "the picture is complex, and no obvious large-scale boundaries emerge..." (ibid:21). However, given the population movement of late last century, Clark notes that there is a surprising clarity and cohesion to the sound changes and dialect relations on Efate. He suggests that "It is likely that in many cases the interior settlements were socially and hence linguistically simply a hinterland of the coastal areas" so that when missions encouraged movement to coastal villages, the language of the "newcomers would not have been very different from that of the original coastal dwellers" (Clark 1985:25).

Tryon (1976), as part of his lexicostatistical comparison of languages of Vanuatu, has collected wordlists in South Efate for the villages of Eton, Pango, and Eratap.[24] He suggests on the basis of this work that the languages of north

[24] Tryon's wordlists are incorporated into the South Efate lexical database from which the current dictionary is extracted.

and south Efate should be considered separate languages. This terminology is somewhat confusing, as most of the communities of North Efate speakers actually live to the north of Efate (rather than in North Efate) on the islands of Nguna, Pwele, Tongariki, and the Shepherd Islands as far as Tongoa, with the only list of words representing North Efate originating from Efate coming from Siviri. Tryon characterizes the linguistic situation of the region as multi-dialectal and gives the following cognate percentages for mainland Efate (excluding Mele-Fila and including the island of Lelepa) (Tryon 1976:158):

				Siviri
			Pango	69
		Eratap	86	65
	Eton	76	83	70
Lelepa	71	65	72	78

Clark (n.d.) provides a lexicostatistical comparison of languages of the region and Clark (1985) considers that the languages of Efate constitute a single dialect chain, with no clear dividing lines. He does, however, observe that the south constitutes "an unmistakable area of innovation" (ibid:25).

Rivierre (n.d.) has a vocabulary of the language of Erakor with some 1450 entries, prepared by Maxime Carlot (later Prime Minister of Vanuatu) in the 1960s. He kindly provided that list[25] which has been incorporated into the lexical database accompanying this volume.

Lynch has worked on reconstructing proto-Southern Vanuatu and concludes (1996:21), "The settlement of Efate antedated the settlement of Southern Vanuatu by a period sufficient for significant changes to occur in the South Efate dialect chain which made it quite different in many ways from its closest relative and nearest neighbor, Nakanamanga" (Nakanamanga takes in Ngunese and other dialects of north Efate). He goes on to speculate about a South Efate-Southern Melanesian linkage (using Ross's 1997 term) because, "South Efate shares a number of innovations with all Southern Melanesian languages exclusive of other Central Vanuatu (CV) languages" but "South Efate (but not Southern Melanesian) remained in contact with other CV languages after Proto Southern Melanesian split off, and apparently participated in some later CV innovations" (1996:21).

More recently, Lynch (2000a), using an earlier draft of the South Efate dictionary, has written on the phonological history of South Efate. He shows the changes undergone between Proto Oceanic and current forms[26] and posits a

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[25] A copy of Rivierre's list as a field-oriented standard format ('backslashed') file is included in the accompanying DVD.

[26] Lynch's tables of correspondences between Proto Oceanic and South Efate consonants and vowels are reproduced in §3.4.

set of rules to account for the changes, which he claims are shared with southern Vanuatu languages. He concludes that there is a clear relationship between South Efate and the languages of the south that requires further research.

2.3.5. Publications in South Efate

O'Reilly (1958) lists most of the work in the language from 1864 to 1923, all of it translations of Christian material. Much of this material was written in the mixed dialect (discussed above) thought by the missionary Daniel Macdonald to be more accessible to a greater number of Efatese. I have or have seen most of these old Christian texts. As part of the current research I took the keyboarded version of the 1874 translation of Genesis (*Kenesis*) and produced an interlinear text with the King James version.[27] An image of the first page of *Kenesis* is given in Figure 2:3.

Anon. 1868. *Nalag nig Efat.* Trans. D. Morrison. Sydney: Mason, Firt, nigar asler (Mason, Firth and Co).
Anon. 1892. *Tusi nalag Efate Niu Ebrites.* Sydney: F. Cunninghame and Co.
Anon. 1979. *Natus nalag* (213 pp).
Bible. 1864. *Nadus iskei nig Fat.* Aneityum: Mission Press.
Bible. 1866. *Nafsanwi nig Iesu Krist nag Mark.* Trans. D. Morrison. Sydney: Sheriff and Downing.
Bible. 1874. *Kenesis natus a bei nag Moses ki mtir i.* Trans. Cosh, J. Sydney: British and Foreign Bible Society.
Bible. 1875? *Nafisan nafousien.* Sydney: F. Cunninghame and Co. Mitchell 238/3A1.
Bible. 1883. *The Gospel according to Luke.* Trans. Macdonald, D.D. Melbourne: M.L. Hutchinson.
Bible. 1885. *The Gospel according to John, Tus Nanrognrogona Uia ni Iesu Kristo nag Ioane i mitiria.* Trans. Mackenzie, J., Macdonald, D.D. Sydney: F. Cunninghame and Co.
Bible. 1919. *Natus bei ni nafisan ni Efate.* Sydney: Epworth Press.
Bible. 1919. *Tusi tab fao (New Testament).* Trans. Mackenzie, J., Macdonald, D.D. Melbourne: British and Foreign Bible Society.
Bible. 1923. *Scripture History.* Sydney: Epworth Printing and Publishing House.
Bible. 1923. *Nafakoron ni aliat. Erakor Efate, New Hebrides.* Nouméa: Imprimerie A.-L. Laubreaux.
Bible. n.d. *Nawisien nig Nagmer Apostol.* Sydney: F. Cunninghame and Co.

[27] This text is provided on the accompanying DVD.

KENESIS.

NRAKABEI Leatu ki brigi elagsou go emeromina nin.
2 Emeromina nin ki barbár en, ki bi namisbal, go nimalko ki en elag namos: Nata Leatu ki bunof nai tok.
3 Leatu ki nag, Namrem ke fakor; go namrem ki bakor.
4 Leatu ki leka namrem ki bo wi. Leatu ki karobotei namrem go nimalko
5 Leatu ki selnagien namrem ke fi Aliat, go ki selnagien nimalko ke fi Bog. Aliatibeia kin, kotfan go builbog.
6 Leatu ki nag, Nimalfa ké en nimaota nai, ke tibotei nai.
7 Leatu ki wiswis ki nimalfa go ki karobotei nai nag i en etan nimalfa go nai nag i en elag nimalfa: go i bo tebelan.
8 Leatu ki selnagien nimalfa ke fi Nsou. Aliat karua kin, kotfan go builbog.
9 Leatu ki nag, Nai nag i en etan nimalfa ke serakuruk bak naor kiskei, go te gar ke tok mol: go i bo tebelan.
10 Leatu ki selnagien te gar ke fi Nifanu: go naserakurukiena nig nai, ki selnagiena kin ke fi Intas. Leatu ki leka ki bo wi.
11 Leatu ki nag, Namonam ke futum intan; go nafurafur nag nuan i tou wis, go nikas ifserser nag i wa ki nuan nigar ifserser, nigar nibatin i toko nakbiloun nuan. Go i bo tebelan.
12 Namonam ki futum intan, go nafurafur ifserser nag nuan i tou wis, go nikas ifserser nag i wa ki nuan nigar ifserser, nigar nibatin i tok nakbilou nuan. Leatu ki leka i bo wi.
13 Aliat katola kin; kotfan go builbog.
14 Leatu ki nag, Tete nasul ruk tok elagsou, ruk karobotei nimaota aliat me bog; ruk fi nafeifeien, ruk bisei ki mal kinin, go aliat kinin go intou kinin.
15 Ruk fi nasul ni elagsou nag ruk sul lag emeromin. Go i bo tebelan.

Figure 2:3. Image of the first page of the 1874 translation of Genesis by the Rev. James Cosh.

The only recent publications are Wai et al. (1983), a monolingual collection of stories from Erakor (that I have glossed as texts 001–012) and a collection of stories produced as part of the present research (Thieberger 2000). Small readers have been produced at Pango school as part of the work done by Wilson Kaluat of SIL. A Bible translation team from SIL has been working at Pango. I observed several kinds of uses of literacy in the language in Erakor village, mainly reading hymns from *Natus nalag* (1979) (reprinted from earlier editions) and reading personal correspondence. It was also clear that older people write in the language of South Efate. My main teacher, the late Kalsarap Namaf, kept a diary for some years, written in the language. I observed meeting minutes being taken in the language, and personal diaries and other notes also written in South Efate.

2.3.6. Sources on neighboring languages

To the north of Efate, the grammar of Namakir (from the Shepherd Islands) has been described by Sperlich (1991) and a sketch grammar and texts of Ngunese have been produced by Schütz (1969a/b) and a dictionary based on these is currenty in preparation (Hans Schmidt p.c.). Facey (1988) produced texts in Ngunese. Capell's unpublished work (Capell n.d.) sketches Ngunese grammar, treating Efate as a dialect. His papers include handwritten stories in South Efate and a typed vocabulary list. The language to the south of Efate, Sye, on the island of Erromango, is described in a grammar by Terry Crowley (Crowley 1998). The language of Lelepa island to the west of Efate is, as yet, undescribed. I spent a day on Lelepa and recorded a wordlist and some stories with the VKS fieldworker, Douglas Meto.

2.3.7. The linguistic situation in Vanuatu, vernaculars, Bislama, and metropolitan languages

There are over 100 indigenous languages in Vanuatu (Lynch and Crowley 2001; Crowley 2000a). As will be clear from the brief history presented in this chapter, France and Britain (and more recently Australia) have been the dominant and competing colonial interests in Vanuatu. Perhaps because of the geographic isolation of most of the archipelago and certainly because of the inability of either of the colonial powers to fully assert itself, neither of the colonial languages ever achieved the status of a national lingua franca. This role was taken up by the local variety of Melanesian Pidgin known as Bislama (see Crowley 1990 on the development of Bislama). There are speakers of the indigenous languages of Vanuatu who worry that the use of Bislama is encroaching on local languages, especially as people travel more and intermarry between language groups. Hence we can see an inherent ambivalence toward Bislama in which the language provides a source of national identity, but is resisted by many at the local level for the threat it poses to the vernaculars.

Bislama today is the national language and one of the three official languages, but was, until the late 1990s, expressly forbidden from being used in most educational institutions. Government paperwork is likely to be in either or both English and French (or, with the francophone government of the early 1990s, in French only), while most everyday interaction is carried out in Bislama.

As urban centers develop through migration from other islands and marriages between speakers of different languages become more common, Bislama will become increasingly important, at the expense of local languages. It is the main language of the announcers of the two national radio stations and is used at public functions, in parliament, and in court (often being unofficially interpreted for the benefit of those lawyers, magistrates, or judges for whom Bislama is not a first choice of court–room language).

The Constitution of the Republic of Vanuatu (Article 3:1) states that "The national language of the Republic is Bislama" and further that "A citizen of Vanuatu may obtain, in the official language that he uses, the services which he may rightfully expect from the Republic's administration" (Article 62:1).

A committee to assist in standardizing Bislama was established in 1986, and included media, government, and USP linguists, but had no official status. It addressed issues of language use in the media and spelling. It ceased functioning in the late 1980s and was succeeded in 1996 by a Bislama spelling committee, bringing together community groups, the Literacy Association of Vanuatu (LAV), the Bislama Bible translators' team, Terry Crowley (author of the Bislama dictionary) and other linguists. This committee succeeded in reaching consensus about the spelling system that is now in use in the dictionary (Crowley 1995b) and Bislama Bible. True standardization of the spelling system will take some time, especially as there are so few official media that conform to the spelling guidelines.

In the 1990s so-called Critical Literacy workshops were run throughout Vanuatu by the local non-government organization, the Nasonal Komiuniti Developmen Trast (NKDT), emphasizing the use of the vernacular for initial literacy (see Sima 1995). They are typically run in Bislama and accompanying literature is in Bislama. They emphasize the importance of local control and local production of materials. After one such fortnight-long workshop on the southern island of Tanna that I attended in 1995, the 200 participants left with outlines of their curriculum for teaching initial literacy in pre-school, as well as programs for adult literacy. This approach takes advantage of local skills, requiring little external support. It is appropriate for the linguistic diversity of Vanuatu that such small-scale programs can operate with a local focus that is not available to centrally constructed monolithic curricula. Workshops of this kind have also been run in South Efate.

In the late 1990s the World Bank supported initial vernacular literacy programs for pre-primary kindergartens (see Crowley 2000b), and also for primary schools that could show that a dictionary and texts were available for the local language. The dictionary and texts produced as part of the present research were given to the Erakor school but I have been unable to determine if a vernacular program was begun there.

2.3.8. The future for Vanuatu's vernaculars

There has been no study of language shift in Vanuatu. Dixon (1991:250) states that: "Of the 105 languages on Vanuatu it is improbable that more than a dozen or two will be spoken by AD 2100 (they are most likely to be replaced by the local creole, Bislama)." Mühlhäusler (1996:307–308) claims that the languages of the region are no longer Melanesian languages, but "have begun to undergo massive restructuring in the direction of intertranslatability with SAE [Standard Average European] languages." Such a position would be dramatic if it were true, but Mühlhäusler actually provides no evidence, as is convincingly stated in two reviews of his work (Lynch 1995 and Siegel 1997). Further, Crowley (1995a:332) says that Mühlhäusler and Dixon's estimates of the decline of Melanesian languages were not based on fieldwork and that their observations should "clearly not be taken too seriously."

Expressing the common view of the time that the indigenous peoples and cultures of the region were doomed to die out, early observers held little hope for the future of the languages of Melanesia (e.g., Capell 1962). Schooling (1990:2), in a study of language maintenance in New Caledonia, notes that despite these earlier fears, the languages of New Caledonia were still "alive and well." He used a social network analysis to show that ongoing use of traditional languages relies on dense social networks of speakers, providing a conservativism resistant to strong pressure to change. Kulick (1992), writing of a village in Papua New Guinea, shows that the Melanesian pidgin, Tok Pisin, has prestige associated with its worldliness (what is characterized as *'save'* or worldly knowledge), and that children who are perceived as being wilful and lacking knowledge are associated with the vernacular. This formulation results in devaluing the vernacular and promoting language shift to Tok Pisin. My impression is that this is not the case in Erakor.

Crowley (1995a) suggests there is no immediate prospect of large-scale language shift despite the very small average size of individual languages in Vanuatu. He acknowledges that Bislama has prestige as a lingua franca ("just about everyone ends up speaking the language [Bislama] by their teenage years") (ibid:337), but that this has to be understood in relation both to a tradition of multilingualism and a powerful attachment to the village. Vanuatu, an archipelago with the densest number of languages to population in the world, must always have had languages with comparatively few speakers. The ongoing use of these languages must also have been due to the affiliation their speakers felt with them, itself a result of the identity function provided by the home village and

language. Crowley (2000a:125) concludes optimistically that "most of the eighty indigenous languages of Vanuatu will continue to be actively passed on to future generations for a considerable time to come."

2.3.9. The current state of the South Efate language

Tuta pes taos tiawi ni malpei mau. Mal ni tiawi rupes leg me mes kin akit tupregi ito, imai pi konfius. "We don't talk like the old people before. In the old people's time they spoke straight but today when we use the language, it gets confused" *Kalsarur Nawen (20003az, 678.0600, 686.5000).*

To talk of the future of a language we need to talk of the future of its speakers. As we noted above, Erakor is part of the peri-urban fringe of Port Vila, a city experiencing high rates of urbanization. One result is an increased pressure on the local landowners to make land available for the newcomers. The word *dispiut* has entered South Efate and Bislama because of problems caused by land tenure and by the diminishing amount of available land (Rawlings 2002). Immigrant populations speak languages other than South Efate, including Bislama.

There are a number of immigrants to Erakor but I have no figures on how many speak South Efate. Mixed marriages between South Efate speakers and outsiders can result in a Bislama speaking household where children may have Bislama as their first language, even though their playmates will usually all be South Efate speakers. However, there are also mixed marriages in Erakor in which the outsider has learned South Efate and uses it in all their interactions in the village (EW is an example in the current corpus).

There is concern among some South Efate speakers that the language is being mixed with Bislama. A text recorded with a man in his twenties (Thieberger 2000:136) is a statement blaming families for not speaking proper South Efate and thus not teaching children properly. His statement includes Bislama terms and is itself a good example of the importance of these terms in everyday South Efate discourse. The village court hearings recorded as part of the present corpus include substantial switching between Bislama and South Efate, mainly for the benefit of outside participants in the proceedings. This switching should not be taken as a sign of the language's weakness, and in fact in the three hours of recordings, there is a clear preference for switching back to South Efate whenever possible.

The Erakor primary school principal in 2000, Kalsarur Nawen, estimated that five to ten percent of the 380 pupils at Erakor primary school did not speak South Efate (fieldnotes 23/3/2000).

Fishman (1991:87ff) provides a graded typology (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or GIDS) of eight threatened statuses of languages in which the eighth stage is the most threatened. While his typology is aimed at describing

stages in the process of reversing language shift, it is also a useful guide to stages of endangerment. South Efate fits into his sixth stage with the following characteristics: it "is the normal language of informal, spoken interaction between and within all three generations of the family." As in Fishman's stage six, not all families are entirely constituted by South Efate speakers, with marriage outside the language group becoming a vector for the increased use of Bislama in the home. Unlike stage five there is little literacy in South Efate. Teaching oracy or literacy in South Efate is no longer part of the primary or secondary school curriculum (except for sporadic initiatives in primary school). Unlike stage seven, speakers are still to be found at all age levels. To conclude, South Efate is currently at risk but not in the immediate generations of speakers. There is every reason to expect that South Efate will be spoken for the next generation at least and beyond that into the future.

3. Phonology

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of the phonology of South Efate, showing the phonemic inventory, syllable structure and stress assignment system. This overview is provided to give the reader a basic understanding of the phonological system. I make no theoretical claims and attempt to provide the data in a fairly classical phonological style. In addition to phonetic transcription of the forms, some examples are accompanied by an audio source.

As observed in Chapter 2, South Efate is part of a string of dialects, and is one of the more innovative of those dialects (Clark 1985; Lynch 2000a). The most detailed analysis of South Efate historical phonology is Lynch (2000a) who notes that South Efate "seems to form a transition between the phonologically more conservative central Vanuatu languages and the more 'aberrant' languages of Southern Vanuatu" (ibid:320). In particular, the historical loss of final short vowels that are not preceded by a lower vowel (as observed by Clark 1985) has resulted in the highly atypical phonotactics that we see in §3.5., with heterorganic consonant clusters as in (1). In fact we will see in Tables 3:4–3:6 below that heterorganic clusters actually predominate over homorganic ones.

1	*pnak*	to steal	p + n
	ptal	to choose	p + t
	ntmat	peace	t + m
	msal	different	m + s

As these examples show, the onsets of syllables in South Efate can be quite complex. A process of unstressed medial vowel deletion has occurred and is still underway, resulting in consonant clusters that are more complex than we would expect for a central Vanuatu language. This change was noted by early observers (e.g., Ray 1926) and the variable production of words with and without medial vowels is suggestive of an ongoing change in the language.

South Efate has fifteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes, as can be seen from Table 3:1. The orthographic representation is indicated in brackets where it differs from the IPA symbol. Voicing is not phonemic.

Table 3:1. South Efate phonemes

Consonants

	Labiovelar	Labial		Alveolar	
		Labiodental	Palatal		Velar
Stop	k͡p [28] (p̃)	p		t	k
Fricative		f		s	
Nasal	ŋ͡m (m̃)	m		n	ŋ (g)
Lateral				l	
Trill				r	
Pre-nasalized trill				$n^{d}r$ (nr)	
Semivowel	w		j (y)		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

3.1. Current orthography

I use a practical phonemic orthography throughout the present work. As outlined in section §2.3.1 in the previous chapter, missionary translators produced the first written work in South Efate. The orthography used in these publications works well and has some currency, especially among older people who were schooled in its use. In common with other languages of Vanuatu, a tilde (or *snek* 'snake' in Bislama) over the relevant consonant marks it as being a coarticulated form. The velar nasal [ŋ] is represented by the letter *g*. In some cases an orthographic vowel may represent a phonetic semivowel, as we will see in §3.5.3. below.

3.2. Consonants

The consonants of South Efate are produced at five places of articulation, and are discussed by manner of articulation in turn below.

[28] The overbar [k͡p], [ŋ͡m] is used to indicate phonetic coarticulation.

3.2.1. Stops /p, t, k, p̃/

The phonemes in the stop series contrast at the labial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation, and also contrast with the coarticulated labiovelar stop. The coarticulated labiovelar stop /p̃/ is ideally produced by simultaneous labiovelar closure, but is also realized as sequential velar and then labial closure.

Contrastive pairs are given below for the stops and phonetically similar segments.

2	p/t/k	*tak*	[tak˺]	to husk a coconut
		pak	[pak˺]	to go to
		kak	[kak˺]	mesh formed at the base of palmtrees
		lat	[lat˺]	a bubble
		lak	[lak˺]	to marry
		lap	[lap̲˺]	many
	p̃/p	*nap̃*	[nakp˺]	tree sp.
		nap	[nap˺]	pumice stone
		p̃as	[k͡pas]	to chase
		pas	[pas]	dolphin
		p̃au	[k͡pau]	head
		pau	[pau]	weave
	t/p	*tuk*	[tuk˺]	1p.exIRR
		puk	[puk˺]	to swell
	t/s	*tap*	[tap˺]	taboo
		sap	[sap˺]	where
	p/f	*preg*	[preŋ]	make, do (realis)
		freg	[freŋ]	make, do (irrealis)
		pat	[pat˺]	seed
		fat	[fat˺]	stone

Stops are generally unaspirated and are unreleased word finally. Voicing is not distinctive. Stops are typically unvoiced initially but may be voiced medially. There is no clear pattern to medial voicing as can be seen from some examples in (3) where both voiced and voiceless allophones of the same phoneme occur following sonorants or intervocalically, where we could expect voicing to occur. This is not a comprehensive list of variant forms. No specific motivation for this variation has been observed and it seems that lenition of word-internal stops is largely a feature of fast speech.

3 /k/ > [k]	*narka* tree sp.	[nar.**k**a]	*(98015bz, 1357.66, 1360.92)*
	gkafik tree sp.	[ŋ**k**a.fik˺]	*(98003bz, 18.769, 19.8599)*
	takuer sea-snake	[ta**k**.wer]	*(98015az, 2757.68, 2761.44)*

	paikor to stalk an animal	[pai.**k**or] *(98015az, 266.68, 269.8599)*
	namkanr wild arrowroot	[nam.**k**an^{d}r] *(98015az, 1951.2399, 1956.18)*
/k/ > [g]	*ntankep* firestick	[n**d**aŋ.**g**ep] *(98015az, 897.8401, 901.42)*
	numtapilkap coconut type	[num.dabil.**g**ap]
	nakiat canoe cross-member	[na.**g**iat] *(98017b, 2726.801, 2727.7)*
/k/ > [ɣ]	*nakiat* canoe cross-member	[na.**ɣ**iat]
/k/ > [h]	*nafnako* theft	[naf.na.**h**o] *(98010bz, 604.2481, 605.1)*
/t/ > [t]	*namtagot* tree sp.	[nam.**t**a.ŋo**t**] *(98015bz, 1247.64, 1251.5001)*
/t/ > [d]	*namtlen* segment (3sgDP)	[nam.**d**len] *(98015az, 2783.76, 2787.8401)*
	ntai fish sp.	[n**d**ai] *(98015az, 1608.94, 1612.1199)*
/p/ > [b]	*natopu* spirit	[na.to**b**u] *(98015bz, 499.4401, 502.56)*
	tuput rainbow	[t^{h}u.**b**ut] *(98015az, 2273.4001, 2276.92)*
	p̃ulp̃og morning	[k͡pul.**g͡b**oŋ] *(98015az, 1216.6, 1220.98)*

Variant realizations of stops are presented in context in the next few examples. The phoneme /k/ is often lenited intervocalically, and may appear as [h], as in example (4) from a man in his early twenties.

4 Ru=pnak loto, nafnako fserser.
['naf.na.ho]
3p.RS=steal car theft various
They steal cars, various (kinds of) theft. (98010bz, 598.1149, 606.0644)

Example (5) is spoken by a man in his sixties and includes lenition, or complete elision of the initial /k/ of the transitivizing suffix *-ki*.

5 Go kineu a=skul i=lakor pi,
and 1sg 1sgRS=school 3sgRS=maybe be

a=mro-ki-n Erakor skul.
[a.'mroin]
1sgRS=think-TR-3sgO p.name school
And I went to school at, I think, Erakor school. (98011a, 95.1805, 98.1341)

In (6) the initial /k/ of the complementizer *kin* is fully lenited. This sentence is also from an older male speaker, showing that this is not just a

feature of younger people's speech.

6 Franis kampany ga kin i=weswes nanre ne
[ŋain]
French company 3sg REL 3sgRS=work side this
a French company that worked over this side (98017az, 2187.8799, 2194.8800)

The medial stop /k/ is elided completely in some examples of *kerkrai* (also *kerkerai*), as shown in example (7).

7 Naṁolien ki=pe kerkrai malfane.
['ke.rai]
life 3sgIRR=PF hard now
Life is hard now. (98010bz, 460.1893, 462.9)

Labiovelars may also be realized as a stop-nasal or stop-stop combination rather than as a coarticulated segment. This can result in one or other member of the pair having prominence and the other being unrealized, as in (8) and as exemplified below.

8	p̃>[kp]	*naṗei*	front	['nak.pei] *(004b, 1240.4303, 1242.3399)*
	p̃>[k͡p]	*uṗlim*	ceremony after a death	['u.k͡plim] *(98007bz, 15.1, 16.5200)*
	p̃>[k]	*uṗlim*	ceremony after a death	['u.klim]
	p̃>[p]	*uṗlim*	ceremony after a death	['u.plim] *(98001az, 894.7, 895.5544)*

The labiovelar stop in *naṗe* 'slitgong' in (9) is formed by simultaneous velar and labial closure.

9 I=pi naṗe. Ru=preg-i-ø i=pi naṗe.
['na.k͡pe] ['na.k͡pe]
3sgRS=be slitgong 3p.RS=make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=be slitgong
It is a slitgong (drum). They made it into a slitgong. (98017bz, 2022.7799, 2025.1599)

Example (10) shows *naṗei* 'in front' realized as [nakpe]. The false start of [nak] with a final velar stop is further evidence that the realization of the labiovelar /p̃/ in this example is a sequence of [k] then [p] rather than a coarticulated [k͡p].

10 Ruto nak- naṗei ru=pak nakoinrok Morinda.
[nak] ['nak.pe]
3plRS=STAT HESIT in.front 3p.RS=go.to behind p.name
They were at the front, they went to the back of the (ship) Morinda. (004b, 1882.8, 1887.8201)

While speaker age may be a factor in the variable production of labiovelars, the following example shows that, within one sentence, the labiovelar *p̃* in *napo* is realized first without, then with coarticulation.

11 Ra=puri me i=to **napo**. I=na "E a=
[na.'po]
3d.RS=make.laplap but 3sgRS=STAT smell 3sgRS=say hey 1sgRS=

trau mur ka=fam tete nafnag nen i=to **napo** wi."
[na.'kpo]
really want 1sgIRR=eat:IR some food REL 3sgRS=STAT smell good
They made laplap which he smelled. He said "Oh I really want to eat some that smells so good." (20001a, 1616.4000, 1624.0400)

The variation in production of /p/ and /p̃/ is clearly identifiable when a word-initial *p̃* undergoes stem-initial mutation (see section §6.4.5.1), a process otherwise only open to the labial stop, hence *p̃nut* > *pnut* > *fnut*, as in (12).

12 P̃a=**fnut** tu san tu me neu ka=fa=n
2sgIRR=quiet:IR stay here at and 1sg 1sgIRR=go:IR=DST

wes napum̃ mai, ka=fo tu-o-k.
get fish.sp come 1sgIRR=PSP:IR give-TS-2sgO
You stay here quiet, and I will bring some yellowtail fish, I will give it to you. (98007b, 1776.6599, 1780.5800)

3.2.2. Fricatives /f, s/

Fricative phonemes are produced at the labio-dental and alveolar places of articulation. Contrastive pairs are given below for the fricatives and phonetically similar segments.

13	f/p	*fai*	[fai]	stingray sp.
		pai	[pai]	to fill
	f/p̃	*nafet*	[na.fet˺]	group
		napet	[na.kpet˺]	meaning
	s/f	*sak*	[sak˺]	to climb
		fak	[fak˺]	go to (IR)
	s/t	*sraf*	[sraf]	to miss
		traf	[traf]	to dig
	s/n	*naures*	[nau.res]	grater
		nauren	[nau.ren]	top of tree or plant

3.2.3. Nasals /m̃, m, n, g, nr/

Nasals contrast at the labial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation, and also contrast with the coarticulated labiovelar nasal. /nr/ is a prenasalized alveolar trill.

Contrastive pairs are given below for the nasals and phonetically similar segments.

14	m/n/g	*pan*	[pan]	to roast
		pam	[pam]	to eat
		pag	[paŋ]	to climb
	m̃/m	*m̃ol*	[ŋ͡mol]	live, be alive
		mol	[mol]	hunt (for coconut crab)
		m̃as	[ŋ͡mas]	only
		mas	[mas]	to saw
	k/g	*lak*	[lakˀ]	marry
		lag	[laŋ]	to sing
		malik	[ma.likˀ]	dark
		malig	[ma.liŋ]	spill, drop
	n/g	*naton*	[na.ton]	dust
		natog	[na.toŋ]	mangrove
		pan	[pan]	to go
		pag	[paŋ]	to climb
	nr/n	*nrag*	[nᵈraŋ]	a claw
		nag	[naŋ]	to say
		konr	[konᵈr]	shellfish sp.
		kon	[kon]	to be stuck

The coarticulated segment /m̃/ can also be produced as [m] or as sequential segments [ŋm] with a similar range of realizations as that discussed above for /p̃/. Realization as sequential segments is particularly noticeable medially where the coda of one syllable is made up of the first segment, and the onset of the second syllable consists of the second segment. Thus the form *nam̃er* is realized as both [na.mer] and [naŋ.mer]. The latter is illustrated in the song text in (15).

15	Yesu	i=mur	**nam̃er**	lap.
			['naŋ.mer]	
	Jesus	3sgRS=want	people	many

Jesus loves us one and all. (98003bz, 1801.1799, 1850.5000)

I analyze /nr/ as a unit phoneme on distributional grounds because it is the first part of what otherwise would be the only permissable four consonant cluster (*funr.fnoi*), and it would otherwise be the only consonant cluster that can occur syllable finally before another consonant cluster (*nr.fn; nr.pr*). The phonotactic tables below show that treating /nr/ as separate segments would result in the cluster /n/ + /r/ occurring with disproportionately high frequency.

The segment /nr/ is produced with an intrusive stop [n^{d}r]. This pronunciation is illustrated in the next examples.

16 Me **nrak**.pei a=ta su nmaro m̃it mau.
[n^{d}rak]
but time.first 1sgRS=NEG catch breath short NEG2
But back then I hadn't caught asthma yet. (98003az, 1426.7639, 1429.1599)

17 A=to san **nrir** pak sanpe a=mer nrir.ler.
[n^{d}rir]
1sgRS=STAT here fly to there 1sgRS=again fly.return
I am here, fly to there and fly back. (98017bz, 1409.6205, 1411.4763)

3.2.4. Liquids /l, r/

There are two liquids, a laterial alveolar /l/ and a rhotic alveolar trill /r/. Contrastive pairs are given below for the liquids and phonetically similar segments.

18 l/r/nr	*kol*	[kɔl]	to be crippled
	kor	[kɔr]	to block
	konr	[kɔn^{d}r]	shellfish sp.
	kal	[kal]	digging stick
	kanr	[kan^{d}r]	black ant *(98015az, 2407.1000, 2411.3400)*
	ru	[ru]	3rd plural realis subject proclitic
	lu	[lu]	to vomit
	nru	[n^{d}ru]	two
	karo	['ka.ro]	naked *(98015az, 1297.5001, 1300.9200)*
	kalo	['ka.lo]	interjection *(98015az, 1029.01, 1032.3599)*
	lak	[lak$^{\neg}$]	marry
	nrak	[n^{d}rak$^{\neg}$]	occasion, time
	rak	[rak$^{\neg}$]	dual irrealis subject proclitic

It is common, but not obligatory, for /l/ to be pre-stopped following /n/ as in the next two examples.

19 Natrauswen ga i=taos **nlag**.
[n^{d}laŋ]
story 3sgPOS 3sgRS=like wind
His story is like the wind. (98009a, 1925.7473, 1930.7599)

20 Iwelkin ke=fitlak **nlagwat** p̃ur tefla=n ke=mai.
['n^{d}laŋ.wat$^{\neg}$]
thus 3sgIRR=have:IR cyclone big like=DST 3sgIRR=come
So there was a big cyclone that came. (98014az, 2657.9317, 2662.9401)

3.2.5. Semivowels /w, y/

There are two phonemic semivowels, the labiovelar /w/ and the palatal /y/. Contrastive pairs are given below for /w/ and for phonetically similar segments.

21	w/m̃/p̃	*wit*	[wit]	octopus
		m̃it	[ŋ̄mit˺]	mat
		p̃it	[k̄pit˺]	fish sp.
		torwak	['tor.wak˺]	to anchor
		folfolm̃ak	['fol.fol.ŋ̄mak˺]	to rub one's eyes
		metp̃akor	['met.k̄pa.kor]	to forget

In addition, phonetic semivowels (i) are inserted between adjacent falling vowels (/i.a/ > [i.ja], /i.e/ > [i.je], /u.a/ > [u.wa]) or (ii) take the place of one of the vowels (/ia/ > [ja], /ie/ > [je], /ua/ > [wa]) depending on the speed of the speech and on other factors that have not yet been determined. While I have given the word *iak* 'mother', for example, as vowel-initial in the accompanying dictionary, it should be considered as /y/-initial. Similarly, while orthographic vowels appear in the following examples, they should be understood as representing an underlying phonemic semivowel.

22	*nanwei*	/'nan.wei/	man
	napiau	/'na.pjau/	swell (of the sea)
	naturiai	/na.'tur.jai/	lad
	urtaiak	/'ur.ta.jak/	crayfish, large crayfish
	kalafiei	/'ka.la.fjei/	fish sp. parrotfish

For a discussion of how phonetic semivowels are assigned to each of these categories see §3.5.3.

3.2.6. Non-phonemic glottal stop

The glottal stop [ʔ] often occurs preceding a vowel-initial word, as we see in (23) where the highlighted *ag* '2sg' is phonetically [ʔaŋ].

23 I=wel **ag** ku=to esago.
[ʔaŋ]
3sgRS=thus 2sg 2sgRS=stay there
Well, you are there. (98003bz, 843.6382, 845.2799)

The glottal stop is also used in the very common feedback particle (cf. §4.11.2.) written as *a.a* in (24), or *m.m* [ʔmʔm] in (25).

24 **A.a.** Naliati ilim.
[ʔaʔa]
yes day five
Yes, five days. (98003bz, 1117.3799, 1118.9440)

In (25) the first use of *m.m.* is in response to a question asking whether the speaker had seen any *natopu* 'spirits'. She answers the question in the negative and then finishes with *m.m.* meaning something like 'like that'.

25 **M.m.** Kin a=to nrog-o-ø me a=tap
[ʔmʔm]
no COMP 1sgRS=STAT hear-TS-3sgO but 1sgRS=NEG

lek	tete	mau.	**m.m.**
			[ʔmʔm]
see	some	NEG2	like.that

mm, (no), I heard it, but I didn't see any, mm. (20001az, 1787.4400, 1792.4000)

3.3. Vowels

There is a five-vowel system typical of languages of the region (e.g., Ngunese, Schütz 1969a; Namakira, Sperlich 1991). Back vowels /u, o/ are produced with lip-rounding and front and central vowels /i, e, a/ are produced with lips spread. Vowel length is not distinctive. Vowel phonemes and their allophones are listed below. The distinction between semivowels and the high vowels /u/ and /i/ in some environments remains problematic and in need of further investigation.

26

a	> [a]			
e	> [e]	preceding another vowel	*neu*	['neu] I /me *(98015az, 587.9400, 591.1401)*
	> [ɛ]	elsewhere	*masmes*	['mas.mɛs] knife *(98015az, 682.2800, 686.0001)*
i	> [ɨ]/[ə]	unstressed syllable + adjacent velar	*negar* *nalkis*	[nə.'ŋar] theirs (*ni+gar*) ['nal.kɨs] medicine *(98015az, 1124.2600, 1127.8800)*
	> [j]	syllable initially + vowel	*napiau*	['nap.jau] sea swell *(98015bz, 784.0599, 787.7999)*
	> [j]	following [a]	*tai*	[taj] to cut *(98003bz, 535.27, 535.6)*
	> [j]	following C preceding VV	*kalafiei*	['ka.la.fjei] fish sp. parrotfish
	> [i]	elsewhere	*nipu*	['ni.pu] palmtree
o	> [ɔ]	before the rhotic [r]	*pakor*	['pa.kɔr] to appear *(98003bz, 651.1200, 652.4)*
	> [o]	elsewhere	*pakot*	['pa.kot̚] to pay *(20003az, 36.59, 37.4)*
	> [ɷ]	following another vowel	*tao*	[taɷ] give me *(20001az, 1745.3, 1745.7)*
u	> [ɷ]	unstressed syllable	*kapu*	['ka.pɷ] laplap, pudding *(98015az, 727.8800, 731.2000)*
	> [w]	syllable initially + vowel	*takuer*	['tak.wer] sea-snake *(98015az, 2757.6800, 2761.4400)*
	> [w]	following [a]	*tau*	[taw] to leave *(98003bz,*

1346.6, 1347.1)

> [w]	following C preceding VV	*tuei*	[twei] long ago
> [u]	elsewhere	*tut*	[tut$^{\gamma}$] to drown *(98015az, 2681.5000, 2684.7400)*

Contrastive pairs for the vowels are given below.

27	*p̃ar*	[k͡par]	to be stuck, closed	*sar*	[sar]	to mix
	p̃or	[k͡pɔr]	to break sthg.	*ser*	[ser]	every
	p̃ur	[k͡pur]	full	*sirsir*	['sir.sir]	to drizzle
	per	[per]	to fart	*sor*	[sɔr]	to sell
	pir	[pir]	to braid	*sur*	[sur]	to scoop out

Table 3:2. South Efate correspondences to Proto Oceanic (POc), from Lynch 2000a

POc	South Efate	POc	South Efate
*b^w	k_p	*m^w	ŋm
*b	p (k_p)	*m	m (ŋm)
*p^w	p?	*n, *ñ	n
*p	f (m,Ø,w)	*ŋ	ŋ (m, ŋm)
*t	t	*r	r [n_r]
*d	?	*dr	n_r (r)
*k, *g	k	*R	[r,Ø]
*q	Ø	*l	l [n_r,r]
*c, *s	s	*w	u (Ø)
*j	t? s?	*y	(s,Ø,e)
*i	i	*o	o (e)
*e	e	*u	u
*a	a (e)		

3.4. Proto Oceanic and South Efate correspondences

Lynch's table of South Efate correspondences with Proto Oceanic (POc) (Lynch 2000a:328) is reproduced above as Table 3:2. Forms in parentheses show conditioned reflexes between current South Efate segments and Proto Oceanic, bracketed forms have conditioning that is not clear, and question marks indicate where further research is required. Examples of these correspondences between POc and South Efate (from Lynch 2000a) follow.

Consonants

*b^{w}>p̃	POc *b^{w}atu	head	*p̃au*
*b>p	POc *bati-	tooth	*pat*
*b>p̃	POc *boŋi	night	*p̃og*
*pw>p	POc *p(^{w})ilak	lightning	*na-pil*
*p>f	POc *patu	stone	*fat*
*p>v>m	(POc *p=) PNCV *v *garavu	clam	*kram*
*p>Ø	POc *pulu	hair	*ululu* 'hairy'
*p>w	POc *pose	a paddle	*wes*
*t>t	POc *toqa	fowl	*to*
*k>k	POc *kutu	louse	*kut*
*g>k	POc *baga	banyan	*m-pak*
*q>Ø	POc *qumun	oven	*um*
*c>s	POc *paluca	paddle	*palus*
*s>s	POc *siko	kingfisher	*sik*
*j>t	POc *jila	boom	*na-tir* 'mast'
*j>s	POc *tajim	sharpen	*tas* 'shave, plane'
*m^{w}>m̃	POc *m^{w}ata	snake	*m̃at*
*m>m	POc *manuk	bird	*man*
*m>m̃	POc *molis	citrus	*m̃ol*
*n>n	POc *tanoq	ground	*n-tan*
*ñ>n	POc *ñamuk	mosquito	*kat/nam*
*ŋ>ŋ	POc *laŋit	sky, weather	*e-lag* 'above, high'
*ŋ>m	POc *paŋan	eat	*fam*
*ŋ>m̃	POc *puŋa	flower	*fum̃*
*r>r	POc *saRu	comb	*n-ser*
*r>nr	POc *raqan-	branch	*nra*
*dr>nr	POc *draRaq	blood	*nra*
*dr>r	POc *-dra	their	*-Vr*
*R>r	POc *baRa	fence	*tp̃er*
*R>Ø	POc *paRi	stingray	*fai*
*l>l	POc *matolu	thick	*matol*
*l>nr	POc *kalo	ant	*kanr*
*l>r	POc *jila	boom	*na-tir* 'mast'
*w>u	POc *mawiRi	left (hand)	*maur*
*w>Ø	POc *waiR	water	*nai*
*y>s	POc *yum^{w}a	house	*na-sum̃*
*y>Ø	POc *yaRu	Casuarina	*n-ar*
*y>e (*aya>e)	POc *maya-	tongue	*na-me*

Vowels

*i>i	POc*kini(t,p)	pinch	*kin*
*e>e	POc*qeno	sleep	*en*
*a>a	POc*taqe	excrement	*tae-*
*a>e	POc*saman	outrigger	*nsem*
*o>o	POc*boŋi	night	*pog*
*o>e	POc*pose	a paddle	*wes*
*u>u	POc*sus	breast	*sus* 'suckle'

3.5. Phonotactics

In this section I discuss how phonemes can combine and in what positions of the word and syllable they can occur. First I describe the syllable in South Efate and then look at consonant and vowel combinations. The current wordlist of some 2,500 words forms the basis for the discussion of syllable structure and phonotactics.

3.5.1. The syllable

When approaching the task of syllabification we must be aware (following Blevins 1995:217) that there are languages in which the syllable may have complex onsets and not complex codas, like Sedang, or complex codas and not complex onsets, like Klamath, or still other languages in which neither onset nor coda may be complex, like Hua or Cairene. This makes it impossible to apply any universal heuristic for syllabification. The approach I follow here is to proceed by induction from monosyllables, where the syllabification is unproblematic, to abstract the syllable structure and then apply this to the syllabification of longer words. In monosyllabic words in South Efate we find the patterns of consonants and vowels shown in (28), resulting in the following syllable schema (but not all combinations are posssible, as discussed below) (C)(C)(C)V(V)(C)(C).

28

VC	*us*	rain
VVC	*eut*	sea
CVC	*til*	say
CVV	*tae*	know
CCV	*nra*	False Nutmeg tree
CCVC	*tlas*	enough
CCVV	*nrpag*	slap
CVVC	*tien*	pregnant
CVCC	*silf*	hug
CCVVC	*slaor*	route
CCCVC	*nsfen*	'something like that'
CCCVV	*nskau*	reef

As we see in (28), the burden of complexity in a South Efate syllable is on the onset rather than the coda. Thus in syllabification of longer words I assign consonant clusters to initial or onset rather than coda position. Nevertheless, it is not always possible to determine an ideal syllabification. For example, *nafsan* 'language' could be syllabified as /naf.san/ or /na.fsan/ on the basis that /fs/ is an acceptable initial consonant sequence. The possible set of syllables is given in (29) based on monomorphemic stems. Inflected forms such as directly possessed nouns (§5.3.2) appear here in their basic, un-possessed form. Borrowed forms are excluded from this analysis.

In the following sections I will discuss the constraints on which consonants and vowels can fill the syllable schema given in (31), but first I illustrate and

enumerate possible syllable types more generally than in the monosyllabic stems given above. Of the following syllable types, just four (CV, CVC, CVV, CCVC) out of a possible sixteen syllable patterns account for 82 percent of the tokens.

29					
	V	*o.raik*	to go fishing	126 in first syllable	145 total
	VC	*ag*	you	40 in first syllable	40 total
	VVC	*eut*	seashore	10 in first syllable	10 total
	CV	*ni.pu*	palmtree	760 in first syllable	1,033 total
	CVV	*ki.neu*	I, me	202 in first syllable	347 total
	CCV	*mla*	to be bad, of food	178 in first syllable	223 total
	CCVV	*fnau*	to preach	47 in first syllable	78 total
	CVC	*mla.kes*	blue	827 in first syllable	1,543 total
	CVCC	*silf*	to hug	1 in first syllable	2 total
	CVVC	*suer*	to shit	105 in first syllable	166 total
	CCVC	*a.fsak*	turtle	264 in first syllable	331 total
	CCVVC	*traus*	to tell	15 in first syllable	17 total
	CCCVC	*ntm̃at*	peace	2 in first syllable	2 total
	CCCV	*nkra.ful*	vine	2 in first syllable	2 total
	CCCVV	*nskau*	reef	1 in first syllable	1 total

There are only two syllable-final consonant clusters, /lf/ and /rk/ in *silf* 'to hug' and *ar.work.su* 'ambidextrous', and the prestopped trill /nr/ occurs in this position twenty-six times (this unique distribution is the main reason for treating *nr* as one and not two phonemes). Initial consonant clusters often result from the presence of the article *n* (discussed in §5.2), and the only five initial three-consonant clusters are all /n/-initial, as shown in (30).

30			
	nkra.ful	['nkra.ful]	vine sp.
	nsfen	[nsfɛn]	'something like that'
	nskau	[nskaɷ]	reef
	nsla.wos	['nsla.wos]	channel
	ntm̃at	[nt$\overline{\text{m}}$at$^{\text{ˀ}}$]	peace

As can be seen from the distribution figures given in (29) the most common syllable type is CVC, followed by CV. Based on the forms in (29), the general syllable structure is as in (31).

31 (C1)(C2)(C3)V1(V2)(C4)(C5).

The segments that can fill these positions are as follows:

C1
- any consonant when followed by a vowel
- word–initially, if C2 and C3 are present, can only be /n/
- word–initially, if C2 is present, can be any C except /w/ and /r/
- in medial syllables, following an open syllable, if C2 is present, can be any C except /g, w, r, nr/ as in Table 3.5.
- in medial syllables following a closed syllable is restricted as shown in Table 3:7

C2
- in a word–initial syllable can be any consonant except /nr/

	– in a medial syllable can only be /k, l, m, n, r, s, t/
C3	– only in initial syllable
	– can only be /r/ following /k/
	– can only be /f, k, l/ following /s/
	– can only be /m̃/ following /t/
C4	– can only be /l, r/ if C5 is present
	– can be /f, g, k, l, m, m̃, n, nr, p, p̃, r, s, t/ otherwise
C5	– can only be /f, k/
	– can not occur if C2 and C3 are present
V1	– can be any V
V2	– can be any V except /e/ if V1 is /o/

3.5.2. Consonant distribution

In this section I show the distribution of consonants, both singly and in combination with each other. All consonants may start or end a word or a syllable, as shown in Table 3:3. There is a strong dispreference for homorganic clusters, as can be seen by the significantly higher number of clusters indicated in Table 3:4 and Table 3:5 outside of the grey areas. These tables show that there are over twice as many initial consonant combinations in word-initial syllables as there are in later syllables. Labials are not usually permitted in homorganic clusters (here all labials, that is bilabials, labio-velars, and labio-dentals are treated as being homorganic), with the small exception of some thirteen /m/ and /m̃/ initial forms, and as these all occur in nouns I consider assimilation of the article *na-/n-* to the labial place of articulation to be a likely cause. Assimilation of the article *na-* is also a likely explanation for the sole /g/-initial cluster that only occurs in *gka* [ŋka] 'father' (presumably from [nka] > [ŋka]). If we set that aside, then /g/, /w/, and /r/ never occur as C1 in a monosyllabic cluster.

The forms used in this analysis are a subset of the headwords in the current dictionary. Only monomorphemic stems were used, which brought the number of stems down to 1,830. No reduplicated forms, and no borrowed forms were included for the purposes of analyzing these consonant clusters.

Table 3:3. Examples of consonant distribution

	word initial	**final**	**syllable initial**	**final**
f	*freg*	*sef*	*mel.fer*	*taf.taf*
	to make (IR)	to escape	charcoal	diarrhea
g	*gag*	*ka.frag*	*nam.ta.got*	*nag.rof*
	2sgPOS	scab	tree sp.	tree p.
k	*ker.krai*	*pi.tlak*	*nap.kor*	*na.puk.mo.kul*
	hard	to have	bush nut	tree sp.
l	*lag*	*naul*	*npa.lo*	*mal.ko*
	to sing	leaf	cliff	darkness
m	*mol*	*na.sum*	*met.ma.kur*	*nam.ta.mot*
	alive	house	selfish	dust
m	*mun.wei*	*ftom*	*at.mat*	*nom.ser*
	healer	to grow	plus	every
n	*naot*	*ftin*	*ka.no*	*kin.ta.pul*
	chief	to be hot	person	ring finger
nr	*nrom*	*smanr*	*na.nrur*	*nanr.wor*
	to love	to slap	earth tremor	yolk
p	*paf.pof*	*sap*	*fra.po*	*le.sap.sap*
	adult	mistake	beetle	to not recognise
p	*pag*	*so.klep*	*ta.met.pel*	*sop.tao*
	to climb	rich	k.o. damselfish	k.o. shellfish
r	*ra.ru*	*tar*	*ta.ro*	*tor.wak*
	canoe	white	k.o. bird	to anchor
s	*sao.tog*	*ta.pes*	*sai.sei*	*sus.kei*
	to exchange	swamphen	to meet	caterpillar
t	*ta.kel*	*ma.lo.put*	*ta.gi.ter*	*met.ma.tu*
	crooked	middle	k.o.moray eel	to be wise

In the following three tables the black cells represent prohibited geminate consonants and grey cells show where homorganic clusters are represented. /nr/ is included in Tables 3:4 and 3:5 as a sequence of /n/+/r/ to show its aberrant distribution if treated as two segments, and is not counted in the totals. There are four examples of word-initial clusters beginning with /nr/.

Table 3:4. Word-initial 2-consonant clusters

Heterorganic 54 types, 272 tokens.

Homorganic clusters 19 types, 112 tokens.

		Consonant 2													
		k	**g**	**w**	**p̄**	**mf**	**p**	**m**	**f**	**s**	**t**	**n**	**l**	**r**	**nr**
Consonant 1	**k**								1	1	1	2	7	19	
	g	1													
	w														
	p̄	3								2	1	1	3	3	
	mf	2			2		1				2	2	3		
	p	5								5	10	4	7	5	
	m	2			1		8			3	15		10	19	
	f	4	1	1						5	8	3	5	9	
	s	8	1	1	2	3	1	5	3		1	1	7	6	
	t	6	1		7	3		3	6			2	3	11	
	n	27	1		7	2	6	24	8	15	33		13	61*	
	l		2			1			1		1				
	r														
	nr						3		1						

Table 3:5. Medial syllable initial 2-consonant clusters

Heterorganic 25 types, 77 tokens. Homorganic clusters 4 types, 9 tokens (excluding /nr/).

		Consonant 2													
		k	g	w	ƥ	mf	p	m	f	s	t	n	l	r	nr
Consonant 1	k										1			3	
	g														
	w														
	ƥ										2		18	10	
	mf												4	2	
	p	1									2		2	4	
	m									1	1		2	3	
	f									5	2	4	1	5	
	s	6						5					2	1	
	t							2					3	3	
	n	2												46*	
	l	1													
	r														
	nr														

Table 3:6. Heterosyllabic 2-consonant clusters

Heterorganic 87 types, 511 tokens. Homorganic clusters 34 types, 146 tokens.

		Consonant 2													
		k	g	w	ƥ	mf	p	m	f	s	t	n	l	r	nr
Consonant 1	k			2		1	4	8	6	10	10	6	8	5	1
	g	3		1	1	1	2	6		3	2	1	1	2	
	w														
	ƥ	2											4	3	
	mf	2	1								2		2	1	
	p	3						1		3	2	4	5	3	1
	m	3	2	2	2		3			3	11	1	3	4	1
	f	6	1	1	1					3	6	2	4	3	
	s	10		2	6	1	6	2	3		6	3	7	2	
	t	6		2	8	1	5	6	5	6		1	8	5	1
	n	7	1	2		1	2	1			10		3	2	1
	l	10	2	4	5	3	4	6	8	10	9			1	1
	r	11		4	2	1	7	5	3	4	6	2	3		1
	nr	1		1		1				1					

For the purposes of illustrating the type of complex heterosyllabic consonant clusters tabulated above, consider the following forms. These include derived and lexicalized compound forms that are established phonological words. For example, *namtl-e-n* 'segment of fruit -V- 3sgDP' is derived from an unattested root *%namtel%* and only ever occurs with a direct possessive suffix (*-n* '3sgDP'). Similarly, *sulsl-i* 'to soften in a fire +TS', illustrates the creation of a complex consonant cluster (/lsl/) by medial-vowel deletion (%'sul-sul-i% > 'sul.su.li > 'sul.sli).

The three-consonant clusters shown in Table 3:7 occur across syllable boundaries (as shown in 32), with the final consonant in the first syllable in the left column. Syllable initial consonants in these clusters (that is, the second consonant in the cluster) can be any consonant except /r, w, g, nr/.

32

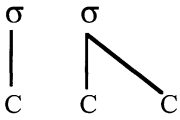

Table 3:7. Heterosyllabic C.CC clusters

25 types, 33 tokens

k	lk, sk, sm
l	nk, p̈l, p̈t, pl, pr, sl, sm
n	fn, p̈t
nr	pr
r	kr, m̈r, mr, p̈r, sm
s	p̈l, p̈r, pr, pt
t	sf

Examples of these forms follow. Those marked with an asterisk are known compound or derived forms.

33

ker.krei	strong, hard	*pat.sfir**	clitoris
kel.sman	drive	*pus.pta.ki**	arrange
*kur.smanr**	slip	*sek.ska**	shake
*na.sel.slam**	Sterculia tannensis	*sok.lkau**	jump over
*nam.tlen**	segment	*sul.prog*	lizard
*npat.nka.fik**	adam's apple	*sul.sli**	soften sthg. in the fire
*nsul.nkanr.pram**	fish sp. Emperor	*sur.fun.fnoi**	erase, obliterate
*pa.p̃ol.plo**	walk, legs apart	*tem.tmen**	father and his child

3.5.3. Vowel distribution

All vowels can occur in first or second place in a vowel pair, except that /e/ is not attested after /o/, and two like-vowels cannot co-occur as we see from the examples given in Table 3:8. I treat vowels in sequence, as seen in forms like *kineu* 'I, me', *tae* 'to know', *slaor* 'passage, route', as tautosyllabic on an impressionistic basis in that the syllables containing them appear to have comparable durations to syllables with a single vowel. As discussed elsewhere (§3.2.5.), falling vowel sequences are broken by the insertion of semivowels.

Table 3:8. Examples of vowel pairs

	i	**e**	**a**	**o**	**u**
i		*fiet*	*nakiat*	*pios*	*naniu*
		to be fierce	canoe cross-member	to call out	coconut
e	*nanwei*		*nreapis*	*misleo*	*manreu*
	man, male		somersault	voice, tune	to be thirsty
a	*tai*	*tae*		*tao*	*tau*
	to cut	to know		to give me	to leave
o	*naroi*	-	*namroan*		*wou*
	plot of land	-	thought		1sgO
u	*rui=*	*puel*	*nuasog*	*nuo*	
	3plPS	be absent	smoke	k.o. parrotfish	

Table 3:9 lists the number of tokens of each VV combination in the data and shows that there is a strong preference for vowel sequences starting from the low-back vowel /a/ (some 75 percent of all two-vowel sequences begin with /a/).

Table 3:9. Distribution of VV combinations anywhere in a word

	a	**e**	**i**	**o**	**u**
a		22	107	49	131
e	2		50	4	14
i	25	17		2	18
o	1	-	12		11
u	18	13	4	2	

As we saw in §3.2.5., phonetic semivowels can occur in one of three categories. They could be regarded as always being phonemic but the analysis here regards them as being phonemic just when they are not predictable from their environment. They are phonetic variants of the vowel phonemes /u/ and /i/ in a falling vowel sequence or when they are the first vowel in a two-vowel sequence immediately following a consonant. The semivowels may also be intrusive, as, for example, in the second phonetic form in (34). In other words, phonetic semivowels may be: (a) phonemic semivowels in which case they are invariant; (b) allophones of /u/ or /i/ before another vowel, in which case they may vary with the full vocalic pronunciation; (c) intrusive glides between /u/ and /a/ or between /i/ and /a/.

34	*aliat*	['al.jat˺]	[a.li.jat]	day
	na.ftou.ri. en	[na.'ftour.jen]	[na.ftou.ri.jen]	wedding
	na.nro.mien	[na.'nro.mjen]	[na.nro.mi.jen]	gift
	na.sieg	['na.sjeŋ]	[na.si.jeŋ]	skirt
	na.ki.at	['nak.yat˺]	[na.ki.yat]	cross-member of a canoe
	nakau kofua	['kof.wa]	[ko.fu.wa]	tree sp.
	sa.lia	['sa.lja]	[sa.li.ja]	to make sthg. float
	twei	['twei]	[tu.wei]	before, olden days

3.5.4. Stress

Stress is not contrastive in South Efate. Examples of stress placement in open syllables of monomorphemic stems can be seen in the forms in (35) that all show initial stress.

35	*'fareki*	to go towards (IR)	*(98017b, 2568.4, 2570.)*
	'latana	lantana (n)	*(98015az, 723.9200, 727.7000)*
	'lereki	to depend on	*(no audio)*
	'limuti	clearing (n)	*(20001b, 258, 259.6645)*
	'pakati	to hit with a club	*(no audio)*
	'pareki	to go towards (R)	*(20001az, 1631.2188, 1631.9641)*
	'sukati	to step down	*(no audio)*
	'tafafu	to hatch	*(98002bz, 1722.8, 1724.)*
	'tokape	moorhen (n)	*(no audio)*
	'toreki	to wait	*(98009b, 1472.8, 1474.0608)*

Initial stress is the dominant pattern for most monomorphemic roots in the data, as further illustrated for combinations of syllable types in (36a).

36a	*'ki.neu*	I, me	*(98015az, 458.5401, 462.7800)*
	'mis.leo	echo	*(98015bz, 1692.9601, 1696.5800)*
	'nrer.nrer	to shine	*(98015bz, 198.9999, 202.5999)*
	'met.ma.tur	to be sleepy	*(98015bz, 13.8599, 17.5001)*
	'mro.per.kat	to remember	*(98009b, 1794.3, 1795.1)*
	'tfa.le	how	*(98015az, 400.6200, 404.0600)*

'nrae.na.tu	shin, shinbone	*(98015bz, 194.66, 198.66)*
'pal.kau	to step over	*(98015bz, 1119.52, 1123.28)*
'konr.kai	sow, no piglets	*(98015az, 1756.28, 1760.88)*
'krak.smanr	to miss (target)	*(98015az, 1187.34, 1191.38)*

However, with words beginning with the article *na-*, stress marks the first syllable following *na-*, presumably an earlier stem-initial stress marking that continues.

36b	*na.'fa.nu*	heaven	*(no audio)*
	na.'fe.nu	hell	*(no audio)*
	na.'su.su	tree sp.	*(98015bz, 1078.7999, 1082.6801)*
	na.'we.sien	work (n)	*(98003bz, 944.7599, 945.4)*
	na.' fi.sok.lep.wen	wealth	*(98003az, 1795, 1796.02)*
	na.' mro.per.kat.wen	keepsake	*(005a, 1931.3402, 1932.36)*
	na.'mõ.lien	life	*(98003bz, 356.197, 356.92)*
	na.'mu.rien	desire	*(98010bz, 1617., 1617.6)*

Some *na-* initial words take initial stress that could reflect an ongoing change to initial stress throughout.

36c	*'nal.wa.nik.su*	sea-urchin	*(98015az, 2743.6801, 2748.3399)*
	'na.ta.mõl [29]	person	*(98015az, 1698.4801, 1702.1400)*
	'na.to.pu	spirit	*(98011a, 984.3200, 985.9)*

A further group of words has penultimate stress. All are multisyllabic plant names, and it is possible that they retain an earlier stress pattern, or represent former compounds.

36d	*nau.'la.las*	plant sp.	*(98015bz, 389.1200, 392.5200)*
	fa.ni.'ko.ro	type of flower	*(no audio)*
	na.fa'ri.fa	tree sp.	*(98015bz, 1197.4801, 1202.2400)*

[29] John Lynch (pers. com.) suggests that the earlier form of both *natamõl* and *natopu* was **na 'qata-* 'person' which lost *q. The resulting *na'ata-* then degeminated, resulting in a predictably stressed *'nata-* .

3.6. Morphophonemic processes

Several morphophonemic processes occur when morphemes combine, for example, when a transitivizing suffix and object suffix is suffixed to verbs, or when direct possessive suffixes attach to eligible nouns. These processes are discussed under three headings: Medial vowel reduction (MVR); nasal assimilation; and degemination. Examples of all processes are given in (37).

37

Root	**nep**	**min**	**'na.met**	**ku=pus**
Gloss	throw	drink	eye	you put
Process	- a-ø	+ nrog	-e-n	- i-ø
Derived form	ne.pa	min.nrog	'na.me.ten	'ku.pu.si
MVR	npa		'na.mten	'ku.psi
Degemination		'mi.nrog		
Assimilation	mpa			

A feature of South Efate (discussed in §6.4.5.1) is stem-initial mutation, whereby initial /p/ and /f/ alternate for a number of stems correlated with realis/irrealis mood.

3.6.1. Medial vowel reduction (MVR)

There are two processes by which vowels in unstressed syllables can be reduced. The first is highly restricted and centralizes /i/ in *ni* 'of', or *ki* 'PREP' to [ə]. The second is more general and deletes unstressed vowels entirely. In some cases both rules apply, as we will see in the following discussion.

3.6.1.1. /i/ to [ə] vowel centralization

The high front vowel in *nig* 'of' is usually centralized to [ə] when it is prefixed to the forms in (38), as *nig* does not attract stress. The exceptions are the last two forms, 1sg (*neu*) or 1p.ex (*mam*), where the consonant cluster blocks medial vowel reduction. Conventionally, this reduction is represented orthographically by use of *e* for the reduced vowel.

38

nig-ag	2sgPOS	> *negag*	[nə. ŋaŋ]
nig - ga	3sgPOS	> *nega*	[nə. ŋa]
nig- gar	3p.POS	> *negar*	[nə. ŋar]
nig- gamus	2p.POS	> *negamus*	[nə.ŋa.mus]
nig-akit	1p.inPOS	> *negakit*	[nə.ŋa.kit]
nig-neu	1sgPOS	> **negneu*	
nig-mam	1p.exPOS	> **negmam*	

Similarly, the high vowel in the preposition *ki* 'PREP' is reduced to schwa preceding the demonstrative *nen* 'that'. Forms with the vowel both reduced and deleted are found in the data.

39

ki- nen	to, of that	> *kenen*, *knen*

3.6.1.2. Medial vowel deletion (MVD)

Clark (1985:20) observes the phonological changes that South Efate has undergone historically. In particular he posits the rule in (40), that provides for medial vowel loss when the vowel is [-low], that is, not /a/. The rule provides that a vowel will be deleted under the following conditions: if it is not final; if it does not precede a consonant cluster; and if it is not part of a sequence of vowels.

40 V [-low] -> ø/C ___ CV

Historically the rule in (40) followed a dissimilation rule such that Proto Efate **nasama* becomes **nesema* and then *nsem*. Medial vowel deletion has applied historically to give the forms in (41) in South Efate today. As a guide to the earlier form we can use the equivalent word from the more conservative northern languages, North Efate/Ngunese (Schütz 1969a) or Namakir (Sperlich 1991) (see also the forms used in Sope's stories from the 1950s in Table 1:1 in Chapter 1), which suggest that at that time forms with medial vowels were available to speakers, either as 'classical' forms of the language or as current usage.

41

North Efate or Namakir	**South Efate**	
emeromen (Ngunese)	*emermen*	earth
maromar (Namakir)	*marmar*	rest
masimas (Namakir)	*masmes*	knife
mataku (Ngunese)	*mtak*	fear (v)
mitir (Namakir)	*mtir*	write, draw
nafinaga (Ngunese)	*nafnag*	food
napokasi (Ngunese)	*napkas*	meat, flesh
pilak (Namakir)	*plak*	with
piragi (Ngunese)	*preg*	make
takau (Ngunese)	*tkau*	hook (n)
tama (Namakir)	*tma*	father

In addition to the historical change, there is a similar active and productive process of vowel reduction for current speakers of the language. MVR continues to operate in South Efate today, through forms that contrast in formal and casual speech by the presence or absence of the medial vowel. Hence we have medial vowel-less forms that are fully derived and stable, and for which the left-hand version in (41), representing the more conservative North Efate or Namakir form, does not appear in current usage. And we have other forms for which there is currently a careful speech form and a fast speech form, as can be seen in (42).

42

Careful speech	**Fast speech**	
natokon (004b, 538.1720, 539.6372)	*natkon*	village
mukal	*mkal*	ant
fakfukal	*fakfkal*	comfort
puserek (005a, 1495.86, 1498.1200)	*pusrek*	talk
sera	*sra*	hang
tesa	*tsa*	child

Examples of careful and casual usage follow. However, the description of careful and casual is not entirely accurate as the distinction in usage also reflects the age of speakers, with older speakers, as we would expect, using more archaic forms that contain more vowels. In (43a) the speaker is speaking slowly and reading from notes and we see a full form of the word *natokon* 'village'. In (43b) the same speaker, still reading, uses the contracted and much more commonly heard form, *natkon*.

43a Selwan ru=tok **natokon** negar tok me man tar
when 3p.RS=stay village 3p.POS at then bird white

i=nrir ur elag.
3sgRS=fly follow high
When they were at their village, the white bird flew up high. (004b, 536.3400, 545.3599)

43b Go u=sak pak Tanmaru, **natkon** ni nam̃er malik.
and 1p.exS=climb to p.name village of people dark
And we climbed up to Tanmaru, the village of heathens. (005a, 283.9799, 300.0401)

There are also morphologically complex forms in which a suffix is added to the stem, altering the shape of the word for stress assignment purposes and resulting in destressed medial vowels, which are then lost. This process is illustrated in (44).

44	*'fa.kis* to decorate	+ *i* TS	*'fa.ki.si*	>	*'fa.ksi*
	'a.sel friend	+ *ak* 2sgDP	*'a.se.lak*	>	*'as.lak*
	'na.lof track	+ *en* 3sgDP	*'na.lo.fen*	>	*'nal.fen*
	'na.men tongue	+ *em* 2sgDP	*'na.me.nem*	>	*'nam.nem*
	'nta.lig ear	+ *ek* 1sgDP	*'nta.li.gek*	>	*'ntal.gek*
	'pes talk	+ *na...an* NMLS	*'na.fe.san*	>	*'naf.san*
	'mro.pir dislike	+ *ik* 2sgO	*'mro.pi.rik*	>	*'mro.prik*

There are some forms that appear not to undergo this rule synchronically, which may be a result of a lack of data, but may also be evidence that the sound change has not yet moved completely through the lexicon:

45	*timen*	**tmen*	arrow[30]
	maurikat	**maurkat*	mangrove type
	maloput	**malput*	middle
	toreki	**torki*	wait for

MVR does not occur when the resulting consonant cluster would be aberrant, even by the fairly liberal standards of South Efate phonotactics. For example, it

[30] It is possible that the rule did not apply when it would have resulted in a homophonous form, e.g., *tmen*—her/his father.

cannot apply when there is a consonant cluster following the target vowel (as per Clark's rule in 40), or when identical consonants occur on either side of the target vowel (which would create a prohibited geminate; see §3.6.3.).

46	*fetkasu*	**ftkasu*	be jealous
	kokon	**kkon*	bitter
	mankotik	**manktik*	wounded

MVR may apply more than once in a word (which could be the result of a form that has already become part of general usage undergoing the rule a second time):

47 *serakor-o -> serakro > srakro* to hide it

3.6.2. Nasal assimilation

There is a regular process whereby nasals may assimilate to the place of articulation of a following consonant. The most common examples of nasal assimilation involve word-initial /n/ that usually represents the article (on nouns) and is often realized as a nasal homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem. This phonetic variation is illustrated in the following forms.

48	*nkal*	clothes	[ŋkal]
	npat	tooth	[mpat]
	nm̃pat	club	[mk͡pat/ŋk͡pat]

In some cases the assimilated form is now taken as basic, as in *mpak* 'banyan tree' and *mpakur* 'Tamanu tree'. That *ntuam* 'devil' is occasionally heard as [mtwam], or even as [mutwam], suggests that its current form has an assimilated initial nasal.

Examples of other cases of nasal assimilation in the data are given in context below.

49 Malnen ra=**tigpiel** i=nom.
['tim.pjel]
when 3d.RS=exchange 3sgRS=finish
When they had finished their exchange. (004b, 1041.0601, 1044.4944)

50 Me te-ni **sanpe=n** kin ru=po sef mai lek-mom.
['sam.pen]
and det-of there=DST REL 3p.RS=PSP escape come see-1p.exO
But those from over there came over to see us. (20001az, 865.1000, 867.8151)

Nasal assimilation has not been observed to affect the relic stative prefix (discussed in §8.2.1.), so *mlap* 'the last one' and *msal* 'different' do not appear as **nlap* or **nsal.*

3.6.3. Degemination

A general rule of degemination holds that when any two contiguous identical consonants occur they are realized as a single consonant, e.g.:

51 C1 C1 -> C1

The input sequence may cross morphological or word boundaries. In verbs ending in /k/ followed by the transitivizing suffix *-ki*, only a single /k/ is realized as shown in the following three examples, first with *mtak* 'fear', then *tik* 'to not have', and finally *kraksok* 'to grab hold of'.

52 Ser natam̃ol ni Erakor ru=nomser **mtak-ki** natopu.
['mta.ki]
every person of p.name 3p.RS=everyone fear-TR spirit
Everyone in Erakor is scared of the natopu (spirit). (98007az, 575.7600, 579.3730)

53 Tu= **tik-ki** mane nen tu=fuet ntan ke=ler.
['ti.ki]
1p.inRS= not-TR money that 1p.incRS=take:IR ground 3sgIRR=return
We don't have the money to get the land back. (98017bz, 511.0199, 513.3)

54 Ke= **kraksok-ki**, nen kin i=mur-i-n.
['krak.so.ki]
3sgIRR= grab-TR that COMP 3sgRS=want-TS-3sgO
He grabbed the one that he wanted. (20003bz, 747.4199, 750.4452)

Contiguous words undergo the same process of degemination, thus *ntal lap* > ['nta.lap] 'many taro', or *nrak karu* > ['nra.karu] 'many times', as seen in (55).

55 I=mer mai lek-wou **nrak karu**, i=mer
['nra.ka.ru]
3sgRS=again come look-1sgO time second 3sgRS=again

mai **nrak katol.**
['nra.ka.tol]
come time third
He came again to see me a second time, he came again to see me a third time. (98017az, 187.3111, 190.8000)

The demonstrative *ne* 'this' similarly becomes phonetically attached to the preceding word if it ends with /n/, as in *nawen ne* [nawene] 'this sand' in example (56).

56 I=tao **nawen ne.**
['na.we.ne]
3sgRS=left sand this
She left this sand bank. (98017bz, 278.6574, 281.0161)

Compound verb forms undergo degemination when the final consonant of the first verb is identical to the initial consonant of the second. Thus *pes sa ki* 'to swear at, to speak badly to' > ['pe.sa.ki].

The 3p. focal pronoun *gar* followed by the subject clitic *ru=* '3p.RS' shows the effects of degemination, as in (57).

57 I=to me, **gar** **ru**=to lot.
['ga.ru]
3sgRS=stay but 3p. 3p.RS=STAT pray
He (the local spirit) is there but they pray. (98011a, 1083.8799, 1086.3254)

The three complex phonemes /m̃, p̃, nr/ also participate in degemination. Either element of the coarticulated stops can pair with the preceding consonant, which is evidence of their status as coarticulated units rather than sequential segments (even though they may be realized as sequential segments allophonically). For example, the compound verb *sak - p̃rai* 'to climb and break' is produced as *sap̃rai* with the final velar stop of the first verb lost, as the first segment of the coarticulated labiovelar, the velar /k/, is deleted under identity with the preceding /k/. Similarly, the /p/ in the coarticulated *p̃* is lost in the verb *nep-p̃rai* 'to throw and break', which is produced as *nep̃rai,* leading to the conclusion that both parts of the coarticulated segments are eligible for degemination. In (58) the final /k/ in *wak* 'pig' is combined with the following labiovelar /p̃/ in an ambisyllabic segment.

58 Wak p̃ur i=skei i=mai.
['wak̚.p̃ur]
pig big 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=come
The big pig came. (004a, 50, 52.1200)

Example (59) illustrates degeminated sequential *g* + *m̃* in *leg m̃as* 'correct only' that does not occur here as [ŋ + ŋm].

59 Ru=leg m̃as.
[ru.'lɛŋ̚.mas]
3p.RS=correct only
They are just correct. (98018az, 1166.3, 1167.7601)

The initial /n/ of /nr/ is eligible for degemination so that the compound verb *min+nrog* 'to taste by drinking' (made up of *min* 'to drink' and *nrog* 'to taste'), is realized as ['mi.n^{d}roŋ], as in the audio provided in (60).

60 *minrog* to taste by drinking *(98015az, 1020.7000, 1024.3400)*

Similarly, in (61) when *-n* '3sgO' precedes the initial phoneme of *nre* 'to turn' degemination occurs.

61 Malen tm-e-n i=tme-n nre-a-ø.[31]
[i.tme.n^{d}ri.ja]
then father-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=RR-3sgDP turn-TS-3sgO
Then his father turned himself around. (98009b, 222.8, 225.0176)

3.7. Whispering and ingressive voice

Whispering is used, in addition to wanting to be quiet for the sake of not disturbing someone, when a speaker is embarassed by what they are saying. In example (62) the speaker was trying to remember a story about an angel and was confused about how it went. The whole of this example is spoken as a whisper.

62 Ga i=ta pi agel kia mau, me natarñol kia.
3sg 3sgRS=NEG be angel PR NEG2 but man PR
He wasn't an angel, but he was a man. (20003b, 1085.3600, 1088.8599)

Ingressive voice is used several times in the data to encode resignation on the part of the speaker to the event described, as if to say 'that's the way it is'. In (63) the speaker has just told about making offerings to a spirit and concludes with the ingressive *tefla* 'like that'.

63 Me kineu ka=fo pan ga ps-i-ø, me
and 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR go 2sgBEN put-TS-3sgO and

ka=fo plak-e-k ler. **Tefla.**
1sgIRR-PSP:IR with-TS-2sgO return like.that
I will go and put it there for him and I will return with you. Like that. (98009bx, 1099.7, 1105)

In (64) the same speaker discusses making the roof of a house, using the ingressive to mark the material used (*sum̃ rowat* 'house of sago leaves') in a summary of the previous discussion.

64 Go pakor na, nasum̃ nen kin rowat, **sum̃ rowat.**
and cover HESIT house that REL sago.leaf house sago.leaf
And cover the house with thatch, a thatch house. (98003b, 1098.4999, 1104.23)

[31] This speaker pronounces *nre* 'to turn' as [nri] rather than [nre].

4. Word classes

The major word classes in South Efate are nominals and verbs. Minor word classes are prepositions, adverbs, and adjectives. The major groups are discussed here briefly and then in more detail in other parts of the current work. The other word classes will be discussed only in this chapter.

A note on affixes and clitics: affixes are taken as being able to attach to a single word class only. For example, object suffixes can only attach to verbs and so are not considered to be clitics. Subject proclitics, on the other hand, attach to whatever follows, whether it is a verb stem, a particle in the pre-verbal complex, or the benefactive phrase.

4.1. Zero conversion and word class

In South Efate there are many forms that can appear as verbs or adjectives with no derivational morphology; that is, they are identical in form in each of these functions, and some can also function as adverbs, e.g., *kerkerai* 'be strong, strongly, strong'. There are also forms that can act as prepositions or verbs (see §9.1.2.3 on prepositional verbs). The ability for words to appear in several classes has been used to argue for precategoriality, for example, in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992). But for South Efate, the fact that not all members of a class can act as members of another class (for example, not all stative verbs can function as adjectives) and that in some cases the conversion between classes may be quite idiosyncratic (for example, the word for 'fan' *nif* acts as both a noun and a verb), suggests that words can convert between classes. There are several productive processes of nominalization (discussed in §5.4 on nouns) and one that includes nominalizing denominal verbs (discussed in §5.4.2) that has little current productivity. In the dictionary, a form is listed as having membership of three word classes if it can function as all three.

Osumi notes that "as in other Oceanic languages, words in Tinrin often move between categories by zero derivation" (1995:37). While the system described for Tinrin is far more fluid than that of South Efate, I consider that words convert between categories and that a word belongs to a class based on its distributional characteristics in the absence of any morphological evidence of its word class membership.

4.2. Nominals

Nominals are distinguished by being able to head a noun phrase. In this section I describe the characteristics of the subclasses of nominals in the order set out in Table 4:1.

Table 4:1. Subclasses of nominals

Nouns
Personal nouns
Placenames
Kinship address nouns
Temporal nouns
Common nouns
Directly possessed
Indirectly possessed
Pronouns
Demonstrative pronouns
Focal
S/O focal pronouns
Oblique (possessive/benefactive) pronouns

Nouns form a large open class with several subclasses. Other than being able to take the locative prefix *e-*, nouns do not mark case nor do they display a person/number distinction. They can co-reference the subject (which is obligatorily marked by a proclitic) or act as the object of a sentence.

Personal names typically do not have an article (*na-*), but this is not sufficient to distinguish them from other nouns that also do not have to have an article, and there is no other formal means of distinguishing common and proper names. Placenames are almost always prefixed by the locative affix *e-* (§5.2.2).

Temporal nouns (§5.2.3) can function as temporal adjuncts and in adverbial sentential modifiers. Kinship nouns are like personal names in not taking the article *na-*, but, unlike personal names, are also used to address members of one's family. A small group of these terms (for 'father') display clan-specific lexical choices, and one (*ati* 'grandmother') can also be directly possessed.

Nouns form two subclasses on the basis of the type of possessive construction they can enter into (direct and indirect possession) (§5.3.2). Directly possessed nouns are those that mark possession directly on the noun stem by means of a pronominal suffix; normally they refer to body parts and their products and to kinship relations. They may also appear without direct possessive marking. Indirectly possessed nouns mark possession with (1) a possessive pronoun; (2) the preposition *ni* 'of'; (3) the rarely used possessive pronoun *nakte* 'my'; (4) the form *knen* 'of it'; and (5) by juxtaposing the possessor and possessed.

Many nouns (some 40 percent of the nouns in the current lexicon) are *n-* initial, reflecting an article of the shape *n(a)-* that is fused to the stem in some cases today. The article is still analyzable to some extent, especially if the stem undergoes a morphological process such as reduplication, in which only the stem and not the article reduplicate (e.g., *namãpm̃ap̃* 'Looking-glass tree' which

is not **naṁaṗnaṁaṗ*). The article can also be dropped when there is prefixation, for example, with a locative (*nasuṁ* house, *esuṁ* 'at the house').

Nouns can be derived from other word classes by prefixation with the article alone, by reduplication, or by prefixation with the article and a suffix (*-wen/-ien/-an*) (all typically applying to verbs) (§5.4) or by the prefix *te-* followed by a demonstrative, adjective, possessive, ordinal number, or quantifier (§5.4.3).

Pronouns (§5.1), unlike nouns, distinguish person and number (singular and plural), with dual marked only in the proclitic subjects, which together with first person plural also mark an inclusive/exclusive distinction. Pronouns can act as an NP on their own but can also (rarely) combine with demonstratives (see §5.4.3). There are six paradigms of bound pronominal forms and two free pronoun paradigms, focal pronouns, and oblique pronouns. Focal pronouns can act as subject or object, and oblique pronouns function as possessives and benefactives. Oblique pronouns are mainly derived from focal pronouns by means of the preposition *ni(g)* 'of', e.g., *+ag* 'you (sg)'; *negag* 'yours (sg)'; *+ga* '3sg'; *nega* 'his/her'. Separate bound subject pronoun paradigms distinguish realis, irrealis, and perfect forms (§5.1.3.).

4.3. Conjunctions and subordinators

Coordinating conjunctions are *go* 'and', *me* 'but', 'and', *ko* 'or', and *ale* 'and then' (§12.1). They may conjoin pairs of NPs, clauses or sentences. Subordinators are *kin* 'COMP', 'REL', *nen* 'REL', that', and *na* 'say', 'COMP', and the range of subordinate clauses they introduce include complement clauses (that can also be simply juxtaposed to the main clause) and relative clauses, as discussed in §12.2.1.

4.4. Numerals

Numerals form a class on the basis that they can function as a nominal modifier (1) or as a complete NP (2). They can also take an irrealis form of the subject proclitic (3) (and thus appear to be acting predicatively).

When acting as modifiers, numerals take a subject proclitic that often appears to be bleached of any referential value as in example (1) where *ilates* 'six' acts as a quantifier with the noun *ntau* 'year'.

1 A=pes skul malen a=pitlak ntau **i=lates.**
1sgRS=start school when 1sgRS=have year 3sgRS=six
I started school when I was six years old. (98009a, 369.4801, 377.1330)

The same numeral *ilates* 'six' in (2) acts as the subject NP.

2 A=pitlak tesa ru=pi nain. Me **i=lates** ru=mat.
1sgRS=have child 3p.RS=be nine and 3sgRS=six 3p.RS=die
I had nine children. But six died. (98011a, 714.3800, 727.3400)

Nevertheless, the subject proclitic can appear in either the realis or irrealis form, as we see in (3) which is from a story about working on a plantation, and how the owners would increase the size of their land by getting the workers to move the fence posts out by a foot whenever they were being replaced. The numeral *ke=skei* 'one' has the irrealis subject form in this example that is all set in the irrealis mood.

3 Ke=fo preg boy ruk=mer preg
3sgIRR=PSP:IR makeboy 3p.IRR=again make

natu-e-r ke=**skei**. Wan foot, ale post.
leg-V-3p.DP 3sgIRR=one one foot then post
He (the boss) would make the boys add one of their feet. One foot, then a post. (98017az, 2539.6600, 2546.1200)

Numerals in South Efate follow a quinary system in which terms for seven to ten are recognizably derived from terms for two to five as we see in (4).

4

Cardinal		Ordinal	
i-skei	one	*pei*	first
i-nru; nran; nru	two	*karu*	second (other)
i-tol	three	*katol*	third
i-pat	four	*kafat*	fourth
i-lim	five	*kalim*	fifth
i-lates	six	*klates*	sixth
i-laru	seven	*klaru*	seventh
i-latol	eight	*klatol*	eighth
i-lfot	nine	*kilfot*	ninth
ralim iskei	ten		
ralim iskei atmat iskei	eleven		
ralim inru	twenty		
tifli iskei	one hundred		
p̃on iskei	one thousand		
p̃onti iskei	one million		
man	uncountable, many		

Numerals above ten are formed by a base of ten directly followed by its multiplier, followed by digits added with *atmat* 'and' that can only conjoin numerals. Examples of numerals formed in this way follow.

5 ralim inru **atmat** itol
ten two and three
Twenty- three

6 Tete nrak ntau ralim iskei **atmat** inru, ko ntau ilaru tefla.
some time year ten one and two or year seven thus
Some times twelve years or seven years, like that. (From a discussion of the age at which a boy could be circumcised). (98003b, 1533.6, 1540.8797)

Most counting today is done in Bislama and higher South Efate numbers in particular are not widely known, especially by younger speakers. During my stay in Erakor, a church elder decided to announce hymn numbers in South Efate (rather than the more usual Bislama numbers), which caused problems of comprehension for the congregation.

4.5. Verbs

Verbs function as the head of a verbal complex and take an obligatory subject proclitic. A pre-verbal complex of markers of TMA and polarity identifies the verbal position. There are large classes of around three hundred and fifty intransitive (§7.1.3) and three hundred ambitransitive (§7.1.5) verb stems in the current lexicon with much smaller classes of twenty semitransitive (§7.1.4), twelve transitive (§7.1.6), and four ditransitive (§7.1.7) verb stems.

Table 4:2. Summary of verb classes

Class	Subclass
Auxiliary	
Copula	
Intransitive	Stative Active
Semitranstive	Active
Ambitransitive	A-type U-type
Transitive	A-type U-type
Ditransitive	

Intransitive verbs are defined by not being able to take an object suffix. Subclasses of intransitive verbs are stative intransitives, which can also act as nominal modifiers (and function adjectivally) and active intransitives, which are further divided into those that cannot derive transitive forms and those that can, of which there are A-type (the subject becomes the actor when transitivized) and U-type (the subject becomes the object when transitivized) subclasses (following Ross 1998).

Semitransitive verbs take suffixes from the oblique bound pronoun paradigm, typically with a locational sense. Ambitransitive verbs can take an object suffix and also distinguish A- and U-type subclasses. There is a small group of eleven verbs that have distinct stems when acting transitively and so are classed as transitive verbs. Finally, the small group of ditransitive verbs can occur with two following objects.

A separate subclass of thirteen auxiliary verbs can be identified based on their ability to precede the benefactive phrase. There is internal ordering between the auxiliary verbs that constrains their function and provides evidence of their reduced verbal status. The copula is in a class of its own; it is used to link a subject to a predicate nominal or adjective.

4.6. Prepositions

Prepositions form a prepositional phrase with a following noun phrase. Most prepositions in South Efate can also take an object suffix, which makes them difficult to distinguish from verbs in some cases.

Prepositions fall into three main classes[32] depending on whether they take an object or distant suffix, as outlined below. The small group of prepositions that have the highest distribution and functional load are: *ki* 'to', 'at', 'with' (allative, locative, instrumental) (see also the discussion of ditransitive verbs (§7.1.7) and valency changing in Chapter 8; *pak* 'to' (allative); and *ni* 'from' (ablative, possessive).

Prepositions that take no object suffixes are listed below.

7

kat/kati	because of	*nmaota, nmaoto*	between
maloput	in the middle	*pan, panpan*	until
nakpei	in front of	*pak*	to
nal	inside	*pato*	be at
nanre	beside, at the side	*tkal*	until, reach a point in time or space
natik	at the edge, at the side	*totur*	through, by means of
ni/nig	from, for	*tup̃*	until

One preposition takes just the distant clitic *=n,* and no O suffix.

8

reki	for, as for

Prepositions that take object suffixes are listed below. With the exception of *ki* these are deverbal prepositions that can function both as prepositions and verbs (cf. Durie 1988). Prepositional verbs are a feature of Oceanic languages and are further discussed in §9.1.2.3.

9

	Preposition	**Verb**
ki	to, for	–
plak	with	accompany
skot	with	be with
taos	like, similar to	be like
toklos	towards, in front of	be in front of

[32] The locative prefix *e-* could be considered to be a preposition, but its unique distribution is more like a locative case marker and so it is discussed further in the section on placenames in §5.2.2.

Examples of the use of some of these follow.

10 Ra=tok wat-pun namẽr nig Erakor **kat** ntan negar.
3d.RS=HAB hit-kill people of p.name due.to ground 3p.POS
They would kill Erakor people because of their land. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

11 Ale i=pato **maloput** Egis go naur.
ok 3sgRS=be.at middle p.name and island
Okay, he was in the middle of Egis and the island. (98003bz, 2122.35, 2125.8800)

12 I=tap tu loia nen ru=to **nakpei**-wer
3sgRS=NEG give lawyer REL 3p.RS=STAT in.front-3p.O

jens nen ruk=fes wi mau.
chance that 3IRR=talk:IR good NEG2
He didn't give the lawyers who stood in front of them the chance to talk well. (TK 98004)

13 Tu=mai mes **reki** nen tu=lek nanre **ni** damij
1p.in.RS today for REL 1p.in.RS=look side of damage

go nanre ni ntan.
and side of land
We have come here today so that we can look from the perspective of damage and from the perspective of the land. (98018az, 975.0220, 978.1400)

14 Ku=su ur **natik** PWMU, sumẽ ni nmatu.
2sgRS=descend follow side " house of woman
You go down along the edge of the PWMU,[33] the women's house. (98017az, 1081.2001, 1088.6148)

15 Go **totur** Roy Mata kin i=po pitlak ntmat
and through p.name REL 3sgRS=PSP have peace

nmaota famle go nametrau sikskei.
between family and line individual
And through Roy Mata there would be peace between individual families and family lines. (053:82)

[33] Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union.

16 Me famle neu rui=pe tar **taos** ag.
but family 1sgPOS 3p.RS=PF white like 2sg
But my family was white like you. (98017bz, 933.2999, 942.6999)

Example (17) shows the preposition *toklos* 'facing' with a 3p.O suffix.

17 Reki nen welkia, ru=kens-ki-r, gawanki go
as.forthat HESIT 3p.RS=be.against-TR-3p.O thus and

ru=po stat preg nafkal **toklos**-i-r.
3p.RS=PSP start make war facing-TS-3p.O
As for them being against them, that's the way, and they would then start to make a war with them. (98011a, 959.3599, 965.1933)

Tkal 'to touch' appears as a preposition meaning 'until' and can be used to indicate a point of time reached, as in the next example, in which the speaker uses *tkal* when talking of the amount of time he worked as an orderly for the British government.

18 A=po weswes, kai=pe metpakor atlag ipi kin
1sgRS=PSP work 1sgPS=PF forget month how.many REL

a=weswes ko i=lakor **tkal** ntau iskei plak tete atlag.
1sgRS=work or 3sgRS=maybe until year one with some month
I would have worked, oh, I forget how many months I worked, or maybe it got to a year and some months. (98002az, 2120.5200, 2133.4400)

In (19) *tup̃* functions as a preposition meaning 'until' in a narrative in which a *natopu* 'spirit' promises to look after *kastom* 'until today'. The same form *tup̃* also means 'to hit'.

19 Me kineu ka=fo gakit to nanre ni kastom.
but 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR 1p.inBEN stay side of kastom

Tup̃ mes ne.
until today this
But I will be a custodian of kastom for you. Until today. (98007az, 705.9599, 718.2799)

4.7. Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns. In South Efate, adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verbs that can function attributively with no verbal morphology (such as subject or TMA marking). When used predicatively adjectives are preceded by subject proclitics and modality marking that do not occur when they are used attributively.

In the current data there are 115 stative verbs that can function as nominal modifiers,[34] following their noun heads, and examples are given in Table 4:3. For example, the following sentences show adjectival forms occurring predicatively (*pram* 'to be long', *m̃it* 'to be short') and attributively (*pram* 'long', *top* 'too much').

20 Nkal neu ke=fo **pram.**
dress 1sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP:IR long
My dress would be long. (98003b, 841.7520, 843.1667)

21 I=pi nlaken ki=pe **m̃it.**
3sgRS=be because 3sgPS=PF short
It is because it was short. (98002az, 1847.1200, 1848.7596)

Examples of adjectives as nominal modifiers follow.

22 I=piatlak nagis ni Eter ga i=pi nagis **pram.**
3sgRS=have point of p.name 3sg 3sgRS=be point long
There is the point at Eter, that is a long point. (98002az, 1838.7401, 1843.1657)

23 Go p̃a=traem ad-ki mane ne go naor ne,
and 2sgRS=try add-TR money this and place this

mane **sespal** **top.**
money small much
And you try to add more money, but here, the money is too little. (98016bz, 573.8873, 575.9800)

Wetzer (1996:15), in a discussion of the typology of adjectives, notes that "in many languages there appears to be no grammatical basis for distinguishing a separate adjective class." Wetzer also distinguishes languages in which adjectives are aligned with, or derived from nouns ('nouny' languages) from languages in which adjectives are aligned with, or derived from verbs ('verby' languages). Furthermore, he notes a strong correlation between languages that do not mark tense on verbs and those that have 'verby' adjectives. South Efate fits this typology in having 'verby' adjectives and no grammaticalized tense.

[34] By elicitation of individual verb forms it was determined that at least 115 of the 212 stative verbs can modify nouns.

Table 4:3. Examples of adjectives

fiet	fierce, good fighter	*m̃nam̃non*	yellow
fket	sour spicy	*mailum*	quiet, slow
flos	twisted, crooked	*mam*	ripe
foum	new	*matol*	thick
fserser	different	*met*	raw
fsofus	young	*miel*	red
ftin	hot	*mil*	wild
gar	dry	*mlakes*	blue
got	black	*mlanr*	cold, cool
kakas	sweet	*msal*	different
karo	grey	*p̃afp̃of*	adult
karu	other, two	*p̃aru*	fat
kerkerai	strong	*pram*	long, tall
kokon	bitter	*ptin*	sore, pain
kos	dense	*pu*	naked
ksakes	green	*sa*	bad
lap	many, more	*ses*	small, narrow
lep	big	*soklep*	rich
lom	wet	*tap*	taboo, forbidden
m̃arak	clever	*tar*	white
m̃ilo	dirty	*was*	burned

Adjectives in Oceanic languages are often considered to be a subclass of intransitive verb. This is the case, for example, in the Vanuatu languages Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), and Lamen (Early 2002). In South Efate, adjectives are distinguished by being able to occur in certain environments best characterized as being at the least verbal end of a continuum of possible verbs. Thus the same form may appear at one end of the continuum fully marked for its verbal status, including deriving a transitive verb with the transitivizing suffix (*-ki*) with an object, bearing aspectual and other pre-verbal particles, and at the other end it appears as a nominal modifier with none of those verbal characteristics and being eligible for nominalization with the *te-* prefix. Those forms that can only appear at the attributive end of this continuum (that is those that do not occur in typically verbal constructions) can be considered most adjectival. There is no

reason to suggest that these forms represent different lexemes when they act as adjectives or as verbs; they are the same forms performing different functions. Examples of verbs that occur in each of these categories are given in Table 4:4., where we see the typical distribution of the forms that can function as adjectives and as intransitive verbs.

24

VERBAL ◄			► NON-VERBAL
Take O with *-ki*			Subject proclitic (no TMA)
Aspect marking			Nominal modifier
1	2	3	4
Predicative			Attributive

Examples of the same form in each of these four contexts follow.

Example (25) shows *wi* 'good' acting as an intransitive verb (1 on the continuum) and taking the transitivizing suffix *-ki* to allow the expression of an object, with the meaning 'be/do good to'.

25

Go	komam	u=na	i=**wi**-ki	komam.
and	1p.ex	1p.exRS=say	3sgRS=good-TR	1p.ex

And we say it is good for us. (98010bz, 795.5, 797.8869)

In (26) *wi* 'good' occurs with the prospective (future) particle *po* in the pre-verbal complex which indicates it is in a typically verbal context (2 on the continuum).

26

Ka=fo	tu-mus	ki.	Mani	gamus,
1sgIRR=PSP:IR	give-2p.O	PREP	money	2p.POS

go	i=po	**wi.**
and	3sgRS=PSP.R	good

I will give you it. Your money, and it will be good. (98017az, 432.2, 436.2320)

Table 4:4. Examples of verbs and adjectives

Form	Meaning	1 Take O with *-ki*	2 TMA marking	3 S proclitic only	4 Nominal modifier
kos	dense				*namlas kos* 'dense forest'
m̃ ilo	dirty (be)			*nanr i=m̃ ilo* 'the banana	*nanr m̃ ilo* 'a dirty banana'
matol	thick (be)			*nmalok i=matol* 'the kava is thick'	*nmalok matol* 'thick kava'
kfet	astringent (be)			*nafnag i=fket* 'the food is dry'	*nfnag fket* 'dry food'
tar	white (be)		*ki=pe tar* 'it was white'	*to i=tar* 'the chicken is white'	*i=pi to tar* 'it is a white chicken'
lap	many (be)		*ruk=fo lap* 'they will be many'	*raru i=lap* 'the canoes are many'	*raru lap* 'many canoes'
mlanr	cold (be)		*ke=fo mlanr* 'it will be cold'	*nai i=mlanr* 'the water is cold'	*nai mlanr* 'cold water'
sa	bad (be)	*sa-ki* 'be bad for'	*ki=pe sa* 'it was bad'	*napu i=sa* 'the road is bad'	*napu sa* 'bad road'
wi	good (be)	*wi-ki* 'be good for'	*ke=fo wi* 'it will be good'	*tesa i=wi* 'the child is good'	*tesa wi* 'good child'
wo	to fall, of rain		*ke=fo wo* 'it will rain'	*i=wo* 'it rains'	
malig	to be spilled		*ki=pe malig* 'it spilled'	*i=malig* 'it spilled'	

In (27) *wi* 'good' has a subject proclitic, but no other part of the PVC (3 on the continuum).

27 Natus nen i=**wi.**
book that 3sgRS=good
That book is good. (98001a, 2618.68, 2619.7)

In (28) *wi* 'good' is modifying the nominal *namõlien* 'life' attributively and has no verbal characteristics (4 on the continuum).

28 Atua i=tao[35] namõlien **wi.**
God 3sgRS=give.me life good
God has given me a good life. (82:16)(98010az, 469.1199, 471.13)

As a subclass of intransitive verbs, adjectives can further be distinguished by taking the nominalizing prefix *te-* (see §5.4.3.) as we see in (29), where the prefixed adjective is *te-wi* 'a good thing' rather than 'good' as it would be without the prefix.

29 A=mur-i-n nrik-mus kin na
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO tell-2p.O COMP ART

nfaketanwen i=pi te-**wi.**
respect 3sgRS=be DET-good
I want to tell you that respect is a good thing. (98007bz, 940.8000, 951.7)

Certain groups of verbs occur more frequently in the adjectival or attributive function (4th slot on the continuum in 24 above) than other verbs. This group conforms to Dixon's (2002) semantic types of age, dimension, value, and color.[36] When functioning in this role they have no mood or aspect marking and as nominal modifiers they follow the noun they modify.

There is a predictable difference betweeen the attributive reading of the adjective and the predicative reading of the verb, as outlined in (30).

30

	Attributive	**Predicative**
miel	red	to be red
nagmoru	deep	to be deep
nrotik	silly	to be silly
põur	full	to be full

According to Dixon (2002:17), ordering of adjectives following a noun can be predicted to be as in (31).

31 color, age, human propensity, speed, physical property, dimension, value

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[35] The verb *tu* 'to give' has a suppletive 1sgO form *tao*.

[36] Also Wetzer's (1996:77) "prototypical property concepts."

Table 4:5. Typical adjectives, listed by Dixon's semantic types

Age				
	faum	new	*motu*	old (also meaning 'thick, dense')
Dimension				
	lap	many	*top*	much
	p̃ur	big	*ses*	small
Value				
	wi	good	*sa*	bad
	p̃otae	different		
Color				
	tar	white	*miel*	red
	got	black		

However, due to a strong dispreference in South Efate for strings of adjectives it is not possible to make any generalizations about internal ordering of adjectives. The following is the only example of more than one adjective involving *p̃ur* 'big' or *got* 'black'.

32 Ale me kineu a=pitlak kori **got** **p̃ur** iskei.
OK and 1sg 1sgRS=have dog black big one
Okay, I had a big black dog. (JC 98012)

In (33) the quantifier *lap* 'many' follows the dimension adjective *seserik* 'small'. In both the previous example and in (33) the ordering of adjectives conforms to Dixon's generalization above.

33 Tetwei i=piatlak natkon seserik **lap** ru=tok Efat.
long.ago 3sgRS=have village small many 3p.RS=stay Efate
Long ago there were many small villages in Efate. (053:57)

To show how rarely adjectives are found in combination consider the following adjectives that do not occur in combination with any other adjectives in the data.

tar	white
faum	new
miel	red
p̃otae	different
sa	bad
wi	good

By elicitation it was possible to chain adjectives as in (34), all of which were acceptable to speakers, and it is quite likely that all possible orders would be equally acceptable. There was some preference for (34d) among the speakers who were asked.

34	a	nasum̃	tar	p̃ur	faum
		house	white	big	new
	b	nasum̃	p̃ur	tar	faum
		house	big	white	new
	c	nasum̃	faum	p̃ur	tar
		house	new	big	white
	d	nasum̃	faum	tar	p̃ur
		house	new	white	big

4.8. Adverbs

Adverbs are "a class of words, normally uninflected or at best inflected for comparison, that occur in the syntactic position of modifiers of constituents other than nouns and that cannot be identified as belonging to any other word class" (Sasse 1993:664). Schachter's (1985:20) definition of adverbs is similar: they "function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns." In South Efate there are a number of forms that satisfy these definitions, but some adverbs that fit this definition can also function to modify nouns attributively (e.g., *naot leg* 'correct chief'; *nawesien mailum* 'easy work'; *natam̃ol kerkerai* 'strong man') and so also function as adjectives.

The criteria for distinguishing adverbs in South Efate are that they can (1) modify verbs and (2) modify clauses or sentences. Adverbs typically follow the verb they modify, but a small group of adverbs precedes the verb (§4.8.1.). We should also bear in mind that a number of adverbial functions are carried out by auxiliary verbs in South Efate, that encode modality (*lakor* 'maybe'), repetition (*mer* 'again'), and intensification (*trau* 'really'), among others, as discusssed in §10.1.5.

Typical adverbs in South Efate are listed below together with textual examples.

Temporal adverbs

There is a class of temporal adverbs (listed in 35) which can act as the head of a temporal adverbial clause (see §12.2.5), to establish the timeframe for the following clause. Some of these forms are lexicalized modifier-noun combinations (e.g., *sernrak: ser* 'every' *nrak* 'occasion'; *tetemal*: *tete* 'some' *mal* 'time'). Temporal nouns (§5.2.3) also act as sentential adverbial modifiers.

35	*malfane*	now, at the time of	*sernrak*	always
	malnen	that time	*tetemal*	sometimes
	malpei	long ago, 'first time'	*tetenrak*	on some occasions
	selwan	while, at the time that		

36 **Tetenrak** nanwei i=nrom nmatu i=lek-a-ø
sometime man 3sgRS=love woman 3sgRS=look-TS-3gO

nmatu i=maos go nanwei i=po welu-a-ø.
woman 3sgRS=tired and man 3sgRS=PSP:R help-TS-3sgO
Sometimes a man loves a woman, he sees that she is tired and the man will help her. (98003bz, 950.0799, 957.0200)

Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs, listed in (37), specify the manner in which the activity encoded in a verb is carried out.

37

kerkerai	hard, difficult	*sikskei*	each, individually
leg	straight, correct	*tefla*	similar
pelpel	quickly	*termau*	for good, properly

In (38) the modifer *pelpel* 'quickly' follows the verb it modifies, *ansa* 'to answer'.

38 Me malen ku=paos-ki kwestin, i=ansa **pelpel**.
but when 2sgRS=ask-TR question 3sgRS=answer quickly
But when you ask a question, he answers quickly. (98009a, 1983.6000, 1990.5000)

In (39) *pelpel* 'quickly' modifies the action of raising a new chief, and here the adverb follows the object of the verb it modifies.

39 Go i=wi na ... ruk=freg, ruk=sik
and 3sgRS=good COMP 3p.IRR=make:IR 3p.IRR=raise

naot faum **pelpel**.
chief new quickly
And it is good if they make, they raise a new chief quickly. (20003az, 1956.0400, 1963)

Similarly, in (40), *pelpel* 'quickly' modifies the action of 'going to Vila' and follows the locational complement *sto* 'store (= Vila)'.

40 A=pak sto **pelpel**.
1sgRS=go.to Vila quickly
I went to Vila quickly. (98017az, 406.1301, 407)

Degree adverbs

A small group of adverbs specify the degree to which an activity encoded in a verb or clause is carried out.

41

kotkot	really	*põk*	half
mãs	only	*top*	much
perkat(i)	really (emphasis)		

In (42) *mãs* 'only' modifies the verb *pakor* 'to appear' to mean 'only or just appear'.

42 Pan pan namrun i=na i=pakor **mãs.**
go go something 3sgRS=INCH 3sgRS=appear only
Until this thing began to just appear. (98009az, 921.7399, 924.25)

In (43) *mãs* 'only' modifies the verb *marmar* 'to rest' to mean 'only or just rest'.

43 Ru=marmar **mãs.**
3p.RS=rest only
They just rest. (98001az, 2634.6, 2635.5000)

The adverb *põk* 'half, partway' is used to express something that is not fully done,[37] e.g., *mam põk*, literally 'ripe half' means 'unripe'. In (44) it is used when talking about schooling that was half done.

44 A=tu, a=ta weswes mau. Me u=skul,
1sgRS=stay 1sgRS=NEG work NEG2 but 1p.exRS=school

skul nigmam i=pan **põk.**
school 1p.exPOS 3sgRS=go half
I stay, I don't work. But we went to school, our schooling went halfway. (98010bz, 402.9799, 415.0600)

The adverb *top* 'much' modifies the verb *matur* 'to sleep' in (45).

45 Ku=tae i=matur **top** a?
2sgRS=know 3sgRS=sleep much INT
You know he slept too much eh? (20001az, 1316.8201, 1321.7600)

The adverb *top* 'much' modifies the verb *lek* 'to see' in (46).

46 Akit tu=lek **top** ki stael ni westen kaontri.
1p.In 1p.RS=see much PREP style of western country
We see too much of the style of western countries. (20003az, 1714.3000, 1719.4801)

The adverb *perkat(i)* intensifies the meaning of the form it follows. As a post-verbal modifier it often acts as the second part of a compound verb (see §9.1.1.).

47 Neu a=ta tae **perkati** mau.
1sg 1sgRS=NEG know really NEG2
I don't really know. (98014az, 660.3600, 662.0400)

[37] The equivalent adjective is *kotfak* 'half'.

48 Or namõlien ni tetwei i=wi. I=wi **perkati**.
yes life of long.ago 3sgRS=good 3sgRS=good really
Yes, life in the olden days was good. It was really good. (98007az, 2312, 2316.2)

Direction/location

Directional or locational adverbs specify position in space, and, in some cases, metaphorically, in time. The following group of these adverbs rarely occurs without the locative prefix *e-*.

ektem	outside
elag	above
emãae	distant
emãrom	inside

Examples of some directional adverbs follow.

49 Ga me ke=fo pa=n join namẽr ni **ektem**.
3sg and 3sgIRR=PSP:IR go=DST join people of outside.
He joined with people from outside. (98011a, 2395.5634, 2399.9802)

50 Ka=fau tefkau ke=nom, go ka=fo
1sgIRR=weave:IR mat 3sgIRR=end and 1sgIRR=PSP:IR

pakor nakir **emãrom**, i=nom.
cover coral inside 3sgRS=end
I weave a mat, and I will cover the coral floor inside, that's all. (20001az, 214.3599, 221.1600)

The following can occur both with and without the locative prefix *e-*.

mẽltig	close, soon
sa	here
sago/sagope	close to you (addressee)
sas/saspe	long way behind
san/sanpe	long way
sanie/sanien	this place/that place, middle distance
tan	underneath, down (also 'ground')

A single form, *nakoinrok* 'back, behind', never occurs with the locative prefix.

In (51) we see the addressee deictic *go* with the demonstrative *sa* 'here' forming a directional adverb meaning 'here, nearer to the addressee than to the speaker'.

51 Ag ku=totan **sa-go** me kineu a=mur-i-n
2sg 2sgRS=sit here-AD and 1sg 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

na ka=taf
COMP 1sgIRR=leave
You sit down here, but me, I want to leave. (98003bz, 845.2599, 849.7999)

In (52) the adverb *tan* 'down' acts as the second part of a compound verb *fak-tan* 'to respect' (lit: to go down'). Similar compounds are discussed in §9.1.1.

52 Ko=fak-**tan**-ki tem-mus go rait-mus.
2p.exRS=go.to:IR-down-TR father-2p.POS and mother-2p.POS
You respect your father and your mother. (lit: go down to your father and your mother) (98007bz, 953, 957.5200)

The adverb *m̃eltig* 'close' can also have a temporal meaning as seen in (53).

53 Mes ne ki=pe lakor tkal **m̃eltig** ki ntau 80.
today this 3sgIRR=PF maybe touch near PREP year 80

Me ga go i=ta m̃ol to.
but 3sg AD 3sgRS=DUR alive stay
Today, he might be near to eighty years old. But he is still alive/healthy. (98017bz, 1042.0737, 1047.8000)

4.8.1. Pre-modifiers

A small group of manner adverbs modify the following main or auxiliary verb, and so occur after the subject proclitic and any element of the pre-verbal complex.

inrok	later, after	*pei*	first
mailum	slowly, softly	*trau*	really, just, looks like

A sentence encoding an event occurring after another event uses *inrok* 'after' (an adverb related to the verb *nrok* 'to bend', but with a fused 3sgRS proclitic) as in (54).

54 Me tafra ru=po **inrok** mai.
but whale 3p.RS=PSP:R after come
But the whales came afterwards. (005a, 1008.7799, 1012.2200)

The adverb *pei* 'first' is seen modifying the verb *paos* 'to ask' in (55), and can also function as an adjective following a noun (e.g., *atlag pei* 'first month = January').

55 Go ru=**pei** paos-ki naot ki-ø go naot
and 3p.RS=first ask-TR chief PREP-3sgO and chief

ki=na "I=wi."
3sgIRR=say 3sgRS=good
And they first asked the chief and the chief said "Okay." (98014az, 747.4600, 750.3421)

The adverb *mailum* 'slowly', 'softly' precedes the verb it is modifying.[38]

56 P̃a=freg-pun te-ne me tak=fo to
2sgIRR=make:IR-kill DET-this but 1p.IRR=PSP:IR STAT

mailum traus.
slow talk
You turn off this (tape recorder) and we will talk calmly. (98007b, 1899.9, 1903.1119)

57 Ke=fo nrok-puetsok nkal ga i=pak-etan,
3sgIRR=PSP:IR bend-hold clothes 3sgPOS 3sgRS=go-down

nen kin ke=**mailum** tol nanwei.
that COMP 3sgIRR=slow pass man
She would bend and hold her dress with respect so that she could slowly pass the man. (98003bz, 884.7799, 891.5199)

Trau can mean 'really', 'just', or 'like, looks like':

58 *trau mat* really dead/looks like dead/only dead
trau mtak very scared/looks like being scared/only scared

Identifying which of these meanings applies is not always clear, as can be seen in the following examples.

59 Taos natkon i=piatlak krup seserik ru=pan a?
like village 3sgRS=have group small 3p.RS=go INT

Ru=**trau** lap.
3p.RS=very many
Like in the village there are many small groups, eh? There are lots. (070:120)(98009az, 1445.5701, 1449.6999)

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[38] By elicitation it was posssible to get speakers to agree to *mailum* occurring both before and after the verb, e.g., *ku mailum siwer/siwer mailum* 'you slowly walk/ walk slowly', but all the textual examples show *mailum* occurring pre-verbally.

60 Ga i=**trau** mro-sa pe mrosa-ki D.
3sg 3sgRS=really think-bad IF think.bad-TR D
And he really but really thought badly of D. (98004)

61 Boyfren neu a=kano **trau** daerek pan lek-a-ø.
boyfriend mine 1sgRS=can't just straight go look-TS-3sgO
My boyfriend, I can't just go straight and look at him. (066:90) (98003bz, 1330.2406, 1334.2)

Example (62) shows *trau* modifying the auxiliary verb *to*.

62 Go i=**trau** to nrus ki Ermag.
and 3sgRS=just STAT move PREP Erromango
And he just kept going to Erromango. (98007a 010, 482.1400, 491.7200)

4.9. Interrogatives

A group of proforms are used to form content questions. They can be described, as is done here, as forming a functional class, or else as belonging to the word class of the word that the interrogative is functioning to seek information about, as discussed in §11.5 on question formation. Interrogative proforms generally occur sentence-finally, as we see in the examples below. Polar questions are formed by use of intonation or the tag question marker *ko* 'or' (see §11.5.2.).

fei	who	*sef*	which
gas	when	*sefmal*	when
iku	why	*swa*	where
ipi	how much	*tfale*	which
nafte	what	*tkanwan*	how

Textual examples of some interrogatives follow.

63 I=na te-ni **fei**?
3sgRS=say DET-of who
Who did he say? (20003bz, 2038.6599, 2039.5)

64 P̃a=fo ler-ki-ø **gas**?
2sgIRR=PSP:IR return-TR-3sgO when
When will you return it? (98017b, 502.4400, 510.8999)

65 Me ag ku=pi te-ni **sua**?
but 2sg 2sgRS=be DET-of where
But where are you from? (20001az, 922.3, 924.1192)

66 Go tuk=fo tae develop-ki natkon gakit **tfale**?
and 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know develop-TR village 1p.exPOS how
And how will we be able to develop our village? (98016az, 652.4800, 655.5141)

An alternative available with most interrogative proforms (all the above forms except *ipi* 'how much') is for them to be fronted and followed by a subordinating particle, with the content of the question acting as a subordinate clause.

67 U=tap tae **fei** kin ke=fo mos-mam
1p.exRS=NEG know who REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR carry-1p.exO

pak Ist Hog Haba mau.
to p.name NEG2
We didn't know who would take us to East Hog Harbor. (004b, 1272.4601, 1281.1599)

68 Me i=**tfale** kin mal i=to preg-sa-kit,
but 3sgRS=how REL hawk 3sgRS=HABIT make-bad-1p.inO

i=to pam-kit.
3sgRS=HABIT eat-1p.inO
But how does it come that the hawk harms us and eats us? (98001b, 733.1459, 737.4460)

4.10. Quantifiers

In addition to numerals, there is a small group of modifers that express dimension and quantity and so are called quantifiers. They fall into three groups: those that occur post-nominally, pre-nominally, and in the pre-verbal complex.

Post-nominal quantifiers

karu	other, next (e.g., *natrauswen karu* 'another story')
lap	many (e.g., *namẽr lap* 'many people')
mana	associated group (e.g., *Apu mana* 'grandfather and them', *fei mana* 'who all?')
nenpa	last, past (e.g., *wik nenpa* 'last week')
nentu	next (e.g., *atlag nentu* 'next month')
nrfal	few (e.g., *tiawi nrfal* 'a few old people')
p̃ur	full, big (e.g., *napu p̃ur* 'the big road')
warik	few (e.g., *naniu warik* 'few coconuts')

Pre-nominal quantifiers (discussed in §5.5.1)

kotfak	half, small amount (e.g., *kotfak nafnag* 'leftover food')
nafet	group of (e.g., *nafet tiawi* 'a group of old people')
ser	every (e.g., *ser naor* 'every place')
silu	all (e.g., *silu nafnag* 'all the food')
tete	some (e.g., *tete nrak* 'some time')

Pre-verbal complex

mau(i)	all, big group (e.g., *Gar rui pe maui mat* 'They all died')
nomser	every, all (e.g., *Unomser pak eut* 'We all went to the sea')
nru	two, both (e.g., *Ranru mat* 'Those two died')
skei	one, alone (e.g., *negar ruskei* 'they alone')

69 Go i=tap pi negar ru=**skei** mau.
and 3sgRS=NEG be 3p. 3p.RS=one NEG2
And it isn't them themselves at all. (lit: 'them themself') (004b, 512.0200, 522.7401)

70 A=na ka=fan, neu a=ta **skei**
1sgRS=want 1sgIRR=go:IR 1sg 1sgRS=NEG one

plak-e-ø pa=n mau.
accompany-TS-3sgO go=DST NEG2
I wanted to go, I didn't go with them myself. (98018az, 374.3, 376)

In (71) quantifier *nru* 'two' occurs following the prospective (future) marker and preceding the verb *pa* 'go'.

71 I=wel ag ku=pi nasaβ, akit
3sgRS=thus 2sg 2sgRS=be foreigner 1p.ex

tak=fo **nru** pa.
1p.exIRR=PSP:IR two go
As you are a foreigner, we will both go. (98007bz, 1702.2800, 1706.9339)

4.11. Interjections

Syntactically, interjections share the ability to function as a complete sentence on their own, or "always constitute an intonation unit by themselves" (Ameka 1999:215). In many languages interjections can also be phonologically anomalous (Sasse 1993:683) and we will see below that two non-phonemic segments [ʃ] and [ʔ] appear in South Efate interjections. In this discussion of interjections I include:

- lexical interjections, including greeting and leavetaking
- hesitation markers
- non-lexical interjections (feedback or backchannel vocalizations)

4.11.1. Lexical interjections

The following lexical interjections can function as pro-sentences and each of these is exemplified in turn below. Greetings and leavetaking forms are discussed in §4.11.1.1.

ale	okay	*itik*	no
gawan/tkanwan	thus	*ore*	yes

The particle *ale* 'okay, so, then' is from French via Bislama and commonly occurs as both a conjunction and an interjection. It is used mostly to start a new sentence, as in (72).

72 Ru ga sat serale pan ps-i-ø pan i=nom.
3p.RS 3sgBEN take everything go put-TS-3sgO until 3sgRS=end

Ale ru=lao-ki-ø.
okay 3p.RS=plant-TS-3sgO
They took everything for him and went and put it there, until it was over. Okay, they put it there (lit: planted it). (98009b, 498.4201, 504.5201)

The following two examples are typical of the use of *ale* in introducing sequential actions. Example (73) is from a story told by a nine-year-old boy who uses *ale* more than an older speaker would.

73 **Ale** i=sel kai pan i=na i=nom mer
okay 3sgRS=take shellfish until 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=finish again

taɓo-ki fat. **Ale** i=mer pak e-sum̃ pa.
turn-TR rock okay 3sgRS=again go.to LOC-house go
Okay she took shellfish until she'd had enough and turned the rock cover over again. Okay she went back home. (98003bz, 2064.6799, 2070.6399)

Example (74) is from a middle-aged woman and, together with example (72), shows that the use of *ale* as a sentence introducer is not limited to children's usage.

74 **Ale** a=weswes tkal 1975, **ale** a=mai na
okay 1sgRS=work until 1975 okay 1sgRS=come in.order.to

a=to e-sum̃ to pan, **ale** a=mer pan ni
1sgRS=STAT LOC-house atuntil ok 1sgRS=in.turn go of

MC pi haoskel.
p.name be housegirl
Okay I worked until 1975, then I came back to stay at home until, okay I then became a housegirl for MC. (98010bz, 1271.6999, 1280.8799)

There are two particles, *tkanwan* and *gawan*, that are used to introduce sentences with a meaning like 'thus', 'that's the way', 'hence', 'how'. They both often occur in collocation with *kin* 'COMP' or *kia* 'this one'.

75 **Tkanwan** napu ni nafet apu nen ru=mai.
thus road of group g.father that 3p.RS=come
That's the path by which all the old people came. (98002az, 457.7600, 460.7162)

76 **Tkanwan** natrauswen k-nen kia.
thus story DET-that PR
That's how the story of it goes. (98002b, 1210.8200, 1213.2599)

77 Me **tkanwan** kin ag ku=to maet kuk p̃og tefla?
but thus COMP 2sg 2sgRS=STAT fright cook day like
But why are you scared to cook in the daytime like this? (98017bz, 2535.7335, 2539.5406)

The expression *tkanwan ki* or *tkanwan kia* 'that's the way' is used to emphasize what has just been said, as in (78).

78 Gar ru=seserik m̃as, a.a. **Tkanwan**-kia a.a.
3p. 3p.RS=small only INJ that's.the.way-PR INJ
They are only small, aha. That's the way, aha. (98017bz, 203.3842, 207.8199)

79 **Gawan-kin** i=preg-i-ø taos ag ku=paos.
thus-COMP 3sgRS=make-TS-3sgO like 2sg 2sgRS=ask.

Ore. **Gawan-kia**.
Yes. thus-PR
That's how he did it, like you asked. Yes. Like that. (98017bz, 2098.8599, 2103.882)

80 **Gawan-kia**, kano nen i=nrik-i-n ki-n
thus-PR man that 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO

me i=po psig.
but 3sgRS=PSP disobey
That's the way, that man said it to him, but he disobeyed. (20001az, 1277.2, 1280.9200)

Ore 'yes' is used when the speaker agrees with a proposition, as in (81), and can also function to introduce sentences, as in (82).

81 <Chief> William ku=kraksok nagi nam̃er ne? <W> **Ore**.
p.name 2sgRS=catch name man this yes
<Chief> William, did you catch the name of this man? <W> Yes. (98016az, 1210.7400, 1213.2)

82 **Ore**, a=mrokin nafsan ki=pe lakor leg.
yes 2sgRS=think story 3sgRS=PF maybe correct
Yes, I think that the story might be correct. (98016bz, 871.9800, 876.8400)

The negator *itik* 'no' acts as a complete sentence in (83), as discussed further in the section on negation (§11.6).

83	<Nick>	Me	ag	ku=skul	franis? <DW>	**Itik.**
		but	2sg	2sgRS=school	French	no

<Nick> But did you go to a French school? <DW> No. (98010bz, 1089.7600, 1093.2599)

4.11.1.1. Greetings, leavetakings

While not a formal class, these terms are grouped together for discourse considerations and for the benefit of the reader who may want to know how to exchange pleasantries in South Efate. The most common form of greeting is *p̃ulp̃og wi*, or just *p̃og wi* 'good morning', *aliat wi* 'good day', *kotfan wi* 'good afternoon', or *p̃og wi* 'good evening/night' depending on the time of day.

84	<1>	P̃ulp̃og wi	<2>	P̃ulp̃og wi.	A=tap
		good.morning		good.morning	1sgRS=NEG1

letae-k	mau.
recognize-2sgO	NEG2

<Speaker 1> Good day. <Speaker 2> Good day, I didn't recognize you! (98007az, 2287.8399, 2294.4000)

In (85) some new participants arrive and there is a general greeting between those who had been sitting with me and those arriving.

85	P̃ogwi.	aliat wi.
	good.morning	good.day

Good morning, good day. (98001az, 2568.3000, 2577.1000)

When meeting a group of people it is usual to shake hands (*talof*) with everyone. When walking along the road, you announce where you are going to anyone you encounter, as if you were getting their permission to proceed. And if you don't, they will usually ask *P̃a fak eswa?*, 'where are you going?' or *Ku to eswan mai?* 'Where are you coming from?' Another common greeting is *Iwi ko?* 'Is it okay?'

When leaving, you say *Nta* 'alright, that's all', or commonly the equivalent Bislama term *ale* to indicate that you are about to go. Example (86) was recorded when someone came into the house in which I was recording and asked for one of the residents. He was told they were at the town hall, and he then said *ale nta* 'okay, that's all' as a parting salutation.

86	I=pato	lameri	e?	Ale	**nta.**
	3sgRS=be.at	townhall	eh	ok	CONC

He's at the town hall is he? Okay, bye. (98017a, 1409.9600, 1414.4799)

A different use of the conversation concluder, *nta* 'CONC', is seen in (87), where it signals that the previous part of the story is over.

87 Malfanen ra=to wi. **Nta** ka=fo
now 3d.RS=STAT good CONC 1sgIRR=PSP:IR

tu-o-k gag mĩit.
give-TR-2sgO 2sgPOS mat
Now they are good. OK, I will give you your mat.[39] *(98003b, 1223.0599, 1227.3307)*

4.11.1.2. Hesitation markers

Hesitation markers include the following:

88 *nana* 'the.the', thingamy, whatchamacallit
nafte-mena, nafte-kia whatsit
ena LOC-the
kalo ?

Examples of hesitation markers follow.

89 Go ru=wat **nafte-mena,** **nafte-mena,** **nana,** i=skei,
and 3p.RS=hit what-HESIT what-HESIT HESIT 3sgRS=one

mis Australia.
missionary p.name
And they hit, whatsit, whatsit, the missionary from Australia. (98002b, 1712.4800, 1721.3000)

A hestation involving a location is often of the form *e-na* LOC-ART as in (90).

90 Ru=pato e-na, elag sanpe.
3p.RS=stay LOC-ART above there
They stay, um, up there. (20003b, 1147.5800, 1149.9802)

Example (91) shows a number of occurrences of hesitation markers.

91 Runa, "E", **kalo.** **Nafteme,** **nana,** ki=pe to **na,**
3p.RS=say eh HESIT HESIT HESIT 3sgPS=PF stay HESIT

til **nana** "Tu=kraksoksok nasum̃."
say HESIT 1p.exRS=make.ready house
They said, "Hey", like, whatsit, um, he said, like, "We should prepare the house" (for a cyclone). (98002bz, 1255.3000, 1264.3399)

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[39] The position of the possessive pronoun *gag* '2sgPOS' is unusual here. Normally it would be expected to follow the possessed item but here it precedes.

4.11.2. Non-lexical interjections

The form *kuse/couchez!* [ku'ʃe] from French, often reduced to just *se* [ʃe] is used to quieten a dog. The fricative [ʃ] is not a phoneme of South Efate.

Similarly, the glottal stop features in feedback to the speaker by an addressee of the form *a.a* [ʔaʔa] also produced with a closed mouth as *m.m* [ʔmʔm]. The speaker may repeat the form in response to the addressee's back-channel, as in (92).

92 <M> Me kin u=taf tefla kui=pe pan kia. <N>a.a <M> a.a.
but REL 1p.exRS=exit thus 1p.PS=PF go PR " "
<M> But, (if you ask) did we leave like that, we had already gone. <N> aha. <M> aha. (20001a, 532.8600, 537.1401)

93 I=pi nagis ni Sauma. A.a. [ʔaʔa]
3sgRS=be point of p.name "
It is the point at Sauma. Aha. (20003bz, 427.6800, 432.5704)

In (94) the form *a.a* is used to conclude and emphasize the truth of the preceding sentence.

94 I=tme-n preg-i-ø i=pi natam̃ol wi
3sgRS=RR-3sgDP make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=be person good

me i=pi ntuam, a.a.
but 3sgRS=be devil "
He made himself out to be a good person, but he was a devil, aha. (20001az, 1064.7, 1070.08)

In (95) the speaker is talking about never having seen a *natopu* 'spirit' in the bush. She concludes with the confirming *m.m.*

95 Kin a=to nrog-o-ø me a=tap
REL 1sgRS=STAT hear-TS-3sgO but 1sgRS=NEG1

lek tete mau. **m.m.**
see some NEG2 m.m.
I heard about it, but I haven't seen any at all m.m. (20001a, 1787.4400, 1792.4000)

Similarly in (96) *m.m* is used to confirm the statement after my response of *ore* 'yes'.

96 <MJ> Lisan nen i=pi lisan p̃ur, me i=pi lisan nen
clam that 3sgRS=be clam big but 3sgRS=be clam that

kin i=pi lisan tap. <NT> Ore <MJ> **m.m.**
REL 3sgRS=be clam sacred yes m.m.
<MJ> That clam is a big clam, but it is a clam which is a sacred clam. <NT> Yes. <MJ> m.m. (20003bz, 782.3800, 791.4399)

The same form *m.m* is used with question intonation to form a question in (97), meaning something like 'you know?'

97 Ru=f tae tilusus-i-k ko
3p.RS=CND know talk.badly-TS-2sgO or

ru=ftil-ki-k, ko. **m.m.**?
3p.RS=gossip-TR-2sgO or m.m.
They can spread rumors about you or gossip about you (you know?). (98009a, 450.1600, 457.2600)

Exclamatory calls rising to falsetto or falling from falsetto are used to indicate shame. Following a good joke that has caused some laughter, a falling falsetto [ei] or [oo] is not uncommon. In the following interchange there are two exclamations. The speaker in (98a) is reminding a group of her friends that I wanted to talk to all of them, which provoked some embarassment about being recorded on tape.

98a <I> Me ke=fo mer traus skot akam.
but 3sgIRR=PSP:IR again talk with 2p.
But he will then talk with you. (98007az, 1011.8200, 1014.6200)

98b <E> Eeee [laughs] Me i=tik mer psa-psir-ki Ooo [laughs]
eeee " but 3sgRS=not again talk-lie-TR ooo "
Eeee. But don't lie to him. Ooooooo [laughter]. (98007az, 1014.6200, 1026.4200)

A similar exclamation is a sign of embarrassment as in (99) where the speaker has just had her photo taken.

99 Ya ioraet. Yuwi.
yes okay "
[Bislama] Yes, it's okay. Yuwi. (98014a, 853.5600, 859.6400)

A final example of surprise encoded by a long 'oooo' is given in (100) in which the speaker has just heard about a misssionary who used to live in South Efate in the 1950s.

100 O Miss McRae, ooo!
oh p.name oh
Oh. Miss McRae, ooo! (98010bz, 924.5206, 926.8863)

5. Nominals and the noun phrase

The class of nominals in South Efate is made up of pronouns and nouns. All nominals can act as heads of NPs, but the subject proclitic is taken as representing the subject argument, so any other nominals acting in the role of subject are either cross-referencing the proclitic or acting as adjuncts. As the object suffix can alternate with a lexical object, either of the two must be considered the object NP. In this chapter I will first discuss subclasses of pronouns and nouns and move on to outline productive nominalization processes, before describing the noun phrase. The ways in which noun phrases act in the sentence are discussed in Chapter 11 on simple sentences.

5.1. Pronouns

The pronominal inventory of South Efate is fairly rich, encoding singular, dual and plural, inclusive and exclusive. There are separate paradigms for free and bound forms. The class of free pronouns comprises demonstrative pronouns, focal pronouns (which can function as both subject and object), and a set of free possessive/benefactive forms. Bound pronouns include paradigms of portmanteau subject proclitics encoding realis, irrealis, and perfective. O suffixes encode reflexives and reciprocals, direct possession, object, and oblique object. The paradigm set for all pronominal forms is given in Table 5:1. A distinction between first non-singular inclusive and exclusive is made for all forms. There are no dual forms of focal pronouns. As dual is only expressed in the proclitic subject forms, the category of plural covers numbers greater than one for free pronouns and greater than two for clitic subject pronouns. I discuss each of the columns in Table 5:1. in turn below.

Gender is not a feature of South Efate nominals. There are, however, two examples of a nominal prefix indicating gender, *lei/li* 'female', *kalo/kei* 'male'. These are apparently archaic forms that only appeared in discussion with Kalsarap Namaf, an 87-year-old man, who gave the following examples: *Liku wan go ipa?* 'Who is that (woman) going there?' *Kaloku wan go ipa?* 'Who is that (man) going there?'

Older speakers have reported the polite use of dual or plural forms with singular reference to a person in an in-law relationship, but this is not in general use today. I have observed that avoidance of in-laws is practised on Lelepa island to the north-west of Efate, and that dual and plural forms are used to indicate respect in Lelepa.

Table 5:1. Free pronominal forms in South Efate

	Focal Pronoun	Oblique (Indirect Possess- POS/ Benefactive - BEN)
1sg	kineu / neu	(nig)neu
2sg	ag	(ne)gag
3sg	ga	(ne)ga
1p. (in)	akit	(ne)gakit
1p. (ex)	komam	(nig)mam
2p.	akam	(ne)gamus
3p.	gar	(ne)gar

5.1.1. Focal pronouns

Focal pronouns (Lynch 2000b:40), or independent pronouns (Crowley 1998:40), can function as both subject and object and do not attach to a verb. Focal pronouns can form NPs on their own, and, unlike bound pronouns, make no realis/irrealis distinction. They express only singular and plural and do not distinguish dual number. Examples (1a) and (1b) show the 1sg focal pronoun acting as subject and object respectively.

1a Me **kineu** a=tap nrogtesa-wes mau.
but 1sg 1sgRS=NEG fell.bad-3sgO NEG2
But I don't feel bad about it. (005ax, 1031.1, 1035.2400)

1b Ruk=fo wat **kineu**.
3p.RS=PSP:IR hit 1sg
They will hit me. (98002b, 357.87, 358.8400)

Table 5:2. Bound pronominal forms in South Efate

	Bound pronouns					
	Subject Realis Pro-clitic (RS)	**Subject Irrealis Pro-clitic (IRR)**	**Subject Perfect Pro-clitic (PS)**	**Object (O)**	**Oblique Object (OBL)**	**Direct Poss (DP)**
1sg	a=	ka=	kai=	-wou	-wou	-k
2sg	ku=	p̃a=	kui=	(TS)-k	-wok	-m
3sg	i=	ke=	ki=	(TS)-ø / -n	-wes	-n
1d. (in)	ta=	tak=	takai=			
1d. (ex)	ra=	rak=	rakai=			
2d.	ra=	rak=	rakai=			
3d.	ra=	rak=	rakai=/ rai=			
1p. (in)	tu=	tuk=	tu=/ tui=/ (tukoi=)	-kit	-kit	-kit
1p. (ex)	u=	ko=	ui=/ koi=	-mam / -mom/ -m	-mam	-mam / -mom/ -m
2p.	u=	ko=	koi=	-mus	-mus	-mus
3p.	ru=	ruk=	rui=/ (rukui=)	(TS)-r	-wer	-r

Similarly, (2a) and (2b) show the 2sg focal pronoun as subject and object respectively.

2a Me ag ku=m̃ol to go tak=ler.
but 2sg 2sgRS=alive STAT and 1d.IRR=return
But you are alive and we will return. (98017b, 667.2599, 676.4600)

2b Kano nen i=na ke=wat **ag** nanom.
man that 3sgRS=want 3sgIRR=hit 2sg yesterday
That man wanted to hit you yesterday. (elicited)

5.1.2. Oblique free pronouns

Oblique free pronouns function as possessives and benefactives. The possessive pronoun follows the possessed NP and is made up of the preposition *nig* 'from', 'of' and a full or reduced form of the focal pronoun with predictable phonological processes of geminate reduction (*nig+gar = nigar*) and lowering of the high vowel in an unstressed syllable (*nigar -> negar*). These pronouns often occur in the data without the initial syllable (*ne/nig*) which is shown in brackets in Table 5:2. Examples of possessive pronouns are given in §5.3.1.1.

The oblique functioning as a benefactive pronoun occurs before the main verb as discussed in §11.4.2 on the benefactive phrase.

For the purposes of making clear the distinction between the dual functions of the oblique free pronoun I gloss it as POS when acting as a possessive and BEN when acting as a benefactive.

5.1.2.1. *nakte* 'my' '1sgPOS'

Nakte '1sgPOS' is the only possessive form that occurs before the possessed item. It has no paradigmatic equivalent for 2nd or 3rd persons. It is also unusual in occurring before the possessed noun (see the equivalent term in Sye, *nagku* (Crowley 1998:43) with a distribution that appears identical to *nakte*). It only occurs a few times in the data as the preferred expression is *neu* '1sgPOS' following the possessed item.

3 Ka=fo puetsok **nakte** nkal wel,
1sgIRR-PSP:IR hold my clothes thus

a=tuleg me a-na ka=taf.
1sgRS-stand and 1sgRS-want 1sgIRR-leave
I will hold my skirt like this, I will stand up to leave. (65:13)(98003bz, 849.7999, 856.8200)

4 **Nakte** nasum̃ kin hotel i-to-wes tu.
my house REL hotel 3sgRS=STAT-3sgOBL stay
It is my house that the hotel stands on. (76:12)(98009b, 651.8, 654.9200)

5.1.3. Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns include subject proclitics (§5.1.3.2.); object suffixes (§5.1.3.3.); and direct possessives (§5.1.3.6.). Each is discussed in turn below. The pronominal suffixes use plural forms for numbers greater than one. There is no separate set of dual object or oblique forms as there is for the subject proclitics. I regard obligatory subject proclitic pronouns as being arguments of the verb, and the optional presence of a lexical noun cross-references the clitic.

5.1.3.1. Number agreement

As nouns have no formal number marking, number is expressed by the pronominal markers on the verb. So, in (5) the noun *tesa* 'child' is unmarked for number, but the following subject proclitic is plural, indicating that more than two children are the subject.

5 A=pitlak tesa ru=pi nain.
1sgRS=have child 3p.RS=be nine
I have nine children. (98011a, 714.3800, 717.0993)

In (6) it is the dual subject proclitic (*rak*=) that tells us there are two mothers who will go to the garden. This is an inclusory construction as discussed in §5.1.3.4.

6 Komam mama gamus rak=fa talm̃at.
1p.ex mother 2p.POS 1d.IRR=go:IR garden
We, your mothers, we should go to the garden. (20001a, 1586.4, 1589.0400)

In (7) the focal pronoun only specifies a number greater than one, but the dual proclitic gives more detailed information about the number of the subject referent.

7 Gar ra=pak talm̃at pan.
3p. 3d.RS=go.to garden hither
They (two) went to the garden. (20001a, 1639.4201, 1640.76)

When higher animates are not involved, number marking may not reflect the number of the cross-referenced subject or object as we can see in (8) where both the marked subject and object are singular, while the referents (all the listed sea life) are described as being *lap* 'many'. This treats the referents as a collective noun, as in the English translation where each type of sea animal is a collective noun. The difference is that the grouping of all of these animals is treated as a plural in English, but not in this South Efate sentence. Animacy is a precondition for number agreement, with lower animate and inanimate plural nouns more likely to be treated as collective nouns and so cross-referenced by singular proclitics.

8 Ke=piatlak kai go ke=fo piatlak wit go
3sgIRR=have shellfish and 3sgIRR=PSP:IR have octopus and

ke=fo piatlak naik go ke=fo piatlak
3sgIRR=PSP:IR have fish and 3sgIRR=PSP:IR have

te-fserser i=lap nen i=to slat-i-ø
DET-different 3sgRS=many REL 3sgRS=HAB carry-TS-3sgO

elau ntas.
sea seawater
There were shellfish, octopus, fish, and there were many different others that she would take from the sea. (029:7)

In (9) we see another example of a plural subject referent (*nagier* 'their names') being referenced by a singular pronominal form, *i*= 3sgRS.

9 Nagi-e-r kin i=pi Tkaiñaal go Kalros.
name-V-3p.DP REL 3sgRS=be p.name and p.name
Their names were Tkaiñaal and Kalros. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

In (10), taken from a written text (Wai et al. 1983:text 12), we see a singular subject proclitic referencing the plural *nalur* 'their hair'.

10 Nlaken ru=tau nal-u-r i=pram.
because 3p.RS=leave hair-V-3p.DP 3sgRS=long
Because they leave their hair long. (012:23)

In elicitation or by corpus analysis the following nouns were found to usually take singular proclitic cross-reference for plural number.

11 *kau*	cow	*naromet*	tears
man	bird	*nkas*	tree
nagi	name	*raru*	boat
naik	fish	*wak*	pig
namor	hole		

In contrast, the following nouns take plural reference for plural number.[40]

12 *temol*	animal	*tesa*	child
natamol	person	*naot*	chief
nmatu	woman		

The tendency for inanimates to be treated as collective singular entitites is not absolute as the next example shows that the same speaker refers to (many) pigs as singular, but (many) cows as plural.

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[40] When lower animates behave as human characters in a story they have plural reference as an attribute of being human.

13 Nrakpei wak mil **i**=lap **i**=lap pe lap pe lap.
long.ago pig wild 3sgRS=many 3sgRS=many IF many IF many

Kau mil **ru**.lap pe lap.
cow wild 3p.RS=many. IF many
Long ago there were many wild pigs. There were many wild cows. (98017b, 1169.4400, 1178.3600)

As we would expect, the same tendency to treat nouns with inanimate referents as collective can be seen in cross-referencing of the object, as in (14) where the plural fish (it seems unlikely that the net would catch only one fish) only have singular agreement on the verbs *mai* 'come', *sor* 'to sell', *slat* 'to take', and *fam* 'to eat'.

14 I=sol net nen ke=fa=n preg naik
3sgR=carry net in.order.to 3sgIRR=go:IR=DST make fish

i=mai ale i=sor-i-**ø** ko ke=sat-i-**ø** reki
3sgRS=come okay 3sgRS=sell-3sgO or 3sgIRR=take-TS-ø as.for

e-sum̃ nen ruk=fam-i-ø.
LOC-home that 3p.IRR=eat-TS-ø
He got a net in order to get fish, then he sold it or he took it to eat it at home. (086:13)

5.1.3.2. Bound subject pronouns (proclitics)

The proclitic subject pronouns cannot stand alone but must attach to the first element of the Verb Complex. They are considered clitics as they attach to whichever part of the Verb Complex that follows. Subject proclitics occur in three paradigms, realis, irrealis, and perfect as illustrated in (15), and as discussed in the following sections.

15 (a) a=pam (b) ka=fo pam (c) kai=pe pam.
1sgRS=eat 1sgIRR=PSP:IR eat:R 1sgPS=PF eat:R
I eat/am eating *I will eat* *I have eaten/I ate*

As the subject proclitic is the only obligatory element in a sentence besides the verb, I analyze it as representing the subject argument.

5.1.3.2.1. Realis/irrealis pronominals

Proclitic subjects distinguish realis and irrealis forms. The realis is the unmarked form, and the irrealis form is used in marking subjects of actions that have yet to be realized, including many (but not all) future events and all imperatives and hortatives (see Chapter 6 on Mood and Aspect). Thus, in (16) we see the realis forms of pronouns in all cases except the subject of the verb *mai* 'to come', which is inside a desiderative complement. As noted in §12.2 there is a strong preference for subjects of certain complement types (e.g., desideratives, achievement

predicates) to be in the irrealis form. While we may expect that the conditional in the final clause, encoding a possibility as it does, would take an irrealis, it nevertheless has a realis subject form, as do most conditionals in the data.

16 A=nrik-i-n ki na "He a=muri-n
1sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO PREP COMP hey 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

na **p̃a**=mai ni Kaltog preg nalkis,
COMP 2sgIRR=come BEN p.name make medicine

i=wel ku=f tae preg-i-ø."
3sgRS=thus 2sgRS=CND know make-TS-3sgO
I said to him, "Hey, I want you to bring some medicine for Kaltog, if you can do that." (20001b, 1216.5199, 1227.0800)

5.1.3.2.2. Perfect pronominals

I use the term perfect (glossed as PS) for this proclitic series because we are dealing with aspectual past, that is, events that are over (aspectually 'perfect') with regard to the speaking event, and hence often with past time reference as well. Perfect proclitics are typically, but not necessarily, directly followed by the perfective particle *pe*. Perfect proclitics never occur in imperatives.

In the data we find perfect proclitics in narratives dealing with long past events such as, for example, World War Two. Example (17) is from one such narrative where the speaker is talking about the American presence in Vanuatu and how some of the old people worked with the Americans, but that many died in the war. The perfect proclitics refer to those who are long dead. This example also shows the variation in the form of the 3p.PS between *rui=* and *rukoi=*.

17 I=piatlak tete nen kin ru=weswes skot-i-r. Go,
3sgRS=have some that REL 3p.RS=work with-TS-3p.O and

ru=lap te-p̃ur **rui**=pe mat. **Rukoi**=pe mat.
3p.RS=many DET-big 3p.PS=PF dead 3p.RS=PF dead
There are some who worked with them (the Americans). And very many died. They died. (98003az, 436.8400, 455.2799)

Example (18) is from a hearing where the speaker is telling the court that he has apologized for a past event and that it is all over now, using perfect forms of the proclitic.

18 **Kai**=pe til-sori-ki=r, **ui**=pe pes **ki**=pe nom.
1sgPS=PF tell-sorry -TR-3p.O 1p.exPS=PF talk 3sgPS=PF end
I said sorry to them, we talked, it is over. (98016az, 1819.2346, 1823.3000)

Traditional (also called *kastom* 'custom') stories set in the past often use perfect proclitic forms as in (19).

19 Kaltog i=kel ntak Selwin tefla=n go **rakai**=ler
Kaltog 3sgRS=hold back Selwin thus=DST and 3d.PS=return

mai pak esum̃
come to LOC-house
Kaltog rubbed Selwin's back like that and they returned to the house. (20001b, 1372.6, 1378.6800)

Example (19) also shows that the perfect particle *pe* need not co-occur with the perfect proclitic.

5.1.3.2.3. *kai* echo-subject marker

In South Efate the echo-subject proclitic *kai*[41] can act as the subject of second and subsequent clauses where the verb of the first clause is inflected and the subject is identical to each of the following echo-subject-marked clauses, as shown in the schema in (20).

20 S=(PVC)=V(-O) ES=V(-O)

An echo subject marker in Lenakel (Lynch 1983) can appear on a verb if its subject is wholly or partly coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause or even coreferential with some other argument of the preceding clause. Crowley (1998:100; 246 ff) discusses an echo-subject in Sye, used "when a verb follows another verb in a sentence and the two share the same subject categories." The form of the echo-subject prefixes in Sye varies depending on the subject's number. Its function is the coordination of two (or more) clauses and it can imply temporal priority or simultaneity (Crowley 1998:248). The echo-subject marker in Anejom̃ is almost identical in function, but not in form, to that of South Efate (Lynch 2000b:96): the Anejom̃ form does not occur with following aspect markers, unlike *kai* in South Efate which may only take the marker *pe* 'perfect', and so need not share the temporal category of the preceding verb with whose subject it is coreferential. As the echo-subject cannot take any temporal marking other than the perfect marker *pe* (as in example 26), and the homophonous 1sg.PS *kai* takes the perfect marker *pe*, it is possible that the echo-subject marker can now also take *pe* by analogy.

In South Efate *kai* occupies the position that would otherwise be filled by a subject proclitic, but it is invariant in form regardless of the person or number of the subject referent. In this way it shares features with both a subject proclitic

[41] Lynch, Ross, and Crowley. 2002:85 reconstruct POc *ka as a conjoiner meaning 'and then' which could, by combining with the 3sg subject *i=*, be a historical source for *kai*.

(by position and paradigmatic relation) and a conjunction such as *go* 'and'. Overall it is closer in function to a subject marker than a conjoiner. Elements of the PVC rarely follow *kai* as they would with other subject proclitics, though, as noted above, there are examples of the perfect aspect marker *pe* occurring after *kai*. Example (21a) shows a sequence of verbs conjoined by *go* 'and' which requires subject marking on both verbs. In (21b) the same sequence is conjoined by *kai* which takes the place of the second subject proclitic, lending support to the interpretation of *kai* as an echo-subject marker rather than purely a verbal conjoiner. While the subject of both clauses linked by *kai* must be the same, there is no such restriction on clauses linked by *go* which can link clauses with the same or with different subjects.

21a Me marik nen i=na i=tok **go** **i**=preg
but man that 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay and 3sgRS=make

ptak-ki sernale.
ready-TR everything

21b Me marik nen i=na i=tok **kai** preg
but man that 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES make

ptak-ki sernale.
ready-TR everything
Then the man began to get everything ready. (lit: The man was there and he got everything ready.) (elicited)

Similarly, in the following description of a journey, *kai* is used to link clauses in a pattern in which it is interchangeable with the sequence of the conjoiner *go* followed by the subject pronoun *i*= '3sgRS'.

22a Ale pak etan esan ru=sos-o-ø ki Emlemasei
okay go.to down place 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name

kai pak Emelpat.
ES go.to p.name
Okay, down to the place they call Emlemasei then to Emelpat. (090:46) (98017bz, 402.0800, 413.8599)

22b ØPak[42] Emelpat **kai** pak Elaknunimal go i=pak
to p.name ES go.to p.name and 3sgRS=go.to

[42] The null symbol 'Ø' is used to indicate a missing subject marker here, indicating that this clause is part of a clause chain, as discussed in §12.3.2.

Erkau go i=pak Etkoraf Øpak e-sap me ...
p.name and 3sgRS=go.to p.name go.to LOC-place. thingamy but
To Emẽlpat then Elaknunimal, then to Erkau then Etkoraf, to... (090:47). (98017bz, 413.9599, 422.1999)

22c Urpa **kai** pak elag esan ru=sos-o-ø ki
p.name ES go.to above place 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP

Emẽlpokas. Emẽlpokas **kai** su pak Emãsin Øsu
p.name p.name ES descend to p.name descend

pak Emãsin Øsu pak elau Emer.
to p.name descend to saltwater p.name
Urpa, then up to the place called Emẽlpokas, then down to Emãsin, then we go down to the sea at Emer. (090:48) (98017b, 422.5999, 438.3599)

While the preceding examples have 3sg subjects, *kai* can reference any person or number as shown in the next examples where *kai* references 1sg in (23), 2sg in (24), 3d. in (25), and 3p. in (26).

23 Go a=na a=tok **kai** sos "Jemis".
and 1sgRS=want 1sgRS=stay ES call Jemis
And I stayed and called out "James." (015:16)(004a, 1628.8400, 1632.9943)

24 Ku=pan lelu teflan pan pa raru gag
2sg=go avoid thus go drive canoe 2sgPOS

kai pak namos pan.
ES go ocean go
You avoid (a rock) like this, take your canoe and go to the ocean. (015:43) (004a, 1801.69, 1806.5)

25 Ra=slat sernale ni talmãt **kai** pa.
3d.RS=carry everything of garden ES go
They(2) carried everything from the garden and they went. (019:4)(004a, 30.3200, 33.2801)

26 Ru=pa=n raru **kai** pe pa.
3p.RS=go=DST canoe ES PF go
They went in the canoe and were gone. (98017bz, 871.4151, 872.9914)

More than two clauses can be joined by *kai*, as shown in (27) where three sequential actions are joined in this way.

27 Ale, ntuam i=na i=to kai slat-lu nua-nait
then devil 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES take-out fruit-fig

iskei **kai** pam-i-ø.
one ES eat-TS-3sgO
Then the devil stayed and took a fig and ate it. (19:37)(004a, 343.7600, 348.2000)

The following example (from Text 4 in the Appendix) shows three clauses concatenated, with no subject marking on the second verb and *kai* on the third (numbers indicate the beginning of each clause). (The lack of subject marking on the auxiliary verb *mer* 'do again' in the second clause is an example of clause chaining which is discussed in §12.3.2.)

28 I=tok panpan Ømer pak emat nig tem-e-n
3sgRS=stay until do.again go.to grave of father-V-3sgDP
1 2

pan **kai** lek nkas.
go ES look tree
3
He stayed until (he) returned to his father's grave and saw a tree. (014:13) (004b, 849.6400, 857.4801)

The subject referenced by *kai* must include in its denotation the subject of the preceding clause, but it is also possible that its denotational range merges with both the subject and object of the first verb, in what we can call an inclusive echo-subject (following Lynch 1983:214). An inclusive echo-subject is most likely to occur when the subject referent of the preceding clause accompanies or takes the object referent and they then act together as the subject of the subsequent verb.

29 Go spun i=tir plet **kai** sef pan.
and spoon 3sgRS=put plate ES escape go
And the spoon took the plate and (they) ran away. (98003b, 1954.9932, 1958.7228)

In (30) the subject of the first verb (*plak* 'be with') is the man (who took his woman), but the subject of the second verb (*pak* 'go to') includes both the man and his wife, again illustrating an inclusory echo-subject construction.

30 Karu i=plak nmatu ga, nmatu ni wak ne,
other 3sgRS=be.with woman 3sg woman of pig this

kai pak e-sum̃ ga pa.
ES to LOC-home 3sg go
But the other one took his woman, the woman pig, and they went to his house. (013:17) (004b, 1034.4, 1039.9800)

Echo-subject marking has been described as a shared feature (whether an innovation or independent development) of Southern Vanuatu languages (see for example, Crowley's 2002:181 discussion of echo-verbs and switch-reference). It

is clear that the shared function, if not the form, of echo-subject marking extends at least as far north as South Efate.[43]

5.1.3.3. Bound object pronouns

There are separate paradigms of object suffixes for direct objects (O) and obliques (OBL) (listed in Table 5:3. and discussed in the following sections) that can be distinguished by the roles they encode and the type of hosts they attach to. The O suffixes encode the object of the predicator to which they attach. The OBL suffixes encode oblique objects, typically locations. In the case of semitransitive verbs, only OBL suffixes are available, based on the semantics of the relevant verbs which typically include reference to movement to, at, or from a location. The O and OBL suffixes do not co-occur with the lexical NP with which they share a role.

Table 5:3. Form of the object and oblique object suffixes

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl (excl)	1pl (incl)	2pl	3pl
Object suffix	-wou	-k	-ø / -n	-mam	-kit	-mus	-r
Oblique object suffix	-wou	-wok	-wes	-mam	-kit	-mus	-wer

The paradigm of object suffixes has recruited forms from the oblique suffix paradigm in 1sg, 1p., and 2p. to fill gaps in the paradigm which apparently reflect the partial Proto Oceanic object enclitic inventory as reconstructed by B. Evans (1995:137), and shown in Table 5:4. Ross (1998:20–21 fn) suggests the focal pronoun was used in the remaining positions, that is, those positions for which South Efate uses the OBL forms. South Efate reflects the distribution of the Proto Oceanic paradigm, but has lost the 1sg form.

5.1.3.3.1. The object suffix paradigm

Object suffixes encode the objects of derived transitive verbs (31), ambitransitive verbs (32), ditransitive verbs (33) (where they represent the recipient), and of the preposition *ki* (34).

[43] Schütz's 1969b Ngunese texts include a form *poo* which functions as a clause-linker but may, with further analysis, also prove to be an echo-subject marker (see also Stevens 2001).

Table 5:4. Reconstructed POc object enclitics (after B. Evans 1995:137) compared with South Efate object suffixes

	1sg	2sg	3sg	3pl
POc	*-au	*-ko	*-a	*-ra
South Efate	-	-k	-ø /-n	-r

Reference to an object can be encoded either by an object suffix or by a lexical NP. In South Efate the object suffix cannot co-occur within the Verb Complex with a co-referential lexical NP which I take to be evidence for both the object suffix and the object lexical NP being the expression of the O argument in South Efate.

An example is (31) in which the intransitive verb *pes-kerkerai* 'talk harshly' takes the transitivizing suffix *-ki* and an O suffix in its first use, but if the O is emphasized, as in the last clause, then the focal pronoun *ag* 'you (sg)' is used instead of the O suffix.

31 Ke=fo pes-kerai-ki-k tete nrak, tete nrak,
3sgIRR=PSP:IR talk-strong-TR-2sgO some time some time,

masta nen kin i=wi, i=pes-kerkerai-ki **ag** mãs.
boss that REL 3sgRS=good 3sgRS=talk-strong-TR 2sg only
He will speak harshly to you, some times, some times a good boss will just speak harshly to you. (as opposed to beating you) (98017az, 2334.2400, 2342.4200)

An ambitransitive verb typically requires a transitive suffix (TS) of variable shape (illustrated in §8.1.3.1) to facilitate the addition of the O suffix, as in (32) where the 3p.O suffix *-r* refers to a participant mentioned earlier in the discourse.

32 I=f wel ku=f tae trok-wes go
3sgRS=CND thus 2sgRS=CND know agree-3sgOBL and

ka=of plak-e-r ler.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR with-TS-3p.O return
If you agree with it, then I will go back with them. (20001b, 1303.9200, 1306.25)

With a ditransitive verb (see §7.1.7.) the O suffix encodes the recipient, as in (33) where the speaker says he is now going to tell 'them' one (story), where the suffix *-r* 3p.O encodes the addressees.

33 Or ka=fo mer nrik-i-r ki i=skei.
yes 1sgIRR=PSP:IR in.turn tell-TS-3p.O PREP 3sgRS=one
Yes, I will now tell them one (story). (004a, 1509.9401, 1516.6600)

In (34) the preposition *ki* follows the lexical O *ntuam* 'devil' and the theme is referenced by the 2sgO suffix on the preposition.

34 Ga kin i=tu natopu ki-k.
3sg COMP 3sgRS=give devil PREP-2sgO
He is the one who gave you to the devil. (98009bz, 1086.04, 1092.74)

5.1.3.3.1.1. The problem of 3sgO, zero marking, and the 'distant' clitic

In general the 3sgO suffix has zero representation. There are, however, instances in the data where the 3sgO appears as *-n*.[44] In §5.3.2. we see that *-n* is the 3sg direct possessive suffix. A small group of verbs take a 3sgO of the form *-n* which stands in a paradigmatic relationship with other object suffixes, as shown in (35).

35

fra	to beg	*fra-n*	to beg him/her/it	*fra-k, fra-r* 2sgO, 3sgO
ma	to grate	*ma-n*	to grate it	*ma-k, ma-r* 2sgO, 3sgO
p̃aumra	to slaughter	*p̃aumra-n*	to slaughter (animal)	*p̃aumra-r* 3sgO
tak	to husk	*tak-a-n (tkan)*	to husk a coconut	*tk-a-r* 3sgO
tok	to burn	*tok-o-n (tkon)*	to burn it	*tk-o-r* 3sgO
mur	to want	*mur-i-n*	to want it	*mur-u-k, mur-u-r* 2sgO, 3sgO

The same form *-n* '3sgO' also appears as a suffix on both the transitivizing *-ki*, as in (36) and on the preposition *ki* (37).

36 Go kano ga i=pios, i=safeu-ki-**n**.
and man 3sgS 3sgRS=call 3sgRS=whistle-TR-3sgO
And the man, he called out, he whistled to him. (20001az, 1368.5200, 1383.7200)

37 Nanromien ses ru=mer negar wes-i-ø
present small 3p.RS=again 3p.BEN take-TS-3sgO

pan tu-e-r ki-**n**.
go give-TS-3p.O PREP-3sgO
They will take them a small present and give it to them. (005a, 935.8, 940.6600)

[44] In Sye, Crowley (1998:191) observes that the construct suffix takes the form *-n* for a small number of verbs and can occur variably with a lexical object. When the construct suffix is absent, the preceding verb root behaves as if the following noun were morphologically bound to it.

Consider examples (38a) and (38b) which show how the zero 3sgO contrasts with the 3p.O of the verb *skot* 'to be with' in the same position.

38a A=po weswes skot-**i-r.**
1sgRS=PSP work with-TS-3p.O
I would work with them. (98002az, 1421.6, 1423.0600)

38b Naustap i=pi te-ne=n na tiawi [ru]
sacred.bone 3g=be DET-this=DST REL old.people 3p.RS

ru=ple skot-**i-ø.**
3p.RS=argue with-TS-3sgO
The sacred bone is what the old people argue with.[45] *(lit: they argue with it.) (98003az, 802.2400, 809.5599)*

While there are no textual examples of the 2sgO occurring in this position, we know from elicitation that *skoti-k* 'with' and the 2sgO suffix is the form we would expect for 'with you', completing the paradigm (of 2sg, 3sg, and 3p.) for O suffixes that can occur with the transitive suffix.

In addition to the zero 3sgO, there is a clitic *=n* which encodes what I call distance (DST) on demonstratives (e.g., *ne* 'this', *nen* 'that'), prepositions (*reki* 'for', *rekin* 'for that'), and some verbs (*pa* 'go', *pan* 'go there'; *pitlak* 'have', *pitlaken* 'to have it'). Further examples are given below.

39

esa	here	*esa=n*	there
eswa	where	*eswa=n*	where (distant)
ne	this	*ne=n*	that
tene	this one	*tene=n*	that one
tefla	like this	*tefla=n*	like that
reki	for	*reki=n*	for that

We need to distinguish the distant clitic from the object suffixes since the former has no paradigmatic relationship with the latter. That is, the distant clitic occurs on forms from several word classes for which there is no comparable 2sg or 3p. suffix, as there would be if it were a 3sgO suffix. Thus in (40) we see two verbs and a preposition with the distant suffix and the accompanying ungrammatical forms with 2sgO and 3p.O.

40

pa=n	go=DST	**pa-k* (2sg) **pa-r* (3p.)
pitlak-e=n	have=DST	**pitlak-e-k*, (2sg) **pitlak-e-r* (3p.)
reki=n	for=DST	**reki-k* (2sg), **reki-r* (3p.)

[45] The bone is a weapon produced in a ritual, as the speaker goes on to say in Bislama: *They sing over it to make it tabu, then they tie it to shoot a man, in the way of kastom, now they must fight.*

The distant clitic also has a deictic function of referring to earlier parts of the discourse as in (41) where it refers to the subject of the clause.

41 Go nafiaselwen ni tiawi gakit, tu=tae
and friendship of old.people 1p.in 1p.inRS=know

pitlak-**e=n** mes.
have-V=DST today
And the friendship of our old people, we can have that today. (98014az, 1991.0599, 2001.1600)

5.1.3.3.2. The OBL object paradigm

We saw examples of focal pronouns acting as objects in §5.1.1. above. The next example shows the OBL form *wou* '1sgO' acting as object. In the position following the preposition *ki* and acting as the object, the focal pronoun *kineu* occurs more often in the data than does the oblique form *wou*.

42 Ru putkau-ki-**wou** i=top.
3p.RS against-TR-1sgOBL 3sgRS-big
They were against me too much. (095:2) (98017az, 77.0399, 82.6599)

The oblique (OBL) pronominals have an inherent locational meaning[46] similar to the ablative pronoun paradigm described by Schütz (1969a:39) for Ngunese.

43 Go m̃it nen ru=matur-wes...
and mat REL 3p.RS=sleep-3sgOBL
And mats that they sleep on... (98007a, 2742.3801, 2760.6400)

The location specified by an OBL pronominal can be temporal as well as spatial, for example, encoding the day that a race was held in (44).

44 Naliati nen rak=fo res-wes me
day this 3d.IRR=PSP:IR race-3sgOBL but

katom i=pei usrek-ki ser nagis.
hermit.crab 3sgRS=first go.round-TR every point
That day they would race, but the hermit crab was first around every point. (036:7) (98009a, 57.4200, 67.4600)

Wes can also express location in a more abstract sense, for example, it can refer to the place or time where an agreement between two parties is reached, as in (45), where the semitransitive verb *trok* 'to agree' requires the oblique object form.

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[46] In the Australian language Pintupi (Heffernan and Heffernan 1999:70) the O suffix has an additional (and now archaic) locative function, exemplified by a sentence translated 'The dog urinated on me!' in which the 1sgO suffix is glossed 'on me' rather than simply 1sgO.

45 Go kai= preg natus neu pak provins reki nen
and 1sgPS= take paper 1sgPOS to province so that

ka=mai pi sekreteri go ru=mer trok-**wes.**
1sgIRR=come be secretary and 3p.RS=in.turn agree-3sgOBL
And I took my paper to the province so that I could be secretary and they then agreed to it (my becoming secretary). (067:26)

5.1.3.4. Inclusory construction

Following Lichtenberk (2000) we identify an inclusory construction[47] in which the referent of a pronoun is further specified directly by an NP: thus *komam Silas* '1p.ex Silas' meaning 'we, Silas and I'. In some languages such relations are morphologically marked, as in Sye's 'coordinate pronouns' (Crowley 1998:44), but there is no morphological marking of this construction in South Efate. The pronoun is typically followed by a personal name as in (46), here expressing the name of the other person making up the dual subject. Similarly, in the following examples we see a pronoun further specified by a following NP.

46 Me u=tol Janweri go **komam** **Limas**
and 1p.exRS=pass January and 1p.ex p.name

ra=mer nag, "Rak=fa=n saof-i-r".
1d.RS=again say 1d.IRR=go=DST visit-TS-3p.O
We passed January, and Limas and I said, "Let's go visit them." (005az, 954.1599, 964.3600)

47 **Gar** **mtulep** rak=fo nru mai.
3p. wife 3d.IRR=PSP:IR two come
They (he and his wife) will both come. (lit: They wife they [2] will come.) (20001az, 2215, 2218.3600)

48 Tuk=mer ler lek nafet desison nen kin
1p.inIRR=again return look group decision that REL

akit **kaonsil** tu=pe slat-i-ø.
1p.in council 1p.inPS=PF take-TS-3sgO
We should go back over the decisions we, the council, have taken. (98016bz, 1771.68, 1775.8600)

5.1.3.5. Impersonal reference

Impersonal reference, as in 'You'd like to think that...' or 'They say that...' can also, as in English, be encoded by second singular and third singular forms in South Efate. So in (49) the subject is a 2sg form, but the reference is to a

[47] Singer (2001) provides an extensive overview of inclusory constructions with reference to Australian languages.

generic subject. The direct possessive form in this example, *nɸaum* 'your head' also has generic reference here ('one's head').

49 Selwan ku=min nai kokon nen i=preg
when 2sgRS=drink water bitter that 3sg-RS=make

nɸau-m i=fif.
head- 2sgDP 3sgRS=spin
When you drink that bitter water it makes your head spin/When one drinks that bitter water it makes one's head spin. (017:64)

The impersonal object in (50) is encoded by the 2sgO suffix (*-k*).

50 Ru=f tae tilusus-i-k ko ru=f til-ki-k, ko.
3p.RS=CND know tell.off-TS-2sgO or 3p.RS=CND tell-TR-2sgO or
They could tell you off, or they might talk to you, or something. (98009az, 452.0800, 468.8400)

A non-referential subject, or one that refers to a whole proposition rather than to a single participant in it, as in the general statement 'It's good' in English, is similarly encoded by a 3sg pronoun in South Efate. In (51) the 3sg subject is used for the generic statement, 'today it is the same'.

51 Mes i=pitkaskei, naflak ru=ta tme-r taulu-e-r.
today 3sgRS=be.same clan 3p.RS=DUR RR-3p.DP marry-V-3p.O
Today it is the same, the clans still marry each other. (98010az, 1362.8146, 1364.8586)

In (52) the speaker is talking about how close a relative can be to be a suitable marriage partner. The anaphoric referent of the 3sg subject of *wi* 'to be good' is the whole preceding proposition, 'if the relationship is distant'.

52 Me i=f wel i=nrus pi emñae, go **i=wi,**
but 3sgRS=CND thus 3sgRS=just be far and 3sgRS=good

me i=welkin mñeltig top, rak=fo kano trok.
but 3sgRS=thus closemuch 3d.IRR=PSP:IR unable agree
But if it (the relationship) is distant, it is good, but if it is too close, they won't be able to agree. (98009a, 1381.2201, 1386.8400)

5.1.3.6. Bound direct possession pronouns

The direct possessive (DP) suffix only attaches to the class of directly possessed nouns (see §5.3.2.) and the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme and so is not analyzed as a clitic. For singular and 3p. forms a synchronically unpredictable vowel (V) may be inserted to facilitate suffixation of the DP suffix.The 3sg is the most

common form of the DP found in the data, and for many directly possessed nouns only 3sgDP forms are attested. Examples of these suffixes follow.[48]

53 Gar nen ru=lek-a-ø ki namt-e-**r**.
3p. REL 3p.RS=see-TS-3sgO PREP eye-V-3p.DP
It was they who saw it with their own eyes. (98018az, 1647.7000, 1649.7)

54 Komam u=weswes-ki nar-**mom** u=farfar-ki namõl-**mam.**
1p.Ex 1p.=work-TR hand-1p.exDP 1p.exRS=move-TR body-1p.exDP
We worked with our hands, we moved our bodies. (064:25) (98003bz, 525.0000, 529.4)

55 Me tm-e-**r** go rait-e-**r** mãs
but father-V-3p.DP and mother-V-3p.DP only

ruk=to gar preg sernale.
3p.IRR=HAB 3p.BEN make everything
Only their fathers and mothers would do everything for them. (070:37) (98009a, 667.5400, 671.2)

The reflexive/reciprocal morpheme *tme-/tmo-*[49] is followed by the direct possessive pronoun in the second part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC2), discussed in §10.1.6. In the 1p.ex the only form of the DP suffix that can occur with a reflexive is *-m*, thus *tmo-m* '1p.exc (also dual)' and not **tmo-mom.*

Examples (56 a–c) show that *-m* is the same form for 1p.ex, 1d., and 2sg subjects. DP pronominal suffixes underspecify the dual/plural distinction so reference to dual subjects is provided through the subject proclitics, which, as shown in example (56b) below, do differentiate a dual category.

56a Ale u=tmo-**m** welu komam nawesien.
ok 1p.exRS=RR-1p.DP help 1p.ex work
Okay, we helped each other with work. (DW 98010b, 1395.2805, 1397.32)

56b Komam ra=trau tmo-**m** fes-ki komam.
1p.ex 1d.RS=just RR-1p.DP face-TR 1p.ex
Us, we (2) just faced each other. (98003bz, 1353.79, 1355.8799)

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[48] In the discussion of a similar epenthetic element, the transitive suffix, in §8.1.3. I conclude that it still has some function, but note that in other languages it is classed as an empty morph (e.g., Lichtenberk's [2001:146] analysis of Manam and To'aba'ita). The vowel inserted between a noun and the direct possessive suffix is considered to be an empty (and unpredictable) morph whose shape is a result of diachronic processes.

[49] *tme* is the third person form and *tmo* is used for 1st and 2nd person subjects.

56c Ku=fo tmo-**m** lek-ki namt-a-m.
2sgRS=PSP:IR RR-2sgDP look-TR eye-V-2sgDP
You will see it for yourself with your own eyes. (KK 98008a)

The first person plural reflexive has the same form (*kit*) for dual (57a) and plural (57b). Sentence (57a) is part of a discussion about traditional behavior between girls and boys. The speaker says that in her youth they could not look at each other, they could not literally 'make to ourselves look at our faces', using the dual subject form *tak*='1d.IRR'.

57a Preg tak=tmo-**kit** lek nrae=kit i=tik.
make 1d.IRR=RR-1p.DP look face-1p.DP 3sgRS=not
Look face to face, no. (lit: Make we (2) to ourselves look at our faces, no.) (066:89)

In (57b) the subject is plural, *tu*= '1p.inRS' and *-kit* marks the reflexive object, showing that it markes both dual and plural.

57b Tu=tae tmo-**kit** fafat-kit.
1p.inRS=know RR-1p.DP trust-1p.incO
We can have confidence in ourselves. (98014az, 2045.3091, 2047.4000)

5.2. Nouns

Lexical nouns account for some 1,360 headwords in the current lexicon of South Efate. They do not inflect for person, number or role. Common nouns make up most of the class of lexical nouns, with the remainder being proper nouns (including kinterms and placenames). Proper nouns cannot be marked by the article *na-* while many common nouns can. While it is generally the case that names of people and places are not prefixed by the article *na-* only some 40 percent of all nouns in the dictionary are *n-* initial, so it is a sufficient but not necessary condition of common noun status.

At this point it is useful to describe the status of the article in South Efate. In the absence of any detailed work on the language, and in a broader typological study, Crowley (1985:161) classed the use of the article in South Efate as 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." He proposed the following Proto Oceanic noun class system (1985:184) in which *na* was prefixed primarily to nouns encoding lower animates and inanimates, as in (58):

58

	*na	*ø
human	none	all
animate non-human	some	most
inanimate	most	some

Clark (1985:31), with the benefit of more data, says that Proto-Efate *na- "is a prefix rather than simply part of the noun: (1) some morphemes occur as

nouns with *na- and in other contexts without it.[...]; (2) *na- is productively used, along with the suffix *-ana, to nominalize verbs [...]; (3) the Polynesian languages Mele-Fila and Emae have borrowed hundreds of Efate nouns, but almost never with *na- incorporated [...]; (4) Epau and Eton have lost *na- before bases of three syllables or more."

Of the 1,360 nouns in the current South Efate sample, 530 begin with *n-*. Nouns which are not *n-* initial typically refer to the following semantic fields (conforming largely with Crowley's Proto Oceanic system above):

- kin terms (*gka, apap, tem*, 'father')
- names of places, days of the week, animals (*afsak* 'turtle') and fish (*fai* 'stingray'), natural features (*orfale* 'cave', *al* 'sun')
- certain body parts (e.g., fingers, teeth). Of 103 body parts or products, 34 do not begin with *n-*.

As an indication of the productivity of article affixation, the article is still used in the process of nominalization, described in §5.4. Further, the second noun in a compound noun, which would occur with the article in isolation, may not have the article in the compound, as can be seen in *kortas* 'washstrake, canoe rail' (made up of *kor* 'fence' and *ntas* 'sea'), or *nafuñkas* 'flower' (made up of *nafuñ* 'flower' and *nkas* 'tree'). And finally, the article is used productively with loanwords, as we see in (59) where *sifil wo* 'civil war' is prefixed by the article. In sum, the article in South Efate is still analyzable as a productive prefix in many cases.

59 Ale ru=pan preg nafkal skot te-ni Emlakul malnen
okay 3p.RS= go make war with DET-of p.name as

i=piatlak **na** sifil wo.
3sgRS= have ART civil war
Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war. (98002az, 345.7199, 352.5400)

5.2.1. Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns are a small group of address terms for relations which in general are distinct from directly possessed kin terms (an exception is *ati* 'grandmother' which is both an address term and directly possessed). Like proper nouns, personal nouns cannot take the article *na*.

60 *apu* grandfather[50]
ati grandmother
awo uncle
iak mother, mother's sister
ta father's sister

[50] A common form of naming is to take the last syllable of a personal name and append it to an address term, thus *apu Srap* 'grandfather Kalsarap/Kalsrap', *ati Skau* 'grandmother Kaskau'.

Speakers note that terms for 'father' depend on the speaker's *naflak* 'clan' membership, so that using one of the three available terms identifies the speaker as belonging to a particular *naflak* as outlined below. This is the only example of clan-specific vocabulary encountered in the data.

61 *apap* father, general address term, used by those in *naflak* other than *kram* 'clam' and *namkanr* 'wild arrowroot'
gka father address term used by members of *naflak namkanr* 'wild arrowroot'
tata father, address term used by members of *naflak kram* 'clam'

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, gender is not marked morphologically in South Efate, but a current reflex of an earlier gender distinction is found in personal names. Names beginning with *Li* are female (e.g., Limas, Litapurog, Lias), and those beginning with *Kal* are male (e.g., Kalsarap, Kaltap̃au, Kaloros).

5.2.2. Placenames and the locative affix *e-*

Placenames are identified by being prefixed by the locative *e-* as in the list below. Of 114 placenames recorded in the data, only four do not begin with the locative *e-* as can be seen from the maps of placenames around Erakor (Maps 1 and 2).

62 *Efil* Vila
Emlakul Malakula
Ep̃ag Pango
Erakor Erakor
Ermag Erromango
Esanr Santo

The locative affix *e-* is used more generally to form a location with the following nominal. The locative can also mark a location in time as we see in (63) where *matol* 'tomorow' has the locative prefix. In this example the word for sea, *elau*, has a fused locative prefix, as do a number of locational terms in the current lexicon.

63 Komam ko=fo matur esan, **e**-matol p̃ulp̃og,
1p.ex 1p.exRS=PSP:IR sleep there LOC-tomorrow morning

ko=fo sel naot negar pak elau.
1p.exRS=PSP:IR take chief 3p.POS to sea
We will sleep there, the next morning we will take their chief to the sea. (005a, 346.1600, 354.4800)

It appears from a few examples that the locative (*e-*) can also act as a directional particle following the locational NP, hence it is regarded as an affix rather than a prefix. It is attested in the data with the verb *en* 'to be at, to lay', occurring after the location specified by the object of *en*.

64 I=en nam̃las-e / e-sum̃-e.
3sgRS=lay bush- LOC LOC-house-LOC
It is in the bush/the house. (elicited)

Another example of the locative directional particle is with the verb *m̃eltig* 'to be close' as in (65).

65 I=pi e-m̃eltig-e, kin ag ku=su ntaf tefla.
3sgRS=be LOC-near-LOC COMP 2sg 2sgRS=down hill thus
It is close, that you go down the hill like that. (20001az, 1838.9400, 1842.5)

A final example comes from a song where the locative directional particle is in a position that needs to be filled by the meter of the song.

66 P̃a=taf em̃ae-e.
2sgIRR=leave far-LOC
You go a long way. (98009b, 1322.4896, 1326.3599)

5.2.3. Temporal nouns

There is a class of temporal nouns (listed in 67) which can act as the head of a temporal adverbial phrase (see §12.2.5.), to establish the timeframe for the following clause. As can be seen, this group of nouns includes reference to non-specific time long ago, to the names of days of the week (based around *aliat* 'day'), to parts of the day, and to days relative to today (tomorrow, yesterday, the day before yesterday, the day after tomorrow). The noun *mal* 'time' does not occur as a temporal noun on its own, but features in several of these forms in (67). It also means 'hour', although the usual way of talking about time within a day is by using Bislama or English (*wan klok* 'one o'clock'). Nouns that cannot act as temporal nouns can become the head of an adverbial clause by the addition of the adjectival expressions *karu* 'other', 'second', *nentu* 'next', or *nenpa* 'past', thus *nrak karu* 'another time', *wik nenpa* 'last week', *ntau nentu* 'next year'.

67

aliat fnau	Wednesday	*malnen*	as, at the time when
aliat ftoumlap	Thursday	*malpei*	before, a long time ago
aliat karu	Tuesday	*matol*	evening, tomorrow, the future
aliat pei	Monday	*mes*	today
aliat pot	Friday	*nanom*	yesterday
aliat tap	Sunday	*nas*	day before yesterday
aliat toknak	Saturday	*nrakpei*	long ago
as	day after tomorrow	*p̃og*	night
inrok	after, behind, later	*p̃ulp̃og*	morning, dawn
kotfan	afternoon, evening	*selwan*	while, at the time that
malfa	short time	*tetwei*	before
malfane	then, at that time		

While not strictly a subclasss on distributional grounds, these nouns form adjunct NPs by themselves which can function to establish a temporal frame for a sentence as in (68) and (69).

68 **Nanom** **p̃og** u=mai praktis. U=praktis ser
yesterday night 1p.exRS=come practice 1p.exRS=practice every

mal, sum̃ ni Ben.
time house of p.name
Yesterday night we came and practised. We practise every time, at Ben's house. (98010bz, 687.4, 697.3972)

69 **Aliatfnau** nentu ru=totan sa, nlaken kes ne
Wednesday next 3p.RS=sit here because case this

ke=fo mer pakor
3sgIRR=PSP:IR again appear
Next Wednesday they'll sit here, because the case will be on again. (98018az, 2296.6000, 2301.3000)

70 P̃a=fo paos-ki asl-a-m ki raru **mes**,
2sIRR=PSP:IR ask-TR friend-V-2sgDP PREP boat today

me ku=kano paos-ki-n **matol**.
but 2sgRS=can't ask-TR-3sgO tomorrow
You will ask your friend for a canoe today, but can't ask for it tomorrow. (98002b, 2373.6800, 2377.9599)

5.3. Possession

As is the case for other Oceanic languages, there are two ways of marking possession in South Efate, by means of a possessive pronoun, or directly on the noun, commonly called indirect and direct possession respectively. The first is used for general possession and the second for possession of closely associated items, like body parts, family members, and so on, as discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1. Indirect or general possession

General possession refers to the form of possession entered into by most nouns and is encoded morphosyntactically by means of a possessive pronoun (§5.3.1.1.); the preposition *ni* 'of' (§5.3.1.2.); the form *knen* 'of it' (§5.3.1.3.); or by simply juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed (§5.3.2.). The juxtaposition of a possessed and possessor NP is limited to nouns that would otherwise be directly possessed as seen in example (85) discussed in §5.3.2. The idiosyncratic possessive pronoun *nakte* 'my', 'mine' was discussed earlier in §5.1.2.1.

5.3.1.1. Possession marked by a possessive pronoun

Possessive pronouns follow the possessed NP.

71 Nasum̃tap p̃ur **nigmam** nen i=tarp̃ek.
church big 1p.exPOS REL 3sgRS=fall.down
It was our church that fell down. (98010az, 1591.3156, 1594.3000)

72 A=pes nawesien **neu,** nam̃olien **neu** kineu
1sgRS-start work 1sgPOS life 1sgPOS 1sg

a=tap taf pak nawesien tete naor mau.
1sgRS=not leave to work some place NEG2
I started my work, my life, I didn't leave to work somewhere else. (45:3) (98003az, 145.1600, 151.5799)

5.3.1.2. *ni* possession

Possession is marked by the preposition *ni* 'of' when the possessum is a noun, and has the form 'possessed *ni* possessor'.

73 Me i=mailum pnak-lu **kom ni tap̃es.**
and 3sgRS=slow steal-completely comb of moorhen
And he slowly stole the moorhen's comb. (98009b, 1585.3, 1588.5)

74 I=pi **nawesien ni Atua.**
3sgRS=be work of god
It is God's work. (005a, 1977, 1978.7600)

The preposition *ni* 'of' can also have an ablative meaning (like 'coming from' or 'denizen of') which is not always possible to distinguish from a possessive reading.

75 **Plisman ni natkon** ru=kerkrai, naot i=kerkrai,
policeman of village 3p.RS=strong chief 3sgRS=strong

i=pitlak namtakwen.
3sgRS=have fear
The village's police (the police from the village) are strong, the chief is strong, there is fear (among the populace). (98011a, 2615.9201, 2622.5000)

76 Famli ni nafet tiawi **ni Emar** nen ru=tu
family of group old.people of p.name that 3p.RS=stay

san ru=lap.
here 3p.RS=many
The family of many of the old people from Mare are here. (98002az, 467.0819, 472.0800)

5.3.1.3. *knen* 'of it'

A further type of possession marking involves the form *knen* 'of it' (presumably from *ki+nen* = 'to that') used of an inanimate referent which cannot be referred to by *nega* '3sgPOS'. *Knen* is often used to refer back to a previously mentioned discourse participant, as in (77) where *David knen* 'David of it', refers to the story told about David.

77 Natrauswen a=gag traus-i-ø. Ga kin
story 1sgRS-2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO 3sg REL

i=pakor to esa. Me kineu a=lek-a-ø ki
3sgRS=appear stay here and 1sg 1sgRS=look-TS-3sgO PREP

namt-a-k. David **knen** i=tu tu.
eye-V-1sgDP p.name of.it 3sgRS=stay:RED
The story I told you. It came out of here. And I saw it with my own eyes. David of it (the story) is still around. (98001bz, 158.2600, 172.7)

78 Tetwei perkati i=piatlak nafkal toklos nanre nig ntan
long.ago really 3sgRS=have fight about side of land

go natrauswen **knen** i=tepla=n.
and story of.it 3sgRS=thus=DST
A very long time ago there was a fight about ground and the story of it is like that. (98009b, 1685.7801, 1685.4400)

79 Natrauswen karu, i=pitlak nalag **knen.**
story next 3sgRS=have song of.it
The next story, it has its song. (98009b, 1158.6600, 1167.7999)

5.3.2. Direct possession

There are 124 nouns in the current sample that take direct possession marking. Similar groups of nouns in other languages of the region are called bound nouns (Hyslop 2001:79) or obligatorily possessed (Lynch 2000b:42) as they require a possessive suffix. They are also generally known as inalienably possessed nouns (Payne 1997:104) and in Paamese (Crowley 1996). In South Efate these nouns only take possessive marking to show possession by a pronominal possessor; that is, they also occur without possessive marking when the possessor is encoded by a noun (as we will see later in this section) and so I prefer to use the term 'direct possession' to indicate that they take directly suffixed possession markers. As in other languages of the region, directly possessed nouns typically refer to relationships of part/whole or close association as can be seen by the sample in Table 5:5. Examples of deverbal nouns taking direct possession are given in (91) below.

Table 5:5. Examples of directly possessed nouns

Kin/associated human terms			
asel	friend	*p̃al*	brother
ati	grandmother	*rait*	mother
kor	sister	*tem*	father
Body parts			
mp̃ag	buttocks	*natu*	foot
nafinr	ribs	*ntalig*	ear
namet	eye	*ntawot*	bone, skeleton
nas	jaw	*nua*	vein
Body products			
mar	breath	*name*	urine
nalof	tracks		
Associated parts			
kut	louse	*napirkit*	coconut stalk
nagi	name	*ntapukor*	shell cover, operculum

Examples of directly possessed nouns in context follow.

80 Go ra=paos-ki-n ki, "Gag **tm-a-m**
and 3d.RS=ask-TR-3sgO PREP 2sgPOS father-V-2sgDP

go **rait-o-m** wa?"
and mother-V-3sgDP where
And they asked, "You, where are your father and mother?" (98009b, 58.3600, 63.9000)

81 Gar nen ru=lek-a-ø ki **namt-e-r.**
3p. REL 3p.RS=see-TS-ø PREP eye-V-3p.DP
It is they who saw it with their own eyes. (98018az, 1647.7000, 1652.9801)

If a directly possessed noun occurs without a possessive suffix it indicates that the referent is unowned or disembodied. Thus a photograph of me is *nanik* 'my photo' (directly possessed), but a photograph owned by me is *nan neu* 'my photo' (indirectly possessed). Blood that has sprayed onto one's clothes, for example, is no longer possessed, and so appears with no possession markers. Similarly, in (82) the blood that is no longer part of the body has no direct possession markers.

82 Me ru-kraksok disentri me ru-taf-ki **nra.**
Then 3p.RS-catch dysentry and 3p.RS-shit-TR blood
Then they got dysentry and they shat blood. (56:25) (98002bz, 962.1800, 972.2200)

In contrast to (82), example (83) shows *nra* 'blood' with a direct possessive marker.

83	I=tap	mai	leg	**nra-n**	nig	nafinaotan
	3sgRS=not	come	straight	blood-3sgDP	of	chiefly.line

leg	mau.
straight	NEG2

He doesn't come straight from the blood of the chiefly line. (053:52)

When the owner of a directly possessed noun needs to be specified more fully than by pronominal reference then possession is indicated by juxtaposing the possessed and possessor. In (84) *nar* 'hand' appears first directly possessed ('her hand') and then possessed by the proper noun 'Walter Lini', referring to the fact that the subject's hand was limp like the hand of the former Prime Minister who had suffered a stroke.

84	Me	**nar-u-n**	ga	i=taos	**nar**,	kalo,	Walter Lini.
	but	hand-V-3sgDP	3sg	3sgRS=like	hand	HESIT	p.name

But her hand was like, um, Walter Lini's. (98017bz, 573.3999, 580.6599)

The otherwise directly possessed noun *rait* 'mother' is possessed by the noun *tesa* 'child' in (85) which is from a narrative about childbirth. The speaker has just said that the mother should stay quiet for five days following the birth, but that after five days she can get up and do light work.

85	Go	**rait**	**tesa**	ke=fo	tae	toleg	preg
	and	mother	child	3sgIRR=PSP:IR	able	stand.up	make

tete	namrun	ses.
some	thing	small

And the child's mother can stand up and do some small things. (98003bz, 1169.9399, 1175.5000)

A possessed noun may further possess a second noun, as in (86) where *nagien* 'his name' is directly possessed and the juxtaposed possessor is a lexical noun that itself is directly possessed (*tmen* 'his father').

86	**Tme-n**	**nagi-e-n**	Thomas,	gar	kin	ru=pa=n
	father-3sgDP	name-V-3sgDP	p.name	3p.	REL	3p.RS=go=DST

weswes-ki	naɲrai	sanpe.
work-TR	cane	there

His father's name was Thomas, they are the ones who went and worked on the sugarcane. (98011az, 2164.8600, 2170.5200)

5.3.2.1. Dyadic kinterm construction

Groups of kinterms can be linked in a construction which I call a dyadic kinterm construction (Merlan and Heath 1982), which has a very limited distribution in the data. The only examples found so far are given in (87) and involve a prefix

tem which indicates that there is a group of kin.

87	*tem-p̃al-un/tem-p̃alp̃al-un*	*tem+brother+un*	a group of brothers
	tem-tm-en	*tem+father+en*	father and child
	tma-kor-en	*tem +sister+en*	sisters, group of sisters

According to Evans (2003) dyadic morphemes are commonly either identical to or clearly related to reciprocals, and the South Efate prefix *tem* looks like the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme *tme/tmo* especially if we take into account that the dyadic form only occurs before consonants in the three examples in (87) and so does not undergo medial vowel reduction (see §3.6.1.). The reflexive/reciprocal particle could be analyzed as being reduced from *tem* following the addition of a vowel which serves as the base for the reflexive pronominal suffix, e.g., *tem+en* > *tme-n* 'RR-3sgDP'.

With only these examples it is not possible to generalize about the meaning of *tem* as shown in (87). The first form appears in textual data and examples are given below. The second, *temtmen,* was elicited from Rivierre's (1965) wordlist and remembered by older speakers only.

88 I=piatlak **tem-p̃al-u-n** i=tol.
3sgRS=have DK-brother-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=three
He had three brothers. (030)

89 Tu=pamori na **tem-p̃alp̃al-u-n**, ru=nom to
1p.incRS=find COMP DK-brother:RED-V-3DP 3p.RS=all STAT

tme-r ple-ki-r.
RR-3p.DP argue-TR-3sgO
We find that all of these brothers are arguing with each other. (98014a, 2080.7201, 2084.2200)

5.4. Nominalization

Nominalization is highly productive, both in terms of the number of stems that can undergo the process (there are some 170 deverbal nouns in the data formed by the process discussed in §5.4.2.), and in the frequency with which nominalized forms occur in the data. There are three nominalizing processes. The first simply prefixes the article *na-* to the verb stem (§5.4.1.), the second involves prefixing with the article *na* and suffixing *-wen/-ien /-an/-n* to the verb stem (§5.4.2.), and the third employs the prefix *te-* (§5.4.3.). They are discussed in turn below. Nominalization of other word classes is not as common but some examples are also given in the following sections.

5.4.1. *na-* nominalization

Some verbs can be nominalized simply by prefixing the article *na-*(or *n-*). There is no correlation between verbs which can be nominalized in this way and the classes established in Chapter 7, that is, we find intransitive (90b, c, d, f, g,), and ambitransitive (90a, e, h, i) verbs both being nominalized by prefixing *na-*.

90	a	*atlak*	to own	*natlak*	owner
	b	*fsuṽ*	to be peaked	*nafsuṽ*	the peak (e.g., of a roof)
	c	*fumm̃*	to flower	*nafumm̃*	flower
	d	*kal*	to dress	*nkal*	clothes
	e	*lag*	to sing	*nalag*	song
	f	*msak*	to be sick	*namsaki*	sickness
	g	*mm̃ilo*	to be dirty	*namm̃ilo*	dirt
	h	*nre*	to turn	*nanre*	the side
	i	*pr̃ai*	to cut	*naṽrai*	sugarcane

Depending on the semantics of the deverbal noun, it may further be eligible for direct possession (e.g., 90c *nafumm̃-e-n* 'its flower'), as in (91).

91	a	*gor*	to grunt	*nagor-in*	his/her/its nose
	b	*lu*	to vomit	*nalu-en*	his/her/its vomit
	c	*mm̃ol*	to be alive	*namm̃ol-in*	his/her/its body
	d	*tanu*	to spit	*ntanu-en*	his/her/its spit

5.4.2. Nominalization of verbs using *na-...-wen/ien/-an*

The second type of nominalization involves prefixing the verb with the article *na-* and following it with *-wen* (and its variant *-uen)/-ien/-an.* This type of nominalization operates on intransitive stems, but also on compound forms which are ambitransitive. If the verb undergoes initial consonant alternation (cf. §6.4.5.1.) then the /f/-initial stem is used in the nominalized form, as in the following examples.

92	a	*pakelag*	be proud	*nafakelagwen*	pride
	b	*paos*	to ask	*nafauswen*	the question
	c	*psir*	to lie	*nafsirwen*	the lie
	d	*puserek*	to discuss	*nafuserekwen*	discussion

The result of this process is an abstract noun, as found in nouns ending in **-ing** or **-ness** in English. Examples are given below, but first we will contrast the meaning of a verb nominalized with this process (on the right in 93) with one nominalized with just an article (as described in §5.4.1.) (in the middle in 93).

93	a	*lag*	to sing	*nalag*	song	*nlagwen*	the singing
	b	*mm̃ol*	to be alive	*namm̃ol*	body	*namm̃olien*	life
	c	*mten*	to be heavy	*namten*	weight	*namtenwen*	heaviness

Examples (94a) and (94b) illustrate the two nominalized forms of *mm̃ol* 'to be alive', and show that it takes direct possession in (94a) when nominalized with just the article. Contrast (94b) with the *-ien* form where possession is indicated by the indirect possessive form *neu* '1sgPOS'.

94a Komam u=weswes-ki nar-mam, u=farfar-ki
1p.ex 1p.exRS=work-TR arm-1p.exDP 1p.exRS=move-TR

namol-mam.
body-1p.exDP
Us, we worked with our hands, we moved our bodies. (98003bz, 525.0000, 529.4590)

94b Ale, **namolien** neu, a=skul naur.
ok life 1sgPOS 1sgRS=school island
Okay, my life, I went to school on the island. (98003az, 999.2400, 1007.6399)

Some deverbal nouns like those in (95) have such high frequency that I regard them as being fused (and thus they occur as headwords in the lexicon), despite being recognizably derived from verbs. The forms in (95) enclosed with % are underlying and do not necessarily appear in everyday speech.

95a	*natkon*	village	*%na - tok -on%*	ART - stay - NMLS
b	*nafsan*	language	*%na- pes - an%*	ART - talk - NMLS
c	*nawesien*	work	*%na - wes - ien%*	ART - work - NMLS

There are four forms of the suffix associated with this type of nominalization: *-n, -(i)en,-wen,* or *-(i)an.* The *-n* suffix occurs on vowel-final stems, e.g., *nafregnrogo-n* 'the attempt'. There is a tendency for ambitransitive verbs to take the *-ien* suffix when the transitive form of the ambitransitive verb ends in *-i,* (thus *nrom-i-ø* 'to love it', *nanromien* 'love'; *pam-i-ø* 'to eat it', *nfamien* 'feast') but it is also the case that some of these verb stems take the *-wen* suffix (*nfamwen* 'feast' occurs about as many times in the data as does *nfamien* 'feast'). While some verbs occur with only the *-ien* ending (e.g., *nawesien* 'work'; *namolien* 'life'; *nanromien* 'love') there are also a number of stems for which more than one suffix may be used, as can be seen from the attested forms in (96) which occur with varying suffixes.

96	*nakarwen/nakarien*	itchiness
	nakerkraian/nakerkeraien	difficulty, hardness
	namroperkatwen/namroperkatien	keepsake
	nsaiseiwen/nsaiseien	meeting
	ntaewen/ntaeien	knowledge

Some textual examples of this variation in the form of nominalizing suffixes follow. *Kerkerai* 'hard', is nominalized with the suffix *-an* (97a) and with *-en* (97b).

97a Pan nmatu i=piatlak na-kerkerai-**an**.
go woman 3sgRS=have ART-hard-NMLS
Until the woman has her quickening. (98003bz, 1192.6199, 1195.6459)

97b Na-kerkrai-**en** ni kafman i=piatlak-e-n.
ART-hard-NMLS of government 3sgRS=have-TS-3sgO
It had the power of the government. (MK 98012)

The variation in endings with the nominalized form of *ftour* 'to marry' is shown in (98a and b).

98a Ru=preg nafnag p̃ur, taos, e, na-ftour-**ien**.
3p.RS=make food big like HESIT ART-marry-NMLS
They make a big feast, like a, um, wedding. (98011az, 1581.9200, 1593.5199)

98b Ru=gamus preg na na-ftour-**wen** gamus.
3p.RS=2p.BEN make HESIT ART-marry-NMLS 2p.POS
They will make your wedding for you. (98009a, 1406.6279, 1410.1200)

Candidates for this form of nominalization are (i) simple verb stems, (ii) compound verbs, (iii) reduplicated verb stems, and (very rarely) (iv) verbs and incorporated nouns. Each is illustrated below.

i) Nominalization of simple verb stems

Simple verb stems are the most common source for deverbal nouns.

frak	to be slow	*nafrakwen*	slowness
fsofus	to be young	*nafsofuswen*	youth
ftil	to gossip	*naftilwen*	gossip
ftour	to marry	*naftourwen*	wedding
ftup̃	to hit	*naftup̃wen*	a blow
kil	to dig	*nakilwen, nakilien*	the digging
pnut	to close	*nafnutwen*	the end
preg	to make	*nafregwen*	making
psir	to lie	*nafsirwen*	a lie
ptin	to be hot	*naftinwen*	heat
ptom	to grow	*naftomwen*	growth
puk	to cough	*nafukwen*	cough

ii) Nominalization of compound verb stems

Compound verbs (as discussed in §9.1.1) are nominalized in the same way as simple verb stems.

krak-pun	to crawl-kill	*nakrakpunwen*	killing
mro-perkat	to think-really	*namroperkatwen*	remembrance
preg-nrog	to make-try	*nafregnrogon*	attempt
puet-sok	to grab-jump	*nafuetsokwen*	grabbing

iii) Nominalization of reduplicated verb stems
Verb reduplication (as discussed in §7.3) can provide base forms for nominalization. In one case in the data it is the non-reduplicated intransitive form *wes* 'to work' and not the transitive *weswes* 'to work' that undergoes nominalization (> *nawesien*).

le	to look	*nalelewen*	opinion
lum	to be moist	*nalumlumwen*	moisture
tur	to sew	*naturturwen*	the sewing

iv) Nominalization of verb + noun (incorporated nouns)
A handful of verb + incorporated noun combinations occur in the data (cf. §9.1.1.2.). All examples in the data are presented below.

pi asel	to be friends	*nafiaselwen*	friendship (being friends)
pi atlak	to be the owner	*nafitlaken*	ownership (the owning)
pi naot	to be chief	*nafinaotan*	the chiefly line
pi soklep	to be rich	*nafisoklepan*	wealth (being rich)
pi tiawi	to be old	*nafitiawian*	old age (being old)
preg nafnag	to make food	*nafregnafnagwen*	the food making

The noun in this construction has to be generic, as we would expect from what we know of noun incorporation (e.g., Mithun 1984; de Reuse 1999). There are no examples of a noun encoding a specific food type being incorporated (e.g., **nafregkapuen* 'the laplap making'). Some textual examples of nominalized incorporated nouns follow.

99 Me **na-freg-nafnag-wen** ser-nrak i=pi nmatu kin
but ART-make:IR-food-NMLS every-time 3sgRS=be woman REL

i=preg nafnag.
3sgRS=make.R food
But food preparation is always women's work. (065:30) (98003bz, 957.0399, 963.1799)

100 Natam̃ol p̃et ke=sat **na-fi-naot-an.**
man different 3sgIRR=take ART-be:IR-chief-NMLS
Some other man would take the chiefly line. (98014az, 1282.55, 1284.2)

101 **Na-fi-asel-wen** ni tiawi gakit, tu=tae
ART-be:IR-friend-NMLS of old.people 1p.inclPOS 1p.incRS=be.able

pitlak-e-n mes.
have-TS-3sgO today
And the friendship of the old people, we can still have that today. (98014az, 1991.0599, 2001.1600)

102 Ru=pi nam̃er wi. **Na-fi-soklep-wen** gar i-top.
3p.RS=be men good ART-be:IR-rich-NMLS 3p.POS 3sgRS=much

Ku=tae America.
2sgRS=know p.name
They were good men. Their wealth was great. You know, America. (98003az, 1793.0399, 1799.0799)

5.4.3. *te* nominalization

There is a productive process in which the determiner prefix *te*-combines with demonstratives, verbs, possessives, ordinal numbers, quantifiers, and nouns ,that results in a large class of indefinite but specific demonstrative pronouns.[51] Some forms prefixed with *te* are now treated as lexical items and appear as headwords in the dictionary, thus *tem̃ol* 'animal' (from *m̃ol* 'be alive'), *telekor* 'guard' (from *lekor* 'to look after'), *temat* 'corpse' (from *mat* 'to die'). Forms prefixed with *te-* are presented below.

***te* + demonstratives**

ne	this	*tene*	this one
nen	that	*tenen*	that one (distant)
go	near addressee (AD)	*tego*	that one (near addressee)

Addressee deixis is encoded in three demonstratives, *ne* 'this', *nen* 'that', and *go* 'location closer to the addressee than to the speaker'. In (103) from a court hearing, the chief is asking the secretary about some people standing near the secretary to whom he refers as *tego* 'that/those near you'.

103 **Te-go** ru=to, fei kin i=repot?
DET-AD 3p.RS=stay who REL 3sgRS=report
Those (near you) here, who will report? (98016az, 1306.0800, 1313.6601)

104 I=pi nser ni tap̃es, **te-ne**, i=pi te-ni tap̃es.
3sgRS=be comb of swamphen DET-this 3sgRS=be DET=of swamphen
It is the swamphen's comb, this one, it is the swamphen's. (98009b, 1557.6849, 1561.8800)

***te* + verb**

fsofus	young	*tefsofus*	the young one
got	black	*tegot*	the black one
kerkerai	strong	*tekerkerai*	the strong one
miel	red	*temiel*	the red one
msak	sick	*temsak*	the sick one
plaksok	teach	*teplaksok*	the teacher
psir	lie	*tepsir*	the lie

[51] *te-* is the article in Ifira-Mele (Clark 2002:684).

p̃ur	big	*tep̃ur*	the big one
pei	first	*tepei*	the first
wi	good	*tewi*	the good

105 Te-ni **te**-fsofus, ga i=to to ser aliat fetaumlap.
DET-of DET-young 3sg 3sgRS=STAT stay every Thursday
The young people's one, it is always on every Thursday. (98009a, 1516.9249, 1520.6)

***te* + possessive pronouns**

neu	mine	*temeu*	the one that is mine
gag	yours (sg)	*tegag*	the one that is yours (sg)
ga	his/hers	*tega*	the one that is his/hers
gakit	ours (inclusive)	*tegakit*	the one that is ours (incl)
nigmam	ours (exclusive)	*tenigmam*	the one that is ours (excl)
gamus	yours (pl)	*tegamus*	the one that is yours (pl)
gar	theirs	*tegar*	that which is theirs

106 I=f-wel kin ku=mur p̃a=p̃rai
3sgRS=CND=thus REL 2sgRS=want 2sgIRR=break

natus gag me i=pi **te-gamus.**
paper 2sgPOS then 3sgRS=be DET-2p.POS
If you want to break your paper (marriage vows) then it is up to you. (98009a, 1329.3599, 1333.6800)

Example (107) shows a number of uses of the *te* determiner combining with possessive forms (*ni* 'of' and possessive pronouns) to form demonstrative pronouns, in a discussion about the relative wisdom of the people of yesterday and those of tomorrow.

107 Go **te-ni** matol ke=fo mer na
and DET-of tomorrow 3sgIRR=PSP:IR again say

"I=wi-ki matol". Ale komam ko=fo psawi-ki
3sgRS=be.good-TR tomorrow then 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR thank-TR

te-nigmam. Ale ni tiawi ni tetwei ke=fo
DET-1p.exPOS then of old.people of long.ago 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

psawi-ki **te-ga.** I=na **te-ga** i=wi,
thank-TR DET-3sgPOS 3sgRS=say DET-3sgPOS 3sgRS=good

me komam ko=fo psawi-ki te-nigmam.
but 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR thank-TR DET-1p.exPOS
And those of tomorrow will say, "It is right for tomorrow." And we will thank ours (our old people). And the old people from before thank theirs. They say their (old people) are good, but we will be grateful for ours. (98010bz, 799.6399, 814.8599)

***te* + ordinal number**

Ordinal numbers greater than one are formed from numerals with the prefix *ka* and are further specified by the prefix *te* to form demonstratives.

pei	first	*tepei*	the first one
karu	second	*tekaru*	the second one
katol	third	*tekatol*	the third one
kafat	fourth	*tekafat*	the fourth one

108 Tag i=pi **te-karu**, **te-katol** i=pi Andre.
p.name 3sgRS=be DET-second DET-third 3sgRS=be p.name
Tag is the second, the third is Andre. (98014az, 621.0600, 626.8799)

***te* + quantifier**

lap	many	*telap*	the many
karu	other	*tekaru*	the other
nrfal	few	*tenrfal*	the few
skei	one	*teskei*	the same

109 I=pi nlaken ru=p̃rai sto lap. **Te-lap**
3sgRS because 3p.RS=break store many DET-many

ru=pak klapus.
3p.RS=go.to jail
It is because they broke many shops. Many of them went to jail. (98014az, 1913.7400, 1918.6380)

110 Me tu=pi naflak i=skei, tu=pi **te-skei**.
but 1p.inRS=be clan 3sgRS=one 1p.inRS=be DET-one
We are of the same clan, we are the same. (98017a, 370.9, 373.9200)

***te* + noun**

There are some examples of *te-* combining with nouns to form non-specific nouns. In (111) *nmatu* 'woman' and *nanwei* 'man' become indefinite when prefixed by *te.*

111 Gar kin ru=to lekor-wou. **Te-nmatu** i=skei,
3p. REL 3p.RS=HAB look.after-1sgO DET-woman 3sgRS=one

go **te-nanwei** i=nru.
and DET-man 3sgRS=two
They looked after me. One woman and two men. (98011a, 753.0600, 758.4999)

In (112) the verb *mes* 'to play' has been nominalized to form *nameswen* 'game', which then takes *te-* to form an indefinite noun, 'a game'.

112 Ru=preg lo i=pi **te-na-mes-wen.**
3p.RS=make law 3sgRS=be DET-ART-game-NMLS
They make the law into a game. (98011a, 2366.8726, 2369.0600)

5.5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase (NP), as shown in the schema in (113), consists minimally of a clitic pronoun. NPs that do not consist solely of a clitic pronoun can function as O or as an NP in apposition to the clitic S, or in an oblique role as an adjunct.

Lexical nouns and focal pronouns can co-occur with demonstratives and the limiting determiner and relative clause (RC), and lexical nouns can further have premodifiers drawn from a small closed set and post-modifiers drawn from an open set. Clitic pronouns can only occur by themselves in an NP. Each of these elements will be discussed in turn below with the exception of the relative clause (RC) which is discussed in §12.2.4.

113 { { (premod) lexical noun (postmod) / Focal pronoun } { (dem)(limiting determiner) RC } / Clitic pronoun }

Before moving on to a discussion of the parts of the NP we need to identify forms that can occupy the slot of lexical noun. Directly or indirectly possessed nouns, as described earlier in this chapter, can act as a lexical noun in an NP.

114 Nlaken **e-sum̃ ga,** i=pato elag e-sampe.
because LOC-house 3sgPOS 3sgRS=be.at high LOC-there.distant
Because his house, it is up there somewhere. (98009b, 476.5800, 487.9401)

Compounds can be made up of a pair of lexical nouns or a lexical noun and verb as shown in Table 5:6.

Table 5:6. Examples of compound nouns

nfalfat	cave	*nfal*	hole	*fat*	stone
nlak namsaki	cause of sickness	*nlak*	trunk	*namsaki*	sickness
tesa nanwei	boy	*tesa*	child	*nanwei*	man
tesa nmatu	girl	*tesa*	child	*nmatu*	woman
nlagwat	cyclone	*nlag*	wind	*wat*	hit

5.5.1. Noun modification, premodifiers

A small group of modifiers, listed in (115) and mainly consisting of quantifiers, occurs immediately before the lexical noun. The possessive *nakte* 'my' occurs in this position and as it is discussed in §5.1.2.1. it is not further dealt with here.

115 *nafet* group of
ser every
silu all
tete some

None of these four modifiers can occur in the postmodifer position. Textual examples of each in turn are given below.

116 A=to e-sum̃ me a=to lekor **nafet**
1sgRS=stay LOC-house and 1sgRS=HAB look.after group

tiawi, tiawi lap nen kin ru=pi tiawi
old.people old.people many that REL 3p.RS=be old.people

neu, a=lekor-wer.
1sgPOS 1sgRS=look.after-3p.O
I stayed at home and I looked after all the old people, those that were my relatives, I looked after them. (98003az, 404.7198, 413.1199)

117 Me mes i=pi teni **ser** matol, nmalok i=pi
but today 3sgRS=be of every afternoon kava 3sgRS

teni **ser** matol.
of every afternoon
But now it is (something) for every afternoon, kava is for every afterrnoon. (98007bz, 663.3401, 670.3400)

118 Rak=fo krakpun **silu** nam̃er nig Erakor.
3d.IRR=PSP:IR kill all man of p.name
They will kill all the people of Erakor. (98009b, 1736.5265, 1739.8800)

119 **Tete** kano tar i=mur na ke=ius-ki
some men white 3sgRS=want COMP 3sgIRR=use-TR

tete raru e-sa.
some boat LOC-here
Some white man wanted to use some boats here. (98002az, 1296.1201, 1302.1000)

5.5.2. Noun modification, postmodifers

Postmodifers are drawn from a large set of adjectives and quantifiers with no apparent internal ordering between them, although this lack of internal ordering could be an artefact of so few examples of them co-occurring in the data. As

discussed in §4.7. there are very few examples of more than one adjective occurring together in the data, and this is also the case for adjectives and quantifiers. Some of the very few available examples are given below. In (120) the adjective *perkati* 'really' follows the quantifier *lap* 'many'.

120 Ru=lap ru=**lap** **perkati** kin ru=preg nawesien nen.
3p.RS=many 3p.RS=many really REL 3p.RS=make work that
They were many, very many, who did that (kind of) work. (98017bz, 982.3799, 985.7254)

Example (121) is from a song translated from English and sung by a young child. It shows the adjective *ses* 'small', followed by the quantifier *itol* 'three' and then the limiting determiner *mãs* 'only'

121 Me to **ses** **i=tol** mãs ru=ler mai.
but fowl small 3sgRS=three only 3p.RS=return hither
But only three little chicks came back. (98003bz, 1906.1, 1909.4362)

5.5.2.1. Adjectives and stative verbs

The adjective position is filled by a subclass of stative verbs that can function attributively (see §4.7), as in (122) and (123) .

122 I=pitlak namkanr **tar** go te-miel, me kineu
3sgRS=have wild.arrowroot white and DET-red and 1sg

a=pi naflak namkanr **miel**.
1sgRS=be clan wild.arrowroot red
There is a white wild arrowroot and a red one and I am of the red wild arrowroot clan. (20003az, 917.7999, 922.4800)

123 Nlaken katom **ptae** kin i=to nagis karu.
because hermit.crab different REL 3sgRS=stay point other
Because a different hermit crab was at the next point. (98009a, 159.1157, 161.6)

5.5.2.2. Quantifiers

Post nominal quantifiers include numerals as well as the following set of quantifiers.

124	*karu*	other, next	*nentu*	next
	lap	many	*nrfal*	few
	mana	associated group	*p̃ur*	full
	nenpa	last, past		

125 Go kineu a=ses a=lek tiawi **nrfal** mãs.
and 1sg 1sgRS=small 1sgRS=see old.people few only
And when I was small, I would see a few old people only. (PW 98019)

126 Ntau	**nenpa**kia		a=traus,		natrauswen	ses	i=skei	kia.
	year	last here	1sgRS=tell		story	small	3sgRS=one	PR

Last year now, I told that small story. (98007az, 1122.8600, 1133.3600)

Example (127) shows the numeral *iskei* 'one' following the modified noun *fat p̃ur* 'big rock'.

127 Ale	i=po	pa=n	pi	**fat**	**p̃ur**	**i=skei.**	
	ok	3sgRS=PSP	go=DST	be	rock	big	3sgRS=one

Then she would become a big rock. (98003bz, 2125.9000, 2128.3974)

The form *iskei* 'one' has a role in determining the specificity of the noun it modifies. *Iskei* 'one', which in other positions is a quantifier, functions here to indicate that the noun is specific but indefinite (as shown by François (2002:56) for the translation equivalent *mo hese* in Araki). It is typically used at the beginning of a story in the formulaic pattern *nrak iskei* 'one time' ('once upon a time') and to mark new participants, as in (128), where we are told *tap̃es* 'moorhen' is *man iskei* 'a (specific) bird', as opposed to simply *man* 'a bird'.

128 Tap̃es	i=pi	man	**i=skei**	nen	kin	nrak	lap	
moorhen	3sgRS=be	bird	3sgRS=one	that	REL	time	many	
u=tl-i-ø		na	i=to		preg-sa-ki			
1p.exRS=tell-TS-3sgO		COMP	3sgRS=HAB		make-bad-TR			
nanr	gakit.							
banana	1p.inPOS							

The moorhen is a bird that,we have said many times, he spoils our bananas. (98001b, 700.7201, 706.7000)

The form *iskei* is made up of the 3sgRS, *i=*, and the numeral *skei* 'one'. However, when *iskei* functions as a demonstrative it behaves as a fused form and the erstwhile proclitic *i=* '3sgRS' has no referential value. The two functions of *skei* 'one' can be seen in (129) where the demonstrative marks a specific, but indefinite 'Saturday' while the later form, occurring with a referential 1sgRS, acts as a verb meaning 'to be one' or 'alone'.

129 Me	mal-ne	aliat toknak	**i=skei**	me	**a=skei**	
but	time-this	Saturday	3sgRS=one	but	1sgIRR=one	
pak	sto	aliat.				
go.to	store	day				

But that time, a Saturday, I went to the shop alone in the daytime. (063:90)

5.5.3. Demonstratives *go, nen, ne,* and the presentative *kia*

Demonstratives are *go* 'that, near addressee', *ne* 'this', and *nen* 'that'. These forms serve both spatio-temporal and discourse deictic functions as we see in the

following examples. These demonstratives can either modify the head of an NP, or follow directional adverbs as shown in example (130) below. They cannot be used alone as the only exponent of an NP; for this they must be prefixed by the nominalizer *te-* (e.g., *tene* 'this one') as in example (134) below.

The demonstrative *go* 'that, near addressee' refers to a location nearer the addressee than the speaker, or to something the addressee has said. The spatial location encoded by *go* 'AD' (Addressee Deictic) can be close to the addressee, or it could be some distance away, but the crucial factor in the choice of this term is that, from the speaker's perspective, the location is further from them than from the addressee. Thus *ga-go* '3sg AD' means 'the one near you'. In example (130) the speaker is asking the addressee to sit down where they are, using *sa-go* 'here-AD.'

130 Ag ku=totan sa-go me kineu a=mur-i-n
2sg 2sgRS=sit here-AD but 1sg 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

na ka=taf.
COMP 1sgIRR=leave
You sit down here (near addressee) but I want to leave. (98003bz, 845.2599, 849.7999)

In (131) *go* 'AD' is used first to indicate the place, *sago* 'here, where you are', and then to specify that the pig is near the addressee, *wak go* 'pig AD'.

131 P̃a=to sa-**go** me p̃a=tao wak **go**.
2sgIRR=stay here-AD and 2sgIRR=give.me pig AD
You stay here, and give me the pig (near you). (20001az, 1743.1268, 1746.4000)

In (132) *go* 'AD' is used with the noun *kal* 'digging stick' and can mean either 'the digging stick near you' or 'the digging stick you talked about', the first with a spatial sense and the second wth a discourse sense.

132 Me kal **go** i=na i=mailumlum.
but digging.stick AD 3sgRS=INCH 3sgRS=soft:RED
But this digging stick (near you) is soft. (98003az, 2532.8, 2534.6800)

Speaker <2> in (133) uses *gawan go* 'like that' adverbially, to agree with my immediately preceding question, illustrating the use of *go* as a discourse deictic to refer to what the addressee has said.

133 <1> Ntau ni condominium? <2> Ore, Gawan **go**.
year of condominium yes that AD
<Speaker 1> At the time of the condominium? <Speaker 2> Yes. like you said. (98014az, 2437.7600, 2441.5001)

In (134) the speaker uses the addressee deictic *go* with the determiner *te-* to form a demonstrative pronoun (*tego*) referring to my earlier question (see §5.4.3. on nominalization with *te-*).

134 E i=tik, i=ta pi te-**go** mau.
eh 3sgRS=not 3sgRS=NEG be DET-AD NEG2
Ah, no, it is not like you said. (98014az, 1837.6200, 1840.5399)

Similarly, the proximal and distal demonstratives *ne* 'this' and *nen* 'that' are used to indicate a location which can be spatio-temporal or discourse related. In (135) *tesa ses* 'small child' is previously mentioned and referred to in this sentence by means of the demonstrative *ne* 'this'.

135 Ale tesa ses **ne** i=to kai.
okay child small this 3sgRS=STAT cry
Okay, this small child was crying. (98003az, 2458.4999, 2460.0674)

Looking at a book of stories in South Efate the speaker says (136), using the demonstrative *nen* 'that' to refer to the book. This shows the use of *nen* 'that' as a spatial demonstrative, referring to an object observable to both the speaker and the addressee.

136 Kala me natus **nen** iwi, a?
EXCL but book that 3sgRS=good eh
Gee, but that's a nice book eh? (98001az, 2616.0599, 2618.7442)

In (137) the focal pronoun *komam* '1p.ex' is further specified by the demonstrative *ne* 'this'.

137 Me komam **ne**, u=ta pi traeb ni esan mau, komam
but 1p.ex this 1p.exRS=NEG be tribe of here NEG2 1p.ex

u=pi te-ni E.
1p.exRS=be DET=of E.
But us, we aren't a tribe from here at all, we are from E. (98017b, 748.5799, 757.2999)

Finally, example (138) shows the use of *ne* 'this' following and referring to the NP *tesa nmatu* 'girl', which is mentioned earlier in the discourse.

138 Tesa nmatu **ne**, ga kin i=po pi mama neu.
child female this 3sg REL 3sgRS=PSP be mother 1sgPOS
This girl, she would be my mother. (98017bz, 596.1000, 599.4799)

139 Go nafet famle ga **nen** mãs kin ru=pitlak raet
and group family 3sgPOS that only REL 3p.RS=have right

nanre ni nafinaotan.
side of chiefly.line
And only all his family have rights to the chiefly line. (98006)

Both *ne* 'this' and *nen* 'that' occur in a common collocation with *mal* 'time': *malne* 'this time', *malnen* 'that time', as we see in (140–141).

140 Ga me i=po saen mal **ne**.
3sg and 3sgRS=PSP sign time this
He would sign it this time. (98002az, 954.9400, 957.2116)

141 Kineu ka=fo gag traus te-ni natowen ni
1sg 1sgRS=PSP.IR 2sgBEN tell DET-of being of

tiawi mal **nen** u=to naur ses.
old.people time that 1plexRS=stay island small
I will tell you about the old people's life when we stayed on the small island. (98003bz, 275.3400, 288.6600)

The presentative morpheme *kia* 'PR' patterns rather differently to the other demonstratives and is used to draw attention to the preceding nominal or whole utterance. It functions as a demonstrative but is not in a paradigmatic relationship with the two demonstratives discussed above. It is glossed as a 'presentative' (PR) following Hyslop (2001:97) and can also mean 'here' or 'this one'. In (142) *kia* emphasizes the nominal it follows, *kineu* 'I', to mean 'it is I'.

142 I=tae mai nrik naot ki-n na,
3sgRS=can come tell chief PREP-3sgO say

"Ore kineu **kia**, a=preg problem."
yes 1sg PR 1sgRS=make problem
He can come and tell the chief, "Yes, it is I who caused the problem." (98018az, 2139.68, 2143.5600)

The presentative often occurs in collocation with interrogatives, such as *fei kia* 'who here', *nafte kia* 'what here'. It can also occur with fillers like *iwel*, *gawan*, *tkanwan* which are all used to mean 'thus', 'that's the way', or 'like that'. *Gawankia* is used as a comment at the end of a story meaning 'like that', or 'that's the story', as in (143).

143 Me apu neu **kia** i=mat pato Erueti naur to.
and g.father 1sgPOS PR 3sgRS=die be.at p.name island at

Me kineu a=to Efat. Naur p̃ur.
but 1sg 1sgRS=stay p.name island big

m.m **Gawan kia**. **Gawan kia**.
" like.that like.that
And my grandfather died at Erueti island. But I stay on Efate. The big island. m.m. Like that. Like that. (98017bz, 1369.1399, 1379.7800)

Tkanwan kia 'like that' also functions to emphasize the preceding utterance, as we see in (144).

144 Ku=pan tkau, ko ku=pan nruɸ̃, ko ku=pan pan
2sgRS=go fish or 2sgRS=go dive or 2sgRS=go

pan elau. **Tkanwan kia.**
cook beach like.that
You go fishing, or you go diving, or you cook on the beach. Like that. (004a, 673.9401, 686.5999)

Welkia 'thus' is often used as a filler as in (145).

145 Ore I=**welkia** nmatu kin ru=tkal-i-ø.
yes 3sgRS=thus woman REL 3p.RS=touch-TS-3sgO
Yes, well it is women who do that work. (lit: women who touch it.) (98010az, 398.5800, 401.7599)

In (146) the 3sg *ga* is specified by the presentative *kia* which also shows that the demonstrative can follow the focal pronoun, as per the schema in (113) above.

146 **Ga** **kia** ku=nrog na tawi nen
3sg PR 2sgRS=hear COMP brother.in.law that

pato i=tl-i-ø.
stay 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
That now, you hear what tawi over there says? (Tawi is a borrowing from Bislama) (98016bz, 995.7599, 999.6400)

147 I=pitlak natam̃ol i=skei **kia**, kai=pe traus-i-ø
3sgRS=have person 3sgRS=one PR 1sgPS=PF tell-TS-3sgO

tete mal pei.
some time first
There is this man here, I talked about him once before. (98017bz, 255.6999, 259.8881)

5.5.4. Limiting determiner

The limiting determiner, *m̃as* 'only', has scope over the whole NP which it follows. In (148) the NP is the noun and modifier *kaonsil iskei* 'council itself'.

148 U=pan pakor lamerie me naot go kaonsil i=skei
1sgRS=go appear townhall but chief and council 3sgRS=one

m̃as kin ra=to.
only REL 3d.RS=stay
We went to the town hall but only the chief and the council were there. (98014az, 1312.4, 1316)

In (149) *m̃as* 'only' follows the focal pronoun *kineu* 'I/me'.

149	Go	telap	ru=tefla.	A=mro-ki=n	i=ta	pi
	and	DET=many	3p.RS=thus	1sgRS=believe=DST	3sgRS=not	be

kineu	**m̃as**	mau.	
1sg	only	NEG2	

And many are like that. I think it isn't just me. (20003az, 1133.1, 1134.9999)

M̃as also acts as a verbal modifer as shown in §4.8.

6. Mood and aspect

South Efate has a productive and obligatory system of marking the cross-cutting categories of mood and aspect. The pronominal subject system has complete paradigms for the categories of realis, irrealis, and perfect (Table 6:2.) and as the subject proclitic is an obligatory element in any sentence speakers are always required to make the distinction between these three categories.

For a small set of verbs and particles a further strategy for encoding mood is that the initial consonant alternates between /p/, marking realis, and /f/, marking irrealis (§6.4.5.1.). Particles in the pre-verbal complex distinguish prospective and perfect aspect, together with alternating initial consonants for realis and irrealis. These particles are listed in Table 6:1. Sentences with no such morphological temporal markers usually have a non-future reading and realis pronominal forms, which I take as indicating that realis is the unmarked category, not just for stem-initial forms but generally for all forms. This means that the realis form is only glossed with ':R' when there is a particular point to be made in that example.

Table 6:1. Particles encoding temporal information in the pre-verbal complex

pe	Perfect (PF)
po	Prospective, realis (PSP:R)
fo	Prospective, irrealis (PSP:IR)
to	Habitual/Stative/Progressive (HABIT/STAT/PROG)
ta	Durative (DUR)

The two aspects grammatically encoded in South Efate are perfect and prospective. I use the term perfect rather than perfective, following Comrie (1976) to refer to a past situation that is completed and over. Thus the perfect statement *I have lost my penknife* encodes a completed action in which there is an implication that the penknife continues to be lost, as opposed to a perfective *I lost my penknife* which indicates a complete action, but not necessarily one that is over (Comrie 1976:52). Another reason for using the label 'perfect' for this aspect in South Efate is that it is in opposition with 'prospective' aspect. In contrast, the category 'perfective' would be in opposition to imperfective which does not reflect the facts of South Efate. The prospective aspect is a type of relative future used to encode events that are prospective from the time established within the utterance, or the 'temporal frame'.

Table 6:2. Proclitic pronominals which display an aspect/mood distinction

	Realis	Irrealis	Perfect
1sg	a=	ka=	kai=
2sg	ku=	ƥa=	kui=
3sg	i=	ke=	ki=
1d. (in)	ta=	tak=	takai=
1d. (ex)	ra=	rak=	rakai=
2d.	ra=	rak=	rakai=
3d.	ra=	rak=	rakai= / rai=
1p. (in)	tu=	tuk=	tu=, tui=/ (tukoi=)
1p. (ex)	u=	ko=	ui= / koi=
2p.	u=	ko=	koi=
3p.	ru=	ruk=	rui= / (rukui=)

I use Dahl's terminology in discussing the encoding of time. Dahl (1985:30) discusses the importance of the notion of the 'temporal frame' of an utterance which he distinguishes from the point of speech, the point of the event, and the point of reference. Thus, for example, in the sentence, *When I arrived, Peter had tried to phone me twice during the preceding week*, the temporal frame is *during the preceding week,* the point of reference is *when I arrived,* and the points of events are *Peter trying to phone me twice.*

Table 6:4. tabulates mood and aspect interaction and shows that the primary distinction is one of mood. This is further exemplified by the correlation of proclitics and TMA markers in Table 6:5. I then present an overview of the encoding of time using data obtained through Dahl's (1985) 'TMA questionnaire'. I use Dahl's analysis to show that temporal relations are grammatically expressed as aspect and mood. I then proceed to discuss mood (§6.4.) and then aspect (§6.5.) in more detail.

6.1. Lexical framing of time

In this section we will see that there is no grammatical marking of tense in sentences even when the temporal frame is in the past or the future. It is by the use of words encoding temporal notions that we can identify the temporal frame of the sentence. Grammatical marking to encode events that have occurred in the past is not obligatory, but the marking of realis mood is obligatory, thus in example (1), while the timeframe is *nanom* 'yesterday', there is no morphological encoding of past time in the sentence and the realis form of the proclitic is used.

1 Nanom põg, u=mai praktis.
yesterday night 1p.exRS=come practice
Yesterday evening we came to practice. (98010bz, 687.5, 691.2017)

Similarly, in (2) there is no tense or aspect marking associated with the verb *tae* 'to know' even though the temporal frame is *nanom* 'yesterday'. In the second clause of this example the prospective aspect is marked by an irrealis form of the subject proclitic and the irrealis form of the prospective marker *fo*.

2 P̃al-u-k i=tae nanom na nai
brother-V-1sgDP 3sgRS=know yesterday COMP water

ke=fo mlanr mes.
3sgIRR=PSP:IR cold today
My brother knew yesterday that the water would be cold today. (elicited, Dahl questionnaire #118)

Again, in (3) the timeframe is established by *tetwei* 'long ago' but there is no morphological encoding of past time in the sentence.

3 Go tetwei gar ru=ta pakot-ki mani, go ru=ta
and long.ago 3p. 3p:RS=NEG pay-TR money and 3p:RS=NEG

pakot-ki tete namrun p̃et mau. Gar m̃it m̃as kin
pay-TR some thing different NEG2 3p. mat only REL

ru=to ptu-ki-ø.
3p:RS=HAB give-TR-3sgO
And, long ago, they didn't pay with money or with anything else. They only gave mats. (98002bz, 436.1599, 444.3200)

Another method of encoding the timeframe of a sentence is by fronting a temporal noun phrase and linking it to the rest of the clause with *go* 'and', typically with a rising intonation on the temporal noun.

4 Atlag ne namba 18 go u=pan witnes-ki, na, taetel,
month this number18 and 1p.exRS=go witness-TR HESIT title

hand-over taetel.
handover title
That month, number 18, and we went and witnessed the hand-over of the title. (98002az, 1055.4401, 1073.4399)

Similarly, in (5) we see that the temporal framing information is fronted and the subsequent sentence is introduced by *go* 'and'.

5 Jun 77 go a=mer stat wok polis ni munisipal, taon.
June 77 and 1sgRS=in.turn start work police of municipal town
And in June 1977, I started to work at the municipal police in town. (98014az, 301.0400, 308.9401)

Words (drawn from various classes: temporal nouns, adverbs, and prepositions) that are commonly used to frame temporal events in South Efate are listed in Table 6:3. Examples of those which have more idiosyncratic usage follow.

Table 6:3. Words whose meaning includes temporal reference

as	day after tomorrow	*nas*	day before yesterday
inrok	after	*nrakpei*	'time-first', formerly
mai	to come	*ntau/atlag/wik nen pa*	last year/month/week
malfanen	now	*ntau/atlag/wik nen tu*	next year/month/week
malnen	at that time	*panpan*	until
malpei	before	*pei*	first
matol	tomorrow	*tetwei*	long ago
mes	today	*tkal*	to reach
nanom	yesterday	*tol*	to go past

Panpan 'until' is formed by reduplication of the verb *pan* 'to go', which sometimes is found in several iterations correlating to the length of time the speaker wants to portray, as we see in (6).

6 Kai=pe nom, kai=pe mai tu.
1sgPS=PF finish 1sgPS=PF come stay

Panpanpanpanpanpan tu=preg nawesien seserik.
until:RED 1p.inRS=make work small
I finished, I came and stayed here. Until ... we did a little work. (98003az, 1022.6800, 1040.8199)

Past events, such as the coming of Christianity (7) *nmalko tetwei* 'in the time of darkness long ago', frame a sentence that has a realis subject marker but no grammatical marker of time.

7 Nmalko tetwei, i=pitlak nafkal kenen.
darkness long.ago 3sgRS=have fight of.it
Long ago in the time of darkness, there was a fight for it (for Christianity). (98011a, 909.4528, 914.3399)

The relative order of events can be encoded using the verbs *pei* 'first', and *inrok* 'later'. In (8) the speaker emphasizes the importance of hard work, and that, if one wants to live well, one must first get tired through hard work. She uses the prospective marker with *pei* 'first' to mean 'we would first get tired', to indicate the order of events which are stated in non-iconic order (the event marked by the prospective [being tired] precedes the state expressed as its consequence [being well] temporally but not iconically).

8 Komam u=weswes u=maos u=mur-i-n na
1p.ex 1p:RS=work 1p:RS=tired 1p:RS=want-TS-3sg COMP

ko=to wi ko=**fo** **pei** maos.
1p.exIRR=stay good 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR first tired
We worked and we got tired, if we wanted to stay healthy, we would (have to) get tired first. (98003bz, 561.4801, 568.3599) (064:32)

In a discussion about the missionary teachers of the 1950s the speaker in (9) says that Shirley McRae would come later, *ipo inrok mai*, using *inrok,* literally 'behind', as 'later', that is, after the temporal frame of the 1950s established in the discourse. The expression *malfanen kia* 'now here' is a reference to the temporal frame, where 'here' is the 1950s.

9 Shirley McRae nag i=po **inrok** mai malfanen kia.
p.name REL 3sgRS=PSP after come now PR
Shirley McRae was to come later than that. (98002bz, 1493.86, 1503.44)

6.2. Clause combination and TMA marking

In our discussion of clause linkage in Chapter 12 we see that irrealis mood marking is often found in complement clauses (§12.2.3) expressing unrealized events such as desideratives, achievement predicates, and negative predicates. Other forms of clause linkage have less predictable mood implications. Besides complementation, clause coordination and juxtaposition are two means by which clauses can be linked and we will see that both of these forms of linkage can be used to express temporal meanings.

Coordinate clauses (§12.1) allow iconic ordering, with the coordinating particle overtly marking the sequential order of events. The general coordinator *me* (§12.1.2) has several meanings, including 'then', encoding an activity sequential to that of the preceding clause, as shown in (10).

10 Me ntuam i=lek-a-ø **me** i=na ke=sok.
but devil 3sgRS=look-TR-3sgO and 3sgRS=want 3sgIRR=jump

Me i=sok, me i=frak.
and 3sgRS=jump but 3sgRS=slow
But the devil saw it and he wanted to jump. Then he jumped, but he was slow. (98017bz, 2775.5, 2779.9200)

The iconic order of juxtaposed clauses (§12.3.1) can express the relative

ordering of events, as in (11), where a succession of events is given as a list of clauses with no clause-linkers indicating sequential action.

11 Namba wan Oktober, go u=tao Ajen, raki
number one October and 1p.exRS=leave Atchin for

nort-wes.of.Malakula. U=pan torwak Tontar, naor ni Malapar
north-west Malakula 1p.exRS=go anchor p.name place of p.name

namba 1. Namba 2 Janwari raru. Namba 2 Janwari
number one number 2 January boat number 2 January

u=pak u=pa=n tan, u=pak Tanmaru.
1p.exRS=go.to 1p.exRS=go=DST down 1p.exRS=go.to p.name

Namba 6, Espigel Bei, Emlakul go Malua Bei.
number 6 p.name Malakula and p.name
The first of October we left Atchin for the north-west of Malakula. We went and anchored at Tontar, Malapar's place on the first. On the second of January, on the boat. Second of January we went to Tanmaru. On the sixth to Espiegel Bay, Malakula, and Malua Bay. (005az, 200.8800, 253.7200)

6.3. The morphological expression of mood and aspect

Examples of the interaction of mood and aspect are given in Table 6:4. where it is shown that the primary choice for speakers of South Efate is one of mood, namely between expressing events that have been realized (realis) and those which have not yet been realized (irrealis). The use of aspect marking is secondary, so that the prospective marker only marks future time when it is in the irrealis form *fo*, and marks a relative future or incipient future when it is in the realis form *po*.

There is a strong correlation between the mood marking of subject proclitics and the TMA particles of the pre-verbal complex, as seen from a tabulation of attested forms in Table 6:5. The rows in Table 6:5. list the pre-verbal particles and the environments in which the subject proclitics display some variation, in imperatives (including hortatives) and conditionals. Numbers indicate the number of occurrences. Negation is not included in this table as all three subject forms can occur with the negative *ta*. The negative complementizer (*tap* 'to not do sthg.') takes an irrealis complement just as do similar complements discussed in §6.2. Conditionals formed with the particle *f* always have realis subjects in the protasis, but the subject of the apodosis is attested with both realis and irrealis forms. Similarly the subject of *fla* 'may' clauses is always in the realis but there is no apodosis (cf. §10.1.4. in the VC chapter) with *fla* clauses. Numbers in the columns refer to example sentences in this chapter.

6.3.1. The Dahl 'TMA questionnaire' in South Efate

In Table 6:6. we see the correlation between categories established in Dahl's (1985) *TMA questionnaire* and the responses for South Efate. The completed questionnaire is provided with an interlinear gloss on the accompanying DVD.[52] Dahl identifies a number of TMA categories in his cross-linguistic survey which he then associates with particular sentences in the questionnaire. In the first column in the table is Dahl's category name, and in the next column is the page on which he correlates that category to sentence examples. In the third column we see the form that expresses the category in the South Efate examples. The Dahl questionnaire example numbers are given in column four. If a form other than that indicated in column three was used in the translation then it is listed in column five. Column six discusses any examples that do not fit the dominant pattern.

Table 6:4. Examples of mood and aspect interaction

Mood marking of S proclitic	**Aspect marking using particles in the PVC**	**Time reference**	**Example**	**Example numbers in this chapter**
realis	perfect	past	*kai=pe lek-e-r* 1sg.PS=PF look-TS-3p.O 'I saw them'	6, 44, 45, 46
	prospective	past / present incipient; relative future	*a=po lek-e-r* 1sg.RS= PSP.R look-TS-3p.O 'I will see them (and have done)'	9, 14, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58
	none	past / present	*a=lek-e-r* 1sg.RS=look-TS-3p.O 'I see/saw them'	1, 3, 4, 5, 7
irrealis	prospective	future / past unrealised	*ka=fo lek-e-r* 1sg.IRS=PSP.IR look-TS-3p.O 'I will see them'	8, 12, 18, 57
	none	imperatives, negated clauses, and possible/ likely outcomes in complement clauses	*ka=lek-e-r* 1sg.IRS=look-TS-3p.O (I want) 'That I see them'	22, 23, 24, 25, 26

[52] This data was elicited with a 20-year-old woman, Endis Kalsarap, in April 2003.

Table 6:5. Subject proclitics and mood and aspect interaction

Subject proclitic		Realis	Irrealis	Perfective
Past	*pe*	-	-	+ 32
Future realis	*po*	+ 9	-	-
Future irrealis	*fo*	-	+ 39	-
Imperative		-	+ 33	-
Conditional *f*	Protasis	+ 27	-	-
	Apodosis	+ 27	+ 30	-
Conditional *fla*		+ 27	-	-

To summarize the results, Future[53] is always marked with *fo* 'irrealis prospective'. Past and Perfect are mainly marked by *pe* 'PF' (perfect), and less commonly are unmarked. All Past forms are marked by realis forms of the TMA particles (thus *po* rather than *fo*) except in past expressions of unrealized or generic events, as in (12), where the irrealis form is used with a desired outcome, one that isn't considered 'real'.

12 Me malpei i=tik nmatu, malen tiawi i=toreki
but formerly 3sgRS=not woman when old.people 3sgRS=wait

nmatu i=skei i=slat tesa, ke=**fo** mas pnut
woman 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=take child 3sgIRR=PSP:IR must quiet

to i=kano farfar.
stay 3sgRS=be.unable move.around
But before, no, when the old people waited for a woman to have a baby, she has to sit quiet, she can't move around. (98003bz, 1135.0200, 1147.0000)

[53] I use capitalized forms to reflect Dahl's categories.

Table 6:6. Correlation of results of Dahl's questionnaire

1. Dahl category	2. Dahl 1985 Page	3. Gloss	4. Example # in Dahl	5. Example # with different form	6. Discussion
Future	107	*fo* Prospective irrealis	15, 23, 27, 36, 103, 104, 152		
Predictive	111	*fo* Prospective irrealis	16, 17, 31 (81 not translated)		
Past	118	*pe* Perfect	10, 11, 12 (20 not translated)	26 *to*, progressive 171 uses *=n* 'DST'	
Perfect	131	*pe* Perfect	42, 53, 54, 56 (64, 136, not translated)	67, 139, unmarked for aspect. 134 *go/po*	134 immediate past is marked with the realis future *po*, and with *go*
Habitual (and Habitual G)	97, 99	*to* Stative, habitual	18, 19, 20, 21, 31, 40, 71, 191	193 uses *fo*	
Progressive	92	*to* Stative, habitual	5, 6, 9 (83 not translated)		
"	"	*pe* Perfect	11, 12		Past progressive expressed by the perfect marker
Perfective	78	-	91, 92, 100, 101, 162, 165, 175 (99 not translated)		No marking used at all

The realis form of the prospective marker *po* is used in (13) to talk about a group of people in the distant past who escaped being eaten by Eratap people, and then (in the relative future), returned to Erakor.

13 Te-ni Ertap ru=pam tete natam̃ol kenen. Me tete
det-of p.name 3p.RS=go some people of.it but some

ru=**po** ler mai.
3p.RS=PSP:R return hither
(talking about an earlier narrative) Those from Eratap ate some of the people from that story. But some (of those people) would return again. (98001b, 218.8201, 223.7201)

6.4. Mood

Mood and modality, which can be broadly defined as "the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions" (Bybee et al. 1994:176), can take in varying subtopics, including those discussed in this section, but also negation which is discussed in §11.6. Of the categories of modality outlined by Bybee et al. (1994) only those represented in the South Efate data are discussed below, that is (i) obligation, (ii) ability, (iii) imperatives/hortatives, (iv) possibility, and (v) realis/irrealis, which overlaps with the previous categories but needs to be discussed separately from them. I take these semantic categories as the organizing principle for the following discussion.

6.4.1. Obligation

Obligation is concerned with conditions which compel the agent to complete the predicate action (Bybee et al. 1994:177). Obligation is expressed by the auxiliary verb *mas* 'must' which has been recruited into South Efate from Bislama as there is no indigenous equivalent. Thus, in (14) *mas* expresses the necessity for the teacher to speak the correct language, and in (15) *mas* expresses an order that the young person at a court hearing must know that the village council is his council. Both irrealis (*ke*= '3sgIRR') and realis (*tu*= '1p.inRS') subjects can be used with *mas* as illustrated in these examples.

14 Tija i=kano pan pes prakot, ke=**mas** pes
teacher 3sgRS=can't go speak anyhow 3sgIRR=must speak

taos nafsan leg.
like language right
The teacher can't talk any old how, he must speak the correct language. (20001b, 648.3, 651.8786)

15 Go, tu=**mas** tae na council i=pi council gag.
and 1p.inRS=must know that council 3sgRS=be council 2sgPOS
And we must know that council is your council. (98016az, 550.2999, 554.7902)

6.4.2. Ability

The ability of the agent to undertake the activity encoded in the predicate is expressed by use of an auxiliary verb *tae* 'to be able to', which means 'to know' when acting as a main verb. The semantic range of 'know' and 'be able' mirrors that of the Bislama term *save* 'to know, be able to'.

16 Ku=pakot pis nkal ses nen me ku=**tae** paktof-i-ø
2sgRS=pay piece cloth small that but 2sgRS=be.able pay-TS-ø

ki wan vatu.
PREP one vatu
You buy a small piece of cloth but you can buy it for one vatu. (98017az, 2151.8000, 2162.2799)

17 Go malpei komam ko=fo **tae** welu tiawi.
and formerly 1p.in 1p.inIRR=PSP:IR be.able help old.people
And, before, we would be able to look after the old people. (98003bz, 735.0200, 740.6799)

6.4.3. Imperative

I take the notion of imperative to include hortatives in South Efate as they are expressed by the same construction, which we will simply call the imperative. The only difference between them is that hortatives have non-second person subjects. They both encode an order or strong desire on the part of the speaker. The subject of an imperative is always in the irrealis form and no other element of the PVC except the negative particle *ta* can intervene between the subject proclitic and the auxiliary or main verb, both of which may also have irrealis forms if eligible, that is if they can undergo stem-initial mutation (as discussed in §6.4.5.1.). So, the verb *preg* 'to make:R' appears in the irrealis form *freg* 'to make:IR' in the imperative in (18). There is no other grammatical marker of the imperative.

18 **p̃a=freg.pun** te-ne me tak=fo to
2sgIRR=make:IR.dead det-this and 1p.inIRR=PSP:IR STAT

mailum traus.
slow speak
Turn off this (tape recorder) and we will have a little talk. (98007bz, 1900.4, 1906.2400)

The only indication of the imperative status of (19) is the irrealis form of the subject proclitic.

19 **p̃a=to** sa.go me **p̃a=tao** wak go.
2sgIRR=stay there.AD and 2sgIRR=give.me pig and
You stay over there and give me a pig. (20001az, 1743.5892, 1746.4000)

In (20) the irrealis form of the pronominal subject is used, together with the irrealis form of both verbs which in this example are both eligible for stem-initial mutation (*pnut* 'to be quiet', *pes* 'to talk'). This example is from a court hearing where the council is telling a young defendant to shut up.

20 Ore **p̃a=fnut**! p̃a=ta **fes** mau!
yes 2sgIRR=quiet:IR 2sgIRR=NEG1 talk:IR NEG2
Okay, you shut up! Don't you talk! (98016az, 1132.4999, 1135.4400)

In example (21) the speaker is asking his wife to go and fetch a book that has been previously discussed. Again we see the irrealis form of the pronominal subject and the irrealis form of the auxiliary verb *pa* 'go'.

21 P̃a=**fa**=n lel=es slat-i-ø a?
2sgIRR=go:IR=DST look.for-3sgO carry-TS-3sgO INT
You go and look for it and bring it eh? (98001b, 412.8600, 418.9600)

As we would expect, the plural imperative uses *ko,* the 2p. irrealis subject proclitic, and the verb is in the irrealis form.

22 Tesa, **ko**=fam nanrmem!
child 2p.IRR=eat:IR banana
Children, eat the bananas! (98017bz, 646.9200, 648.2)

The hortative example in (23) shows a 3sg.IRR subject with an irrealis verb showing stem-initial mutation. In (24) a 1d.IRR subject occurs with a verb *sef* 'to escape' that is not eligible for stem-initial mutation.

23 Ke=fa=n pato emãae.
3sgIRR=go:IR=DST stay far
Let him go and stay a long way away. (lit: That he go.) (98001b, 853.1220, 854.4504)

24 I=nrik kori ses ga nen kin na, "Tak=sef."
3sgRS=tell dog small 3sgPOS that COMP say 1d.IRR=escape
He said to his small dog, "Let's go." (98017bz, 2491.4000, 2503.1399)

Example (25) is from a story about a chicken and a moorhen talking to each other, who together make up the 3rd person dual subject. The hortative "Let us go swim" uses an irrealis subject proclitic and irrealis form of the verb, *pa* 'to go'.

25 Nrak iskei go ra=tl-i-ø na, "Rak=fa=n los."
time one and d.RS=say-TS-3sgO say 1d.IRR=go:IR=DST swim
But one time they said, "Let us go swim." (98009b, 1531.0401, 1535.9600)

The subject of a dual imperative is expressed by the dual pronoun which is not specified for person (cf. §5.1), as in the first sentence in (26). We know the subject is second person because of the focal pronoun *akam* '2p.'. These two sentences also illustrate the use of an irrealis subject proclitic form in the imperative and a realis proclitic form in the indicative sentence.

26 Akam rak=fa! Akam ra=west-ki mal.
2p. d.IRR=go:IR 2p. d.RS=waste-TR time
Go away! You waste time. (98007az, 1283.18, 1285.2239)

6.4.4. Possibility

The possibility of an event occurring is encoded by means of one of two particles in the pre-verbal complex, a conditional particle */*, and *fla* 'may' (both discussed further in §10.1.4.) which are illustrated in example (27).

27 I=**f** wel kin taos nametrau lap ru=**fla** to
3sgRS=CND thus REL like family many 3p.RS=may STAT

weswes te-naor welkia ru=lap, ru=**f** tae
work some-place thus 3p.RS=many 3p.RS=CND be.able

tilusus-i-k.
gossip-TS-2sgO
If, like, lots of the family might work someplace, well there are lots of them, then (others) could gossip about you. (98009az, 446.3600, 457.2600)

28 Me ag nen ku=to m̃eltig-ki tiawi, ku=**fla** psir
but 2sg REL 2sgRS=HAB be.close-TR old.people 2sgRS=may lie

ko ku=**fla** tilmori, me ku=**f** nrog natrauswen.
or 2sgRS=may tell.truth but 2sgRS=CND hear story
But you who are close to the old people, you might lie or you might tell the truth, but you might hear stories. (98009a, 1851.9, 1858.8999)

In Table 6:4. above, the interaction of subject proclitics and conditionals shows that the protasis of conditionals always takes a realis proclitic. This is exemplified in (29) where the realis is used in the protasis, setting up the condition, and the irrealis in the apodosis, the unrealized but desired outcome.

29 **I=f** wel ag **ku=f** mur-i-n go
3sgRS=CND thus 2sg 2sgRS=CND want-TS-3sgO and

ka=tu-o-k nmatu neu me ag **p̃a**=tao
1sgIRR=give-TS-2sgO woman 1sgPOS but 2sg 2sgIRR=give.me

nmatu gag.
woman 2sgPOS
If you want, I'll give you my woman but you give me your woman. (013:12) (004b, 987.8000, 995.6600)

6.4.5. Realis/irrealis

The categories of realis and irrealis are central to most utterances in South Efate. As discussed above, pronominal proclitics have separate paradigms for realis and irrealis (as well as perfect) (§5.1.3.2.), which largely correlate with encoding events that are realized or unrealized, but also with broader notions of transitivity such as specificity of the object (§6.4.6.below). A further process that bears on the discussion of aspect is stem-initial mutation (§6.4.5.1.), which distinguishes realis and irrealis forms only for a small group of *p* initial verbs. I use the terms realis and irrealis (despite Bybee's [1998] conclusion that "the term 'irrealis' is

simply too general to be useful") both to conform to other descriptions of languages of the region (e.g., Lynch 2000b; Hyslop 2001; François 2002; 2003), and because they are suitable labels for the features outlined in this section.

6.4.5.1. Stem-initial mutation

A number of verbs and one particle in South Efate alternate initial /p/ and /f/ in correlation with the realis/irrealis mood status (respectively) of the frame in which the verb occurs.[54] No other initial consonants are involved in this alternation in South Efate, unlike in other languages of Vanuatu, as we will see below.[55] A set of example verb stems is given in (30a), and the particle is given in (30b).

30a	*pai/fai*	fill up, pack
	pak/fak	go to
	pam/fam	eat
	pamor/famor	discover
	pei/fei	first
	preg/freg	make
30b	*po/fo*	prospective PVC particle

Mutation also applies to some borrowed terms as shown in (31):

31	*pas/fas*	pass
	paptais/faptais	baptize

A similar process, but typically involving a larger inventory of phonemes, has been described for other Vanuatu languages[56] (e.g., Paamese [Crowley 1982], Epi [Tryon 1986], Nguna [Schütz 1968], Ura [Crowley 1999]) whereby the initial consonant has two forms, called oral and nasal grade (Lynch 1975), primary and secondary (Crowley 1982; 1991), or base and secondary (Schütz 1969a), among others.

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[54] There is one anomalous form in the data for which *p/f*-initial alternation corresponds to an alternation between an Actor-oriented verb (*plos* 'to go around, to avoid') and an Undergoer-oriented verb (*flos* 'to be twisted, crooked') and does not reflect a difference in mood.

[55] Macdonald (1889:10) notes the presence of stem-initial mutation at the end of the nineteenth century: "b and f are changed constantly, and often the one or the other is used according to the caprice of the speaker, or as to his idea of euphony."

[56] Clark (1985) suggests that verb-initial mutation is a feature of Central and Northern Vanuatu languages that could be used to define a subgroup, but Crowley (1991:218) concludes it actually reflects "an almost remarkable number of cases of independent parallel development in most of the languages of the same subgroup."

Crowley (1991) comprehensively describes this phenomenon, which he calls verb-initial mutation. With the limited data available to him at the time, he speculated that South Efate "possibly does not exhibit any pattern of verb-initial mutation" (1991:200).

Lynch (1975:91) suggests that the oral/nasal alternation resulted from the diachronic fusion of the pre-verbal prefix (**ma-* realis, **na-* irrealis) and the verb. Languages prefixed either the realis or the irrealis but whichever was marked in this way became the 'nasal grade'. Thus the 'nasal' grade can correspond to realis or irrealis in different languages of the region, depending on which prefix was employed. In South Efate this alternation only involves *f/p* so I will not use the labels 'oral' and 'nasal' grade, but simply refer to the realis /p/ form, and the irrealis /f/ form.

Despite diachronic evidence that the irrealis /f/- initial form of the stem is historically basic (Crowley 1991), in South Efate the realis /p/-initial form is synchronically basic. It occurs in unmarked environments, unlike the irrealis (/f/-initial) form which occurs in the following restricted environments:

i) following an irrealis pronominal proclitic. (If the /f/-initial form were basic we would have to specify that it mutates to /p/ when it does not follow an irrealis pronominal proclitic.)

ii) in reduplicated forms. There are very few examples of reduplicated forms involving stems eligible for stem-initial consonant mutation, but any that do occur have a lenited initial consonant in the reduplicated form.

pes	to speak	*fesfes*	to cheep (of a bird)
pol	to behave	*folfol*	to behave
pul	to sling	*fulful*	to twirl, spin (e.g., rope)

As a reduplicated form is derived from a stem form that is /p/-initial, it is preferable to see the /p/-initial form as being more basic rather than trying to establish a rule of fortition in unreduplicated forms.

iii) in nominalized forms. The general process of nominalizing verbs is discussed in §5.4. Several examples will illustrate the fact that it is the lenited form of the stem-initial consonant that occurs in the nominalized form.

paptais	to baptize	*nfaptaiswen*	baptism
paos	to ask	*nfaoswen*	question
pes	to speak	*naf(e)san*	language

It is more elegant to explain the morphological process of nominalization that lenites an initial consonant than it is to claim fortition of nominalizable stems in citation form.

There are thus convincing synchronic reasons for selecting /p/ as the basic initial consonant for this set of verbs in South Efate, and so /p/-initial citation forms are used in the dictionary and cross-reference the /f/-initial form.

Before proceding, however, we need to state a rule that governs the use of irrealis forms within the pre-verbal complex. When an auxiliary and main verb are both eligible for stem-initial mutation only the auxiliary uses the irrealis *f*-initial form, as seen in example (32), where the verb *preg* 'make' would appear in the irrealis form *freg* were it not for the presence of the auxiliary *fa* 'go:IR'.

32 ʔa=**fa=n** **preg**.ptak-ki pano.
2sgIRR=go:IR=DST make.ready-TR panel
You go and prepare the panel. (98018az, 2254.9400, 2257.8800)

In (33a) *pes* 'talk' follows the modifier *mailum* 'quiet' and not the proclitic subject, unlike in (33b) where the verb directly follows the irrealis proclitic and is in the irrealis form. An explanation could be that there is assimilation of the irrealis feature from the proclitic to the verb stem, but only if no other lexical item intervenes. The first part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC1) contains particles and not lexical items and so does not prevent stem-initial mutation.

33a Radio ke=mailum pes.
" 3sgIRR=slow talk:R
The radio spoke quietly. (elicited)

33b Radio ke=fes mailum.
" 3sgIRR=talk:IR slow
The radio spoke quietly. (elicited)

The irrealis form of the prospective marker does not block the appearance of an irrealis form of the following verb, as seen in (34).

34 Ke=fo fam.
3sgIRS=PSP:IR eat:IR
He will eat. (98007bz, 69.4800, 70.24)

The only other items permitted between the irrealis subject proclitic and the stem-initial mutated verb stem in the data are the negative marker *ta(p),* as seen in a hortative example in (35), and the perfect marker *pe,* which only occurs with the irrealis form of the verb in several examples, as in (36).

35 Komam rak=tap fam mau me rak=to.
1p.ex 1d.IRR=NEG eat:IR NEG2 but 1d.IRR=stay
We won't eat, but we'll stay. (Let us not eat but let us stay.) (20001az, 1656.3471, 1659.5748)

36 Me ag kui=pe fam ko i=tik?
but 2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:IR or 3sgRS=not
But have you eaten or not? (004a, 279.7322, 281.3149)

We can further generalize that if an element of the second part of the pre-verbal complex (PVC2) follows the proclitic it blocks stem-initial mutation, as can be seen in (37a), where the verb is not contiguous with the proclitic and so is in the realis form, unlike (37b) where the verb directly follows the proclitic and is in the irrealis form.

37 (a) Tuk=nomser pak elau. (b) Tuk=fak elau.
1p.inIRR=all go.to sea 1p.inIRR=go.to.IR sea
(a) We all go to the sea. (b) We go to the sea. (elicited)

6.4.6. Correlation of mood and transitivity

There is evidence in the data that realis/irrealis stem mutation correlates with features of transitivity. All else being equal, the realis form of the verb occurs in clauses which have an overt expression of an object while the irrealis form occurs when there is no object in the clause. The set of sentences in (38) illustrate this correspondence, with the main verb in each case being eligible for stem-initial mutation. Other possible triggers for stem-initial mutation, such as an irrealis form of the proclitic, have been excluded from these elicited sentences to allow us to illustrate the effect of the type of object.

If there is no expression of an object in a clause then the verb occurs in the irrealis *f*-initial form as in (38a).[57]

38a Ag kui=pe fam mes põulpõg.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:IR today morning
You ate this morning. (elicited)

The lack of an object in (38b) means that the realis form is ungrammatical as it is the irrealis that is used when there is no object.

38b *Ag kui=pe pam mes põulpõg.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R today morning
**You ate this morning. (elicited)*

When the object is salient and individuated, having been mentioned in the previous discourse, it can be referenced by the transitive suffix and object suffix, as in (38c), using the realis form of the stem. Example (38d) shows that the irrealis form of the stem is ungrammatical when there is a highly individuated object.

38c Ag kui=pe pam-i-r mes põulpõg.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R-V-3p.O today morning
You ate them this morning. (elicited)

[57] The same structure was tested using other eligible verb stems (*pes* 'talk'; *paos* 'ask'; *pakot* 'pay'; *preg* 'make'; *pnut* 'close') with the same result.

38d *Ag kui=pe fam-i-r mes p̃ulp̃og.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:IR-TS-3p.O today morning
**You ate them this morning. (elicited)*

The same holds for (38e) where there is a lexical object and the realis form is used.

38e Ag kui=pe pam ntal mes p̃ulp̃og.
2sg 2sgPS=PF eat:R taro today morning
You ate taro this morning. (elicited)

A textual example of this correlation is given in (39) where the first use of the verb *pam* 'to eat' is in the irrealis form with no object, and the second is in the realis form with an object that is not highly individuated ('some of this food').

39 Ra=fam su tefla=n, ra=pam tete nafnag ne,
3d.RS=eat:IR PF thus=DST 3dRS=eat:R some food this

ra=slat-i-ø pa.
3d.RS=take-TS-3sgO thither
They finished eating, they ate some of this food, they took it and went. (20001az, 1289.9800, 1294.7600)

The correlation of mood and transitivity is not unexpected following the observations of Hopper and Thompson (1980) that transitivity correlates with mood distinctions and individuation of the object, among other features. In the Mayan language Jacaltec, Frawley (1992:389) finds similarly that "nonspecific entitites are more likely associated with irrealis modalities." The interplay of the various factors involved in determining mood marking in South Efate requires further investigation.

6.5. Aspect

The morphological encoding of time is mainly carried out by particles in the pre-verbal complex (*po* 'prospective:realis', *fo* 'prospective:irrealis', *pe* 'perfect') that are covered in more detail in the discussion of the Verb Complex in Chapter 10. Past time is also encoded in one of the proclitic paradigms that are discussed in §5.1.3. In this section I will first demonstrate the grammatical encoding of aspect and then show how this grammatical encoding interacts with lexical temporal framing and other discourse strategies for talking about the past, present, and future.

Basic unmarked clauses in South Efate can have a past or present reading. A sentence with past time reference, established by context or by the use of lexical items with temporal meaning, can have the same morphological marking as a sentence with present time reference as can be seen in the following examples. Example (40) discusses the number of villages that made up Erakor in the early

days (*nrakpei* 'long ago') and the copula in this past timeframe is in the same form as in sentence (41) where the time reference is the present, indicated by the framing with *mes* 'today'.

40 Nrakpei natkon ni Erakor Efat ru=**pi** natkon i=laru.
formerly village of p.name 3p.RS=be village 3sgRS=seven
Long ago the village of Erakor on Efate was seven villages. (98002bz, 835.1800, 841.5200)

41 Mes i=**pi** nalelewen neu kin i=tefla.
today 3sgRS=be opinion 1sgPOS REL 3sgRS=thus
Today it is my opinion that it is like this. (98007bz, 259.55, 264.2200)

Similarly, in example (42) the verb *min* 'to drink' has no morphological marking to indicate that it encodes an event that occurred in the past, as indicated by *tetwei* 'long ago'.

42 Tetwei ga apu neu i=**min** nmalok tefla kai=pe
long.ago 3sg grandfather 1sgPOS 3sgRS=drink kava thus ES=PF

pa=n matur.
go=DST sleep
Long ago, my grandfather drank kava like that and went to sleep. (98007bz, 730.1914, 734.8599)

In (43) there is no aspect marking or temporal expression and both a past and present reading are possible. The narrative context suggests a past interpretation, but out of context an equally valid translation could be "The owl (*mlapuas*) stays and drinks the owl (*sokfal*)'s medicine."

43 Me mlapuas i=na i=to kai min nalkis ni sokfal.
but owl 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=stay ES drink medicine of owl
The owl (mlapuas) stayed and drank the owl (sokfal)'s medicine. (005a, 1579.7001, 1591.6781)

6.5.1. Aspect in the pre-verbal complex

Table 6:1. (page 149) listed the particles in the pre-verbal complex that encode temporal information, and Table 6:6. (page 157) showed how they are used to express various TMA categories. Examples of each of these particles can be found in Chapter 10, where the discussion focuses on their function within the pre-verbal complex. Examples below illustrate the temporal relations encoded by each of these particles in turn. I take the realis as the basic or unmarked category (as discussed in §6.4.5.1.). As we see in Table 6:4. (page 155), realis can be used to encode a wider range of timeframes than irrealis.

The perfect marker *pe* encodes events that are completed, as in (44), in which the action of breaking the houses has occurred in the past, and as a result the houses are now broken.

44 Nlaken nasuñ rui=**pe** maui saprek.
because house 3p.PS=PF everyone broken
Because the houses, they have broken all of them. (081:75) (98010az, 1586.3, 1589.4000)

Similarly, in (45) *pe* is used to mark that the event (both the parents dying) is completed.

45 Me apap me iak rai=**pe** mat.
and father and mother 3d.Ps=PF die
And their father and mother were dead. (98002bz, 646.8599, 650.8400)

The particle *pe* can also encode an ongoing state that has been achieved. Example (46) comes from a discussion of the speaker's family who went to Queensland and 'became white' through intermarriage. Now, he says, using the perfect marker together with the perfect form of the proclitic, they are white (*ruipe tar*).

46 Me famle neu rui=**pe** tar taos ag. Ga
but family 1sgPOS 3p.PS=PF white like 2sg 3sg

i=mer ta slat nask-o-k mau, rui=**pe** tar.tar.
3sgRS=in.turn NEG take skin-V-1sgDP NEG2 3p.PS=PF white.RED
But my family are white like you. He didn't get my skin, they are really white. (98017bz, 935.5668, 942.6999)

I call *po/fo* the prospective marker since it functions to encode events taking place after the utterence in which they occur, or after the timeframe established by the sentence or the discourse context. The irrealis prospective *fo* is used for all unrealized future events. The realis prospective marker *po* is used for future events that have been realized, that is, those that have occurred but are in the future in relation to the timeframe of the utterance. In encoding a prospective event that is known to have occurred *po* often acts as a sequential marker, as we also see in its use as a sequential clause marker in clause chaining in §12.3.2.

47 Go a=**po** pi steward, steward gar.
and 1sgRS=PSP:R be " " 3p.POS
And I was to become their steward. (98002az, 2028.1, 2030.5600)

Similarly, in (48), the event of passing a sixth grade exam, now over, is described from the perspective of the preceding three years, and the realis future marks the passing of the exam.

48 Go ntau katol nen a=to klas siks, go
and year third that 3sgRS=stay class six and

a=**po** pas examination.
1sgRS=PSP:R pass "
And the third year that I was in class six I was to pass the examination. (20003az, 964.3200, 970.7200)

Example (49) shows *fo* encoding a possible future event, the making of leaf medicine. The irrealis form of both the particle (*fo* rather than *po)* and the proclitic (*ke=* rather than *i=*) are used in this statement about a hypothetical situation.

49 Me i=piatlak nataɱ̃ol nen kin ke=**fo** mer
but 3sgRS=have person that REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR in.turn

gag preg naulnkas nen ke=tu-o-k
2sgBEN make leaf REL 3sgIRR=give-TS-2sgO

p̃a=min-gi-ø, go p̃a=f mer m̃ol.
2sgIRR=drink-TS-3sgO and 2sgIRR=CND again healthy
There is a man who will make leaf medicine for you to drink and you might get better. (98007az, 596.1400, 604.7600)

The realis form of the prospective marker (*po*) often has a subjunctive sense as does 'would' in English rather than 'will', as shown in (50).

50 I=ptal tesa.nmatu na ruk=tu-a-ø tesa.nmatu
3sgRS=choose girl PURP 3p.IRR=give-TS-3sgO girl

ke=skei. Go ru=**po** tu-a-ø tesa.nmatu i=skei.
3sgIRR=one and 3p.RS=PSP give-TS-3sgO girl 3sg=one
He (the spirit) chose a girl so that they would give him a girl. And they would give him a girl. (98009b, 381.4999, 398.4001)

The realis form of the prospective marker *po* also encodes a kind of epistemic modality, reflecting the speaker's opinion of the possibility of an event occurring. Thus in (51) the speaker uses *po* when talking of the possibility of seeing black people on the High Court today, which could be interpreted as a future event, but has more of a sense of the possibility of seeing black people on the Court.

51 Mes ne, a=**po** lek naɱ̃er got ru=**po** to
today this 1sgRS=PSP:R see man black 3p.RS=PSP:R stay

na Joint Court.[58] Me tetwei ga i=tik, te-tar mãas.
DET joint court but before 3sg 3sgRS=not det-white only
But today I could see black people on the Joint Court. But before, no, white people only. (98011a, 2324.5800, 2331.0200)

The particle *to* encodes a state or habitual action, as in (52) where the habitual action is gardening and praying.

52 Or selwan nalotwen ke=mai top, tiawi
yes when prayer 3sgIRR=come big old.people

ru=**to** preg talmãat, ko ru=**to** preg
3p.RS=HABIT make garden or 3p.RS=HABIT make

nalotwen mãas. Ru=mal-ki nafkal.
prayer only 3p.RS=don't.want-TR fight
Yes, when Christianity became big, the old people would only work in their garden or pray. They didn't want to fight. (98011az, 1029.5000, 1039.9599)

The durative particle *ta* is used for an activity that keeps on going, as in (53), from a council meeting in which the speaker makes a plea for the provincial governmeent to keep providing tools for the Erakor council.

53 Gakit kaonsil tu=fla rekwes totur provins nen
1p.inc council 1p.incRS=CND request through province that

ru=**ta** gakit sat krupa me safel me
3p.RS=DUR 1p.incBEN get crowbar and shovel and

serale fserser ne.
everything different this
We, council, we could request through the province that they keep getting us crowbars, shovels, and all that sort of thing. (98016bz, 1712.0600, 1724.8200)

[58] The Joint Court (jointly presided over by France and England) is the pre-independence name for what is now the High Court.

7. Verbs and verb classes

In this chapter I describe the subclasses of verbs in South Efate. Verb stems can be distinguished at the morphological level from other form classes because they are prefixed by subject pronouns directly or else either (1) the subject clitic attaches to the first element of the pre-verbal complex, or (2) the verb is part of a compound (§9.1.1) in which only the first verb bears any subject or TMA marking. Verbs may take bound object suffixes (if they are not intransitive verb stems) and can be marked for mood and polarity in a pre-verbal complex. A verb (with its obligatory subject proclitic) can serve as a minimal sentence in South Efate.

Previous research on languages of the region suggests that verb classes could include: a morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs; a distinction between intransitive verbs with experiencer subjects (U-verbs) and with actor subjects (A-verbs) (Ross 1998). See (1) below where the two types of A- and U- verbs are shown together with the two subtypes of U-verbs, that is, U-type for which the intransitive subject (S or Patient) becomes the O in a derived transitive form, and A-type verbs.

1	A-verbs	Actor subject
	U-verbs	Experiencer subject
	U-type	S>O when transitivized
	A-Type	S>A when transitivized

Further we could look for a subclass of U-verbs called stative (Ross 1998:22), or stative-inchoative (Hyslop 2001:82) which have no corresponding transitive equivalent (but do have a corresponding causative). Finally, there is often a lack of clear distinction between adjectives and verbs, so that adjectives are a subset of stative verbs.All of these features have reflexes in South Efate. Verb classes also show the historical development of a small group of distinct transitive and intransitive forms based on reanalysis of earlier transitive suffixes as part of the root (§7.1.6.). A key consideration in the description of Oceanic languages is the interplay between semantic features of transitivity and their morphosyntactic expression, and it is in the analysis of verbs that this is brought into focus.

7.1. Morphosyntactic classes of verbs in South Efate

Verbs can be classed morphologically on the basis of those that can and cannot take an O suffix (see the discussion of the form of the suffix in §8.1.3.1). Intransitive verbs cannot take an O suffix. Of the 820 verbs in the current data 320 can take an O suffix[59] and as underived verbs can appear in both transitive

[59] Verbs are assigned to a class using the criteria outlined above. If a verb is attested once or only a few times and is observed to not take O suffixes it is treated as intransitive. Further work will clarify these marginal examples.

and intransitive constructions[60] so these are grouped together in a class that is morphosyntactically ambitransitive. A small group of eleven verbs can only appear in transitive constructions and a further small group of four underived verb stems can appear in ditransitive constructions. A further two small verb classes are auxiliary verbs (§7.1.1.) and the copula (§7.1.2.). Traditionally the verb is considered the locus for transitivity, and in some analyzes it is the sole part of speech considered in a discussion of transitivity (e.g., Tallerman 1998:35 ff). However, as we will see, in South Efate we need to consider the morphosyntactic context to determine the transitivity status of a verb.

Underived verb stems in South Efate fall into five morphosyntactic classes: intransitive, semitransitive, ambitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive. The basis for this classification follows. Underived verb stems occur in the slots outlined in Table 7:1. An NP following a verb stem is the object of that verb if it can be substituted by an O suffix.

Table 7:1. Constructions in which each of the four major verb classes occurs

Slot	Intransitive	Semi transitive	Ambi transitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
1) S V	+	+	+	-	-
2) S V=OBL	-	+	-	-	-
3) S V O	-	-	+	+	-
4) S V O1 O2	-	-	-	-	+

If an underived verb stem occurs only in slot 1 then it is intransitive (§7.1.3.); if it occurs in slot 2 then it is semitransitive (§7.1.4.), if it occurs in both slots 1 and 3 then it is ambitransitive (§7.1.5.); if it only occurs in slot 3 it is transitive (§7.1.6.), and finally, if it can occur in slot 4 it is ditransitive (§7.1.7.). The O in slot 3, and the O1 in slot 4 can be specified by either a suffix or by a lexeme.

7.1.1. Auxiliary verbs

A closed set of auxiliary verbs can appear before the main verb in the pre-verbal complex. While the same forms can function as both auxiliary and main verbs, a distinction can be made such that auxiliary verbs can occur before the benefactive phrase within the pre-verbal complex, which shows their grammaticalized status as auxiliary verbs. They are ordered in four groups, as shown in §10.1.5, where the reader will find a list of auxiliary verbs together with a discussion of their status as a distinct class.

[60] Unlike, for example, Tamambo (Jauncey 1997) where most verb stems are clearly transitive or intransitive.

Table 7:2. Verb classes in South Efate

Auxiliary	cf. §10.1.5
Copula	*pi* 'be'
Intransitive	
Stative: cannot derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*. Do not require the stative particle *to* to encode states. Cannot form imperatives. **Adjectives**: 115 of the 212 stative verbs in the data can act as nominal modifiers (adjectives). **U-verbs:** *ftin* 'to be hot, *mas* 'to be cooked', *sa* 'to be bad'.	
Active: require the stative particle *to* to encode states. Cannot derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*. *fit* 'to run', *krak* 'to crawl', *pul* 'to dance', *sak* 'to come ashore'.	
Active: can derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*. **A-type:** *siwer* 'to walk', *tapsik* 'to clean'. **U-type:** *ler* 'to return', *nom* 'to be finished', *siwer-ki* 'to walk on', *tapsik-ki* 'to clean sthg.', *ler-ki* 'to return sthg.', *nom-ki* 'to finish sthg.'.	
Semitranstive:	
Active, unable to derive transitives with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*. Most take the OBL pronominal object. *fafat* 'to have faith in', *nrokot* 'to cross', *sralesok* 'to believe'.	
Ambitransitive:	
Stem can occur in both intransitive and transitive constructions. Take a transitive suffix and O clitic. **A-type:** *smanr* 'to slap', *pus* 'to put', *tai* 'to cut'. **U-type:** *m̃ul* 'to slough skin', *plag* 'to open, be open', *smanr-i-ø* 'to slap it', *ps-i-ø* 'to put it', *tai-r* 'to cut them', *m̃uls-i-ø* 'to peel it', *plagt-i-ø* 'to open sthg.'.	
Transitive:	
Only occur in transitive constructions. Couplets of transitive and intransitive stems. *fe* 'to read' *kait* 'to cry for.	
Ditransitive:	
Underived verb takes two objects. *nep* 'to throw', *nrik* 'to tell', *sos* 'to call'.	

7.1.2. The copular *pi*

The copula in South Efate, *pi/fi* (realis and irrealis forms), functions to introduce a predicate nominal as in (2) or adjective as in (3). It is like an intransitive verb stem in that it can take temporal or modal particles in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) as in (2), and undergoes stem-initial mutation as in (5); however, unlike intransitive verbs, it never occurs without a following NP or adjective.

2 Kai=pe mai pi afsak.
ES=PF come be turtle
Then she became a turtle. (071:40) (98009a, 1816.8846, 1817.77)

3 I=trau mai pi boring a?
3sgRS=really come be boring INT
It really got boring, eh? (20003az, 1536.4, 1538.5000)

4 Nafnag nen i=ta pi nafnag wi mau, a?
food that 3sgRS=NEG be food good NEG2 INT
That food wasn't good food, eh? (98002bz, 931.1, 932.9)

5 Ke=fi mes ke=fi mes.
3sgIRR=be:IR today 3sgIRR=be:IR today
That it be today, that it be today. (045:42) (98003az, 586.36, 588.1056)

The copula *pi* occurs in the expression *pi atlak* 'be owner' which has become fused to *pitlak* and now means 'to own' or 'to exist' as in the following examples.

6 Go malfane ru=po pitlak mani.
and now 3p.RS=PSP have money
And now they will have money. (095:33)

7 Erontpau i=piatlak natiel i=skei i=tok.
" 3sgRS=have vine 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=stay
At Rentapau there is a vine there. (032:11) (98001az, 1772.7400, 1777.2001)

8 I=piatlak nfal ses i=skei, i=to san kin
3sgRS=have cave small 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=stay place COMP

ru=soso-ø ki Epunsal.
3p.RS=call-3sgO PREP p.name
There is a small cave, it is at the place that they call Epunsal. (98007bz, 1935.5601, 1941.4201)

7.1.3. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those which cannot host an O suffix underived by the transitivizing suffix *-ki* (described in §8.1.1). There are some 590 intransitive stems in the current lexicon. Active intransitive verbs (about a third of the intransitive stems in the data) are divided into those that can and those that cannot derive transitive verbs with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*. Active intransitive verbs can co-occur with the habitual/continuous *to* to encode states. Stative intransitive verbs cannot derive a transitive form with *-ki* and cannot participate in imperative constructions. Some stative intransitive verbs can function as nominal modifiers (adjectives).

There is a negative intransitive verb,[61] *tik* 'to not be', that functions as a verb, and further examples of its use are given in §11.6 on negation. In the following two examples *tik* occurs preceded by parts of the pre-verbal complex, showing it behaving predicatively. In (9) *tik* is preceded by the durative marker *ta* 'DUR'.

9 Me i=ta ta nom mau. Ofisal opening i=ta tik.
but 3sgRS=DUR NEG finish NEG2 official opening 3sgRS=DUR not
But it still isn't over. The official opening has not yet happened.
(98002az, 1101.2400, 1104.1776)

In (10) *tik* occurs following the perfect marker *pe* 'PF' which can only be used with verbs.

10 Mes Erakor respek ki=pe tik.
today p.name respect 3sgPS=PF not.be
Today there is no respect in Erakor. (98010az, 2087.3199, 2092.9600)

Tik can be transitivized to mean 'not have' as in (11).

11 Ru=tik-ki kram. Ru=tik-ki sernale fserser
3p.RS=not.have-TR axe 3p.RS=not.have-TR everything different
They had no axes. They didn't have all the different things. (076:35)
(98009b, 812.0800, 819.3400)

7.1.3.1. Object incorporation

There are examples in the data of intransitive verbs that appear to take objects. Sugita (1973) observes that apparently intransitive verbs (which he calls semitransitive) in Micronesian languages can nevertheless occur with lexical objects, when the object is an indeterminate noun phrase. Margetts (1999a:255) uses the term 'discord' to describe transitive clauses with intransitive verbs as their heads. These objects are also non-specific and unindividuated which is shown by a strong preference for discord objects of intransitive verbs to be less modified than objects of transitive verbs (ibid: 277). Following Lichtenberk (1997:308) and Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002: 46), I call this object incorporation (see the related discussion of the transitive suffix and its role in marking increased transitivity in §8.1.3.2.).

In South Efate there is no cross-referencing within the clause as arguments are represented by either verbal clitics or suffixes, or lexical items, so testing for object status and distinguishing adjuncts from objects is not always straightforward as adjuncts can also appear paratactically with no adposition. Semantics can provide a clue to adjunct status in the absence of morphosyntactic clues as locatives are typically adjuncts in South Efate, even when they appear unmarked by locational morphology.

In (12), *sak* 'to ascend, to raise' is an intransitive verb which has an object, *mani* 'money'. The object in this example corresponds to the subject of the intransitive verb but it is not derived by *-ki* as we would expect. The object,

'money', is not highly individuated and therefore it is regarded as being incorporated.

12 Kano tar i=to wok i=to wok. I=to sak mani.
man white 3sgRS=STAT wok RED 3sgRS=STAT raise money
The white man works, he works, he works. He piles up money. (98017bz, 498, 502.4599)

In the few examples where there is an incorporated object of an intransitive verb it is typically generic and non-specific. In example (13) the intransitive verb *mes* 'to play' occurs with the incorporated object 'music'.

13 A=risain nlaken a=mur ka=mes music.
1sgRS=resign because 1sgRS=want 1sgIRR=play music
I resigned because I wanted to play music. (98004a, 1631.881, 1635.433)

In (14) the verb *lek*, 'to see', has no transitive suffix as its object *taligter* 'eel sp.' is incorporated. The following verb *mtak* takes a zero 3sgO coreferential with the incorporated object.

14 (tagiter) Ga i=pi naik me malran kin akit
3sg 3sgRS=be fish but when COMP 1p.inc

tu=lek taligter tu=fo mtak-ki-ø
1p.IncRS=look eel sp. 1p.inRS=PSP:IR fear-TR-3sgO
(tagiter) That is a fish, but when we see an eel we are scared of it. (31:6)

In (15) *pu* 'to pull' is followed by the incorporated object *flaik* 'flag', and then from the same text example (16) shows the transitive stem *puet* occurring with the same object, but in this case the object is possessed, suggesting that a possessed object is more individuated than a generic object and requires a more highly transitive form of the verb.

15 Nasonal Pati ruk=ta pu flaik mau.
national party 3p.IRR=NEG pull flag NEG2
The National Party didn't pull down the flag. (98014az, 1507.6199, 1509.8801)

16 Ko=flok-ki NP ru=ta puet flaik gar mau.
1p.exIRR=block:IR-TR NP 3p.RS=NEG pull flag 3p.POS NEG2
We blocked the National Party, they didn't pull down their flag. (98014az, 1659.1400, 1665.9400)

7.1.3.2. Undergoer/Actor -type intransitive verbs

A group of U(ndergoer)-type (following Ross 1998:21), also known as O-type (Dixon 1988) verbs must be distinguished from A(ctor)-type intransitive verbs (as outlined in the chart in [1] above). U-type verbs are those for which the subject is in the role of undergoer or experiencer, and their corresponding

[61] Negative verbs are widespread in Oceanic languages, cf. Mosel (1999:7).

derived transitive form has an undergoer corresponding to the subject of the intransitive. The additional role introduced when a U-type verb is transitivized is the Actor (the causer of the action encoded in the verb). U-type verbs need to be distinguished from U-verbs for which the subject is in the role of undergoer. Thus all intransitive forms of U-type verbs are U-verbs, but all derived transitive forms of U-type verbs are A-verbs, or Actor subject verbs.

17

U-type Intransitive		Derived transitive	
fif	to be twisted, curly	*fif-ki*	to twist sthg.
ler	to return	*ler-ki*	to return sthg.
tapo	to capsize	*tapo- ki*	to capsize sthg.
tare	to turn	*tare- ki*	to turn sthg.
tarpek	to fall	*tarpek-ki*	to drop sthg.
tut	to drown	*tut-ki*	to drown sthg.

In example (18) *ler* 'to return' is transitivized and so means 'to return something', in this case the speaker in a court case is saying he will present (i.e., 'return') his version of events to the hearing.

18 Me neu ka=fo mer ler-ki nafsan neu.
but 1sg 1sgIRR=PSP:IR again return-TR story 1sgPOS
And I will give them my side of the story. (98018az, 645.2400, 647.1672)

In example (19) the verb *tapo* 'to capsize' is transitivized and so means 'to tip something over'

19 Ale i=sel kai pan i=na i=nom
OK 3sgRS=take cockles until 3sgRS=say 3sgRS=finish

mer **tapo-ki** fat.
in.turn capsize-TR stone
Okay, she took the cockles until she was finished, then she put the rock in the water. (98003bz, 2065.9303, 2068.7178)

A-type intransitive verbs are those for which the subject is in the role of actor and the transitivizing suffix *-ki* adds a patient (see the discussion in §8.1.2.4.). Three examples of A-type intransitives found in the data are presented in (20).

20

A-type Intransitive		**Derived transitive**	
lefek	to spin	*lefek-ki*	to go around sthg.
siwer	to walk	*siwer-ki*	to walk on (e.g., ground)
tapsik	to clean	*tapsik-ki*	to clean sthg

Table 7:3. Examples of stative intransitive verbs (that are not adjectives)

arleg	skilful	*maṗor*	broken
armatu	right handed, be right handed	*masṗok*	undercooked
arum	nearly ripe	*masrot*	slip
arworksu	ambidextrous	*mat*	die
fanei	dissolve, be consumed	*matuktuk*	withered
fkofuk	marked, scarred	*mer*	numb, cramped, to be
flak	pregnant	*mlag*	break, like a wave in the ocean
fum̃	flower	*mrer*	die down (of fire)
funfnoi	fade, disappear	*msak*	sick, be
kanin	mad	*mtastes*	scratched
kano	cannot, to be unable	*mukalkal*	itch, be itchy
ki	ring, of ears	*pawer*	stand, hands held behind the back
latlat	froth, as of water boiling	*pier*	noisy, to make a lot of noise
liksal	hang, like a bat	*pilo*	wake up, to be awake
liu	piled, to be heaped	*pkal*	care for child
m̃el	escape, slip out of one's hands, fall off	*pkot*	spoiled
m̃ol	live, alive	*pnut*	quiet
maf	open, as of a flower	*ptol*	hungry
malier	shame, be ashamed	*semsem*	happy, be happy
malig	spilled, to be spilled	*sin*	finish (only of rain)
manreu	thirsty, be thirsty	*sirsir*	drizzle

Table 7:4. Examples of active intransitive verbs that cannot derive transitive forms with *-ki*

fit	run	*p̌kasus*	breastfeed
frafer	scatter	*p̌sai*	clap hands
fu	blow hard	*ptom*	grow
fusuer	growl	*puk*	cough
gor	snore	*pul*	dance
kai	cry, children's crying	*sak*	land, come ashore
karkar	be itchy	*sal*	drift, float, swing, hang
kau	row a boat	*sari*	wander
krak	crawl	*ser*	flow, melt, circulate
los	bathe, wash oneself	*sok*	jump, leap (once)
mai	come	*suar*	paddle against the tide or wind
matur	sleep	*sus*	suck at the breast
m̌la	yawn	*taf*	exit, leave
mlil	roll	*taam̌el*	squat
mra	bleed	*tap*	lean
na	say	*tfarer*	break, of waves breaking on the shore
net	come and meet	*tiei*	start weaving
nrig	groan; growl	*tiel*	laugh loudly
nrir	fly	*tigtig*	hop
pap̌olplo	walk with legs apart	*waser*	cough, clear one's throat
p̌il	blink	*wes*	reply

Table 7:5. Active intransitive verbs that derive transitive forms with *-ki*

fainte	show something you are proud of	*p̌elp̌el*	tack on, baste on
fakfukal	comfort	*pes*	talk
farfar	shake, start to move	*p$ir*	scream, yell, shout
fekfek	show something you are proud of	*p$ko*	interested, be interested in something
folfol	move	*safeu*	whistle
folfolm̃ak	rub	*sak*	ascend (a hill)
ftil	gossip	*salia*	throw into the water, to make float
kaimes	create, invent	*satsok*	hold firmly
kal	dress	*sef*	escape
kitsa	against, to be against	*siwer*	walk
lot	pray	*tap̌o*	capsize, tip over
mal	refuse, not want to	*tarup̌*	fall, drop
mermer	rule, as of a chief ruling a village	*tau*	bear
mes	play, as in play a game, or play music	*tauso*	commit adultery
mro	think	*tefra*	line up, put things in a line
mtak	fear	*tigpiel*	exchange
mur	smile, laugh	*tik*	no, nothing
nom	finish	*tit*	dry by sunlight
nrus	move a little	*tmalu*	depart
pag	climb	*tut*	drown
paketan	low, below	*userek*	go around

In example (21) the verb *lefek* 'to spin' appears with its derived transitive meaning of 'to go around (something)'. The sentence is an extract from a *kastom* story about a whale, and explains why a certain type of rock is found at the end of points on the coast of Efate.

21 Selwan ku=lefek-ki Efat negakit p̃a=fo
when 2sgRS=around-TR p.name 1p.inclPOS 2sgIRR=PSP:IR

lek nasi tafra.
look shit whale
When you go around our Efate, you will see whale shit. (005a, 1136.3401, 1155.5200)

The remaining two verbs are presented in examples where they occur as derived transitive verbs.

22 I=tototo panpan malnen ru=pes tapsik-ki Erontp̃au.
3sgRS=stay-RED until that.time 3p.RS=start clean-TR p.name
It stayed until the time they started to clear Rentapau. (032:17)

23 Me natopu ne ga i=siwer-ki mp̃ag-o-n.
but spirit this 3sg 3sgRS=walk-TR end-V-3sgDP
But this natopu, *he walks around on his bottom. (073:19) (98009a, 2181.2401, 2190.4599)*

7.1.3.3. Stative intransitive verbs

Stative verbs cannot derive a transitive form with *-ki* and do not participate in imperative constructions. As they typically encode ongoing states they do not require the stative particle *to* (see section §10.1.5.10.) to express habitual activities or states. For example, *m̃el* 'to float' encodes a state and does not use the stative *to* in (24). Further examples of stative intransitive verbs are given in Table 7:5. (above).

24 Go selwan elau i=mu go raru i=m̃el ...
and when saltwater 3sgRS=hightide and boat 3sgRS=float
And when the high tide came in, and the boat floated... (021:9)

A subgroup of stative verbs can act as nominal modifiers or adjectives as discussed in §4.7.

7.1.3.4. Active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verb stems are those which require the stative particle *to* to encode habitual activity. In (25) we see the active intransitive verb *sari* 'to wander' with the preceding habitual particle *to*, as *sari* on its own would not include a stative meaning.

25 Ru=to sari pan ru=preg tent gar.
3p.RS=HAB wander go 3p.RS=take tent 3p.POS
They would wander around, they take their tent. (TK, 98013)

Contrast (25) with (26) in which *sari* occurs with no stative particle as the action encoded is not habitual.

26 U=na ko=pa=n sari, u=pa=n sari.
1p.exRS=want 1p.exIRR=go=DST wander 1p.exRS=go=DST wander
If we wanted to go wandering we would go wandering. (98003az, 1811.3, 1815.0799)

Similarly, in (27) the habitual action of walking around the country can be encoded for the verb *siwer* 'walk' by use of the habitual marker.

27 Gar ra=to siwer userek-ki nlaun ni Vanuatu.
3p. 3d.RS=HAB walk around-TR land of p.name
They(2) would walk around the country of Vanuatu. (98007az, 340.0800, 347.5600)

Active intransitive verbs can further be divided into those which cannot (Table 7:4.) derive transitive verbs with *-ki* and those which can (Table 7:5.).

7.1.3.5. Cognate subject verbs

There are two intransitive verbs that can only occur with cognate subjects. Crowley (1982:72) calls these 'required subjects': "some nominal phrase that refers to the thing most typically associated with the ambient state or action." I prefer the term 'cognate subject' because of its resonance with the generally used term 'cognate object' (e.g., Austin 1982). In South Efate these verbs, which both require the subject *us* 'rain', are *wo* 'to fall, of rain', and *sin* 'to stop falling, of rain'. There are no textual examples of *sin* in the data.

28 I=nag wik faum go us ke=fo wo.
3sgRS=say week new and rain 3sgIRR=PSP:IR fall
He said next week the rain would fall. (053:50)

7.1.4. Semitransitive verbs

A small group of active verbs take neither the transitivizing suffix *-ki,* associated with intransitive verbs, nor the other transitive suffix associated with ambitransitive verbs discussed in §7.1.5. below.[62] As they are neither intransitive nor ambitransitive I call them semitransitive. These verbs, all listed in (29), take O suffixes only from the OBL suffix paradigm.

[62] These verbs are distinguished from those ambitransitive verbs whose 3sgO form is -TS+*s* on the basis that these ambitransitive verbs can also have a 2sg and 3p. form from the Object enclitic paradigm, unlike semitransitive verbs for which the OBL paradigm is the only option.

29

en	to lay	*mag*	to stare at
fafat	to believe	*nrokot*	to cross
faitau	to learn	*pak*	to go to
kon	to be stuck	*pan*	to cook
krakpel	to miss (when throwing)	*sak*	to sit
krokur	to shake, fear	*toknak*	to tempt
kursmanr	to slip	*trok*	to agree
lekor	to look after	*tuk*	to carry
lel	to look	*ur*	to follow
m̃ok	to pull		

The evidence for these verbs taking only an OBL suffix is mainly from elicitation, as most occurrences in the data do not have OBL suffixes. Examples of the few that do occur are presented below.

30 Ru=fafat-wes mal ses me ki=mer tik pa.
3p.RS=believe-3sgOBL time small but 3p.IRR=again not go
They believed him for a little while, but he didn't go again. (98009a, 924.4200, 934.4800)

31 Nlaken ru=kano lekor-wer ...
because 3p.RS=unable look.after-3p.OBL
Because they couldn't look after them ... (98017az, 733.8800, 735.8572)

32 Nam̃er lap ru=maui mag-wes.
peopl many 3p.RS=all stare-3sgOBL
Many people were astonished. (lit: Many people stared at it.) (20001az, 1061.2801, 1063.36)

33 Akam kaonsil ko=trok-wes nen ke=mai.
2p. council 2p.IRR=agree-3sgOBL REL 3sgIRR=come
You, council, agree with him that he should come. (98016bz, 1201.5, 1203.3401)

Four semitransitive verbs appear only with the 3sgO from the OBL paradigm encoding location, and they occur with no other person object marker. They are presented below together with the suffix 3sgO, which, in each of these cases is *-es*. As observed in the discussion of pronominal forms in §5.1.3.3.2., oblique suffixes usually encode a locational meaning.

en	to lay	*en-es*	to lay on it
pak	to go to	*pak-es*	to go there
sak	to sit	*sak-es*	to sit on it
ur	to follow	*ur-es*	to follow it

7.1.5. Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are those which can, as underived stems, appear in both transitive and intransitive constructions. They further differ from intransitive verbs in that most can take a transitive suffix (the form of which is described in §8.1.3.1.) and O suffix.

Table 7:6. lists examples of ambitransitive verb stems, and textual examples of ambitransitive verbs in both intransitive and transitive constructions follow. In (34) the ambitransitive stem *taulu* 'to marry' occurs first with an object *ag* 'you', thus acting as a transitive verb and then intransitively without an object.

34 I=tae taulu ag, ko ku=tae mur-i-n taulu.
3sgRS=know marry 2sg or 2sgRS=know want-TS-3sgO marry
He can marry you, or you may want to marry. (98009az, 1417.3599, 1422.2060)

In (35) the stem *welu* 'to help' acts intransitively.

35 Tuk=mas klia-ki sernale, ke=welu.
1p.inRS=must clear-TR everything 3sgIRR=help
We must be clear about everything, that it helps/it will help. (98018az, 1049.2563, 1050.8079)

Example (36) shows the same stem *welu* 'to help' acting transitively followed by a lexical object.

36 Go malpei komam ko=fo tae welu tiawi.
and long.ago 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know help old.people
And long ago we would help the old people. (98003bz, 736.5, 740.6799)

Contrast (36) with (37) in which *welu* 'to help' acts transitively with a transitive suffix and object suffix.

37 Tenen ru=to mẽltig ki tete ale ru=tae
those 3p.RS=STAT near PREP some then 3p.RS=be.able

welu-e-r, tu-e-r nafnag.
help-TS-3p.O give-TS-3p.O food
Those that were close to some (of them), they could help them, give them food. (JC 98012)

In the following examples the underived ambitransitive stem *pam* 'to eat' functions first as an intransitive verb (38), then as a transitive verb with a lexical object (*natamõl ilatol* 'eight men')(39), then as a transitive verb with an O suffix (40).

38 A=pam skot=ir.
1sgRS=eat with-3p.O
I eat with them. (EW 98005)

39 Kineu kai=pe pam nataṁol ki=pe pi eit ki
1sg 1sgPS=PF eat man 3sgPS=PF be eight TOP
I have eaten eight men. (019:42) (004a, 396.4764, 398.2599)

40 Tak=to panpanpan na p̃a=matur go
1d:IRR=stay until-RED COMP 2sgIRR=sleep and

ka=fo pam-i-k.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR eat-TS-2sgO
We (2) will wait until you are asleep and then I will eat you. (019:26) (004a, 251.34, 253.9800)

The following three examples show the ambitransitive stem *mtir* 'to write' acting first as an intransitive verb and then as a transitive verb with both lexical and pronominal objects.

41 I=pa i=kano mtir ko i=kano preg nagi-e-n.
3sgRS=go 3sgRS=cannot write or 3sgRS=cannot make name-V-3sg
He went, he couldn't write, he couldn't sign his name. (087:83) (98017az, 2610.7401, 2614.6673)

42 Ka=fo mtir natus.
1sg=PSP:IR write paper
I would write a letter. (066:90) (98003bz, 1325.87, 1327.0596)

43 Ag ku=pitlak ntaewen, ag p̃a=fo
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sgIRR=PSP:IR

tmo-m mtir-i-ø.
RR-2sgDP write-TS-3sgO
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009az, 1937.6490, 1940.3600)

These examples all show that ambitransitive stems can occur in both transitive and intransitive constructions, thus distinguishing them from both intransitive and transitive stems.

Table 7:6. Examples of ambitransitive verbs

fakis	decorate	*nre*	turn
fis	whip	*nrog*	feel, hear
fnau	preach	*of*	bear, wear
kam	walk on something	*pam*	eat, taste
kamti	take rocks from the fire with tongs	*plak*	accompany
kar	scratch, grate, peel	*preg*	make
kasar	grab	*pus*	put
kat	bite	*si*	blow
kil	dig	*sor*	sell
kin	pinch	*tanre*	stir
kul	cover	*tae*	know, be able to
lag	sing	*tai*	cut
lao	plant, spear, gouge	*taos*	follow, be like
lek	look	*tnol*	swallow
lelu	avoid	*tp̌ek*	send
min	drink	*tp̌il*	burn
mot	bind	*traus*	tell
mtalu	choose	*wat*	hit, kill
mtir	write	*welu*	help
n̆ul	peel, strip bark, slough	*wes*	work

7.1.6. Transitive verbs

There is a small set of verbs that have different stems when acting as intransitive and transitive verbs. This alternation identifies the small group of transitive verbs, which would otherwise be classified as ambitransitive verbs with the ability to act in both transtitive and intransitive constructions. Each of these stems is part of a couplet, related in form, but by irregular means, made up of a transitive and intransitive form. This is similar to the situation in Anejom̆, where Lynch (2000b:68) notes "a number of intransitive/transitive pairs of verbs, the members of each pair being formally different from each other." In South Efate, unlike Anejom̆, there are only a handful of verbs in this set and all examples in the data are listed below (there are two ditransitive verbs that also have intransitive counterparts and they are discussed in §7.1.7.1.)

44	*fe*	to read (tr)	*fef*	to read (intr)
	fis	to whip (tr)	*fisfis*	to masturbate (intr)
	kait	to cry for (tr)	*kai*	to cry (intr)
	kop	to chase (game) (tr)	*fkop*	to chase (intr)
	lek	to look (tr)	*le*	to look (intr)
	me	to urinate (tr)	*mem*	to urinate (intr)
	pnut[63]	to close something (tr)	*p̃on*	to be closed (intr)
	si	blow something (tr)	*sisi*	to blow (intr)
	til	to tell (tr/ditr)	*ftil*	to gossip (intr)
	tup̃	to hit (tr)	*ftup̃*	to hit (intr)
	wes	to work (tr)	*weswes*[64]	to work (intr)

While there is no overall pattern to the relationship between these forms, several intransitive forms are *f* initial, suggesting a relic detransitivizing prefix. Reduplication derives three intransitive stems: *fis/fisfis*, *si/sisi,* and *wes/weswes* (these are the only examples in the data of reduplication reducing the valency of a verb). I give examples of these transitive/intransitive pairs below. As we would expect, since there is a transitive form of these verbs, the intransitive form cannot derive a transitive with *-ki,* so that *ki* is a preposition introducing a peripheral role when following an intransitive stem from this set. As we will see in §7.1.7.1., *-ki* can derive a transitive verb from an intransitive form of a ditransitive stem.

***fe/fef* 'to read'**

The first set of examples illustrate the difference between *fe* 'to read sthg.' and *fef* 'to read'. In (45) *fef* acts as an intransitive verb ('just read').

45 Ke=fas pano, ke=fef mãs, ki=pe tae.
3sgIRR=face noticeboard 3sgIRR=read only 3sgPS=PF know
He should look at the noticeboard, just read, then he would know.
(98016az, 638, 643.6401)

In (46) the intransitive stem *fef* is followed by *ki*, which, as we will see in the next chapter (§8.1.2.), is, in this position, a preposition introducing the oblique argument (the language in which the read item is written) and not the object (which would be the book read) which cannot occur with the intransitive form of the verb.

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[63] *pnut* appears suspect as the intransitive form has a labio-velar stop initially and the transitive form allows stem-initial consonant alternation (§6.4.5.1.), only permissable between the labial stop and labio-dental fricative. This suggests that the labio-velar may have been reanalyzed as a labial stop which is then eligible to undergo mutation.

[64] This, *fis / fisfis,* and *si / sisi* are the only examples of reduplication reducing the valency of a verb.

46 Kineu malran a=fef ki Bislama, e-sa=n
1sg when 1sgRS=read PREP B. LOC-place=DST

i=pitlak konfiusen.
3sgRS=have confusion
Me, when I read Bislama, that's where there is confusion. (98012 MK)

Example (47) shows the transitive stem *fe* 'to read' with an object suffix encoding the text read, contrasting with the previous example in which the object of the derived transitive is the language of the text.

47 I=pitlak natus iskei, nen kin kineu a=ius-ki-n
3sgRS=have book one that REL 1sg 1sgRS=use-TR-3sgO

skul malpei, kineu a=to fe-a-ø nen i=pi
school once 1sg 1sgRS-HAB read-TS-3sgO that 3sgRS-be

nafsan ni Erakor mɲas.
story of Erakor only
There is this book which I used at school long ago, I would read it, it was in Erakor language only. (98012 MK)

***kop/fkop* 'to chase'**

Since *fkop* 'to chase' is intransitive it cannot take an O as *kop* does in (48a), hence (48b) is ungrammatical.

48a ƤƤa=fa=n kop wak.
2sgIRR=go=DST chase pig
You chase the pig. (elicited)

48b *ƤƤa=fa=n fkop wak (elicited)

However, in (49) a noun (*ntas* 'sea') acting as adjunct following the intransitive stem is permitted.

49 ƤƤa=fa=n fkop ntas.
2sgIRR=go=DST chase sea
You go and chase (fish) at the sea. (elicited)

***tuƤ/ftuƤ* 'to fight'**

In (50) *ftuƤ naitklab* cannot be 'hit the nightclub', which it would be with the transitive version *tuƤ*. As the verb *ftuƤ* is intransitive, this sentence means that some men went to fight *at* the nightclub.

50 Tete nanwei ru=fla pan ru=fla pnak te-naor ko
some man 3p.RS=CND go 3p.RS=CND steal DET-place or

ru=fla pan ftuβ naitklab.
3p.RS=CND go fight night.club
Some men might go and might steal someplace, or they might fight at the night club, that's bad work. (086:22)

***βon/βnut* 'to close'**

In (51) the intransitive stem *βon* 'closed' occurs in the intransitive construction, followed by the transitive stem *βnut* 'to close sthg.' in a transitive construction in (52).

51 Sto ki=pe βon.
shop 3sgPS=PF shut
The shop was shut. (elicited)

52 Natamol ki=pe βnut sto.
man 3sgPS=PF shut shop
The man shut the shop. (elicited)

7.1.7. Ditransitive verbs

The following small group of four underived verb stems all occur in ditransitive constructions. These verbs can all function as transitive verbs but are distinguished from transitive verbs by allowing two objects to follow them.

nep	to throw	*nrik*	to tell

Two ditransitive verbs have a related intransitive as we saw was the case for transitive verbs in the preceding section. They are discussed in §7.1.7.1. below.

tu/tao[65]	to give (tr/ditr)	*ptu*	to give (intr)
sos	to call someone (tr/ditr)	*pios*	to call (intr)

A ditransitive verb in South Efate encodes the recipient (including the goal and addressee) either as a pronominal or lexical O. The theme or instrument may be encoded as a pronominal suffix on the preposition *ki*, as we will see below. Only ditransitive verbs allow the following preposition *ki* to take an O suffix. Ditransitive verbs occur in the following frame.

53 V O1 (ki) O2
Recipient/Goal/Addressee Theme/Instrument

Both O1 and O2 may be encoded either by a lexical or suffix O. As both objects can be encoded by suffixes, they are considered (following Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:26) to be core arguments, distinguishing the direct core argument which is encoded directly on the verb stem, and the oblique core argument which is encoded on the adposition *ki*.

[65] *tao* is the suppletive 1sgO form of the verb *tu* 'to give'.

O1 can appear directly following the verb with no adposition intervening as in (54), which further suggests that it functions as a core argument, as discussed in §11.1.

54	I=tu	ag	ntaewen	i=tu	kineu	ntaewen.
	3sgRS=give	2sg	knowledge	3sgRS=give	1sg	knowledge
		O1	O2		O1	O2

He gave you knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (087:64) (98017az, 2466.8106, 2470.7801)

Example (55) shows the two objects of the verb *tu* 'to give', directly following the verb with no adpositions.

55	Iwelkia	ru=min	top	go	ru=tu	chief	problem.
	thus	3p.RS=drink	big	and	3p.RS=give	chief	problem
					V	O1	O2

So they drink too much and they give the chief problems. (059:15)

In (56) O1 is referenced by the 3sgO suffix on the verb stem, and O2 follows the preposition *-ki*.

56	Go	i=mer	np-a-ø	ki	fnagot	pan pan pan.
	and	3sgRS=in.turn	throw-TS-3sgO	PREP	shellfish	until:RED

And he then kept on throwing shellfish. (20003bz, 437.8200, 440.8681)

In (57) we see *nrik* 'to tell' with O1 following the verb and O2 following the preposition *ki*.

57	Ke=fo	nrik-mam	ki	naṕet	nafsan
	3sgIRR=PSP:IR	tell-1p.O	PREP	meaning	language

	nag	i=til-i-ø.
	COMP	3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO

He will tell us the meaning of this story that he told us. (023:12) (005Ax, 1036.9242, 1043.1429)

In example (58) the theme is referred to by the 3sgO in the second clause.

58	Ga	ke=fo	pei	nrik	naṁer	lap	ki-ø.
	3sg	3sgIRR=PSP:IR	first	tell	people	many	PREP-3sgO

He will first tell everyone about it. (051:20) (98007az, 678.5, 681.7200)

In (59) both objects are referenced by a zero 3sgO following the verb *nrik* 'to tell' and the preposition *ki*.

59	Imag	raki	natrauswen	gakit	nen	a=mur-i-n
	3sgRS=open	for	story	1p.inPOS	REL	1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO

ka=nrik-i-ø ki-ø.
1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO
(talking about a place that is now closed, but used to be open) It is open at the time of our story that I want to tell you. (98007bz, 1482.1607, 1488.7400)

7.1.7.1. Ditransitive verbs with intransitive counterparts

As noted in the previous section, transitive verb stems are defined by the existence of a corresponding intransitive stem. There are two ditransitive verbs (*tu* 'to give' and *sos* 'to call') which also have an intransitive counterpart. The following examples show the intransitive stem *ptu* 'to give' with *-ki* introducing its object. The two intransitive forms of these verbs can derive a transitive verb with *-ki* which does not compete with the ditransitive form of the verb.

That the intransitive and ditransitive stems are to be analyzed as separate forms is further shown by the unacceptable **a-ptu-o-k* ('I give (intr) you') which, as an intransitive stem, cannot take an O suffix, but *a-tu-o-k* ('I give (tr) you'), the ditransitive stem, does take an O suffix.

60 Gar mĩit mĩas kin ru=to ptu-ki-ø.
3sg mat only REL 3p.RS=HAB give-TR-3sgO
They gave mats only. (058:24) (98002bz, 441.98, 444.3200)

61 I=mur-i-n na ka=traus, ko ka=tae
3sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=speak or 1sgIRR=know

ptu-ki evidens kot.
give-TR evidence court
He wanted me to talk, or to give evidence in court. (98006 TK)

The only example of *ptu* occurring without the transitivizing suffix *-ki* was elicited as part of a discussion of the role of the intransitive form and its potential use in a habitual as in (62).

62 I=pi nataĩol nen i=to ptu.
3sgRS=be man REL 3sgRS=HAB give
He is a man who gives. (elicited)

Contrast the above intransitive forms with the ditransitive *tu* which takes an O suffix as in (63) and (64) or lexical objects as in (65).

63 Pa=tu-mam tete nat ke=fei-ki-mam pak L.
2sgIRR=give-1p.exO someman 3sgIRR=lead:IR-TR-1p.exO to L.
You give us some men to guide us to L. (022)

64 Ka=fo tu-o-k nalkis p̃a=fo
1sgIRR=PSP:IR give-TS-2sgO grass 2sgIRR=PSP:IR

min-gi-ø.
drink-TS-3sgO
I will give you medicine, you will drink it. (024:7)(005Ax, 1548.6200, 1563.6400)

65 Nafet naot nig Maniuro ru=po tu Roy Mata
group chief of p.name 3p.RS=PSP:R give Roy Mata

kastom nagi.
kastom name
A group of chiefs at Maniuro gave a kastom *name to Roy Mata. (58:78)*

Comrie (n.d.) observes that the verb 'give' has a cross-linguistic propensity to include suppletive forms. While his examples are mainly of suppletion of second and third person recipients, he does include some examples of first person recipients. In South Efate there is a suppletive form (*tao* 'give me') for 1sgO, as shown in the following examples.

66 Te-pei na ku=tao ki-n ki=pe p̃ur.
det-first REL 2sgRS=give_me PREP-3sgO 3sgPS=PF big
The first one that you gave me is full. (EK handwritten note)

67 Dokta i=po nrik-wou ki spray,
doctor 3sgRS=PSP tell-1sgO PREP spray

I=po tao-ki-ø.
3sgRS=PSP give.me-TR-3sgO
The doctor told me to use a spray. He gave it to me. (040:82) (98003az, 1468.959, 1472.5799)

The transitive *sos* 'to name, to call out for' takes a transitive suffix *-o* and O suffix and can also take a lexical O directly, as in example (68) where the O is the NP *tesa nanwei ga* 'his son'.

68 Ke=fo mer ler pa=n ke=fo
3sgIRR=PSP:IR again return go=DST 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

sos tesa nanwei ga.
call child man 3sgPOS
He will go back, he will call his son. (98003bz, 1441.1799, 1445.2000)

Example (69) shows the transitive form with an O suffix.

69 P̃a=sos-o-r ru=mai.
2sgIRR=call-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=come
Call them to come. (98016az, 1040.9200, 1043.5)

In the next example we see *sos* with a 3p.O suffix encoding the people named and the name appearing as a following NP.

70 I=piatlak natam̃ol kerkerai nig nafkal i=nru nag
3sgRS=have man strong of fight 3sgRS=two REL

ru=sos-o-r ki m̃au.
3p.RS=call-TS-3p.O PREP giant
There are two strong fighting men whom they call giants. (98009b, 1685.7801, 1695.6401)

Example (71) shows the intransitive verb *pios* 'to call out' which can never take an O.

71 Me tiawi ru=pato eut me ru=pios.
but old.people 3p.RS=be.at shore and 3p.RS=call.out
The old people were on the shore and they called out. (98011a, 1664.6473, 1667.7400)

One example in the data, spoken by a woman in her eighties, suggests that the verb stem may originally have been *piosos* (cf. *pioso* in Ngunese, Facey 1988:336), and has been reanalyzed as *sos* for the ditransitive and *pios* for the intransitive form.

72 Naot nen kin i=tk=os i=piosos nam̃er
chief that REL 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL 3sgRS=call people

ni ser natkon.
of every village
The chief who was there called people from each village. (20001az, 985.2805, 989.2231)

7.2. Inherent O verbs

Inherent object verbs are those for which an O is implied in the semantics of the verb. For example, the verbs *far* 'to pick pandanus leaves', or *mol* 'to hunt for coconut crabs'[66] both entail an O, but none is overtly mentioned (but this is not the same as O incorporation (see below, §8.1.3.2.) where the form of the nominal O is combined with the verb and is still apparent in the incorporated form). Inherent O verbs could be considered to have an inherent argument (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:123) rather than an explicit O. While the inherent object is unstated, it can in some cases be made more specific, so, for example, the

[66] Sperlich (1991:149) calls a similar verb type 'selectional' in Namakir.

inherent object of the verb *kof* 'to cook meat' can be narrowed as in *kof fnagot* 'cook-meat shellfish' where the type of meat being cooked is explicitly mentioned. Furthermore, two ambitransitive inherent O verbs can take O suffixes where the suffix cross-references the inherent O, thus *lei-r* 'to pick fruit (plural)', *safei-r* 'to pick bananas' (plural). Typically, however, these are intransitive verbs, requiring only a subject.

73 **List of inherent O verbs**

Those for which an object cannot be added are:

fanfan	wash one's face	*pak*	delouse
far	pick pandanus leaves	*pankot*	burn garden
fkop	to hunt for fish by chasing them through the water	*plakori*	hunt animal(s)
		puri	prepare laplap
kamti	take rocks from the fire	*sul*	fish by torchlight
kot	cut laplap	*tir*	hunt for fish from a boat
liglig	shake one's head	*tkau*	hunt for fish, go fishing with a hook
mol	hunt for coconut crab	*tlei*	steer canoe
nrafi	blow one's nose	*torwak*	to anchor a boat
oraik	to go fishing	*uñ*	clear a garden patch

Those for which an O suffix can be added to indicate definiteness of the object are:

lei	to pick fruit (e.g., *lei-r* 'pick fruit [plural]')
safei	pull or twist a banana from a bunch (*safei-r* 'twist off bananas')

There is one inherent object verb in the data for which an object can be added to specify the kind of noun that is inherent in the verb.

kof	cook meat

7.3. Verb reduplication

Reduplication of verb stems serves several functions in South Efate. These are summarized under the following headings and examples are given below. There are two semantic processes reflected in reduplication:

i Diminution
ii Iteration/intensification

If a stem is eligible for stem-initial consonant alternation (§6.4.5.1.) then both parts of the reduplicated form will have the *f-* initial form.

(i) Diminution. The reduplicated form seems to express a smaller or reduced version of the non-reduplicated form, as shown in the following examples.

pes	speak	*fesfes*	cheep (of a bird)
lom	wet	*lomlom*	moist
p̃on	stuck to, fast	*p̃onp̃on*	to be together (not stuck)

(ii) Iteration/intensification. The reduplicated form emphasizes the activity of the base form. If the base involves an activity that is punctual, then the reduplicated form is iterative.

fek	to show	*fekfek*	to show off
fis	to whip	*fisfis*	to masturbate
liu	to heap up	*liuliu*	to be choppy (of the sea)
mai	to come	*maimai*	to keep coming/an ongoing activity
mar	to breathe	*marmar*	to have a break, rest
mat	to die	*matmat*	to die and die (of many dying)
nrer	to shine	*nrenrer*	to really shine
p̃or	to break	*p̃orp̃or*	to break everything
pan	to go	*panpan*	to go and go, until
pul	to twirl	*fulful*	to spin
ser	to flow	*serser*	to flow and flow
sog	to hug	*sogsog*	to encircle fish

In addition to the above groupings there are reduplicated forms for which there appears to be no difference in meaning to the stem (iii), or the semantic relationship to the stem is unclear (iv).

(iii) Reduplicated forms for which there appears to be no difference in meaning to the stem.

pol	to behave	*folfol*	to behave
kus	to hide	*kuskus*	to hide
sef	to escape	*sefsef*	to escape

(iv) The semantic relationship of the reduplicated form to the stem is unclear.

skar	to add	*skarskar*	to scratch (of a chicken)
sok	to jump	*soksok*	emphasizes a verb
to	to stay, be at	*toto*	to grope around
lig	to pour	*liglig*	to shake

There are also some derivational implications for reduplication which can result in detransitivizing (i), or nominalizing (ii) of a stem.

(i) Detransitivizing

fis	to whip (tr)	*fisfis*	to masturbate (intr)
wes	to work (tr)	*weswes*	to work (intr)
si	to blow (tr)	*sisi*	to blow (intr)

(ii) Nominalizing

si	to blow/shoot	*sisi*	rifle
sup̃	to stab, stick	*sup̃sup̃*	horn/spine of sea urchin
sif	to sling	*sifsif*	slingshot

8. Valency changing processes

In Chapter 7 we saw that verb-class membership in South Efate is determined by both morphological and morphosyntactic criteria. One of these criteria is the kind of transitivizing strategies that the verb stem can enter into, and that is the subject of this chapter. South Efate transitivizing processes are discussed in §8.1. The few detransitivizing strategies in South Efate, all of which appear to be unproductive relics of earlier processes, are discussed in §8.2. followed by a comparison of Proto Oceanic forms *-*i*/*-*akini* with present South Efate forms in §8.3.

8.1. Transitivizing strategies in South Efate

There are two transitivizing strategies in South Efate. Intransitive stems are transitivized by means of the suffix *-ki* (the transitivizing suffix, glossed as 'TR').[67] Ambitransitive stems take a different transitive suffix which has a number of shapes (see §8.1.3.). This transitive suffix (glossed as 'TS') is a reflex of the POc 'close' transitive *-*i* . Its main function is facilitating expression of an O suffix pronoun, although we will see examples where there is still a transitivizing function associated with this suffix (§8.1.3.2.). Both the transitive suffix (TS) and the transitivizing *-ki* can be followed by an O suffix, and so can occur in one of the following patterns.

1 Vintr-ki (-O)
Vintr-ki O lexical
Vambi-TS (-O)
Vambi O lexical
Vambi-TS O lexical

8.1.1. The transitivizing suffix *-ki*

The transitivizing suffix *-ki* derives transitive verbs from intransitive verb stems. Intransitive verb stems are those which cannot take an object without *-ki* (as discussed in §7.1.3.). Objects introduced by *-ki* typically have the role of patient, theme, or stimulus (see §8.1.2.1.).

In example (2a) the intransitive verb *mtak* 'to fear' can only take the O *marik nen* 'this man' after being derived by the transitivizing *-ki,* with the transitive meaning 'to be scared of'. Contrast this with the intransitive use of *mtak* in (2b).

2a I=mtak-ki marik nen ki.[68]
3sgRS=fear-TR man this TOP
He was scared of that man. (019:47)

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[67] *Ki* is also a preposition that introduces peripheral roles; see§8.1.2.

[68] Note the use of *ki* here as an emphatic or topic marker.

2b Me nmatu nen ki=pe mtak.
but woman that 3sgPS=PF scared
But that woman was scared. (20001az, 1246.6401, 1250.7200)

Bislama or English derived verbs are treated as intransitive verb stems requiring the transitivizing suffix to form transitive verbs as the following examples show.[69]

3 Government i=rilis-ki mani ni kastom ona i=taf.
government 3sgRS=release-TR money of kastom owner 3sgRS=exit
The government released the custom owners' money, it came out. (98017a, 321.4, 324.23)

4 Ru=to misius-ki propeti nig nafinaotan.
3p.RS=STAT misuse-TR property of chiefly.line
They misuse the chiefly property. (053:76)

In (5) the verb *salem* appears with the Bislama transitive suffix (*-em*), but nevertheless functions as an intransitive verb stem in South Efate, requiring the transitivizing *-ki* when in a transitive construction.

5 Ru=mai salem-ki kopra gar.
3p.RS=come sell-TR copra 3p.POS
They came and sold their copra. (JC:98012)

In (6) we see *-ki* transitivizing the loan verb *lan* 'to learn' and taking the 3p.O suffix representing the patient of the learning. As *lan* 'to learn' is a U-type verb its S becomes an O in the derived transitive form (see §8.1.2.5.). The preposition *ki* then introduces the theme (the language learned).

6 A=lan-ki-r ki nafsan gag.
1sgRS=teach (learn)-TR-3p.O PREP language 2sgPOS
I taught them your language. (98012 MK)

Finally, in (7) we see the same O argument, first with the intransitive loan verb *kens* 'to be against' and the transitivizing suffix *-ki,* and second with the ambitransitive verb *mur* 'to want' which requires no transitivizing suffix to take the O, *independen* 'independence'.

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[69] Other attested Bislama or English derived forms used as intransitive verbs are: *ansa* (answer), *aplae* (apply), *bildap* (build up), *biliv* (believe), *deliva* (deliver), *dipend* (depend), *fines* (finish), *handova* (handover), *ius* (use), *jaj* (judge), *joen* (join), *klin* (clean), *kompenset* (compensate), *konfius* (confuse), *kopi* (copy), *lid* (lead), *mit* (meet), *sapot* (support), *saspent* (suspend), *skul* (school, teach), *solv* (solve), *stat* (start), *tren* (train), *welkam* (welcome), *wok* (work), *woning* (warn).

7	Go	karu	i=kens-ki	independen,	karu
	and	other	3sgRS=against-TR	independence	other

i=mur independen.
3sgRS=want independence
And one was against independence, the other wanted independence.
(98003az, 527.9399, 538.2599)

8.1.2. Distinguishing transtivizer *-ki* from preposition *ki*

Ki is a preposition homophonous with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*, and they can occur in similar contexts. They both appear to derive from the same historical source (see §8.3.) but to have become reanalyzed into two distinct morphemes. We can distinguish them using the following morphosyntactic criteria:

Transitivizing *-ki:*
- is suffixed directly to the intransitive verb stem
- can never follow an object

Preposition *ki:*
- can follow an object
- can occur without a preceding verb

They reflect a semantic distinction such that:

Transitivizing *-ki:*
- serves to add an Undergoer (or Actor with U-verbs, see §8.1.2.5.)

Preposition *ki*:
- introduces an instrument
- introduces the second object of ditransitive verbs

A diagnostic for distinguishing the preposition *ki* from the transitivizer *-ki* is the presence of an O suffix. In (8) the environments in which *ki* can take an O suffix are set out.

8a Vintr-ki(-O)
8b V-N[compound] ki(-O)
8c Vditrans O[Recipient] ki(-O[Theme])

Of all tokens of the type *ki*-O suffix in the corpus, almost all represent the transitivizing *-ki*, suffixed to an intransitive verb, as in (8a).

There are very few examples of the construction given in (8b) of the form ki+O suffix following verb-noun combinations based on *preg* 'to make' plus a noun. This context is highly restricted and as it represents an intransitive verb formed by a verb + noun compound (discussed as an asymmetrical verb compound in §9.1.1.2) it is regarded as a variant of an intransitive verb as in (8a) and hence the form *ki* in this context is an instance of the transitivizing *-ki*. Two examples of verb + noun compounds follow.

9 I=pitlak natkon nen ru=preg-nafkal tme-r
3sgRS=have village that 3p.RS=make-war RR-3p.DP

preg-nafkal-ki-r.
make-war-TR-3p.O
There are villages that make war, make war on each other. (98017az, 749, 752.8400)

10 I=fla til tete preg-suker-ki-r.
3sgRS=CND tell some make-sugar-TR-3p.O
He might tell someone to take sugar to them. (091:45) (98017bz, 868.7011, 871.1)

In (8c) the O suffix attaches to *ki* introducing the second object of a ditransitive verb. The role of the O so encoded is the theme, not the recipient or patient of the verb. So, in (11) the addressee of the verb *nrik* 'say' is referenced by a 3sgO suffix directly on the verb stem. The theme is referenced by the 3sgO suffixed to the preposition *ki*.

11 Me ntuam i=ta nrik-i-n ki-n mau.
but devil 3sgRS=NEG say-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO NEG2
But the devil didn't tell him about it at all. (004a, 257.3888, 259.3318)

In (12) the preposition *ki* follows the lexical O *natopu* 'spirit' and the theme is referenced by the 2sgO suffix on the preposition.

12 Ga kin i=tu natopu ki-k.
3sg COMP 3sgRS=give spirit PREP-2sgO
He is the one who gave you to the nature spirit. (98009bz, 1086.04, 1092.74)

Having distinguished these three contexts for *ki*+O suffix, and shown that (8a) is the typical context for the transitivizing *-ki,* I will establish the semantics associated with the object in constructions of the type shown in (8a) and use that information in distinguishing the prepositional *ki* from the transitivizing *-ki* in structurally ambiguous contexts. This will be relevant, in particular, for cases where an intransitive verb is followed by *ki* without a following O suffix, as discussed in §8.1.2.3. below.

8.1.2.1. Object roles with the transitivizer *-ki*

Listed below are the semantic roles of objects introduced by the transitivizer *-ki.*[70] From these examples we can see that *-ki* selects objects with the roles of Patient, Theme, and Stimulus. In the next section we will see that the roles introduced by the preposition *ki* do not overlap with those of *-ki* and so semantics can be used as a diagnostic for distinguishing the two forms.

[70] Verbs sourced from English and Bislama are excluded.

1. Patient/Theme (Agentive verb)

13 I=pitlak naṁor e-maloput ale ru=po
3sgRS=have hole LOC-middle okay 3p.RS=PSP

sai-ki nmarit-wes.
push-TR string-3sgOBL
There is a hole in the middle so they would push string through it. (076:41) (98009b, 860, 863.6262)

14 I=tarp̃ek-ki napor.
3sgRS=drop-TR handle
She dropped the handle. (98002bz, 525.6, 528.23)

15 Me malnen kin i=na ke=lao-ki tp̃er faum.
and then REL 3sgRS=want 3sgIRR=plant-TR fence new
And then he wanted to build a new fence. (087:70) (98017az, 2532, 2539.4600)

2. Stimulus (verb of perception and cognition)

16 I=siwer raki elau ga i=mro-ki esan
3sgRS=walk for saltwater 3sg 3sgRS=think-TR place

ga i=pakor-wes.
3sg 3sgRS=born-3sgOBL
He walked to the sea, he thought about the place where he was born. (074:15) (98009b, 126.0401, 130.7000)

17 To ki=pe lewi-ki kom ni tap̃es.
fowl 3sgPS=PF covet-TR comb of swamphen
The chicken coveted the swamphen's comb. (078:10) (98009b, 1570.5, 1574.7201)

18 U=mal-ki independen.
1p.exRS=not.want-TR independence
We didn't want independence. (068:13) (98004a, 1051.868, 1052.835)

19 Ru=putkau-ki-wou i=top.
3p.RS=-be.against-TR-1sgO 3sgRS=big
They were against me a great deal. (095:2)(98017az, 77.9, 79.1854)

20 Nlaken i=paketan-ki nanwei.
because 3sgRS=respect-TR man
Because she respects men. (065:23) (98003bz, 896.9400, 900.8200)

21 Mes ne ru=ple, ru=ple-ki ntan.
today this 3p.RS=fight 3p.RS=fight-TR ground
Today they fight, they fight about ground. (98009az, 1858.5201, 1864.3600)

8.1.2.2. Roles introduced by the preposition *ki*

In this section we will determine what roles are introduced by the preposition *ki*. As there are some contexts in which it is unclear if *ki* is acting as a preposition or a transitivizing suffix I will begin by listing examples with *ki* in the unambiguously prepositional slot following the object, as in (22).

22 V O *ki*

Examples of roles introduced by the preposition follow:

1. Instrument

23 Te-nrak i=smanr-i-ø ki stokwip
some-time 3sgRS=whip-TS-3sgO PREP stockwhip

me te-nrak i=pes-kerkrai-ki-k mẽas.
but some-time 3sgRS=talk-hard-TR-2sgO only
Sometimes he hits with a stockwhip, but sometimes he just shouts at you. (98017az, 2370.7801, 2379.6400)

24 A=lek-a-ø ki namt-a-k.
1sgRS=look-TS-3sgO PREP eye-V-1sgDP
I saw it with my own eyes. (98001az, 1775.6639, 1777.2001)

25 I=paktof-i-ø ki mani ses.
3sgRS=buy-TS-3sgO PREP money small
He sold it for very little. (087:84) (98017az, 2623.3219, 2625.6752)

26 I=fla nrog-o-ø ki radio.
3sgRS=CND hear-TS-3sgO PREP radio
Maybe they heard it on the radio. (072:20)(98009a, 1977.5800, 1983.7600)

2. Location

A location introduced by the preposition *ki* typically follows adjectives like *mẽeltig* 'near', *emẽae* 'far', or *leg* 'straight'.

27 Ra=preg nasuṃ̃ gar i=tok emẽae ki talṃ̃at.
3d.RS=make house 3p.POS 3sgRS=stap longway PREP garden
They made their house a long way from the garden. (019:2) (004a, 15.4800, 21.6599)

28 M̃eltig ki wan milion kin a=pakot.
near PREP one millon COMP 1sgRS=pay
(It's) nearly a million that I paid. (lit: near to one million.) (98016bz, 508.4, 510.68)

29 Ru=pam̃or-i-ø na a=lag leg ki mal.
3p.RS=find-TS-3sgO say 1sgRS=sing straight PREP time
They found that I sing in time. (063:81)(98004a.mp3, 2266.863, 2269.779)

8.1.2.3. Ambiguous contexts: *ki* as preposition or transitivizer

Not all instances of *ki* following an intransitive verb stem are the transitivizing *-ki*. As stated above, we can use semantic evidence to distinguish the transitivizer from the prepositional use of *ki* in cases where the morphosyntactic evidence is ambiguous, i.e., when a form *ki* directly follows an intransitive verb stem but without a following object suffix.

When the nominal introduced by *ki* is not acting as the object of the verb, but rather as a peripheral (e.g., the instrument) then *ki* is acting as a preposition. For example, *siwer* 'to walk' with transitivizing *-ki* means 'to walk on', e.g., the ground, but with the preposition *ki* it means the instrument used to walk, e.g., shoes.

	+ Transitivizing *-ki*	+ Preposition *ki*
siwer to walk	*siwer-ki* to walk on	*siwer ki* to walk with (e.g., shoes)
weswes to work	*weswes-ki* to work at	*weswes ki* to work with

In example (30) the intransitive verb *siwer* 'to walk' is followed by the preposition and the added participant is an instrument. The intransitive stem *tik* 'to not be' with *-ki* becomes a transitive verb meaning to 'not have something' and the added object is the theme. Finally the sentence ends with the preposition *ki* and the zero 3sgO referring back to the buttocks on which the *natopu* walks.

30 Me natopu ne, ga i=siwer ki mp̃ag-o-n.
but spirit this 3sgS 3sgRS=walk PREP buttock-V-3sgDP

Nlaken i=tik-ki natu-e-n ga i=siwer ki-ø.
because 3sgRS=no-TR leg- V-3sgDP 3sg 3sgRS=walk PREP-3sgO
But that natopu (spirit), he walks around on/with his bottom. Because he has no legs, he walks on/with it. (98009az, 2181.24,2190.46)

Similarly, in (31) the instrument is introduced by the preposition *ki.*

31 U=weswes ki nar-mom u=weswes ki masmes p̃ur.
1p.exS=work PREP hand-1p.exDP 1p.exS=work PREP knife big
We worked with our hands, we worked with big knives. (98003bz, 500.8200, 509.0200)

However, as established in the preceding section, when the nominal introduced by *ki* is the object of the verb then *-ki* is the transitivizing suffix, as in (32), where the noun *nawesien* 'work' is the object of the transitive verb *weswes* 'to work'.

32 Go a=weswes-ki nawesien ni emṍrom sumṍtap.
and 1sgRS=work-TR work of inside church
And I worked the job inside the church. (MK 98012)

8.1.2.4. *-ki* and A-type intransitives

With A(ctor)-type intransitives (§7.1.3.2), *-ki* adds the theme as the O, so that, for example, in (33), *maet* 'to be angry', has *kineu* '1sg' as O, introduced by *-ki*.

33 Go tete mal Mama neu i=to maet-ki kineu.
and sometime mother my 3sgRS=STAT angry-TR 1sg
And sometimes my mother would get angry with me. (20003az, 2059, 2065)

In (34) *-ki* adds *atol* 'egg' as the theme of the verb *psol*, 'to lay.'

34 (Mantu nen) i=psol-ki atol inru.
flyingfox that 3sgRS=lay-TR egg two
(That flying fox) it laid two eggs. (048:3)(98007az, 259.8, 261.34)

8.1.2.5. *-ki* and U-type intransitives

With U(ndergoer)-type intransitive verb stems (those for which the subject is the undergoer rather than the actor, §7.1.3.2), *-ki* adds the Agent, while the O corresponds to the S of the intransitive form, as shown in Table 8:1. In these cases *-ki* is acting in the same way as a causativizer, which generally adds an A argument.

Table 8:1. Intransitive and corresponding derived transitivized verbs

Intransitive		Derived (causativized) transitive	
lan	to learn	*lan-ki*	to teach sthg.
ler	to return	*ler- ki*	to return sthg.
tap̃o	to sink (e.g., the boat sank)	*tap̃o-ki*	to sink sthg.
tarp̃ek	to fall (e.g., it fell)	*tarp̃ek-ki*	to drop sthg.
tut	to drown	*tut-ki*	to drown sthg.

In example (35) we see *-ki* transitivizing the verb *pei,* 'to be first', with the new meaning 'to lead'.

35 Natopu kin i=pei-ki-r pak nafkal.
spirit COMP 3sgRS=first-TR-3p.O to fight
It is the natopu which will lead them into battle. (98009az, 2531.5400, 2535.8200)

In (36) the intransitive stem *tarp̃ek*, 'to fall' is transitivized by *-ki* with the derived meaning 'to drop'.

36 I=trau gag tarp̃ek-ki natus p̃ur etan.
3sgRS=just 2sgBEN fall-TR book big down
He just dropped the big book down for you. (98002az, 2189.3, 2191.2399)

8.1.3. Transitive derivation of ambitransitive verb stems

Ambitransitive verbs in South Efate (§7.1.5) can take either a lexical O or a suffix O (for 2sg, 3sg, and 3p., see §8.1.3.1.). When they take a suffix O most ambitransitive verbs require a transitive suffix. The suffix varies considerably in form as shown in Table 8:2.a and Table 8:2.b below. Like epenthetic elements in other languages (cf. Lichtenberk 1983:123 on Manam) or thematic consonants (cf. Lichtenberk 2001), and similar in function to the 'construct suffix' in Sye (Crowley 1998:35) and Anejom̃ (Lynch 2000b), the transitive suffix in South Efate is mainly required to facilitate the affixation of an O suffix but also has a role in indicating increased transitivity as we will see in §8.1.3.2. below.

The transitive suffix only occurs in a restricted environment with an object suffix encoding 2sg, 3sg, and 3p. (this limited distribution apparently conforms to a pattern extending back to Proto-Oceanic; see §5.1.3.3.1.).

There are three rules governing the distribution of the transitive suffix and object suffix, given in (37). Examples justifying these rules follow.

37a The object pronoun cannot co-occur with a coreferential lexical object in the same clause.

37b The transitive suffix occurs as a base for the object suffix which, in 3sg, is typically expressed by a zero except for some cases where it may be referenced by the suffix *-n* (also discussed with pronominal suffixes in §5.1.3.3.1.1.).

37c The transitive suffix may appear on its own (that is, without a pronominal suffix) with a lexical object when the object is referential.

Following these rules, the object in South Efate can be expressed either as a pronominal suffix or as a lexical O, but not both in the same phrase, as in (38).

38 S V-(TS)-O
S V-(TS)-O1 *O1 (lexical) (where the objects are coreferential)
S V-(TS) O (lexical) (discussed in §8.1.3.2.)
S V O (lexical)
Topicalized O1 S V-(TS)-O1 (where the objects are coreferential)

Examples of these types are given below.

In (39) *-k* is the 2sgO pronoun and when it occurs, as we would expect from (37a), there is no coreferential lexical O.

39 Ka=fo wat-gi-k tete nrak.
1sgRS=PSP:IR hit-TS-2sgO some time
I am going to hit you sometime. (13:21) (004b, 1111.9, 1114.1200)

In (40) the 3p.O suffix (*-r*) is present on the verb *tae* 'to know' in the subordinate clause referring back to the O ('many old people') in the main clause, again showing that reference to the same object occurs only once in the clause.

40 Go tiawi lap nen kin i=tae-r
and old people many that REL 3sgRS=know-3p.O
And the old people that he knew (98003bz, 335.9800, 339.5800)

In (41a) *nmalok* 'kava' is topicalized and so the verb bears a cross-referencing 3sgO as there is no coreferential object in the same clause. Where *nmalok* follows the verb as in (41b) there is no cross-referencing or transitive suffix on the verb as the object is present as a lexical noun, as discussed in §8.1.3.2. below, on object incorporation.

41a Nmalok a=to min-gi-ø.
kava 1sgRS=HAB drink-TS-3sgO
Kava, I drink it (habitually). (98003a, 1391.7152, 1392.9824)

41b A=to min nmalok.
1sgRS=HAB drink kava
I drink kava/I am drinking kava. (constructed)

In (42) we see *welu* 'to help' with a lexical object and no transitive suffix, and in (43) with a transitive suffix and 3sgO referring back to *nmatu* 'wife'.

42 Go malpei komam ko=fo tae welu tiawi.
and long ago 1p.ex 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know help old people
And long ago we would know to help the old people. (98003bz, 737.1, 740.6799)

43 I=lek-a-ø nmatu i=maos go nanwei
3sgRS=look-TS-3sgO woman 3sgRS=tired and man

i=po welu-a-ø.
3sgRS=FUT help-TS-3sgO
He sees that the wife is tired and the husband will help her. (98003bz, 952.895, 957.0200)

8.1.3.1. Forms of the transitive suffix

The current form of the transitive suffix is due to a historical process, similar to that seen in other Oceanic languages (Ross 1998:24) whereby the stem-final consonant of verbs was lost in word-final position but retained in non-final position and reanalyzed as part of the transitive suffix. Due to the unpredictable

form of the suffix, the relic consonant is often called the thematic consonant.[71] Hence South Efate *tag*, 'to cry' (intr) has the transitive form *tag-isi* 'to cry for s/one', from an earlier form of **tagis* plus transitive suffix **-i* (see Table 8:3. below). These former verb endings and suffixes have been reanalyzed as part of the transitive suffix which is required to facilitate the further suffixation of the O suffix in South Efate today.

Table 8:2.a and Table 8:2.b list most forms of the transitive suffix in the data. Recall from §5.1.3.3.1. that there are O suffixes only for 2sg, 3sg, and 3p. and they are typically of the form *-k, -ø/-n, -r* respectively. Objects representing any other person/number have been recruited from the OBL paradigm (see Table 8:4. below). As can be seen from these tables, the transitive suffix following a consonant-final stem is predominantly a single vowel, and of those, it is predominantly *-i*. The majority of vowel-final ambitransitive verbs do not take a transitive suffix, since the O suffix attaches directly to the stem. The vowel in the transitive suffix is not predictable, as seen in the following examples which illustrate the lack of phonological conditioning for the transitive suffix. A number of variant forms of the transitive suffix occur in phonologically similar environments, suggesting that the variation is not conditioned by phonological factors.

44	*lag*	*lag-a-k, lag-a-ø, lag -a-r*	to sing (you, it, them)
	plag	*plag-ti-k, plag-ti-ø, plag-ti-r*	to open (you, it, them)
	tag	*tag-isi-k, tag-isi-ø, tag-isi-r*	to cry for (you, it, them)
	tfag	*tfag-i-k, tfag -i-ø, tfag-i-r*	to build (you, it, them)

[71] Lynch (1998:140) outlines a similar argument for the appearance of the thematic consonant in Fijian transitive suffixes. He notes that the form of the suffix is unpredictable. Lichtenberk's (2001:146) conclusion is that the thematic consonants in Manam and To'aba'ita are best analyzed as empty morphs.

Table 8:2.a Allomorphs of the TS with consonant-final stems

With 2sg	With 3sg	With 3p.	Number	Examples
i	i	i	128	*slat-i-k* take you, *slat-i-ø* take him, *slat-i-r* take them
o	o	o	29	*sos-o-k* call you, *sos-o-ø* call her, *sos-o-r* call them
a	a	e	20	*of-a-k* bear you, *of-a-ø* bear him, *of-e-r* bear them
e	e	e	8	*piatlak-e-k* own you, *piatlak-e-n* own her, *piatlak-e-r* own them
ti	ti	ti	7	*kin-ti-k* pinch you, *kin-ti-ø* pinch him, *kin-ti-r* pinch them
u	u	u	5	*m̆ok-u-k* pull you, *m̆ok-u-s* pull her, *m̆ok-u-r* pull them
a	a	a	4	*tanre-a-k* turn you, *tanre-a-ø* turn him, *tanre-a-r* turn them
	a	i	3	*sk-a-ø* throw it, *sok-i-r* throw them
u	i	i	3	*mur-u-k* want you, *mur-i-n* want him, *mur-i-r* want them
ei	ei	ei	3	*tanu-ei-k* spit on you, *tanu-ei-ø* spit on her, *tanu-ei-r* spit on them
isi	isi	isi	1	*tag-isi-k* cry for you, *tag-isi-ø* cry for him, *tag-isi-r* cry for them
si	si	si	1	*m̆ul-si-ø* peel it, *m̆ul-si-r* peel them
ie	e	e	1	*pkal-ie-k* care for you, *pkal-e-ø* care for her, *pkal-e-r* care for them
ai	ai	ai	1	*suer-ai-k* shit on you, *suer-ai-ø* shit on him, *suer-ai-r* shit on them
gi	gi	gi	3	*min-gi-ø* drink it, *min-gi-r* drink them

Table 8:2.b Allomorphs of the TS with vowel-final stems

With 2sg	With 3sg	With 3p.	Number of occurrences	Examples
-	-	-	58	*psi-k, psi-ø, psi-r* to put you, put her, put them
o	a	e	8	*lelu-o-k, lelu-a-ø, lelu-e-r* to avoid you, avoid him, avoid them
-	-	e	4	*tia-k, tia-ø, tia-e-r* to turn you, turn her, turn them
-	i	-	2	*palkau-k, palkau-i-ø, palkau-r* to step over you, step over her, step over them

A further example of the lack of phonological conditioning for the transitive suffix can be seen in the homophonous stems *sor* 'to sell', and *sor* 'to scrub'. Despite their identical phonological shapes they take distinct suffixed forms: *sor-i-k , sor-i-ø, sor-i-r* ('to sell you, it, them') and *sor-o-k, sor-o, sor-o-r* ('to scrub you, it, them') reflecting different historical sources. By combining the stem and transitive suffix we can observe the similarity of their form to the reconstructed POc verb stems and transitive suffixes (from Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 1998) listed in Table 8:3. This strong similarity supports the diachronic explanation for the variability in forms of the transitive suffix.

Table 8:3. Comparison of verb stems + TS with POc[72]

Intransitive stem	Stem + TS / 3sgO	POc stem + transitive	Meaning
kin	*kin-ti=ø*	*kinit-i	to pinch
min	*min-gi=ø*	*m^{W}inum(^{W})-i	to drink
pnak	*pnak-o=ø*	*panako-	to steal
tag	*tag-isi=ø*	*tagis-i	to cry, mourn
tef	*tf-ei=ø*	*tepa-i	to circumcise
wat	*wat-gi=ø*	*qatug-i	to hit

[72] In some forms the medial vowel is lost by a regular process (§3.6.1.2.) when stress is reassigned in the word following affixation of a new word-ending, e.g., *tur* > *tr-usu*, *tef* > *tf-ei*.

The dominant pattern of transitive suffixes has a fixed form regardless of the person or number referenced by the O suffix. For a group of exceptions this does not hold and the form of the transitive suffix is not the same in all person forms for the same stem, for example, alternating between *o*, *a*, and *e* with *lelu* 'to avoid', and between *i* and *e* in *m̃asel* 'to soften', as shown in (45). The gaps in the list reflect the absence of examples in the data.

45	**2sg**	**3sg**	**3p.**	
lelu	*lelu-o-k*	*lelu-a-ø*	*lelu-e-r*	to avoid (you, it, them)
m̃asel		*m̃asel-i-ø*	*m̃asel-e-r*	to soften (it, them) in the fire
mtalu	*mtalu-o-k*	*mtalu-a-ø*	*mtalu-e-r*	to choose (you, it, them)
p̃ofu		*p̃ofu-a-ø*	*p̃ofu-e-r*	to puncture (it, them)
sok	*s(o)k-o-k*	*s(o)k-a-ø*	*s(o)k-e-r*	to collide with (you, it, them)
sraletu	*sraletu-o-k*	*sraletu-a-ø*	*sraletu-u-r*	to confess to (you, it, them)
tanu		*tanu-ei-ø*	*tanu-e-r*	to spit on (it, them)
taulu	*taulu-o-k*	*taulu-a-ø*	*taulu-e-r*	to marry (you, her, them)
tem		*t(e)m-a-ø*	*t(e)m-a-r*	to point at (it, them)
tia		*tia-ø*	*ti-e-r*	to stretch (it, them)
tp̃olu	*tp̃olu-o-k*	*tp̃olu-ø*	*tp̃olu-e-r*	to send a message to (you, it, them)
tu	*tu-o-k*	*tu-a-ø*	*tu-e-r*	to give you, it, them (1sgO = *tao*)
walu	*walu-o-k*	*walu-a-ø*	*walu-e-r*	to take (you, it, them) out
welu	*welu-o-k*	*welu-a-ø*	*welu-e-r*	to help (you, it, them)

A second set of verbs (all listed below) have completely idiosyncratic transitive forms:

46	**2sg**	**3sg**	**3p.**	
lu	*lu-tu-o-k*		*lu-tu-er*	to vomit on you, them
		lu-e-ki-ø	*lu-e-ki-r*	to vomit it, them
per	*pra-tu-o-k*	*pra-tua-ø*	*pra-tu-e-r*	to fart on you, it, them

When *lu* is transitivized with *-ki* the transitive suffix *-e* is used, e.g., *lu-e-kir* 'I vomit them' (e.g., all the prawns I ate), as illustrated in (47). This is idiosyncratic, as no other verb stem takes a transitive suffix together with the transitivizing suffix *-ki*.

47 Kai=pe lu-e-ki nmalok.
1sgPS=PF vomit-TS-TR kava
I vomited the kava. (elicited)

It is not totally unexpected that this group of verbs patterns differently to the rest; as in Paamese (Crowley 1982) several verbs of bodily function, including 'to fart', have anomalous transitive forms.

8.1.3.2. Relic transitivizing function of the transitive suffix

We have seen that the main function of the transitive suffix (TS) is to host an O suffix. We have also established the rules governing the use of the transitive suffix and O suffix, in (37) above. Since the transitive suffix generally occurs with an object suffix, and the object suffix and lexical object cannot co-occur, we would not expect to find the transitive suffix and lexical object co-occurring. There are, however, a few examples in the data where the transitive suffix co-occurs with a lexical O. Examples below display this co-occurence and suggest that there is a correlation with degrees of transitivity (as discussed by Hopper and Thompson 1980).

First, let us recap on the normal pattern. In the next two examples the verb *tp̃il* 'to burn' appears in (48) with a non-specific O (*nasum̃ ni nam̃er tar* 'white people's house') and no O suffix, and then, in (49) with a previously mentioned specific O *(serpal ni naniu* 'coconut flower pod'), in which case it takes the transitive and object suffix.

48 Ru=tp̃il nasum̃ ni nam̃er tar nlaken
3p.RS=burn house of men white because

SDA i=tok-es.
SDA 3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL
They burned the houses of the white people because the SDA were there. (022)

49 Napu nen ku=pa. Ku=pu na serpal ni naniu.
road that 2sgRS=go 2sgRS=pull ART coc.flower of coconut

Nen p̃a=fa=n. Ke=malik p̃a=tp̃il-i-ø,
that 2sgIRR=go=DST 3sgIRR=dark 2sgIRR=light-TS-3sgO

lel-e-ø ki-n.
see-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO
On this road you must carry a torch made from a coconut flower pod. When it is dark, you light it and you can see with it. (043)(98003a, 1714.0600, 1722.8399)

The issue that concerns us in this section is that the transitive suffix can also appear with an object, as we see in (50a) contrasting with (50b) in which there is no transitive suffix on the verb and the object is present. The distinction is that the object in (50a) is individuated, unlike (50b) where the object is generic and is incorporated into the verb (see §7.1.3.1).

50a A=mtir-i natus nen.
1sgRS=write-TS book that
I'm writing that book/I wrote that book. (elicited)

50b A=mtir natus i=skei.
1sgRS=write book 3sgRS=one
I'm writing a book/I write a book. (elicited)

The distinction between *nre-a* 'turn-TS' (51) and *nre* in (52) also appears to relate to the affectedness of the object. In (51) the action is achieved and has the transitive suffix, unlike in (52) in which the turning of the rock has not yet been achieved, and is part of a desiderative complement, which, as we note in §12.2.3.6 is usually marked by irrealis mood marking correlating with low transitivity.

51 I=fa=n i=nre-a fat.
3sgRS=go:IR=DST 3sgRS=turn-TS stone
She went and turned the stone. (071:18) (98009az, 1735.9800, 1744.4800)

52 I=na i=pak e-luk ses nen i=nre fat.
3sg=want 3sgRS=go LOC-hole small that 3sgRS=turn stone
He wanted to go to that small well and turn the stone. (lit: to stone-turn.) (029:17)

A further example of the use of the transitive suffix with a specific object can be seen in (53) where *nrog-o* 'hear-TS' co-occurs with a specific object (*ntuam* 'devil').

53 Go i=nrog-o ntuam nen i=mer m̃la.
and 3sgRS=hear-TS devil that 3sgRS=again howl
And she heard the devil howl again. (094:22) (98017b, 2664.1600, 2676.1000)

Contrast (53) with (54) in which the hearing is a habitual action and the object is non-specific ('stories from long ago'), encoded by the verb having no transitive suffix.

54 Neu a=to nrog natrauswen ni mal pei.
1sg 1sgRS=HAB hear story of time first
I used to hear the old stories./I hear the old stories. (083:22)(98010az, 2034.4698, 2037.0916)

In the following example the object *kai* 'shellfish' is first mentioned as a generic object incorporated into the intransitive form of the stem *sol* 'to take'. In the next clause the transitive form of the stem *sat* 'to take' has a transitive and 3sgO suffix, as its referent *kai* 'shellfish' is already mentioned in the immediate discourse and so is salient.

55 I=sol kai. I=sat-i-ø pan.
3sgRS=take shellfish 3sgRS=take-TS-3sgO go

i=nom.	Mer	tau	fat	ga.	I=sol	kai	pa.
3sg=finish	again	leave	stone	3sg	3sgRS=carry	shellfish	go

She went and turned the stone, she took shellfish, she took it until she was finished, then she turned her stone over, she took the shellfish and went. (98009az, 1727.2599, 1735.7800)

In example (56) *fat p̃ur* 'big stone' is established and highly individuated in the discourse prior to its mention following the transitive suffix. Thus *lelu-a* 'to avoid-TS' contrasts with the later use of *lelu* which has no object and describes the general act of avoiding, rather than the specific avoidance of a rock.

56 Ku=lelu-a	fat	p̃ur	nen	ku=pan	lelu	teflan	pan.
2sg=go.round-TS	rock	big	that	2sgRS=go	go.round	thus	go

You go around that big rock, you go around like that and go. (015:42)

From all of the preceding examples we can see that an object can be incorporated into the verb if it is non-referential or non-individuated. This kind of object incorporation conforms to Mithun's (1984) Type 1 incorporation and her 'Incorporation by juxtaposition', in which a verb and noun combine to form a new verb. The few lexicalized examples of incorporated nouns are discussed with reference to their role in nominalization in §5.4.2., and see also §7.1.3.1. on incorporation.

Lichtenberk (1997:308) observes that backgrounded and usually, but not necessarily, non-referential objects are incorporated in To'aba'ita. Further, if the object is not incorporated then the verb carries the suffix *-a*, which appears cognate with the transitive suffix in South Efate. In Sye (Crowley 1998:191) older speakers distinguish generic objects in a way that looks similar to the South Efate system, that is, they use the 'construct suffix' (which appears to be cognate with the South Efate transitive suffix) when an object is referential, but do not use it when the object is generic.

Clark (1973:564) suggests that the Proto Eastern Oceanic verb only took a transitive affix when the object was specific, but not when the object was generic or incorporated into the verb. In South Efate there is a small (perhaps residual) functional load for the transitive suffix which correlates with increased salience of the object. With 2sg and 3p. the transitive suffix functions solely to host the O suffix.

8.1.3.3. Verbs taking only the OBL suffix paradigm

Semitransitive verbs, like *kon* 'to be stuck', *krokur* 'to be scared', *faitau* 'to learn' (§7.1.4.), exclusively take OBL pronominals (which are set out in Table 8:4.) for objects of all person/number combinations rather than the regular object suffixes discussed above. Of interest in the current discussion of valency-changing processes is the fact that, unlike ambitransitive verbs, this group does not take a transitive suffix but rather the OBL suffix attaches directly to the stem.

In (57) the 3sgO *wes* is from the OBL paradigm, unlike the pattern we have seen previously, where 3sgO is *-ø/-n* from the O paradigm. There is no transitive suffix on the verb stem.

57 Ru=fafat-wes mal ses.
3p.S=believe-3sgOBL time small
They believe him for a little while. (98009az, 939.4, 941.2)

In (58) the 2sgO *wok* is from the OBL paradigm and again there is no transitive suffix on the verb.

58 Mailum siwer nrokot-wok.
slowly walk cross-2sgOBL
Slowly walk in front of you. (98003bz, 859.4399, 861.3)

Table 8:4. Forms of O and OBL suffixes

	1 sg	2sg	3sg	1p. (excl)	1p. (incl)	2p.	3p.
Object suffix used with ambitransitive verbs	-wou	-k	-ø / n	-mam	-kit	-mus	-r
Oblique (OBL) suffix used with semitranstive verbs	-wou	-wok	-wes	-mam	-kit	-mus	-wer

As discussed in §5.1.3.3.2., the OBL paradigm includes a locational sense (especially in 3sg). When a non-semitransitive verb takes an OBL in contrast to an O suffix (that is with a 2sg, 3sg, or 3p. O) then the OBL pronoun typically has a locational meaning, regardless of whether the root has a locational meaning itself. The following two examples show verbs which can contrast a 3sgO with 3sgOBL, unlike semitransitive verbs. In (59) the ambitransitive verb *traus* 'to tell' takes the OBL *wes* '3sgOBL', indicating the location of the speaking, rather than the topic talked about, which would be *traus-i-ø* 'tell-TS-3sgO' ('to tell it').

59 Nasara i=pi naor nen kin ru=to
d.ground 3sgRS=be place this REL 3p.RS=STAT

pan traus-wes.
go talk-3sgOBL
The dancing ground, it is the place where they went to talk (at it). (092:47) (98017bz, 1987.8, 1990.4402)

In (60) we see *pam wes* 'to eat there' which contrasts with the object form which would be *pam-i-ø* 'eat-TS-3sgO', 'to eat it'.

60 Napkas i=nom mes ka=fo pam-wes.
meat 3sgRS=end today 1sgIRR=PSP:IR eat-3sgOBL
The meat is finished, today I will eat there. (98017bz, 2620.83, 2622.4)

Finally, the use of the oblique pronoun *wes* '3sgOBL' in (61) indicates that the fronted *aplikesen neu* 'my application' is the location on which the signing occurred rather than the object of the signing, which would be encoded with the transitivser *-ki* 'TR'.

61 Aplikesen neu, nas kin
application 1sgPOS day.before.yesterday COMP

a=po saen-wes.
1sgRS=PSP:R sign-3sgOBL
My application, I signed it the day before yesterday. (98017az, 307.0599, 309.4337)

8.2. Relic detransitivizing processes in South Efate

8.2.1. Relic anti-causatives

Ross (1998:25) discusses the anti-causative as a detransitivizing strategy in POc. This took the form **ma-* prefixed to a transitive root and resulted in the transitive O becoming the intransitive S. Pawley (1969:38) refers to POc **ma-* as a prefix deriving stative from non-stative verbs. Both Schütz (1969a:33) on Ngunese and Early (1994:142) on Lewo note that the current reflex of POc **ma-* in those two languages has only relic status. Similarly there are very few relic reflexes of POc **ma-* in South Efate today. The following examples show the verbs derived with *m(a)-* having a subject corresponding to the O of the underived verb. Several of the forms detransitivized by *ma-* can reduplicate, but only on the stem, showing that the *ma-* prefix is not fused to the stem. In most cases the derived form is a stative verb encoding the expected result of the underived verb's action (e.g., 'be sharp', 'be broken').

62	*lig*	to pour	*malig*	to flow
	lil	to roll sthg.	*mlil*	to roll
	p̃el	to bend	*map̃el*	to be bent
	p̃rai (p̃orai)	to break	*map̃or/ma-p̃rap̃or*	to be broken
	pkal	to sharpen	*mkal*	to be sharp
	sulsli	to soften in the fire	*masulsli*	to be softened

The fifth example in (62) shows an alternation between a *p*-initial form and an *m*-initial form which suggests that, in addition to the relic anti-causative that is the topic of this section, there is also a *p*-initial relic causative derived from POc **pa(ka)-*.[73]

[73] This form of the causative is given in a discussion of Proto Oceanic in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:83.

Example (63) shows the underived form (63a), and the derived form (63b).

63a Welkia respek i=tik ru=p̃rai pano.
thus respect 3sgRS=none 3sgRS=break board
As there is no respect, they break the noticeboard. (98016az, 542.58, 544.5)

63b Akam u=mai me pano ki=pe ma-p̃or.
2p.in 2p.inRS=come but board 3sgIRR=PF MA-break
You come along but the noticeboard is broken. (98016az, 684.3199, 686.0875)

There are several further examples of verbs marked by a prefix *m-* but these verbs do not have a subject corresponding to the O of the underived verb, rather the subject of the *m*-initial form is the same as the subject of the underived form. If we assume that the anti-causative function of the *m(a)-* prefix ceased being productive some time ago then it is not unexpected that there are variously grammaticalized relics of this prefix today.

64 *pkot*	to be spoiled	*makot/makotkot*	to be broken
ptal	to ask for	*mtal*	to choose
sal/salsal	to drift	*msal/msalmsal*	to be different

In the absence of textual examples of the pairs under discussion, example (65a) is included here with the caveat that it is unclear that it includes a reflex of **paka*, but that (65b) does seem to be formed by the reflex of the anti-causative **ma*.

65a I=pul-ki naml̃-e-n tefla i=p̃a-kot
3sgRS=throw-TR tail-V-3sgDP similar 3sgRS=P̃A-break

naur i=skei.
island 3sgRS=one
Then she threw her tail like this and cut an island. (055:22)(98002b, 739.3, 742.47)

65b A=tap tae natu-e-n maur ko matu mau me
1sgRS=not know leg-V-3sgDP left or right NEG2 but

natu-e-n i=ma-kot.
leg-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=MA-break
I don't know if it was his left or right leg, but his leg was broken. (030)

66a Ku=po pañor naplel ses ne ...ga i=to
2sgRS=PSP:R find wood sp. small this 3sg 3sgRS=STAT

sal ur elau.
drift follow sea
You will find this piece of wood, it floats around the sea. (98007bz, 1969.8600, 1979.9200)

66b Natopu, natap, go potut go ru=msal.
spirit spirit and sacred.stone and 3p.RS=different
Natopu *(spirit of place),* natap *(spirit), and* potut *(stone arrangement) are different. (98017bz, 1818.4399, 1826.8799)*

There are also *m*-initial stative forms for which there are no transitive equivalents in the data, that is, the corresponding non-stative forms of these verbs are no longer in current use.

67 *mankotik*	to be wounded	*mrara*	to be shallow
manopnop	to be round, filled out	*msak*	to be sick
matuktuk	to be withered, dry	*mtar*	to set (of sun)
mlag	to stand (a wave at sea)	*mtet*	to be rotten (e.g., wood)
mra	to bleed (note *nra* 'blood')	*mukalkal*	to be itchy

8.2.2. The detransitivizing prefix *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* occurs on only a few verbs, and is not productive.[74] Hyslop (2001:319) notes similarly that *ta-* is no longer a productive prefix in Lolovoli on Ambae. In the small group of verbs to which it applies in South Efate it is best characterized as a detransitivizing prefix, with some exceptions. While in some pairs there is a difference in the meaning of the derived and underived form (although the semantic relationship between them is unclear) in others there appears to be no difference in meaning. In one verb (*p̃as* 'to adopt') *ta-* derives a stative from an active verb, as shown in (68) and (69) where the S of the derived form corresponds to the O of the underived form (A->ø, O->S).

68 *p̃as*	to adopt (ambi/active)	*tap̃as*	to be adopted (intr/stative)

69 I=pi tesa tap̃as neu.
3sgRS=be child adopted 1sg
He is my adopted child. (017)

It appears that what may have been a detransitivizing prefix has been reanalyzed as part of some stems. At least two other apparently derived forms appear in the data with no corresponding underived form: *tapas* 'to wave' and *talag* 'to shine'.

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[74] POc *ta- was an 'anticausative intransitive' marker (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley, 2002:83).

In (70) the Actor subject becomes the Undergoer subject of the derived form (S [Actor] ->S [Undergoer]).

70 *m̃el*	to fall (ambi/active)	*tam̃el*	to crouch, squat (intr/stative)
fif	to spin, twist (ambi/active)	*tafif*	to be boiling, to be twisted (intr/stative)
sak	to land, ascend (ambi/active)	*tasak*	to land on the shore (of inanimate things, e.g., a canoe) (intr/stative)

70a I=ler	mai	kai	tasak	nagis	ni	Elakatapel.
3sgRS=return	come	ES	land	point	of	"

She died and was thrown ashore at Elakatapel. (029:26)

70b Ki=tl-i-ø	na	ke=fo		sak	mai.
3sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO	say	3sgIRR=PSP:IR		ascend	come

He said he would come up. (094:23) (98017b, 2676.1400, 2677.6563)

In (71) the arguments of the derived forms have no different roles to those of the underived forms (A->A).

71 *nre*	to turn (ambi/active)	*tanre*	to stir (ambi/active)
fnau	to teach (ambi/active)	*tafnau*	to teach (ambi/active)
sok	to collide (ambi/active)	*tasok*	to hug (ambi/active)

The verbs *nre* 'to turn', and *fnau* 'to teach/preach' appear to have the same meaning as their respective *ta-* prefixed forms, but *tanre* is more specific in the type of turning, that is, stirring. The derived forms of all three verbs in (71) are ambitransitive verbs capable of taking a suffix O. They show that the *ta-* initial form has been reanalyzed as an ambitransitive verb in at least three cases, as there appears to be no difference in the function of the *ta* prefixed and unprefixed forms. Example (72) illustrates the use of the *ta-* prefixed form *tafnau* 'to teach'.

72 Ki=pe	tafnau	kori	i=na	"Mal-en	ke=mai	
3sgPS=PF	teach	dog	3sgRS=say	time-this	3sgIRR=come	
ag	kin	p̃a=kat-i-ø."				
2sg	REL	2sgIRR=bite-TS-3sgO				

He taught his dog, he said, "When he comes you will bite him." (094:24)

8.3. POc **-i/-akini* semantic roles compared with South Efate

Transitivizing strategies in South Efate reflect the well-known POc close and remote transitives **-i/-akini,* but with significant differences to the pattern exemplified by Pawley and Reid (1980). Intransitive verb stems can derive transitive verbs by means of the transitivizing suffix *-ki* (§8.1.1.). Ambitransitive verb stems can act as transitive verbs either alone, or by taking the transitive suffix (TS) and an O suffix (§8.1.3.).

The functions associated with POc **-i* and *-akini* have spread in South Efate so that those functions associated with POc **-i* (patients, stimuli, locations) are now shared by reflexes of both **-i* and **-akini* (that is, by current transitivizing and prepositional forms). Further, those functions associated with **-akini* are now shared by the preposition *ki* and other prepositions. Examples illustrating (i)–(vi) in Table 8:4. follow.

i) patients or products (of agentive verbs):

73 I=lao-ki np̃au-n pak ntas tefla.
3sgR=plant-TR head-3sgDP to sea thus
He put his head into the sea. (98007az, 489.8, 491.7200)

74 Selwan raru i=p̃ur-ki nai ku=saulu-a-ø.
when canoe 3sgRS=full-TR water 2sgRS=bail-TS-3sgO
When water fills up the canoe you bail it out. (002a, elicited)

Table 8:5. Comparison of POc **-i/-akini* semantic roles with South Efate

POc	South Efate			
	-TS	*-ki*	Preposition *ki*	Other prepositions
***-i**				
i) patients or products of agentive verbs	+	+		
ii) stimuli/targets of psychological verbs	+	+		
iii) location/goal of verbs of motion and posture			+	+
***-aki(ni)**				
iv) instrument with agentive verbs			+	+
v) concomitant (with posture and motion verbs)				+
vi) cause or concomitant (with psychological verbs)				+

ii) stimuli/targets (of psychological verbs):

75 Ku=fla maet-ki nat.
2sgRS=CND be.angry-TR man
You may be angry with someone. (98009az, 2292.6, 2295.3481)

76 Nat i=gag traus-i-ø?
man 3sgRS-2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO
Someone has told you about it? (20001az, 1942.4, 1944.1827)

iii) location/goal (of verbs of motion and posture):
77 Go malfanen kai=pe tap siwer pak talm̃at mau.
and now 1sgPS=PF NEG walk to garden NEG2
And now I don't walk to the garden. (98010az, 426, 433.8399)

78 I=pan-lfek-ki Franis.
3sgRS=go-around-TR France
He went around France. (061:15)

iv) instrument (with agentive verbs):
79 Me masta nen i=sa tete nrak i=fs-ei-ø
but masta that 3sgRS=bad some time 3sgRS=whip-3sgO

ki stokwip.
PREP stockwhip
But the master who was no good would sometimes whip you with a stockwhip. (087:49) (98017a, 2342.5001, 2347.8401)

80 Komam u=ta weswes skot loto mau.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with car NEG2
We didn't work with cars. (064:19) (98003bz, 492.5200, 496.7001)

v) concomitant (with posture and motion verbs):
81 Go kineu kin a=po to plak America
and 1sg COMP 1sgRS=PSP:R HAB with America

ur ser naor.
follow every place
I took the Americans around all over the place. (040:13)(98003a, 1067.5101, 1072.59)

82 Ru=lek kineu a=pag skot nam̃er ne.
3p.S=look 1sg 1sgRS=climb with man this
They saw me climb (into a car) with this man. (063:95)

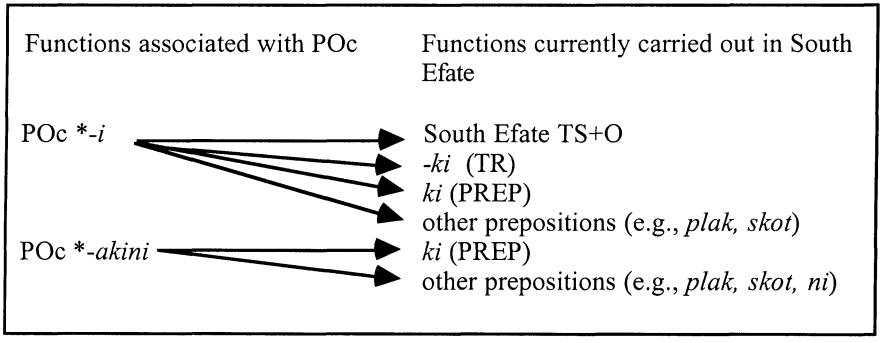
vi) cause or concomitant (with psychological verbs):
83 Me ke=fo mer traus skot akam.
but 3sgIRR=PSP:IR again speak with 2p.
But he will talk with you again. (98007az, 1011.8200, 1014.6200)

The cause or concomitant of a psychological verb can also be expressed by a benefactive phrase (see §11.4.2.)

84 A=semsem ni natkon preg te-namrun.
1sgRS=happy BEN village make DET-something
I am happy to do something for the village. (98009az, 987.1600, 996.6800)

The literature on POc **-i/-akini* clearly distinguishes the semantics of objects introduced by each of these suffixes. In South Efate the POc close transitive suffix is reflected by the transitive suffix which only occurs on ambitransitive verbs. The reflex of the remote transitive (*-ki*) acts to transitivize intransitive verbs. In South Efate there has clearly been a shift away from the typical functions associated with the POc suffixes, as illustrated in Table 8:6. The semantics associated with POc **-akini* (introducing peripheral arguments) now include adpositionals in South Efate.

Table 8:6. Change in function of the POc close and remote suffixes in South Efate



9. Verb combinations

Verb combining in Oceanic languages is the subject of an extensive literature, and is usually analyzed as verb serialization within a theoretical framework based on nuclear, core, and clause-layer predication. As we will see in this chapter, South Efate has relics of serial verb constructions with traces of what may once have been serial verbs but are now auxiliary verbs, adverbs, or directional particles.

Work on serial verbs of languages of Vanuatu includes that on Paamese (Crowley 1987), Lewo (Early 1993; 1994), Namakir (Sperlich 1991; 1993), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), Araki (François 2002), and Mwotlap (François 2004). Crowley's (2002) general survey of serial verbs in Oceanic languages also focuses on several languages of Vanuatu. These studies all reflect the need to deal with multi-predicate structures but there is no single approach that satisfies each of these authors.

Essentially, all of these approaches reveal a distinction between contiguous verbs which, for South Efate, are called compound verbs, and less tightly bound structures (illustrated in [1]) which are usually called core-layer serial verbs by the authors listed above. François (2002; 2004) is the exception as he treats contiguous verb stems as serialized, but then regards any combination of verbs that each bear subject marking as being a clause chain rather than a core-layer verb series. This is an attractive approach as it dispenses with the need to distinguish clause chains from the sequence of structures as schematized in (1), in which any number of sequential inflected verbs can occur with subjects and, optionally, objects.

1 S=V(-O) (S=V(-O))^{n}

In South Efate I regard any structure of the type outlined in (1) as representing two or more clauses. I analyze a predicate (made up of a simple or compound verb) as being the head of a verb complex which makes up a clause. In general, the presence of the subject argument in the form of a subject proclitic is diagnostic of a clause boundary. However, its absence does not necessarily preclude the presence of a clause boundary, as, in the absence of a subject argument (by what I call subject omission), there is a further diagnostic for clause boundaries in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) (see §9.1.2.1.) which initiates a new clause. Sequential clauses with subject omission (which I call clause-chains) have a structure like (2) because we can identify a new clause starting when a new preverbal complex begins.

2 S=(PVC) V Ø=(PVC) V

The reason that other studies have included core-layer serial verbs in their analysis rather than regarding them as sequences of clauses is that these structures are regarded as having commonalities that would be missed by treating them as

separate clauses. Some of these commonalities, summarized from Jauncey (1997:368) and Aikhenvald (1999:470), are reproduced in (3).

3 Features of verb series include that they:
   a) encode sub-parts of a single overall event.
   b) share at least one core argument.
   c) share the same TMA and polarity value.
   d) have the intonational properties of a mono-verbal clause.
   e) can be distinguished from complex predicates and other Verb+Verb sequences, neither verb of which can be a predicate on its own (e.g., compound verbs).

None of these criteria have provided a diagnostic tool for the structures under discussion in South Efate, as Aikhenvald (1999:470) points out: "no one of these characteristics is defining per se, since exceptions can be found to each of them."

It is unclear how we can define an 'event' (a above) that is described differently by mono-clausal or multi-clausal elements. Crowley (2002:263) discusses the problem of equating events with individual predicates and Foley (2003), in a careful analysis of the notion of 'event' in a cross-linguistic survey of SVCs, suggests that SVCs (however defined) cannot be considered to express a single event. His example of the verb 'kill' in four languages shows that it is encoded as a lexicalized root, a serial verb construction, and as coordinated clauses, and he concludes that these formal differences cannot be equated to the number of events encoded. In none of these languages, he argues, is the semantic structure of 'kill' a single event.

Distinct clauses can also share core arguments and TMA and polarity values (features b and c above), so this criterion does not distinguish sub-clausal verb linkage unless the arguments are obligatorily shared.

Intonation (d) is notoriously fickle as a correlate of syntactic structure (cf. Himmelmann 2000). Even with an accessible audio-corpus, as developed for this data, it has not been possible to state that there is an intonation contour associated with what could be considered to be core-layer SVCs that is distinct from that found with separate clauses, although the shorter the concatenated clauses are the more they appear to be identifiable intonationally as core-layer SVCs. Nevertheless, in the present analysis they are regarded as particular types of clause chains, as will be seen in §12.3.2.

Crowley (2002) observes that there is great variation in the way serial verb constructions are expressed within particular languages. He contrasts a language like Kalam (PNG), in which serial verbs are highly productive and very common in discourse, with Paamese, which he characterizes as being in the middle ground between having no serialization at all, and expressing pervasive serialization. Within Vanuatu he points to the difference between northern languages (including

Paamese) which display comparatively rich serialization, and the southern languages of Tanna and Erromango where serialization plays a relatively minor role. Between these lies South Efate, in central Vanuatu, in which functions associated with SVCs in other languages are carried out by non-SVC constructions. For example, South Efate has developed a set of auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.) that performs functions associated with SVCs in other languages (including modality and directionality), but which is now in a syntactically distinct slot that cannot be regarded as participating in a verb series.

The frequency of use of types of verb combinations, compared to simple verbs, is presented in §9.2. where we find that predicates occur most often as simple verb stems (around 94 percent), with compound verbs accounting for just under 6 percent of occurrences. There were 544 predicate positions in this dataset, and there were an additional 107 occurrences of auxiliary verbs, which, together with the low counts for anything other than simple or compound verbs, supports the observation in our discussion of pseudo-serialization below (§9.1.2.1.) that auxiliary verbs perform functions associated with SVCs in other languages. Compare the South Efate results with Crowley's figures for Paamese where about 25 percent of verbs appear in a serial verb construction (Crowley 2002:22).

Crowley's discussion of the 'dissolution' of SVCs in Oceanic (2002:169) points to several means by which historical SVCs have become grammaticalized into other constructions. We are not in a position to posit diachronic evidence for the current state of South Efate verbal constructions, but it is significant that features Crowley cites as being indicative of the move away from verb serialization are reflected in South Efate today. These specific features are: the development of compound verb forms (§9.1.1.) which exhibit morphological grammaticalization (Crowley 2002:176); the use of auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.) to encode modality, direction, and other features associated with serial verb constructions in other languages; the use of an echo-subject marker (cf. §5.1.3.2.3.) which is a means of concatenating verbs and clauses (Crowley 2002:201–208); and the use of directional particles that occur after locational nouns rather than in verb sequences (§9.1.2.4.). Lynch's (2004) discussion of Anejom̃ clauses reflects similar facts to the South Efate data, including the reliance on verb compounding, an echo-subject construction, and the use of directional particles or suffixes. A major difference is that a class of auxiliary verbs in South Efate encodes mood and temporal functions that are performed by verb series in the languages to the north for which descriptions are available (as discussed above).

9.1. Types of verb combinations in South Efate

Before proceeding we need to outline what kinds of verb combinations occur in South Efate. By doing this we can eliminate a number of candidates for serial verb constructions, which we will see are not a feature in the South Efate corpus. Table 9:1. lists types of verb combinations to be addressed, starting from compound verbs (1), which are formed by two contiguous verb stems.

Auxiliary verbs (2) can also form contiguous verb sequences, but with a structural boundary between them and the main verb that prevents them being treated as serial verbs. Adverbial modification of verbs (3) can also be distinguished from verb+verb combinations as adverbs form a distinct class (cf. §4.8). Prepositions and directional particles (4) have collocational and distributional characteristics which make it clear that they are not serial verbs. Categories (2) to (4) are discussed below under the heading 'Pseudo serial verbs' (§9.1.2.); each plausibly originated as serial verb constructions, but now involve distinct categories.

The final two categories (5) and (6) are types of clause-level linkage which are included here for comparison, but are discussed in the chapter on complex sentences (§12.3).

Table 9:1. Types of verb combinations

		Structure	Type
Compounds	1	Verb + Verb Verb + Adverb Verb + Noun Verb + Preposition	Asymmetrical compound Symmetrical compound
Pseudo-serial verbs	2	modifier + Verb Verb+modifier	Adverbial modification
	3	S=V de-verbal adjunct	V+Directional particles V+Preposition/ prepositional verb
	4	(Auxiliary Verb)^{n}+Verb	Auxiliary
	5	S=(PVC)V(NP) ES=V	Echo-subject construction
Clause linkage	6	S=V(O) V O	Clause chain (see §12.3.2)
	7	S=V(O) (S=V(O))^{n}	Juxtaposed clause (see §12.3.1)

9.1.1. Verb compounds

Verb compounds consist of two stems in sequence (verb1+stem2), occupying the same slot as a single verb stem and with a single PVC and O suffix as in the following schema:

4 S=PVC V X -(TS =O)

I use X for the second part of a compound, as that slot is not restricted to verbs but may be a noun (*preg-nafnag* 'make food') or a preposition (e.g., *to-reki* 'wait for') or an adverb (*mro-perkat* 'really think > remember'). The word class of the resulting compound is a verb. This level of verb combining is similar to that called nuclear-layer in descriptions of other Oceanic languages (see Crowley 2002 and others discussed above).

As examples of compound verbs *fis-ktof* 'to break by whipping', and *preg-sa* 'to do bad' in (5) have one subject marker and take a single object suffix.

5 Me tewan i=fis-ktof-i-ø boy.
and so 3sgRS=whip-break-TS-3sgO boy

I=kano preg-sa-ki-ø.
3sgRS=can't make-bad-TS-3sgO
And so he whipped the boy, he (the boy) can't make trouble for him (the boss). (98017az, 2397.6601, 2402.3879)

A defining characteristic of compound verbs is that no TMA or polarity item can intervene between the verb stems. A corollary is that both verbs in these constructions share TMA and polarity. Thus the compound verb *pes-top* 'talk-big' in (6a) cannot be separated by the second part of the discontinuous negation as in (6b).

6a Ssst. Ku=ta **pes-top** mau. Nlaken kin
Shh 2sgRS=NEG talk-big NEG2 because REL

i=min nmalok.
3sgRS=drink kava
Shh. Don't talk loudly! Because he is drinking kava. (98007bz, 719.8, 724.3)

6b *Ku=ta **pes mau top**
2sgRS=NEG talk NEG2 big

We can further divide the group of compound verbs on the basis of syntactic symmetry, that is, what kinds of verbs can fill each verb slot. I define symmetrical compounds as those in which both parts of the compound come from an open class of verbs and so both verbs can operate in other contexts as verbs on their own (following Aikhenvald 1999:472). Asymmetrical compounds are made up of a verb plus a second morpheme which cannot function as a verb on its own. These second parts of asymmetrical compounds can include nouns and adverbs as we will see in §9.1.1.2. below.

Compounds function as single phonological words. An illustration of this degree of compounding is that medial vowel reduction (see §3.6.1.), which only functions word-internally, applies to eligible compounds when the second verb has a transitive suffix and O suffix. The addition of these suffixes creates new syllable boundaries which indicates that the compound is acting as a single word for stress assignment purposes. For example, the destressed medial vowel /o/ is elided in (7a), where the compound form *kul-kor* takes the 3p.O suffix *-or* and thus becomes resyllabified as *kul.ko.ror,* undergoing MVR to become *'kul-kror.*

7 a)	*kul* to blanket	+ *kor* to enclose	+ *-o-r* 3p.O	*'kul-kor-o-r > kulkror*
b)	*mro* to think	+ *pir* dis-, negative	+*-i-k* 2sgO	*'mro-pir-i-k > mroprik*
c)	*wat* to hit	+ *pun* to kill	+*-i-ø* 3sgO	*'wat-pun-i-ø > watpni*

This diagnostic only works occasionally since not all of the V2 stems in Table 9:2. are eligible environments for MVR. Thus the compounds in (8) form phonological words which take a single object suffix, but do not provide an eligible environment for MVR. For example, in (8a) MVR is blocked by the presence of a consonant cluster /gt/, in (8b) MVR does not apply as the unstressed syllable contains a low vowel (*ta*), and in (8c) MVR is blocked by the presence of a consonant cluster /mnr/.

8 a)	*nrog* to hear	+ *tae* to know	+*-r* 3p.O	*'nrog-tae-r*
b)	*ta* to hug	+ *sok* to collide	+ *-i-ø* 3sgO	*'ta-sok-i*
c)	*pam* to eat	+ *nrog* to hear	+ *-o-ø* 3sgO	*'pam-nrog-o*

9.1.1.1. Symmetrical compounds

Symmetrical compounds are those for which both verbs are attested as occurring as main verbs. A list of some common types of symmetrical compounds is given in Table 9:2. The first verb in these compounds can be intransitive (*mro* 'to think', *kal* 'to dress'), semitransitive (*sak* 'to ascend') or ambitransitive (*kat* 'to bite', *nrog* 'to hear'). The second verb in the present data is always ambitransitive.

Table 9:2. Examples of symmetrical verb compounds

Verb1		**Verb2**	**Compound form**	
kal	to dress	+*nrog* to feel,	*kalnrog*	to try clothes
kam	to step on	hear	*kamnrog*	to feel by stepping on
kat	to bite		*katnrog*	to try by biting
min	to drink		*minnrog*	to taste by drinking
pam	to eat		*pamnrog*	to taste by eating
preg	to make, do		*pregnrog*	to try
kat	to bite	+*sok* to jump,	*katsok*	to bite hard
kel	to hold tight	to collide	*kelsok*	to hold tight
mot	to tie		*motsok*	to tie well
mro	to think		*mrosok*	to think carefully

nep	to throw		*nepsok*	to weigh sthg. down with stones
pes-a (psa)	to talk +TS		*psasok*	to encourage
ta	to hug		*tasok*	to hug tightly
til	to tell		*tilsok*	to promise
wes	to take		*wesok*	to take and hold
le	to look	+*tae* to know	*letae*	to recognize by seeing
mro	to think		*mrotae*	to recognize
nrog	to feel, smell		*nrogtae*	to recognize by smelling
kis	to pinch	+*p̃rai* to break	*kisp̃rai*	to pinch-break
mas	to cut		*masp̃rai*	to cut in pieces
sak	to climb		*sakp̃rai*	to climb and break
kul	to blanket	+*kor* to cover,	*kulkor*	to cover with blanket
kus	to hide	to block	*kuskor*	to cover-hide
lao	to stand up		*laokor*	to obstruct
pai	to lie in wait		*paikor*	to hide in wait for game
pal	to be empty		*palkor*	to mourn
sra	to hang (?)		*srakor*	to hide
suek	to put wood in a fire		*suekor*	to smoke
kam	to step	+*p̃or* to break	*kamp̃or*	to step on and break
lao	to leave		*laop̃or*	to leave and break
p̃or	to break		*p̃orp̃or*	to break everything
prei	to wash	+*tao* to leave	*preitao*	to wash clothes
m̃ol	to squeeze		*m̃oltao*	to rinse clothes
naonao	to scrape vegetables		*naonaotao*	to clean vegetables
ser	to sweep		*sertao*	to sweep and clean
sur	to weed		*surtao*	to weed and clean
wat	to hit	+*sraf* to miss	*watsraf*	to hit at but miss
p̃i	to kick		*p̃israf*	to kick at but miss

Examples of some of these compound verbs are given below, but first, to show that the second verb can act as a main verb in its own right, I give examples of the second verb in Table 9:2. acting as a main verb.

9 P̃a=nrog-o-ø? P̃a=**nrog** nal-e-n? I=tl-i-ø
2sgIRR=hear-TS-3sgO 2sgIRR=hear voice-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO

na mes ke=fo pam-kit.
COMP today 3sgIRR=PSP:IR eat-2p.O
Do you hear?Do you hear his voice? He says he will eat you today. (98017bz, 2627.3, 2631.0800)

10 Ntuam i=lek-a-ø me i=na ke=**sok**.
devil 3sgRS=look-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS=begin.to 3sgIRR=jump
The devil looked at him and began to jump. (98017bz, 2775.9241, 2777.9496)

11 Go ku=**tae** na i=pi naflak gag.
and 2sgRS=know COMP 3sgRS=be clan 2sgPOS
And you know that it is your clan (naflak). (98007bz, 1681.5731, 1683.9200)

12 Ale te-nen ku=**p̃rai** i=seserik ru=sos-o-ø
ok det-that 2sgRS=break 3sgRS=small 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO

ki patrik.
PREP p.name
Okay, the one that you break into small pieces they call it patrik (a kind of mat). (98010az, 506.0999, 511.6199)

13 Fat i=skei i=tu **kor** namt-e-n.
stone 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=STAT block eye-V-3sgDP
A stone blocked his eye. (20001b, 773.7600, 779.8401)

Examples of symmetrical compound forms follow.

14 I=ta pi cost ni ntan mau, te-nen
3sgRS=NEG be cost of land NEG2 DET-that

tuk=mas **mro-tae**.
1p.inRS=must think-know
It is not the cost of the land, that is what we must recognize. (98016bz, 424.2799, 430.7801)

15 Nala, ku=slat-i-ø. Ku=mai, ku=**mot-sok**
vine 2sgRS=take-TS-3sgO 2sgRS=come 2sgRS=tie-jump

lak ki-n.
pin PREP-3sgO
The vine, you take it. You come, you tie the lak *(pin holding the canoe's outrigger to the cross-member) with it. (004a, 650.5200, 658.2600)*

16 Go ntawot-in ne ra=mer **kul-kr-o-ø**
and bone-3sgDP this 3dRS=again blanket-cover-TS-3sgO

ki nkal.
PREP blanket
And his bones, they covered them with a blanket. (98009b, 722.3600, 731.5400)

There are two distinct compounds which are made up of the same two verb stems: *pes wi* 'to talk well', and *psawi* (*pes-a wi* 'talk-TS good') 'thankyou', in which the latter has a transitive suffix on the first stem and has become the conventionalized way of saying 'thankyou'. It is the only example in the data in which a transitive suffix occurs on the first stem in a compound.

17 A=**psawi** awo Waia, p̃ulp̃og-wi akam kaonsil.
1sgRS=thank uncle p.name day-good 2p. council
Thank you, Uncle Waia, good day to you, Council. (98016az, 1419.0400, 1423.3999)

18 A=mrokin neu nafsan ses, a=tae nen
1sgRS=think 1sgPOS story small 1sgRS=know COMP

a=kontribiut-ki-n m̃as, me, a=**psawi**-ki akam,
1sgRS=contribute-TR-3sgO only but 1sgRS=thank-TR 2p

nafsan gamus.
story 2p.POS
I think that my small story is my contribution but I thank you for your stories. (98018a, 1084.7, 1088.9399)

9.1.1.2. Asymmetrical compounds

The second stem in an asymmetrical compound cannot occur independently as a verb, but combines productively with a number of verbs, often with a predictable meaning, as can be seen in Table 9:3. Some of these compounds occur frequently and are conventionalized so that they behave as lexical items in their own right (and should be treated, for example, as headwords in the lexicon). Others are less conventionalized and allow for a certain amount of speaker creativity. The resulting compound verb is ambitransitive, regardless of whether the first verb is intransitive or ambitransitive. In some cases the second stem is an adverb (*perkat* 'really'), or a preposition (*reki* 'for') and in a small sample the second part can be a noun, as we will see below.

In some cases we can call the second part of these compounds a verb because of the distributional pattern they share with known verbs, and because some have relic verbal status. For example, the form *pun* does not occur as a main verb in the data, but it is found (as *fun*) in the deverbal noun *nafunwen*

'killing fish by poisoning', suggesting either that it may still function as a verb, but not in the current data, or that the earlier verbal function is now only evident in compounds and this deverbal noun.[75]

Table 9:3. Asymmetrical verb compounds
(As the meaning of the individual parts of the compound verb is not always transparent, a gloss can not always be provided.)

Stem 1		**Stem 2**	**Compound form**	
mro	to think	+*pir* negative (?)	*mropir*	to dislike
nrog	to hear		*nrogpir*	to disobey
fis	to whip	+*ktof* to break	*fisktof*	to whip and break
sak	to jump		*saktof*	to jump and break
kam	to step		*kamktof*	to step on and break
kat	to bite		*katktof*	to bite and break
kis	to press	+*pun* to kill	*kispun*	to abort a foetus
p̃i	to kick		*p̃ipun*	to kick and kill
pan	to burn		*panpun*	to burn and kill
sif	to club		*sifpun*	to club and kill
sok	to spear		*sokpun*	to spear and kill
tai	to cut		*taipun*	to stab and kill
wat	to hit		*watpun*	to hit and kill
lup̃	to pour	+*lu* completely	*lup̃lu*	to pour out completely
wes	to take out		*weslu*	to take out completely
p̃o	?	+*fu* through	*p̃ofu*	to puncture
preg	to make		*pregfu*	to pierce (e.g., an abcess)
sup̃	to pierce		*sup̃fu*	to pierce right through
mro	to think	+ *perkat* really	*mroperkat*	to remember
le	to look		*leperkat*	to look after
nrog	to hear		*nrogperkat*	to recognize
to	to stay	+*reki* for	*toreki*	to wait for
pa	to go		*pareki*	to go for
le	to look		*lereki*	to depend on
lelu	to avoid	+*kau* over (?)	*lelukau*	to avoid (?)

[75] The verb *pun* has widespread cognates in Austronesian and is reconstructed as *punuq for Proto Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1993).

There are some compounds, listed below, for which the first stem is not attested in the data and hence has no independent meaning.

nril	+*kau* over (?)	*nrilkau*	to jump over
pal		*palkau*	to step over
ta		*takau*	to trip over
lu	+ *pir* negative (?)	*lupir*	to unroll
tka		*tkapir*	to untangle, comb
sig		*sigpir*	to ignore

Some examples of these compound verbs follow.

19 I=lelu-kau kori me kori i=tap leg-ki
3sgRS=avoid-cover dog but dog 3sgRS=NEG be.straight-TR

napu mau.
road NEG2
He avoided the dog, but the dog was not right on the road. (98017b, 2766.1187, 2769.0691)

20 Ku=kano lek tesa i=sigpir.[76]
2sgRS=be.unable see child 3sgRS=ignore
You couldn't see a child ignore (its parent's voice). (98007bz, 527.2600, 532.3201)

21 Go naur nra nen, me m̃at i=na
and island two that and snake 3sgRS=begin.to

i=fis-ktof-i-r.
3sgRS=whip-break-TS-3p.O
And those two islands, the snake began to split them. (98002az, 1833.92, 1838.08)

22 P̃a=freg-pun te-ne me tak=fo to
2sgIRR=make:IR-kill DET-this and 1p.inclRR=PSP:IR STAT

mailum traus.
slow talk
You turn off (=make dead) this (tape recorder) and we will talk a little. (KN 98007b, 1900.1459, 1903.0896)

[76] As the meaning of both parts of this compound are unknown it is provided here unsegmented.

23 Ra=tok wat-pun nam̃er nig Erakor kat
3d.RS=STAT hit-kill people of p.name due.to

ntan negar.
ground 3p.POS
They kill Erakor people because of their land. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

The verb *lu* encodes increased affectedness of the object, typically its relocation, consumption or destruction, and so it is glossed as 'completely'.

24 Katom i=po to eut po=mai pam-lu
h.crab 3sgRS=PSP:R STAT shore PSP:R=come eat-completely

namt-e-n.
eye-V-3sgDP
The hermit crab would be at the beach, would come and eat its eye (the fish's eye) right up. (98010az, 262.2362, 267.2000)

25 P̃a=wes-lu polet, p̃a=fai nal.
2sgIRR=take-completely bullet 2sgIRR=fill basket
You take out bullets, you fill the bag. (98003a, 1625.0199, 1628.1303)

26 I=mai pkafu naniu panpan i=nom
3sgRS=come split coconut until 3sgRS=finish

i=sur-a-ø.
3sgRS=scoop-TS-3sgO
He split the coconut completely. (20003bz, 757.1599, 759.7065)

27 Ale a=mer mro-perkat na century p̃ur i=skei kin
then 1sRS=again think-really DET century big 3sgRS=one REL

I=mer tu naur tetwei 1954.
3sgRS=again stay island long.ago "
Then I remembered the centennial that was at the island in 1954. (98007az, 1627.9200, 1638.7000)

The semantic relationship between a stem and its compounded form is not always clear, as shown by the following examples with *krak*. While *krak* occurs as an independent verb stem meaning 'to crawl', this is not transparent from most of the following compound forms.

28 *krak* + *p̃rai* break *krakp̃rai* to break by crawling
+ *fu* through *krakfufu* to mash
+ *funfnoi* fade, disappear *krakfunfnoi* to erase, rub out
+ *mal* ? *krakmal* to clean a grave

+ *pel*	?	*krakpel*	to miss, when throwing
+ *pes*	speak	*krakpes*	to make a noise
+ *puel*	be absent	*krakpuel*	to lose, to forego
+ *pun*	kill	*krakpun*	to kill
+ *sa*	bad	*kraksa*	to spoil
+ *smanr*	to whip	*kraksmanr*	to miss, when catching
+ *sok*	collide, jump	*kraksok*	to understand
+ *ktof*	to break	*kraktof*	to break

As noted above, the second member of a compound can also be a noun, as seen in the examples in (29).

29 *oraik* to fish (by spear or bow and arrow) (*or*[77] 'to follow' *aik*[78] 'fish')
pakmalep to mourn (*pak* 'go to' *malep* 'widow')
plakori to hunt for wild animals (*plak* 'with' *kori* 'dog')

30 U=panpan patu **oraik** ur elau panpan tp̃il 46
1p.RS=until stay fishing follow saltwater until blow.up 46

kaitau ru=mat.
fish.sp. 3p.RS=die
They went fishing in the sea until we had dynamited 46 karong. *(021:27)*

31 Komam u=to **pakmalep**.
1p.exS 1p.exRS=STAT mourn
We are mourning. (elicited)

32 Nrak-pei wak mil i=lap pe lap pe lap.
time-first pig wild 3sgRS=many IF many IF many

Kau mil ru=lap pe lap. U=pan **plakori**.
cow wild 3p.RS=many IF many 1p.exS=go hunt
In the early days there were very many wild pigs. There were very many wild bullocks. We went hunting. (98017bz, 1169.44, 1175.40)

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[77] *or* is a variant form of *ur* 'to follow'.

[78] Note that *naik*, fish, occurs without the article *n-* in this compound showing either that the compound preserves a relic form, or that the article is analyzable and is not fused (see §5.2 on the degree of fusion of the article [*na-/ n-*] in South Efate). Lynch (p.c.) observes that the POc form is **na ika* so that fusion as *naik* has led to reinterpretation as *n-aik* rather than *na-ik*.

In example (33) *pi asel* is a compound form which is transitivized with *-ki* to introduce the Patient of the verb 'being friend' to.

33 Iwelkia a=po **pi-asel**-ki tete nanwei ni natkon.
well 1sgRS=PSP be-friend-TR some men of village
Well I became friends of some boys in the village. (98007az, 2474.0201, 2480.6200)

34 To go tapes ra=tme-r **pi-asel**-ki-r.
fowl and swamphen 3d.RS=RR-3p.DP be-friend-TR-3p.O
The chicken and the swamphen were friends. (078:1)

Several V+N compounds are based on the verb *preg* 'to make', resulting in intransitive verbs as in examples (35) and (36).

35 Namer got ru=tok **preg-nasum** ki lop.
people black 3p.RS=HAB make -house PREP bamboo
Black people make houses from bamboo. (17:35, written example)

36 I=piatlak natkon nen ru=mer **preg-nafkal**-ki-r.
3sgRS=have village that 3p.RS=again make-fight-TR-3p.O
There are villages who keep fighting each other (make fight to them). (089:16)

The South Efate verb-noun compounds are not highly productive but they are lexicalized via nominalization.[79] In fact, nominalization provides further evidence in favor of the verb+noun acting as a unit (see §5.4), for example, *pi asel* can be nominalized as a unit (*nafiaselwen* 'friendship') which suggests that it forms a V+N compound.

9.1.1.3. *pe* verbal conjoiner, intensifier

The semantics of a verb can be emphasized by conjoining one or more copies of the verb stem with *pe* 'intensifier'. Only the first verb is inflected in this construction, as seen in example (37).

37 Rait to ses i=pios pe pios.
mother fowl small 3sgRS=call.out IF call.out
The chicken's mother called and called. (98003bz, 1874.5, 1877.8)

38 I=kerkrai, nafsan gar kin i=kerkrai pe kerkrai sa.
3sgIRR=hard story 3p.POS REL 3sgIRR=hard IF hard bad
It is hard, their story is hard, very hard (lit: 'badly hard'). (98012 JC)

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[79] Pawley (1986) comments on Fijian verb-noun compounds acting as non-specific objects, saying that they provide "an economical and productive means for lexicalisation—for creating standardised expressions for referring to recurrent types of action" (1986:99–100).

The meaning encoded by *pe* and the repeated stem typically results in an emphatic meaning with stative verbs (e.g., *top pe top* 'very many'), and a durative meaning with the one active verb with which it occurs in the data (e.g., *nrir pe nrir* 'to fly and fly').

lap	to be many	*lap pe lap*	to be very many
nrir	to fly	*nrir pe nrir*	to fly and fly
pios	to call out	*pios pe pios*	to call out loudly
pram	to be long	*pram pe pram*	to be very long
rog	to be wrong < English	*rog pe rog*	to be really wrong
sa	to be bad	*sa pe sa*	to be really bad
top	to be too much	*top pe top*	to be very much
wi	to be good	*wi pe wi*	to be very good

The construction can be extended to more than two identical verb stems (39) for additional emphasis.

39 U=to e-sum̃ ni natam̃ol iskei, me
1p.exRS=stay LOC-house of man one but

u=lap pe lap pe lap pe lap.
1p.exRS=many IF many IF many IF many
We stayed at this man's house, but there were lots and lots and lots of us. (98010az, 1505.3399, 1511.6599)

Such iteration is usually accompanied by distinctive intonation involving lengthening of the vowel in each of the verbs (in this case *lap* 'be many') and successive downstepping in frequency as shown in the spectrogram below (Figure 9:1.) where there is a decrease in the size of the waveform with each successive utterance of *pe lap.*

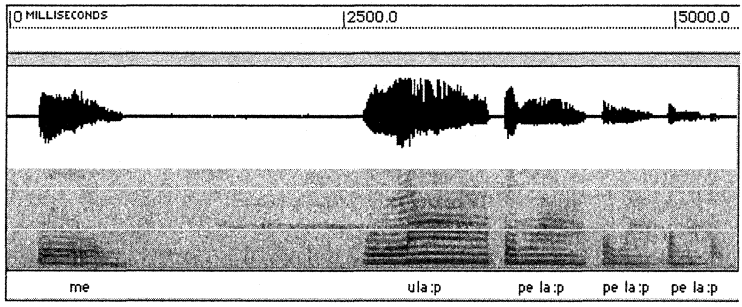

Figure 9:1. Spectrogram of intonation associated with *pe* 'intensifier'

9.1.2. Pseudo-serial verbs

As discussed in the introduction, there are four types of verb combinations which can be excluded from consideration as serial verbs on distributional grounds. In this section I will outline what form these verb combinations take

under the headings: Auxiliary verbs (§9.1.2.1.); Adverbial modification of verbs (§9.1.2.2.); Prepositional verbs (§9.1.2.3.); and Directional verbs and particles (§9.1.2.4.).

9.1.2.1. Auxiliary verbs

There is a small set of thirteen verbs (listed in [40]) which occur in auxiliary position and which do not participate in compounds or in serial verb constructions. The same verbs can also function as main verbs, but as auxiliary verbs they occur in a clearly defined auxiliary position which distinguishes them from their occurrence as main verbs. Some of these occur as auxiliary verbs with higher frequency than as main verbs. Auxiliary verbs are part of the pre-verbal complex that precedes both the main verb and the position in which a benefactive phrase may appear. The structure of the auxiliary is discussed in detail in §10.1.5. Significant for our current discussion is the fact that auxiliary verbs encode features of ability (*tae* 'be able to', *kano* 'be unable to', *mal* 'not want to'), modality (*lakor* 'maybe', *mas* 'must', *nrus* 'just', *traem* 'try'), direction (*ler* 'return', *mai* 'come', *pan* 'go', *to* 'stay', 'be at') and sequentiality (*mer* 'again', *pei* 'first') which are typical of the semantics of serial verb constructions (e.g., the categories of directional, sequential, and manner as outlined in Crowley 2002, or Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:47). As typological discussions of serial verbs often refer to the semantic types of verbs that can be serialized it is important to note that these features are encoded by the auxiliary in South Efate and not in serial verb constructions.

40 **Auxiliary verbs**

kano	be unable to, can't	*nrus*	just
lakor	maybe	*pan*	go
ler	return	*pei*	first
mai	come	*traem*	try
mal	not want to	*tae*	know, be able to
mas	must	*to*	do habitually, stative, durative
mer	again, in turn		

To illustrate the function of auxiliary verbs consider (41) in which the benefactive phrase is present, represented by the pronoun *gag* '2sgBEN', showing that the auxiliary verb *kano* 'be unable to' occurs in the pre-verbal complex distinct from a main verb position.

41 A=kano gag saen.
1sgRS=be.unable 2sgBEN sign
I can't sign for you. (98017az, 176.1464, 177.7206)

Now consider the following examples in which a hash (#) indicates the position at which a benefactive phrase could occur and so is the rightmost boundary of the pre-verbal complex. In (42) the direction of the motion encoded in the verb *lek* 'to look' is given by the auxiliary *mai* 'come'.

42 Ru=preg munwei ru=mai # lek-a-ø.
3p.RS=make healer 3p.RS=come look-TS-3sgO
They got the healer, they came to look at it (the spirit that would be exorcized). (98011a, 1525.5001, 1528.0005)

In South Efate the auxiliary has a major role in encoding direction, as in (43) where each of *ler mai* 'return come' (43a), *ler pa* 'return go' (43b), and *mai to/tu*[80] 'stay' (43c) occur as auxiliary plus main verb pairs.

43a U=ler mai pak Emlakul malnen
1p.exRS=return come to p.name when

u=pareki Efat.
1sgRS=go.to p.name
We came back to Malakula when we went to Efate. (98007bz, 2043.0132, 2047.7401)

43b Ru=ler pa.
3p.RS=return go
They came and then returned. (98009b, 434.7800, 443.7601)

43c Go ru=mai tu elau Egis e-sa.
and 3p.RS=come stay beach p.name LOC-here
And they came and stayed at the coast at Egis here. (98002bz, 958.8800, 961.4000)

9.1.2.2. Adverbial modification of verbs

Adverbial modification of verbs is manifested by two contiguous forms, one of which is a verb and the other an adverb. Adverbs are a word class independent of verbs and cannot function as verbs on their own. In this section I will give some examples to show that adverbial modification cannot be considered verb serialization in South Efate.

The adverb *prakot* 'anyhow' follows the verb *pes* 'to speak' in (44).

44 Tija i=kano pan pes prakot, ke=mas pes
teacher 3sgRS=cannot go speak anyhow 3sgIRR=must speak

taos nafsan leg.
follow language right
The teacher can't speak any old how, he must use the right language. (20001b, 648.1400, 651.9606)

[80] The forms *tu* and *to* vary freely as the stative verb.

Some adverbs precede the verb and some follow. One that always precedes the verb it modifies is *trau* 'really, just, only', as seen in (45).

45 Tu=pitlak grup ru=trau lap.
1p.exRS=have group 3p.RS=really many
We have very many groups. (98009a, 1434.0600, 1435.4)

The adverb *termau* 'for good' cannot occur on its own, but only ever functions as a modifier, as in (46).

46 Tete-nrak ra=preg-i-ø nen kin ke=fo mat.
some-time 3d.RS=make-TS-3sgO that REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR die

Ke=fo mat termau.
3sgIRR=PSP:IR die properly
Sometimes they would make him die. He would die for good. (98007az, 403.1599, 414.2600)

In (47) *pelpel* is an adverb modifying the preceding verb *sef* 'to escape' which follows the auxiliary verb *tae* 'be able'. This is the only example that has a different adverbial (*pelpel* 'quickly') and verbal (*trapelpel* 'be quick') form (compare this example with 63 below).

47 I=tae sef pelpel me katom i=kano.
3sgRS=be.able escape quickly but crab 3sgRS=unable
He can escape quickly, but the hermit crab cannot. (98009az, 57.4200, 60.2238)

These examples, together with the discussion of adverbs in §4.8, show that verb + adverb combinations can be identified in South Efate and that we need not regard them as operating as serial verb constructions.

9.1.2.3. Prepositions and deverbal prepositions

Prepositional verbs form a class which has been recognized for many Oceanic languages, and which has been reconstructed by Pawley (1973:142ff) for Proto Oceanic. Durie (1988) suggests these verbs result from a diachronic drift from serial verb constructions. In South Efate the group of verbs shown in (48) can function as prepositions[81] and so when they follow another verb there is some difficulty in identifying them as either prepositions or as the second verb in series. The task of identifying prepositions in this position is made more difficult because prepositions can take an object suffix in South Efate which makes them even more verb-like. These forms occur mainly in the position following a verb in the data.

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[81] Schütz (1969a:58-59) identifies 'verbal prepositions' in Ngunese, which function both as prepositions and verbs. The cognates of some of these forms only function as prepositions in South Efate, e.g., *tefla* 'like', while others only function as verbs or directional particles e.g., *to(k)* 'to stay'.

48	*skot*	with/be with
	plak	with, accompany/to take
	toklos	in front of/to be in front of
	pak	to/go to
	nrokot	across/to cross
	taos	like/to be like

In the three next examples we see *skot* 'with/be with' first in (49) acting clearly as a main verb (following a reflexive/reciprocal particle and so in a position that can only be filled by a verb), then in an environment in which it could be analyzed either as part of a compound verb or as a preposition following a verb stem (50), and finally as a preposition (51).

49 Tesa nmatu me tesa nanwei te-lap ru=tme-r
child female and child male DET-many 3p.RS=RR-3p.DP

skot-i-r to me ru=ta lak mau.
be.with-TS-3p.O stay but 3p.RS=NEG marry NEG2
Lots of girls and boys stay with each other, but they don't marry. (98009a, 1178.0399, 1188.0600)

50 Ku=matur skot tm-a-m go rait-o-m.
2sgRS=sleep with father-V-2sgDP and mother-V-2sgDP
You sleep at your father and mother's. (20003az, 2047.1645, 2048.9001)

51 Ale u=pak namlas skot armi.
ok 1p.exRS=go.to bush with army
Okay, we went to the bush with the army. (98002az, 109.2800, 112.8200)

In (52) *plak* functions as a preposition and has no subject proclitic.

52 Praem minista, Presiden, plak, a, minista go nafet na
prime minister presiden with hesit minister and group ART

bisnisman nen ru=to taon go aotsaed ru=nomser mai.
businessmen REL 3p.RS=stay town and outside 3p.RS=all come
The Prime Minister, President, with Ministers and many businessmen who are in town and outside, they all came. (98002az, 1158.9400, 1183.8800*)*

In (53) *plak* is used first as a preposition and then as a verb with a subject proclitic.

53 Bourgeois plak loia ga. Bourgeois i=plak loia.
p.name with lawyer 3sgPOS p.name 3sgRS=be.with lawyer
Bourgeois with his lawyer. Bourgeois was with a lawyer. (98002az, 957.0604, 964.0800)

In the following example, *pak* 'to go to' functions as a verb immediately following the prospective PVC particle.

54 Me nanwei ga ke=fo pak e-talm̃at
but man 3sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP go.to LOC-garden

i=slat nafnag i=paunamru, ke=mai pus=i-ø
3sgRS=carry food 3sgRS=carry 3sgIRR=come put-TS-3sgO

e-sum̃ me nmatu kin ke=fo preg nafnag.
LOC-home but woman COMP 3sgIRR=PSP make food
The man goes to the garden, gets food, carries it, and puts it in the house. (065:32) (98003b, 969.8800, 983.4600)

In (55) we see *pak* following a verb of motion, *pan* 'go', and as it has no verbal marking (such as a subject proclitic or pre-verbal complex) *pak* is functioning as a preposition.

55 Go namrun nen ru=sef ler pan pak Ermag pa.
and something this 3p.RS=escape back go to Erromango go
And these things ran away back to Erromango. (032:18) (98001az, 2126.1599, 2131.8400)

In summary, when a deverbal preposition occurs immediately following a verb it is regarded as acting as a preposition and not as a verb in series.

9.1.2.4. Directional verbs and particles

There are three directional verbs (using terminology from Durie 1988:11): *pa* 'go', *mai* 'come', and *to* 'stay' which, in addition to acting as main and auxiliary verbs, can occur following a locational object, or directly following a main verb. They can thus occur in a range of positions that is more extensive than that of other verbs. In this position following a main verb or a noun they specify a location or direction and do not act as a verb, which is why they are regarded as particles. In this section I give examples of each in both positions, first as a verb and then as a directional particle. In (56) *mai* 'come' acts as a main verb.

56 U=mai na ko=fak esum̃.
1p.exRS=come PURP 1p.exIRS=go.to:IR house
We came in order to go to the house. (Kalsarap.mov, 50.3001, 52.795)

In (57) *mai* acts as a directional particle following the noun *raru* 'canoe'.

57 Nam̃er nen ru=pa raru mai.
people that 3p.RS=drive canoe hither
Those people bring canoes. (20003az, 29.9000, 34.7000)

In (58) we see *pa* as a directional particle in *siwer pa* 'walk go', and then following 'British police'.

58 I=to siwer pa, go i=to siwer pareki
3sgRS=STAT walk thither and 3sgRS=STAT walk go.for
British police pa.
" go
He walked away, and he walked off for the British police. (98014az, 1568.1401, 1571.3)

While these forms are called 'directional' they also include a stative *tu/to* as in (59) and (60).

59 Go malnen ru=pak Erakor pa=n, Erakor ga i=pi
and when 3p.RS=go.to p.name go=DST p.name 3sg 3sgRS=be

namlas tu.
bush stay
And, when they went to Erakor, Erakor was just bush. (98002bz, 988.4200, 990.72)

In (60) the directional particle *to* 'stay' occurs twice, once following the verb *mat* 'die' and then following the location, *elau* 'the sea'.

60 Ru=si-r. Ra=mat to elau to.
3p.RS=shoot-3p.O 3d.RS=die stay sea stay
They shot them. They died at sea. (005a, 255.3400, 273.4400)

To express the direction 'from', the combination of *to* 'stay' and *mai* 'come' is used as in (61), an extract from a traditional story which tells of mackerel coming 'from' the forest or the bush.

61 Go naik gar ru=to namlas mai. Napuṁ. Ru=to
and fish 3p. 3p.RS=stay bush hither mackerel 3p.RS=stay

namlas mai.
bush hither
The fish came from the bush. Mackerels. They came from the bush. (98007bz, 1589.0200, 1595.6830)

62 Kotfak mane ko=fo sat-i-ø ler mai.
half money 1p.exlRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO return hither
We took half of the money back. (98003bz, 694.2285, 696.1992)

There is one example in the data, given in (63), where *trapelpel* acts as a verb, but *sef* 'hurry escape' acts as a directional particle. This could reflect a broadening of the word class of directional particles but there are too few examples to generalize further at present.

63 Me selwan i=ur nmalnawen i=trapelpel sef
but when 3sgRS=follow beach 3sgRS=hurry escape

nag ke=kus.
so.that 3sgIRR=hide
But when he followed along the beach he hurried to escape. (020:3)

The current analysis treats directional particles as modifiers when they occur following another verb, and not as verbs in series. Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:46) observe that directional particles of the kind discussed here are common in Oceanic languages and are "presumably derived from earlier directional serializations," which appears to be the case for South Efate.

9.2. Enumeration of verbal constructions in South Efate

To show that verbs in South Efate overwhelmingly occur as single stems I present the results of a count in five texts (Table 9:4.) which shows that, of the 544 predicates in the texts, 94 percent were represented by single verbs, and 6 percent are expressed by compound verbs (combining the two kinds enumerated in Table 9:4.). A count of the number of auxiliary verbs in the same text sample is given on the right of the chart. As auxiliary verbs do not function as predicates the figures are not given as percentages of the total, but are included to show how common auxiliary verbs are in the data considering that they play a role that would, in other languages to the north (e.g., Namakir [Sperlich 1993] and Lewo [Early 1994]), be played by serial verb constructions. The texts counted are made up of five monologic narratives by five different speakers (texts 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7 in the Appendix) and a 16-minute extract of natural conversation from a court hearing[82] with multiple interlocutors. In all cases there is an overwhelmingly strong preference for single verb stems.

Table 9:4. Sample texts, predicate types

	Single main verb	Compound—asymmetrical	Compound—symmetrical	Totals	AUX
Narratives	263	7	13	283	54
	92.98%	2.49%	4.63%		
Court hearing	252	0	11	263	53
	95.82	0.00%	4.18%		
Total	515	7	24	546	107
	94.30%	1.29%	4.41%		

[82] Recorded at an Erakor Village Court hearing with multiple participants.

10. The verb complex

The verb in South Efate occurs within a discontinuous verb complex constituent. The usual TMA marking associated with a verb phrase in Oceanic languages is readily separated from the verb in South Efate by a benefactive phrase occurring immediately before the verb. Subject pronominals are obligatorily proclitic to the verbal complex (except in clause chaining §12.3.2.). The subject proclitic attaches to whatever follows, which will be one of (a) an element of the pre-verbal complex, or (b) a benefactive phrase, or (c) the verb stem. Pronominal proclitics are described in the section on pronominals (§5.1.3.2.) where a list of all forms is presented.

The verb complex can stand as the minimal sentence which can be made up simply of a subject proclitic and verb. The verb slot can be filled by a single verb stem or a compound verb (§9.1.1.). Similarly, the verb complex can constitute a minimal clause. The object of the verb follows, encoded by a suffix or by a nominal (but not by both, see §8.1.3.). The final element in the Verbal Complex is the perfective, as shown in the schema in (1). Each of the elements of the verb complex will be discussed in turn below.

1 S= (PVC) (Benefactive Phrase) V $\left\{\begin{matrix}= \text{O Pron} \\ \text{O NP}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (PF)

In descriptions of other Oceanic languages a constituent, usually called the verb phrase (VP), is taken either to include both the verbal head and associated material (typically modifers and TMA markers) and the subject and object markers (e.g., Hyslop 2001:23), or else just the associated material, excluding the nominal arguments associated with the verb (e.g., Crowley 1982:118). Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:43), in their overview of Oceanic VPs, include enclitic pronominals as part of the VP. It has been necessary in these cases to distinguish the VP under discussion from the VP known from transformational syntax and its descendants. For example, Crowley (1998:189) observes that "the verb phrase as it is described in Erromangan does not correspond to what is often referred to in the same way in grammars of other languages." Partly because of that potential confusion, but mainly because of the facts of South Efate grammar, I do not use the term 'verb phrase' for a constituent in South Efate.

10.1. The pre-verbal complex (PVC)

The cluster of particles in the slots following the subject pronoun form the pre-verbal complex. The maximal pre-verbal complex is made up of the following components:

2 $\underset{\text{PVC1}}{\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{(ASP)(DUR)(NEG)} \\ \text{(NEG)(CND/may)}\end{matrix}\right\}}\underset{\text{PVC2}}{\left\{\text{(AUX)}\left(\begin{matrix}\text{RR + DP} \\ \text{QUANT}\end{matrix}\right)\right\}}$

We also need to distinguish two constituents within the pre-verbal complex that we will call PVC1 and PVC2, as only members of PVC1 are permitted between the proclitic and the irrealis form of a stem-initial mutating verb (see §6.4.5.1.).

PVC1

ASP	Aspect
DUR	Durative
NEG	Negation, formed by two parts, the first preceding the negated proposition and the second (NEG2) following it. The first part of the negation may also occur within the AUX, depending on the scope of the negation.
CND/may	Conditional/may

PVC2

AUX	Auxiliary verb
RR+ DP	Reflexive/reciprocal and direct possessive suffix
QUANT	Quantifier

A small group of modifiers or adverbs occur directly adjacent to the main or auxiliary verb that they modify. As their distribution depends on the verb they are modifying they are not included in the general schema above but are discussed in §4.8. above.

The conditional particles (CND/may) can only occur directly following the subject proclitic (and NEG if present) and can only be followed by the auxiliary verb or later material.

Some examples of the pre-verbal complex follow, each with a third line showing how the elements relate to the schema in (2):

3	Ale	**kai=pe**	**mai**	**to**	esum̃**.**
	ok	1sgPS=PF:R	come	stay	house
		S=ASP	AUX	VERB	

Okay, I came and stayed at home. (98010bz, 1034.6400, 1038.0200)

4	Tiawi	**ru=ta**	**to**	mtir	natus	mau	tetwei.
	old.people	3p.RS=NEG	HAB	write	book	NEG2	long.ago
	S	S=NEG	AUX	VERB			

The old people didn't write books (didn't write in books/on paper) in those days. (20003az, 474.3559, 476.8401)

5	Mama	ga	**ke=fo**	**tae**	**tme-n**	**lekor**-wes.
	mother	3sgPOS	3sgIRR=PSP:IR S=ASP	know AUX	RR-3sgDP RR-DP	look.after-3sgOBL VERB

Her mother would be able to look after her herself. (98003bz, 1199.9680, 1202.4599)

6	Me	tete	nat	ru=**ta**	**tu**	**mai**	**lek**	kineu,
	but	some	people	3p.RS=DUR S=DUR	HAB AUX	come AUX	see VERB	1sg

tete	nat	ko=tae.
some	people	1p.exIRR=know

But some people would still come and see me, some people we know. (98016bz, 860.3473, 864.8)

Auxiliary verbs can also occur as main verbs, and their role as either a main verb or a member of the pre-verbal complex can be distinguished on the basis of the position they occupy, often with an accompanying semantic difference as exemplified in §10.1.5. A diagnostic of the status of a verb as a main or auxiliary verb is the possible presence of a benefactive phrase immediately preceding the main verb, thus separating the main verb from the pre-verbal complex.

Each of the elements of the pre-verbal complex is described in turn below, but first we need to consider the status of the PVC and its parts. There is a tight bond between elements of PVC1 such that pauses typically occur before or after but not within PVC1, depending on the number of its parts. That is, a short pre-verbal complex of only one or two parts is more word-like than is a longer pre-verbal complex (e.g., 5 above). The process of medial vowel reduction (cf. §3.6.1) does not apply within the PVC, which suggests that the PVC is not functioning as a single unit, but is a collection of morphologcally distinct units.

10.1.1. Aspect

There are two particles in the PVC that encode aspect: *pe* perfect (glossed as PF) and *po fo* prospective (glossed as PSP). The prospective marker has a realis (*p*-initial) and irrealis (*f*-initial) form whose distribution is discussed in §6.4.5.1. Aspect is also encoded in pronominals (§5.1.3.2.1.) and the interaction betweeen aspect markers and pronominals is discussed in §6.3.

Example (7) illustrates the perfect aspect marker *pe* in a sentence in which the action (eating eight men) was completed in the past.

7	Kai=**pe**	pam	natam̃ol	ki=**pe**	pi	eit	ki.
	1sgPS=PF:R	eat	man	3sgPS=PF:R	be	eight	TOP

I have eaten eight men. (lit: I have eaten men they were eight.) (019:41)(004a, 392.9400, 398.2599)

Example (8) illustrates the prospective aspect marker. It is part of a life story in which the speaker talks of a time when he was arrested. Despite the event occurring in the past, the prospective marker is used to show that the arrest would occur after the other events in the story.

8 Neu me ru=**po** ares-ki kineu.
1sg but 3p.RS=PSP:R arrest-TR 1sg
Me, they would arrest me. (98002az, 671.0600, 675.2200)

10.1.2. Negation

In this section I will outline the role of negation in the pre-verbal complex. A more general discussion of various types of negation can be found in §11.6. The negative particle in the PVC, *ta(p)*[83] 'NEG', precedes the proposition it is negating, in either PVC1 or PVC2. In the auxiliary in PVC2, NEG can only occur following the first item, *mer* 'again', in the data. It is the first part of a discontinuous negation construction of which the second, and sentence-final, part is *mau* NEG2.[84] Discontinuous negation is a feature of Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:51). The second part of the negation must occur sentence finally as shown in (9b). In (9c) the second part of the negation follows the auxiliary and is not grammatical in this position.

9a Ki=mai pi as.
3sgPS=come be coconut-crab
He became a coconut-crab. (elicited)

9b Ki=**ta** mai pi as **mau.**
3sgPS=NEG come be coconut-crab NEG2
He didn't become a coconut-crab. (elicited)

9c *Ki=**ta** mai **mau** pi as.
3sgPS=NEG come NEG2 be coconut-crab
He didn't become a coconut-crab. (elicited)

Similarly, example (10a) shows the normal placement of NEG2 sentence-finally, while (10b) shows an unacceptable version with NEG2 directly following the verb, and (10c) shows an unacceptable version with NEG2 directly following NEG.

10a Me i=tap metpakor nafsan nig apap nega **mau.**
but 3sgRS=NEG forget story of father 3sgPOS NEG2
But he didn't forget his father's story. (014:12) (004b, 831.1001, 838.5400) (KN)

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[83] *Tap* also acts as a main verb as outlined in §11.6 on negation.

[84] In Ngunese Schütz (1969a:40) calls *mau* a limiting element which is apparently not obligatory in this position.

10b *Me i=tap metpakor **mau** nafsan nig apap nega.
but 3sgRS=NEG forget NEG2 story of father 3sgPOS
But he didn't forget his father's story. (elicited)(005Ax, 2615.5400, 2667.9400)

10c *Me i=tap **mau** metpakor nafsan nig apap nega.
but 3sgRS=NEG NEG2 forget story of father 3sgPOS
But he didn't forget his father's story. (elicited)(005Ax, 2615.5400, 2667.9400).

Further examples of the discontinuous negation marker follow:

11 Ru=**ta** trok **mau.**
3p.RS=NEG agree NEG2
They don't agree. (98001b, 1083.5200, 1084.5972)

12 Me malpei tiawi ru=**tap** preg nasum̃
but long.ago ancestors 3p.RS=NEG make house

ki kapa **mau.**
PREP tin NEG2
But long ago the old people didn't make houses from tin. (20001az, 312.9201, 323.4995)

13 Ru=**ta** involv top pak nanre ni sapot, ko
3p.RS=NEG involve much to side of support or

enkarij-ki nafet tesa reki nanre skul **mau.**
encourage-TR group child for side school NEG2
They are not involved as far as support or encouragement for the children at school. (20001b, 431.4400, 440.7000)

14 Ru=**ta** nrik kineu ki gas kin ka=fo
3p.RS=NEG tell 1sg PREP when COMP 1sgIRR=PSP:IR

jenj-ki-n **mau.**
change-TR-3sgO NEG2
They didn't tell me when I would change it. (98004a, 1492.802, 1495.806)

The only example of *mau* 'NEG2' not occurring sentence finally is (15) in which it is followed by the temporal adjunct *tkal mes* 'until today', possibly added as an afterthought.

15 Me a=**ta** **ta** jenj-ki-n mau tkal mes.
but 1sgRS=DUR NEG change-TR-3sgO NEG2 touch today
But I still haven't changed it until today. (98004a, 1489, 1492.8)

There is free variation between *tap* and *ta* as we see in example (16) where there are two sentences from the same speaker, with the same phonological environment, the first expressed by *ta* and the second by *tap*.

16 Komam u=**ta** weswes skot loto mau.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with car NEG2

Komam u=**tap** weswes skot enjin mau.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=NEG work with engine NEG2
We didn't work with cars. We didn't work with engines. (98003bz, 492.5200, 500.7600)

While most examples in the data include both parts of the negation, there are examples where the second part of the negation is absent, usually in questions, and typically in the casual speech of younger people. The following examples (all spoken by a young woman) show the absence of *mau* NEG2, which we would expect to appear at the end of these sentences.

17 Wel kia ki=pe **ta** wi taosi kin tetwei a?
thus PR 3sgPS=PF NEG good like COMP old INJ
Well it is not good like before, eh? (070:29) (98009az, 614.94, 619)

18 Rui=pe **ta** mur na ruk=nrog a?
3p.PS=PF NEG want say 3p.IRR=hear INT
They don't want to hear, they don't believe, eh? (070:32) (98009az, 635.3, 638.1)

It is more common for the second part of the negation to be absent when the first part of the negation is pronounced *tap*, as in (19).

19 Me komam ni Efat te-p̃ur ru=**tap** weswes.
but 1p.ex of Efate DET-big 3p.RS=NEG work
But we from Efate, many don't work. (98017az, 2100.4288, 2103.0284)

As *tap* is also the negative verb meaning 'to not do something' it is possible that conversion between the verb and particle accounts for the lack of the second negative marker with *tap* more often than with *ta*.

10.1.3. *ta* durative

The durative marker *ta* encodes an activity that is ongoing, and is best glossed as 'still'. In (20) the context is a discussion of the merits of independence for Vanuatu, and the speaker says that the two governments of the Condominium should have been *still* left to *still* continue educating the people, to *still* give them knowledge.

20 U=tl-i-ø i=wi tuk=**ta** tao
1p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=good 1p.inclRR=DUR leave

kafman nranru rak=**ta** tu-kit ntaewen
government two d.IRR=DUR give-1p. knowledge

ke=**ta** lakor pa.
3sgIRR=DUR maybe go
We said it is good (that) we still leave the two governments to keep giving us education, that it might still go on. (045:46)

In (21) the speaker notes that, even though the main plaintiffs have died, a court case they brought is still coming, using the durative *ta* to express the fact that it has still not occurred.

21 S. i=mat, R. i=mat, me kes nen
S 3sgRS=dead R 3sgRS=dead but case that

i=**ta** to mai.
3sgRS=DUR STAT come
S. died, R. died, but that case still kept coming. (98016bz, 1088.8400, 1092.7200)

We need to distinguish the durative *ta* from the homophonous negative *ta* 'NEG'. Negation is discontinuous and the negation markers usually occur in pairs of the form *ta(p) ... mau* (as discussed above in §10.1.2.). In example (22) there are two *ta* particles but only one NEG2 particle *mau*. Thus we know that only one *ta* can be the negative marker and the other *ta* must be the durative marker. The scope of the negation in (22) could be the whole proposition (if the first *ta* is the negative), as in reading (22a), or a potential and equally valid reading (out of context) would be (22b), where the scope of negation is only over the final verb rather than the whole complement of the verb *mro* 'to think'.

22a A=**ta** mro-ki-n na ruk=fo mer
1sgRS=NEG think-TS-3sgO say 3p.IRR=PSP:IR in.turn

ta puet kineu mau.
DUR take 1sg NEG2
I don't think that they would still take me. (98014az, 591.8, 594.4400)

22b A=**ta** mro-ki-n na ruk=fo mer
1sgRS=DUR think-TS-3sgO say 3p.IRR=PSP:IR in.turn

ta puet kineu mau.
NEG2 take 1sg NEG2
I still think that they would not take me. (98014az, 591.8, 594.4400)

The following examples also show the co-occurence of the negative and durative markers. In each case the translation is the one given in context.

23 Nasuñ ru=**ta** **ta** p̃elgat-i-ø mau.
house 3p.RS=DUR NEG open-TS-3sgO NEG2
The house, they still haven't opened it yet. (98002az, 1107.9600, 1111.5)

24 Malnen i=**ta** **ta** mram wi mau, a.a.
then 3sgRS=DUR NEG light good NEG2 INJ
Back then it still wasn't light (i.e., Christianity wasn't established). (98010az, 1158.1399, 1167.5400)

The combination of the durative particle and negative verb *tik* 'to not be' gives the reading of 'not yet' as in example (25), where the speaker discusses a man who has a girlfriend, but does not yet have any children.

25 Ki=pe pitlak asel ga me i=**ta**
3sgIRR=PF have friend 3sgPOS but 3sgRS=DUR

tik-ki tesa.
not.have-TR child
He had his girlfriend, but he still doesn't have any children. (98007az, 2557.5201, 2569.7400)

10.1.4. *f/fla* conditional (CND) and 'may'

The conditional particles are *f*, glossed as conditional (CND), and *fla*, glossed as 'may'. In the data they do not co-occur with any other PVC particles except negation following the subject proclitic, and are themselves followed only by the auxiliary and/or the main verb. While they share the same morphosyntactic slot and can both function within a clause to express conditionality, they differ in that *f* 'CND' encodes a condition such that the clause (the protasis) often requires a following contingent main clause (the apodosis), while *fla* 'may' does not require a following clause encoding the consequences of the action.

We may expect that a conditional statement would correlate with irrealis mood as it encodes the possibility of an event occurring rather than its actual occurrence. However, all examples in the data show that the realis and not the irrealis form of the pronoun is used with both *f* and *fla* (see also the discussion of mood marking in §6.4.4.). Example (26) shows both particles in the same sentence and illustrates their respective functions. It is a reflection on the speaker's time as a soldier in World War Two when he was deciding whether to go to the Solomons with the US army. The first clause frames the condition ('If I went') and the second clause encodes the consequence.

26 A=**f** mer pa me a=**fla** lakor wel Jimmy S.
1sgRS=CND in.turn go but 1sgRS=may maybe like p.name
If I had gone, I might be like Jimmy Stevens. (Jimmy Stevens who went to the Solomons and came back alive.) (041:22) (98003a, 1845.2000, 1851.4200)

Example (27) shows two tokens of the conditional. The first is in a conditional main clause, while the second occurs in a subordinate clause and functions to reinforce the conditionality and to jointly form the protasis with its matrix clause which has its apodosis in the third clause *ilakor wi* 'it may be good'.

27 I=**f** **wel** kin ta=**f** tigpiel i=lakor wi.
3sgRS=CND thus COMP 1d.RS=CND exchange 3sgRS=maybe good
If we were to exchange it would be good. (lit: If that if we exchange it would be good.) (004b, 1002.4400, 1009.4801) (KN)

Turning to the second conditional particle, example (28) illustrates the use of *fla* 'may' in discussing the number of residents in villages before Europeans came.

28 Tete gar ru=ta **fla** tkal fifti mau.
some 3p. 3p.RS=NEG may touch fifty NEG2
Some may not have reached fifty. (090:21)(98017bz, 188.0999, 196.8000)

Sentence (29) was said to encourage an old man who was unsure about telling a story on tape. He was told that he 'may forget' (using *fla* 'CND') some parts of the story but that that should not stop him from telling it.

29 Nlaken ku=**fla** supneki sef ntau go nana
because 2sgRS=may not.know what year and whatever

me p̃a=traus-i-ø.
but 2sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO
Because you may not know which year or whatever, but you tell it. (98002az, 2043.0599, 2054.2799)

In a discussion about courtship the following sentence includes two conditionals, *ifla pan* 'he may go', and *ifla mal* 'he may not want to'.

30 Me wel-ki-n tem tesa nanwei i=**fla** pa=n me
but thus-TR-3sgO father child male 3sgRS=may go=DST but

tem tesa nmatu i=**fla** mal ke=fo
father child female 3sgRS=may not.want 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

mer ler.
again return
And the boy's father may go (to ask for the girl) but the girl's father may not want it, he (the boy's father) will go back again. (066:106)(98003bz, 1426.4999, 1441.1400)

10.1.5. Auxiliary verbs

I use the term auxiliary for the group of verbs that appear within the PVC. In South Efate the immediately pre-verbal position is a slot for the benefactive phrase (discussed in §11.4.2.) and the preceding verbal elements have become grammaticized into auxiliary verbs. Following Steele (1999:50) the positional and morphological resemblance of the auxiliaries to verbs are the main reason for not treating these elements simply as pre-verbal particles. In fact, as each of these stems can also occur as main verbs it appears that their function as auxiliary verbs results from a reinterpretation of an earlier serial verb construction.[85] The auxiliary position can be distinguished structurally by its position before the slot in which a benefactive phrase can occur (as shown in (31)).

31 S=(PVC) (AUX) (Benefactive phrase) V

A further proof of the status of auxiliary verbs can be found in the distribution of the couplet *pelpel* 'quickly' and *trapelpel* 'to be quick'. The adverb *pelpel* only occurs modifying a main verb and cannot act as a main verb by itself as we see in (32b), unlike *trapelpel* which can only appear as a main verb and is never a verbal modifier. While the translation of (32a) uses the adverb 'quickly', in fact *trapelpel* 'to be quick' is the main verb following the auxiliary verb *mai* 'come'.

32a Go tuk=fo tae preg nawesien gamus nen
and 1p.inclRR=PSP:IR know make work 2p.O that

ke=mai **trapelpel.**
3sgIRR=come be.quick
And we would be able to do your work so that it would come quickly. (98018az, 1336.2400, 1340.3400)

32b I=tae sef **pelpel** me katom i=kano.
3sgRS=be.able escape quickly but h.crab 3sgRS=unable
He can escape quickly, but the hermit crab cannot. (98009a, 62.6800, 65.2313)

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[85] For example, consider these equivalent structures, (i) in Namakir (Sperlich 1991) which uses a core-layer SVC, and (ii) South Efate which uses an auxiliary and main verb.
i) *Ko marisa ko daliw* '2sg cannot 2s walk'
ii) *Ku=kano siwer* '2sgRS=be.unable walk'

Using *trapelpel* 'be quick' as a diagnostic of a main verb position in the Verb Complex we can show that *tae* 'be able to' is part of the auxiliary in (33) because it is followed by *trapelpel* and not *pelpel* as it would be if *tae* were acting as a main verb.

33 Rak=fregnrog-o-ø nen rak=tae **trapelpel.**
2/3d.IRR=try:IR-TS-3sgO that 2/3d.IRR=be.able be.quick
They try to[they], they can hurry. (98010az, 128.8400, 139.4000)

The set of verbs that can appear in the auxiliary position is quite small, as shown in Table 10:1. Auxiliary verbs occur with ordering restrictions that identify four groups, with the first group ordered before the second and so on when they co-occur, although there is no example of all four co-occurring.

Table 10:1. Auxiliary verbs

1*		2		3		4	
mer	again, in turn	*kano*	be unable to	*ler*	return	*mai*	come
		lakor	maybe			*pan*	go
		mal	not want to				
		mas	must				
		nrus	just				
		pei	first				
		traem	try				
		tae	know, be able to				
		*to***	do habitually (HAB)				

* In the data the negative particle *ta* only appears in this position in the auxiliary, following the first element of the auxiliary *mer* 'again'.
** The habitual *to* can occur after some members of its own group 2 (*tae to, mal to*) which may, with further examples, require the specification of a further slot between 2 and 3 in Table 10:1.

Some examples of the ordering of auxiliary verbs follow. In (34) we can see that *mer* and *ler* are both in the auxiliary rather than main verb position because the benefactive *ga* '3sgBEN' intervenes before the main verb *traus*.

34 P̃a=**mer** **ler** ga traus-i-ø teflan
2sgIRR=again return 3sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO how

fat nen i=mai.
rock that 3sgRS=come
You tell him again how that rock came. (MW 28/9/98)

In the next example we see the ordering of three (bolded) auxiliary verbs.

35 Go ra=**mer** **ler** **mai** nrik kafman ki-ø.
and d.RS=again return come tell government PREP-3sgO
And we (2) went back to tell the government about it. (022)

Examples of each auxiliary verb in turn follow, and for each item the first example includes a benefactive phrase, illustrating the point that these verbs can occur in the pre-benefactive position, and hence are acting as auxiliary verbs.

10.1.5.1. *mer* 'again', 'in turn' (Group 1)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *mer* 'again', which can also mean 'in turn' (39), or 'too' (38).[86]

36 I=**mer** ga preg timen i=lim.
3sgRS=again 3sgBEN make arrow 3sgRS=five
He again got five arrows for him. (98017bz, 2601.1651, 2602.8588)

37 Ru=**mer** ta lek kineu mau.
3p.S=again NEG look 1sg NEG2
They didn't see me again. (063:95)

38 Nafet tija plak Sante skul a=**mer**
group teacher with Sunday school 1sgRS=again

lekor-wer ntau i=laru nen a=**mer**
look.after-3sgOBL year 3sgRS=seven that 1sgRS=again

lekor tesa skul e-sa.
look.after child school LOC-here
All the teachers and the Sunday School, I looked after them too for seven years and the children too at the school here. (040:40, 98003a, 1232.4, 1242.4)

In addition to meaning 'again' *mer* can also mean 'in turn'. In the following example the chief is suggesting to his village that maybe they should marry

[86] For a discussion of the scope of 'again' see Evans (1995:239) with specific reference to the Australian language Mayali.

some foreigners. There is no suggestion that the addressees were married before and are getting remarried, hence the reading of *mer* as 'in turn'.

39 A=mro-ki-n nag akam u=f **mer** taulu tete.
1sgRS=think-TR-3sgO say 2p. 2p.RS=CND in.turn marry some.
I think that you should now marry some. (012:26)

The following example is from a discussion of the visit of an anthropologist who stayed at Erakor in the 1960s. The speaker refers to my (i.e., the addressee's) visit in 1998 saying *kumer mai to* 'you again come stay'. As I had not visited before, the event that occurs 'again', or perhaps, 'in turn' is the (extremely rare) visit of an interested outsider.

40 Me namñolien ni mes, kin ag ku=**mer** mai
but life of today COMP 2sg 2sgRS=in.turn hither

to, namñolien ni mes i=kerkerai.
stay life of today 3sgRS=hard
But life today, which you have in turn come to, life today is hard. (98003bz, 355.1600, 362.7400)

10.1.5.2. *kano* 'be unable' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *kano* 'to be unable to', 'cannot'.

41 A=**kano** gag saen.
1sgRS=unable 2sgBEN sign
I can't sign for you. (98017az, 175.69, 177.5105)

42 Me i=**kano** pan pai nasok, i=**kano** pan kuk,
but 3sgRS=unable go fill rubbish 3sgRS=unable go cook

pan ke=fei piatlak wik i=nru i=tol.
go 3sgIRR=first:IR have week 3sgRS=two 3sgRS=three
But she can't collect the rubbish, she can't cook, until there's been two weeks, three weeks [after she has given birth]. (98003bz, 1175.8, 1183.5999)

43 Go nmatu i=**kano** taos mes.
and woman 3sgRS=unable be.like today
And a woman couldn't (do what she does) like today. (065:54) (98003bz, 1124.0799, 1129.8399)

44 Ku=**kano** lek tesa i=sigpir. Ku=**kano** lek
2sgRS=unable see child 3sgRS=disobey 2sgRS=unable see

tesa i=til nafsan sa.
child 3sgRS=tell language bad
You wouldn't see a child disobey. You wouldn't see a child use bad language (in the good old days). (98007bz, 527.2600, 537.8599)

45 Ru=**kano** totan skot apap me iak reki natrauswen.
3p.RS=unable sit with father and mother for story
They can't sit with their father and mother for stories. (20001b, 348.7556, 351.3600)

10.1.5.3. *lakor* 'maybe' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *lakor* 'maybe'.

46 Tete ru=**lakor** gag traus-i-ø?
some 3p.RS=maybe 2sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO
Maybe someone told you it? (PW 98014b)

47 Matol ga ke=fo **lakor** mer mai go?
tomorrow 3sg 3sgIRR=PSP:IR maybe again come and
Maybe tomorrow he'll come again, or what? (98005a)

48 A=**lakor** pitlak ntau twelef mãs.
1sgRS=maybe have year twelve only
Maybe I was only twelve years old. (98017bz, 1116.4991, 1118.4599)

10.1.5.4. *mal* 'not want' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *mal* 'to not want'.

49 Ru=**mal** neu ps-i-ø.
3p.RS=not.want 1sgBEN put-TS-3sgO
They didn't want to put it (there) for me. (98016bz, 478.5800, 484.1400)

50 Ru=**mal** mai ripot-ki-ø.
3p.RS=not.want come report-TR-3sgO
They don't want to come and report it. (98018b, 1088.2, 1089.5199)

The next example includes a common collocation, *mal* + *to* 'stative', which means 'don't want to'. The use of *to* 'stative, habitual' in this expression breaches the ordering of auxiliary verbs given in (33). However, the use of *to* in this expression is best treated as idiomatic, and so not governed by the normal ordering restrictions given in (33).

51 Ru=**mal** tl-i-ø, i=pitlak tete nen ru=tae
3p.RS=not.want tell-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=have some that 3p.RS=know

tl-i-ø, go tete nen ru=**mal** to tl-i-ø.
tell-TS-3sgO and some that 3p.RS=not.want STAT tell-TS-3sgO
They don't want to say. There are some that can say, and some that will not say. (98010az, 2215.6350, 2220.7139)

10.1.5.5. *mas* 'must' (Group 2)

The Bislama-derived *mas* 'must' is well established as an auxiliary verb in South Efate. Some examples of its use follow. There is no example in the data of *mas* occurring with a following benefactive phrase.

52 Tesa ruk=**mas** tae mes.
child 3p.IRR=must know today
Children must know today. (98016bz, 545.9, 547.5779)

53 Go tuk=**mas** preg tefla, vernacular nen kin nafsan
and 1p.IRR=must make thus " that REL language

ke=**mas** ler mai pak natkon.
3sgIRR=must return come to village
And we must do this, the vernacular, the language, must come back to the village. (20001b, 509.9600, 519.3800)

10.1.5.6. *nrus* 'just' (Group 2)

There are few examples of *nrus* 'just' acting as an auxiliary verb, and no examples in the data of it occurring before a benefactive phrase (where it would prove its position in the auxiliary).

54 Ru=mer **nrus** mai pak Ekasufat.
3p.RS=in.turn just come to p.name
Then they just came to Ekasufat. (98007az, 63.4364, 66.7399)

55 Atlag ni November 1999 mai, a=**nrus** pan sat
month of " " come 1sgRS=just go take

experience nanre ni public service.
" side of " "
In November 1999 I just went and got experience in the public service. (20003az, 1411.8999, 1424.2303)

10.1.5.7. *pei* 'first' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *pei* 'first'.

56 Kineu kai=**pei** gamus preg nag i=to.
1sg 1sgPS=first 2p.BEN make that 3sg=stay
I first got it for you. (lit: I first for you made that it existed.) (98018az, 1668.7, 1670.6565)

This example is from text 6 in the Appendix, which is part of a demonstration of roof thatch making in which the *rowat* 'sago' leaf is first pinned to hold it to the coconut spathe, before the rest of the thatch construction can be undertaken.

57 Ka=fo mer **pei** mas, mas pin.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR again first must must pin
I must then first pin (it). (20001az, 84.1800, 87.4891)

10.1.5.8. *traem* 'try' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *traem* 'to try'. *Traem* is a Bislama form that is now well incorporated into South Efate. The equivalent in South Efate is *pregnrog* 'try', and the two can co-occur as we see below, but the South Efate form does not function as an auxiliary verb in the data.

58 A=mur-i-n na p̃a=**traem** ga preg
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO say 2sgIRR=try 3sgBEN make

tete nalkis gag.
some medicine 2sgPOS
I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him. (20001b, 2471.3018, 2478.1613)

59 Tuk=**traem** pamor tete solusen preg nen
1p.lincRS=try find some solution make that

proplem ke=nom.
problem 3sgIRR=finish
We try to find a solution so that there are no problems. (98018az, 1054.69, 1057.4200)

There are several examples of both the Bislama *traem* and the South Efate *pregnrog* occurring together, always with *traem* in the auxiliary position and *pregnrog* in the main verb position (there are no examples of either form co-occurring as both auxiliary and main verb in the one sentence).

60 Ko=**traem** **pregnrog**-o-ø nen kin sernale tefla ne
1p.exIRR=try try-TS-3sgO that COMP everything like this

p̃a=tap tkal-i-ø mau.
2sgIRR=NEG touch-TS-3sgO NEG2
We try (to try?) so that you don't touch everything like this. (98018az, 2046.7188, 2045.8600)

61 P̃a=**traem** **pregnrog**-o-ø nen kin p̃a=freg-i-ø.
2sgIRR=try try-TS-3sgO that REL 2sgIRR-TS-3sgO
You try to attempt to do it. (98018az, 2304.3, 2306.0601)

10.1.5.9. *tae* 'be able to' (Group 2)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *tae* 'to be able to'. As a main verb *tae* typically means 'to know', as we see in (65). The semantic range of *tae* is similar to that of *save* in Bislama.

62 I=lel na, tete munwei nen ke=**tae** ga
3sgRS=look ART some healer that 3sgIRR=be.able 3sgBEN

pamor nlak namsaki ga.
find trunk sickness 3sgPOS
He looks for some healer that can find the cause of his sickness for him. (98009b, 1080.8035, 1085.7400)

63 Go ru=preg boe ru=**tae** weswes nanre ni planter.
and 3p.RS=make boy 3p.RS=know work side of planter
And they make some boys know how to work with the planters. (98017az, 2470.7199, 2480.4799)

64 I=f wel ku=f **tae** neu pakot tete
3sgRS=CND thus 2sgRS=CND know 1sgBEN pay some

namrun ni nasum̃...
thing of house
If you could buy me some household things... (98016bz, 115.7909, 118.4729)

65 Me ku=**tae** wak p̃ur nen i=ta pi wak mau.
but 2sgRS=know pig big that 3sgRS=NEG be pig NEG2
But you know that big pig is not a pig at all. (004a, 211.5600, 215.9000)

10.1.5.10. *to* 'habitual' (HAB) (Group 2)

The auxiliary *to* means 'to do habitually' (HAB) while the main verb *to* usually means 'to be in the state of' (STAT) as shown in (69).

66 Ru=f **to** nigmam traus-i-ø, ko=fo tae,
3p.RS=CND HAB 1p.exBEN tell-TS-3sgO 1p.exR=PSP:IR know

me gar i=tik.
but 3p.3sgRS=not
If they had told it to us, we would know, but they didn't. (20001az, 771, 777.4000)

67 Go sernale nen ru=**to** ler pa.
and everything that 3p.RS=HAB return go
And everything there would go back. (98001az, 2126.1599, 2128.0473)

68 Gar nen ru=**to** lekor nmatu e-sum̃.
3p. REL 3p.RS=HAB watch.over woman LOC-house
They look after women at home. (98003bz, 1073.3799, 1076.0999)

In (69) we see the stative use of the main verb *to*, describing the activity of looking from up high in a tree (similar to the use of *stap* in Bislama).

69 P̃a=fa=n pag-ki natog to elag to, ku=tae
2sgIRR=go=DST climb-TR mangrove at high at 2sgRS=be.able

to lek nait.
STAT see figtree
You go and climb the mangrove up high, you will be able to see the fig tree. (98007bz, 1796.4001, 1801.4400)

10.1.5.11. *ler* 'return' (Group 3)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *ler* 'to return', which usually occurs following the auxiliary *mer* 'again'. Even when it occurs without *mer*, *ler* 'return' can mean 'again', as it refers to something that returns, which can include an event. In (70) the child's homesickness makes him return to thinking about his own place.

70 Tesa i=na i=kai go ki=**ler** mro pak
child 3sgRS=begin.to 3sgRS=cry and 3sgIRR think to

esan ga.
place 3sgPOS
The child began to cry and his thoughts returned to his place/he again thought about his place. (98009b, 101.9800, 110.6601)

71 P̃a=mer **ler** ga traus-i-ø teflan
2sgIRR=again return 3sgBEN tell-TS-3sgO how

fat nen i=mai.
rock that 3sgRS=come
You tell him again how that rock came to be there. (98002bz, 1986.7, 1988.44)

72 I=f wel kin tuk=mer **ler**
3sgRS=CND thus COMP 1p.exIRR=again return

sat kastom gakit.
take custom 1p.incPOS
If we went back to taking our custom. ... (98010a, 2372.9, 2376.3251)

73 Malnen u=**ler** mai pak Efil, naintin torti-eit.
then 1p.exRS=return come to p.name nineteen thirty-eight
Then we returned to Vila, 1938. (98011a, 224.3800, 234.8000)

10.1.5.12. *mai* 'come' (Group 4)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *mai* 'to come'. The use of the auxiliary *mai,* and *pa/pan* in the same group, is, together with directional particles (§9.1.2.4.), the main means of encoding direction. Verb serialization does not play this role in South Efate.

74 P̌a=**mai** ni Kaltog preg nalkis.
2sgIRR=come for p.name make medicine
You bring medicine for Kaltong. (20001b, 2445.1, 2451)

75 Ru=**mai** tao Baibol.
3p.RS=come leave bible
They came and left the Bible. (98002az, 787.5063, 790.1599)

76 Kai=pe **mai** matur e-sum̃.
1sgPS=PF come sleep LOC-house
I came back to sleep at home. (20003az, 1052.3, 1053.7000)

10.1.5.13. *pa/pan* 'go' (Group 4)

The following examples illustrate the auxiliary *pa/pan* 'to go', which has the same meaning as when it is used as a main verb.

77 Komam natam̃ol kerkerai ko=fo tae **pan** gar
1p.ex people strong 1p.exIRR=PSP:IR know go 3p.BEN

slat-i-ø mai.
carry-TS-3sgO come
We strong people would be able to carry it for them. (98003b, 740.7001, 746.0200)

Example (78) is about a spirit who needs to be given a woman as an offering. The villagers will go and give him a live woman, so the sentence includes a benefactive, providing the diagnostic environment for the auxiliary status of *pan* 'go'.

78 Go ru=po **pan** ga ps-i-ø i=m̃ol.
and 3p.RS=PSP go 3sgBEN put-TS-3sgRS 3sgRS=live
And they would go and put her there, alive, for him. (98009b, 461.9656, 464.2800)

When acting as a main verb *pan* 'go' is reduplicated it means 'to keep on going', or 'until'.

79 Ra=pan pan pan. I=mer lao-ki-ø nagis ni Erueti.
d.RS=go:RED 3sgRS=again plant-TR-3sgO point of p.name
They went and went until he placed (shellfish) at Erueti point. (20003bz, 397.6799, 401.3741)

10.1.6. *tme/tmo* 'reflexive/reciprocal, emphatic' (RR)

The reflexive/reciprocal (RR) particle *tmo*[87] can occur when there is identity between the subject and the object, or to emphasize that the subject is the actor. A pronominal suffix to the RR particle indexes the object which is coreferential to the subject. These pronominal suffixes are almost all identical to the (nominal) direct possessive forms rather than the (verbal) object suffix forms which suggests a nominal origin for the reflexive particle (see the discussion on types of reflexives and reciprocals in Lichtenberk 1994).

The reflexive function of this particle can be seen in example (80).

80 I=pak eut pa kai **tme**-n nre-a-ø.
3sgRS=go.to sea go ES RR-3sgDP turn-TA-3sgO
He went to the water and he turned himself around. (98001b, 1108.9999, 1117.8400)

The RR construction is transitive in South Efate even though the subject and object of the verb are identical. Thus, in (81) the transitive form of the verb *lel* 'to look for' is used in an RR construction rather than the intransitive *le* 'to look'.

81 Ke=fa=n **tme-n** **lel** nrau ke=**tme-n**
3sgIRR=go:IR=DST RR-3sgDP look.for k.o.leaf 3sgIRR=RR-3sgDP

lel nmarteu.
look.for dry.coconut
She would herself go and look for laplap leaves, herself look for dry coconut. (98003bz, 991.0800, 999.5599)

Similarly, in (82) the ambitransitive verb *mtir* 'to write' takes the transitive suffix and O suffix, indicating it is acting in a transitive construction. The reflexive/reciprocal particle in this example is acting to emphasize the 2sg subject.

82 Ag ku=pitlak ntaewen, ag p̃a=fo
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sgIRR=PSP:IR

tmo-m mtir-i-ø.
RR-2sgDP write-TS-3sgO
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009a, 1917.0189, 1920.5800)

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[87] The reflexive/reciprocal marker has the form *tme* in 3sg and 3p.

The relative ordering of the durative, stative and RR particles can be seen in the following example.

83 1941 me natam̃ol ru=ta to **tme-r** si-r.
" but people 3p.RS=DUR STAT RR-3p.DP shoot-3p.O
In 1941 people were still shooting at each other. (98003a, 1583.0199, 1586.5)

Lichtenberk (1994:3506) discusses the use of reflexives when a part rather than the whole of a participant is affected by his or her action and the part that is affected is specified in addition to the reflexive marker. Example (84) shows that *nraekit* 'our foreheads/faces' further specifies the reflexive object.

84 Preg tak=**tmo-**kit lek nrae-kit i=tik.
make 1d.IRR=RR-1p.DP look face-1p.DP 3sgRS=not
Look face to face, no. (lit: Make we (2) to ourselves look at our faces, no.) (066:89)

Reciprocity can be seen in the next example in which a reflexive reading would imply that each person chose themself instead of the correct reading in which some of those spoken about chose each other.

85 Tete ru=**tme-**r mtalu-e-r.
some 3p.RS=RR-3p.DP choose-TS-3p.O
Some chose each other. (98017az, 2271.6600, 2274.02)

In (86) the participants paint themselves, and the location of the painting is further specified by the directly possessed *nakor* 'their faces'. A reciprocal reading is possible here in which each participant painted another's face.

86 Ru=sat nas timen ru=**tme-r** mtir **nak-o-r.**
3p.RS=take bow arrow 3p.RS=RR-3p. write face-V-3p.DP
They took bows and arrows, they painted their faces. (lit: they painted themselves [on] their faces.) (089:35) (98017az, 898.4600, 904.8800)

The RR particle also emphasizes the subject, as in the use of 'self' in English expressions like 'I did it myself'. This emphatic use of the reflexive is illustrated in the following examples.

87 Ag ku=pitlak ntaewen, ag p̃a=fo **tmo-m**
2sg 2sgRS=have knowledge 2sg 2sgIRR=PSP:IR RR-2sgDP

mtir-i-ø.
write-TS-3sgO
You have knowledge, you will write it yourself. (98009az, 1937.6490, 1940.3600)

Example (88) comes from a story about choosing marriage partners. The subject is an impersonal 2sg (similar to 'one' in English) and the RR particle emphasizes that one chooses one's partner oneself.

88 Ag ku=**tmo-m** jus-ki-n.
2sg 2sgRS=RR-2sgDP choose-TR-3sgO
You choose him yourself. (070:102) (98009az, 1310.4535, 1311.8)

When both an emphatic and reflexive/reciprocal meaning are possible we can use the context to determine which is intended. For example, only an emphatic meaning is sensible in (89) for which the reflexive reading would be that the witness should come and talk to himself. This example also shows the ordering of the reflexive/reciprocal following an auxiliary verb.

89 Me witness ke=mas mai **tme-n** pes.
but witness 3sgIRR=must come RR-3sgDP talk
The witness must come and speak him/herself. (98018az, 1676.6, 1679.0800)

There are no examples of the RR occurring with a benefactive construction, and it appears that it is simply not possible to have a structure like that in (90). It may be that the reflexive/reciprocal and benefactive compete for the same position.

90 *Ru=**tme**-r nigneu preg nafnag.
3p.RS=RR-3p.DP 1sgBEN make food
They made food for each other for my benefit. (constructed example)

10.1.7. Quantifiers

Quantifiers that can occcur in the PVC are:

mau(i)	all, big group
nomser	all, every one
nru	two, both
skei	one, alone

Each of the quantifiers is exemplified in turn below. In example (91) the AUX *mer* 'again' precedes the quantifier *maui* 'all'.

91 Selwan ntas i=ler pan go u=mer
when sea 3sgRS=return go and 1p.exRS=again

maui to wi.
all stay good
When the sea went out again, we all were good again (after a cyclonic high tide). (98007az, 1458.6844, 1463.1001)

In example (92) the quantifier *nomser* 'all' precedes the main verb *mai* 'come'.

92 Katom ru=**nomser** mai pak naor i=skei.
h.crab 3p.RS=all come to place 3sgRS=one
The hermit crabs all came to one place. (98009az, 264.6, 266.5503)

In example (93) the quantifier *nru* 'two' follows the AUX *tae* 'to know, be able to' and precedes the main verb *pa* 'go'.

93 P̌a=tae **nru** pa.
2sgIRR=be.able two go
You can both go. (98002az, 1330.5000, 1332.2341)

In (94) the quantifier *skei* precedes the verb *ler* 'to return'.

94 Ka=mur na ka=fo **skei** ler.
1sgRS=want COMP 1sgIRR=PSP:IR one return
I want to return by myself. (20001az, 1134.6, 1136.3599)

10.2. Object in the verb complex

The object is encoded either as a pronominal suffix, or as an NP. Two examples are given here, and a more detailed treatment of pronominal suffix objects can be found in the discussion of the NP in §5.1.3.3.1. and in the discussion of the form of the transitive suffix that hosts the O suffix in §8.1.

The plural suffix *-r* '3p.O' occupies the slot immediately following the transitive suffix as seen in (95).

95 Ru=po pa=n msag-i-**r** nanre nawen i=pen.
3p.RS=PSP go=DST fetch-TS-3p.O side sand 3sgRS=heap
They would go and get them from where the sand heaped up. (98002b, 2179.6, 2181.5)

The lexical O follows the verb (96) and never occurs with the suffix O.

96 I=pa=n min **nalkis.**
3sgRS=go=DST drink medicine
He went and drank medicine. (005a, 1596.0599, 1598.8164)

10.3. *su* Perfective

The perfective *su*[88] encodes a completed action, and occurs at the end of the Verb Complex, either directly after the verb, or following the object.

97 Ru=fla pan fam **su** ru=mer mai.
3p.RS=may go eat PF 3p.RS=again come
If they finished eating they came back again. (98010bz, 336.9199, 343.7000)

98 Kineu a=pam natañol i=tol **su.**
1sg 1sgRS=eat man 3sgRS=three PF
I have eaten three men. (004a, 371.8400, 391.9201)

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[88] Crowley (1998:128) calls the identical perfective suffix *-su* in Sye a post–Object suffix.

99 Komam u=skul pan u=skul **su**.
1p.ex 1p.exRS=school go 1p.exRS=school PF
We schooled until we finished school. (98010bz, 1465.3, 1468.9)

Su is also a verb meaning 'to go down', as shown in (100), and Hopper and Traugott (1993:79) note that the grammaticalization of terms for 'down' to a completive or perfective is not uncommon in languages of the world.

100 Ale ku=siwer **su** mai pak napu nen
ok 2sgRS=walk down come to road REL

i=nran i=pat-wes.
3sgRS=divide 3sgRS=four-3sgOBL
Okay, you walk down, come to the road that divides four ways. (98017az, 1012.9799, 1026.7200)

11. Simple sentences

Having described key constituents in the grammar of South Efate we now move on to observe how they combine into larger units. This chapter provides a definition and examples of core arguments and adjuncts before describing simple sentences, including topicalization, question formation, and negation.

11.1. Arguments in South Efate

South Efate is a head-marking language (Nichols 1992), in which core arguments are encoded by pronominals attached to the Verbal Complex. Core syntactic arguments encoded in this way in South Efate are S, the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and O. There has been some discussion in the literature concerning the status of pronominal affixes and whether they encode or cross-reference arguments (Austin and Bresnan 1996; Bresnan and Mchombo 1987; Lichtenberk 1997). As the subject proclitic is obligatory (except for the special construction of clause chaining §12.3.2.) we regard it as representing the subject argument, so any other nominals acting in the role of subject are considered to be co-indexing the argument. As the object suffix can alternate with a lexical[89] object either can be considered the head of the object NP.

Table 11:1. sets out the criteria for distinguishing S, O, and oblique arguments as well as adjuncts in South Efate.

Table 11:1. Criteria for distinguishing S, O, obliques, and adjuncts

Subject	– proclitic and lexical subject precede the verb. – proclitic is the only obligatory argument.
First object	– suffix and lexical O follow the verb. – presence of suffix is subject to certain conditions (see §8.1.3). – required with transitive and ditransitive verbs.
Second Object	– typically introduced by prepositions (*ki, ni*), but may not be as in the case of some double object constructions. – required with ditransitive verbs.
Adjunct	– optional elements not required by the verb.

We can test the argument status of the nominal following a verb by ascertaining if it can be encoded by a suffix on the verb. For example, in (1a) there are two double object constructions (in bold face). To determine which of the two nominals acts as the first object of the verb *tu* 'to give' we can construct an alternative formulation for the last part of this sentence as in (1b), in which

[89] I distinguish bound from lexical instantiation of arguments, and for this purpose regard any free form that can stand as an argument as lexical, including free pronouns.

the recipient is encoded by a suffix (*-k* '2sgO')[90] indicating that the recipient functions as an O. There is no equivalent way of encoding the theme (*ntaewen* 'knowledge') directly on the verb.

1a I=tilmori i=pitlak suṕ kerkrai me i=piatlak iwelkia
3sgRS=tell-true 3sgRS=own habit strong but 3sgRS-own so

i=tu **ag ntaewen** i=tu **kineu ntaewen.**
3sgRS=give 2sg knowledge 3sgRS=give 1sg knowledge
It's true he was a hard man, but he gave you some knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (087:64) (98017a, 2459.2800, 2470.7801)

1b ...i=tu-o-k ntaewen i=**tao** **ntaewen.**
...3sgRS=give-TS-2sgO knowledge 3sgRS-give.1sgO knowledge
...he gave you knowledge, he gave me knowledge. (elicited)

Adjuncts occur as either a juxtaposed NP expressing the time or location of the action encoded in the verb, or as an instrumental or comitative prepositional phrase. In (2) the temporal adjunct *kotfan* 'afternoon' is juxtaposed and follows the intransitive verb *matur* 'to sleep'.

2 U=pak Tanna ṕulṕog u=pa mai matur **kotfan.**
1p.exRS=go.to Tanna morning 1p.exRS=go come sleep afternoon
He worked for the tribunal, we went to Tanna in the morning, would go and come back in the afternoon to sleep. (060:44) (98002az, 543.2399, 551.2400)

In (3) there are two adjunct NPs, the first *Sak Bei* 'Shark Bay' indicates the location, and the second *namba faef* 'number five' indicates the time of the event, which is encoded in the intransitive verb *matur* 'to sleep'.

3 U=mai matur **Sak Bei** **namba** **faef.**
1p.exRS=come sleep p.name number five
We came and slept at Shark Bay on the fifth. (021:31) (004b, 1476.7200, 1481.0371)

In example (4) we see two prepositional phrases, *skot apap me iak* 'with father and mother' and *reki natrauswen* 'for stories'. Both follow the verb but neither is required by the intransitive verb *totan* 'to sit'.

4 Ru=kano totan **skot** **apap me iak** **reki** **natrauswen.**
3p.RS=cannot sit with father and mother for story
They can't sit with father and mother to hear stories. (20001b, 349.2386, 351.3600)

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[90] The second verb in (1b) *tu* 'to give' has a suppletive 1sgO form *tao* in (1b) which also indicates that the object can be encoded on the verb here, but not as a suffix in this case due to the idiosyncratic nature of this verb.

Example (5) shows the position of the NP expressing location following the verb and marked by the locative prefix (*e-*).

5 Ru=wat-gi=r, **e-m̃rom** nana, prison.
3p.RS=hit-TS-3p.O LOC-inside HESIT prison
They hit them, inside prison. (98014az, 1946.6, 1948.7599)

It is not uncommon for location NPs (e.g., *Tontar* in 6) to occur following the verb with no locative marker.

6 U=pa-n torwak Tontar.
1p.excRS=go=DST anchor p.name
We went and dropped anchor at Tontar. (005a, 214.5600, 217.5)

11.2. Simple sentences

As discussed in the introduction to Chapter 10, the basic sentence in South Efate is often realized simply as a Verb Complex with bound pronominal arguments. Arguments can be reinforced for discourse purposes by the use of lexical nouns which may be topicalized or left-dislocated for greater prominence.

The following sections outline basic clause structure, then the use of topicalization, dislocation, and clefting as methods to increase discourse prominence, and finally we will discuss question formation and negation. Complex sentences are discussed in Chapter 12.

11.2.1. Verbal clauses

The basic order within verbal clauses is SVO. The subject proclitic is obligatory (except in chained clauses, §12.3.2.) and the subject may additionally be expressed by a lexical noun. The O may be expressed by a pronominal suffix. A minimal sentence consists of a verb stem with a subject (and object suffix). Thus *iskotir* 'she was with them' in (7) is a grammatical South Efate sentence on its own.

7 Ra=pitlak tesa nmatu iskei. **I=skot-i-r** to.
3d.RS=have child girl one 3sgRS=be.with-TS-3p.O stay
They had a daughter. She stayed with them. (98009b, 1180.8999, 1187.4000)

Where a subject is expressed lexically it usually has the function of emphasizing the subject in the sentence, as in (8) where *tesa* 'children' is the subject of a command, 'eat the bananas!'.

8 Tesa, ko=pam nanrmem!
children 2p.IRR=eat banana
Children, you eat the bananas! (98017bz, 648.54, 650)

In (9) *natrauswen* 'story' is the subject which is further marked on the verb by the proclitic *i=* '3sgRS'.

9 Go natrauswen nen i=nom esa.
and story that 3sgRS=finish here
And that story finishes here. (98003bz, 211.5600, 214.8400)

An O may be expressed by a pronominal suffix (*-k* '2sgO') as in (10), or by a lexical item as in (11) where it is the free pronoun *kineu* 'me' which acts as the O.

10 Ka=fo kano pestaf-i-**k** ke=top.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR be.unable talk-TS-2sgO 3sgIRR=much
I won't be able to speak to you too much. (98018az, 2098.3124, 2101.4)

11 Mama neu i=to maet-ki **kineu**.
mother 1sgPOS 3sgRS=STAT angry-TR 1sg
My mother would be angry with me. (20003az, 2060.4266, 2064.7634)

With ditransitive verbs (§7.1.7.) the verb is followed by the Recipient and then the Theme, both of which can be unmarked NPs, as in the following two examples.

12 Ra=to tu **tesa** **tete** **nanromien**.
3d.RS=STAT give child some present
They would give children some presents. (005a, 915.6766, 919.6292)

13 Malfane ke=fo **tu-kit** **naik**.
now 3sgIRR=PSP:IR give-1p.inclO fish
Now he will give us fish. (98011a, 1960.1599, 1968.0400)

11.2.1.1. Equative and existential clauses

Equative and existential clauses make use of the copula verb *pi* 'be'. As an illustration of the verbal nature of the copula in South Efate it can appear in irrealis form as shown in (14). Recall from §6.4.5.1. that only particles of the PVC and verb stems permit stem-initial mutation.

14 Go gar ru=mai kleim nen ru=freg nen
and 3p. 3p.RS=come claim that 3p.RS=make:IR that

ke=**fi** dispiut.
3sgIRR=be:IR dispute
And they made a claim so that there would be a dispute. (20003az, 706.7001, 709.7400)

As further proof of the verbal status of *pi* consider example (15) where *pi* is preceded by the PVC particle *lakor* 'maybe', which can only precede verbs.

15 Go i=lakor **pi** te-wan natrauswen mãs
and 3sgRS=maybe be det-one story only

nen a=pitlak-e-n ki.
that 1sgRS=have-TS-3sgO TOP
And that is about the only story that I have. (98007az, 2009.5400, 2012.9)

The copula in South Efate is used in equative structures to assert the identity of two entities (cf. Payne 1997:114), one being the subject and the other being in the predicate. Examples of such structures are given below.

16 Me nmatu nen ru=**pi** nmatu ni nafet ofisa.
but woman that 3p.RS=be woman of group officer
But those women are the wives of all the officers. (98003az, 1767.3399, 1773.9799)

17 Me natamõl i=skei i=**pi** natamõl ni Banks.
but man 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=be man of p.name
But this man, he is a man from the Banks Islands. (20001b, 1199.6000, 1203.6808)

In (18) the pronominal subject equates to the NP 'the husband of the child of a man from Bufa' by use of the copula *pi*.

18 Ga i=**pi** marik ni tesa ni marik ni Eɸuf.
3sg 3sgRS=be man of child of man of p.name
He is the husband of the child of a man from Bufa. (20003az, 239.2201, 242.5)

In (19) *pi* introduces a temporal, *ntau ten* 'ten years', equating the time today with the ten years that the speaker was a teacher.

19 Mes i=**pi** ntau ten nen a=tij.
today 3sgRS=be year ten REL 1sgRS=teach
Today it is ten years that I have taught. (20001b, 74.7599, 78.9771)

A final example of an equative structure is given in (20), where the speaker uses the copula to equate the proclitic *tu=* '1p.inRS' with *naflak iskei* 'one clan'.

20 Me tu=**pi** naflak i=skei.
but 1p.inRS=be clan 3sgRS=one
And we are one clan. (98017az, 370.5, 373.9200)

Similar to the sentences described above are those formed with *pato* 'to be at' which specifies the location of the subject.

21 I=**pato** Kwinslan to, nmatu ga kin, Jeanie.
3sgRS=be.at p.name at woman 3sgPOS REL p.name
He was in Queensland, his wife was Jeanie. (98017bz, 567.7458, 573.3999)

22 Naliati nen kin a=**pato** Forari, a=to weswes
days that REL 1sgRS=be.at p.name 1sgRS=STAT work

maen Forari.
mine p.name
Those days I was at Forari, I worked in the mine at Forari. (98017bz, 899.1, 902.4499)

Existentials typically serve a *presentative* function (Payne 1997:123), introducing new information into the discourse, but also, as the name implies, asserting its existence. In South Efate the verbs used in existential structures are the copula *pi* 'be' and *piatlak/pitlak* 'to have', both typically occurring with a third person proclitc to express a general, non-specific subject, as we see in the next examples.

23 Kaltog ki=pe **pi** natam̃ol p̃ur.
p.name 3sgIRR=PF be man big
Kaltong was a big man. (20001b, 1162.6675, 1164.3)

24 Go i=**piatlak** nasum̃ e-san nalotwen i=pakor-wes.
and 3sgRS=have house LOC-place prayer 3sgRS=appear-3sgOBL
And there is a house at the place where Christianity first appeared. (005a, 1923.5496, 1928.84)

Existential sentences are similar to equative sentences in employing the copula *pi*, but existential sentences can also use *piatlak* or *pitlak* 'have' to encode general existence. Thus, in (25) *pitlak* is used to encode the existence of a devil.

25 Nlaken a=kano kuk aliat nlaken kin i=**pitlak**
because 1sgRS=unable cook day because COMP 3sgRS=have

ntuam i=skei kin i=to pam-kit.
devil 3sgRS=one REL 3sgRS=HAB eat-1p.inO
Because I can't cook in the day because there is a devil who keeps eating us. (98017b, 2557.7124, 2563.6)

In (26) the copula introduces the names of two islands created by a snake in a traditional story. The use of a copula with placenames, as in this example, conforms to Payne's (1997:123) observation that "existential constructions typically require a locational or temporal adjunct."

26 I=pakotkot naor ne, go i=**pi** Ekapumlep go Ekapumrik.
3sgRS=split island this and 3sgRS=be p.name and p.name
It (a snake mentioned earlier) split this island, and (now) it is Ekapumlep and Ekapuumrik. (20003bz, 866.8, 872.4400)

11.2.2. Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are not common as a type in South Efate, because equational and existential clauses are typically expressed with the copula *pi* 'be' and *piatlak* 'have' as we saw above in §11.2.1. Verbless clauses using a directly possessed noun and its named referent are found in the data, as in the next two examples.

27 Nmatu ne nagi-e-n Litapurog.
woman this name-V-3sgDP p.name
This woman, her name is Litapurong. (98009b, 1299.2, 1302.3999)

28 Nagi kor-e-n Emi.
name sister-V-3sgDP p.name
The name of his sister was Emi. (98001b, 1249.8400, 1255.2801)

It is possible to have a fronted subject, as in (29), and then refer back to it by non-verbal means, in this case using the expression *gaki* which occurs a few times in the data with the sense of 'that's the one'.

29 Kost ni sernale ne ga ki 3.5.
cost of everything this 3sg PREP 3.5
The cost of all this is 3.5 (million vatu). (98016bz, 459.3600, 462.3269)

Locational non-verbal clauses similarly juxtapose the elements, as in (30), where the date and day precede the event that occurs on that day, but without a verb as we would normally find in a topicalized adverbial phrase of manner or time (discussed in §12.2.5.).

30 **Namba twentitri, 1934 aliat tap,** miting ni Eratap.
number twenty-three " Sunday meeting of p.name
The twenty-third, 1934, Sunday, there was a meeting at Eratap. (005Ax, 146.6000, 152.9201)

In what may be better called a sentence fragment than a verbless sentence, example (31) is in answer to a question about the location of a house in the village. The speaker says it is "down, down, down, at its end", using direct possession on the noun *nametp̃ag* 'end' to refer to the contextual possessor, the village.

31 Etan, etan, etan, nametp̃ag-o-n wi.
down down down end-V-3sgDP good
Down, down, down, at its very end. (98017bz, 1060.9999, 1063.1062)

11.3. Topicalization, left-dislocation, and cleft constructions

The three constructions of topicalization, left-dislocation, and cleft are discussed in this section due to their shared function of placing information in a more discourse prominent position at the front of the sentence. All three constructions can involve NPs functioning as either core or as peripheral arguments. All three typically involve an intonational offset, indicated by a comma, in which the fronted material is distinguished from the remainder of the sentence.

Following Foley and Van Valin (1985:355), both topicalization and left-dislocation result in an "external topic NP followed by a sentence which it relates to in some way." They distinguish the two constructions by noting that a pronominal trace in the sentence shows that the element has been left-dislocated. Topicalization, on the other hand, leaves a gap in the sentence. As lexical representation of arguments is optional in South Efate we cannot always observe a gap when NPs encoding arguments are topicalized, since the usual representation of arguments is by pronominal affixes. Hence topicalization plays a more reduced role than does left-dislocation in South Efate.

The following sections present examples first of topicalization (§11.3.1.), left-dislocation (§11.3.2.), and finally of clefting (§11.3.3.). The core arguments of subject and object need only be represented by pronominal elements so it is possible that any lexical reference to the subject or O occurring at the front of the sentence could be considered to occur in a discourse prominent position. Furthermore, as the object suffix provide a trace of left-dislocated elements we distinguish (33), which has no object suffix and so exhibits topicalization, from (36), which does have an object suffix (albeit one with zero representation) and so exhibits left-dislocation.

11.3.1. Topicalization

South Efate allows topicalization of the first and second objects and of adjuncts, any of which can be represented by the NP at the left in (32). By definition, as the subject proclitic is obligatory, it cannot be topicalized, as any sentence-external reference to the subject has a trace (the subject proclitic) within the sentence.
32 NP $[_{\text{sentence}}$ S=V-O (NP)]

The O NP (*natrauswen ga* 'his story') is topicalized in (33) with no trace left in the sentence. The gap here is the lack of a cross-referencing O suffix on the verb *traus* 'to tell', which would be *trausi-ø* 'tell-TS-3sgO' were this a left-dislocated structure.

33 Kat **natrauswen** **ga** nrak lap i=to neu traus.
as story 3sgPOS time many 3sgRS=STAT 1sgBEN tell
Because, his story, many times he told it to me. (004a, 1740.4128, 1743.3459)

Sentences like (34) show a peripheral NP, in this case a temporal noun *naliati ne* 'this day', fronted to increase its prominence. The alternative position for this NP, were it not given discourse prominence, would be following the O NP *nafnag p̃ur iskei* 'feast' (lit:'this big food').

34 **Naliati ne** ko=fo preg nafnag p̃ur iskei.
day this 1p.exlRR=PSP:IR make food big one
This day we will make a big feast. (98017bz, 2287.8600, 2297.0399)

11.3.2. Left-dislocation

The location from which a left-dislocated NP emanates is marked as shown in (35), that is, subject NPs have a cross-referencing focal pronoun (37) (since the proclitic is obligatory it can't be used as diagnostic of left-dislocation), object NPs have a cross-referencing O suffix (36), and O2 have a cross-referencing suffix on a preposition (38).

35 S NP_1 $[_{sentence}$ $(Pron_1)$ S_1=V-O (NP)]
O NP_1 $[_{sentence}$ S=V-O_1]
O2 NP_1 $[_{sentence}$ S=V-O1 PREP-$O2_1$]

In (36) the O *naot negamus* 'your chief' is left-dislocated and the 3sgO suffix on the verb encodes a reference to the external O. If the O were in post-verbal position there would be no object marking on the verb.

36 **Naot negamus,** ka=fo puet-i-ø pak elau.
chief 2p.POS 1sgIRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO to sea
Your chief, I will take him to the sea. (022)

In (37) the subject NP *mane nen* 'that money' is left-dislocated, and is then reiterated by a lexical pronoun (*ga* '3sg'), and then by the proclitic subject (*i=* '3sgRS').

37 **Mane nen,** (3.6 secs) **ga** i=pi kos ni imprufmen.
money that 3sg 3sgRS=be cost of improvement
That money (3.6 sec pause) that is the cost of improvements. (98016bz, 414.7399, 424.2999)

In example (38) the peripheral second object is left-dislocated leaving the 3sgO, suffixed to the preposition *ki,* to mark the position in which a non-dislocated second object would occur.

38 **Assembly** **ne** a=mur-i=n na
" this 1sgRS=want-TS=DST COMP

ka=nrik-i-k ki-ø.
1sgIRR=tell-TS-2sgO PREP-3sgO
This assembly, I want to tell you about it. (98007bz, 1249.3080, 1251.8800)

In (39) it is the location that is left-dislocated and then referenced by the 3sgOBL form *wes*.

39 **Pandanus restaurant,** a=weswes-**wes** mal ses.
" " 1sgRS=work-3sgOBL time small
The Pandanus restaurant, I worked there for a short time. (98010bz, 1161.8, 1164.8)

In (40) the phrase *nafet nawesien ne* 'all this work' is referenced in the following clause by the 3sgO *-n* suffixed to the preposition *ki*.

40 **Nafet** **nawesien** **ne** mal i=lap a=slat janis
group work this time 3sgRS=many 1sgRS=take chance

nen kin a=paos-ki-r ki-n.
that REL 1sgRS=ask-TR-3p.O PREP-3sgO
All this work, many times I took the chance to ask them about it. (063:118)

In (41) we see two verbless clauses, each with a left-dislocated subject and reference to the subject by use of the directly possessed *nagi-e-n* 'name-V-3sgDP'.

41 **Te-plaksok neu,** nagi-**e-n** i=tefla=n naot
DET-teach 1sgPOS name-V-3sgDP 3sgRS=like=DST chief

Samuel **Natam̃ol nen** nagi-**e-n**, a, (3 .7 secs) Fakalomara.
p.name man that name-V-3sgDP hesit p.name
My teacher, his name was like chief Samuel. That man his name was (3.7 sec pause) Fakalomara. (98007az, 101.7400, 109.7848)

11.3.3. Cleft

Clefts in South Efate can be formed with *ipi* 'it is' and with *kin* 'relativizer'. Those formed with *i=pi* 'it is' take the structure in (42).

42 3sgS=be NP Clause

Examples of clefting follow. In (43) the O NP *marik nen* 'that man' is clefted.

43 I=pi **marik** **nen** ru=tanwei-ø p̃ulp̃og.
3sgRS=be man that 3p.RS=bury-3sgO morning
He is the man that they buried in the morning. (98017az, 881.8487, 885.0199)

44 Go i=pi **stori ses mñas** a=tae tl-i-ø.
and 3sgRS=be story small only 1sgRS=know tell-TS-3sgO
And it is just a small story I can tell. (005Ax, 2065.9200, 2068.1136)

Kin-cleft is of the following form:
45 NP *kin* clause

In (46) and (47) the clefted constituent is the subject, which is *tenen* 'those' in (46), and *Joseph* in (47).
46 **Te-nen kin** ru=pi na tija nigmam.
DET-that COMP 3p.RS=be DET teacher 1p.exPOS
Those who were our teachers. (98011a, 79.8000, 88.9000)

47 Joseph **kin** i=preg report.
p.name REL 3sgRS=make report
It is Joseph who made a report. (98018az, 5.77, 7.7199)

In (48) the clefted constituent is the O (what the chief wore).
48 **Te-nen kin** naot i=ofa-ø mal-pei.
DET=that COMP chief 3sgRS=wear-3sgO time-first
That which the chief wore formerly. (98009b, 604.2200, 610.4600)

In (49) and (50) the location is clefted.
49 **Etmat kin** i=pi klates.
p.name COMP 3sgRS=be sixth
It is Etmat which is the sixth. (98002bz, 864.9412, 867.2600)

50 **San kin** ku=tu-wes tu, ku=to tu wak.
place COMP 2sgRS=stay-3sgOBL stay 2sgRS=STAT give pig
The place which you stay at, you give (food) to the pig. (98001b, 16.3200, 20.1600)

11.4. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are distinguished from complements in that they are always optional (Tallerman 1998:93). The functions encoded by adjuncts include instrument, location, beneficiary, and time. An adjunct may be simply juxtaposed (51) and (52) or represented by a prepositional phrase (§11.4.1.).

In example (51) there is an adjunct (*kotfan* 'afternoon') specifying the time of the event in the preceding sentence, and note that there is no adposition here preceding the adjunct.
51 Tu=fo lakor siwer **kotfan.**
1p.incRS=PSP:IR maybe walk afternoon
Maybe we'll walk this afternoon. (98018az, 1291.8599, 1298.1800)

Similarly, in (52) the day and date of the event require no morphological marking and simply occur before the clause to which they are adjoined. The adjunct here is topicalized, but could equally appear following the main clause.

52 **Namba twenta fo aliat Mande**, u=tu Ajen.
number twenty-four day Monday 1p.exRS=stay p.name
On the twenty-fourth, Monday, we were at Atchin. (005Ax, 154.1600, 159.1463)

11.4.1. Prepositional phrases

A prepositional phrase is headed by a preposition (§4.6) with the following structure:

53 PREP NP

The NP can also be a pronominal form (free or bound) representing the peripheral role that is introduced by the preposition. The prepositional phrase usually follows an NP as in the next examples. Possessive prepositional phrases follow the possessed NP as discussed in §5.3.1.

54 Ale u=pak namlas **skot armi.**
okay 1p.exRS=go.to bush with army
Okay, we went to the bush with the army. (98002az, 109.2800, 112.8200)

55 Ra=tok wat-pun namẽr nig Erakor **kat ntan negar**.
3d.RS=HAB hit-kill people of p.name due.to ground 3p.POS
They would kill people from Erakor because of their land. (98009b, 1701.7001, 1712.4800)

56 Ru=tik-ki nfaktanwen pak-, **toklos tiawi** a?
3p.RS=not.have-TR respect to towards old.people eh
They don't have respect for the old people, eh? (98009a, 765.2600, 772.4800)

57 Fiuja nigmam ni Erakor, **taos nafet tesa nanwei fsofus.**
future 1p.exPOS of p.name like group child male young
Our future in Erakor, like all the young men. (98010bz, 727.9800, 734.8364)

58 I=tae paktof-i-ø **ki mane ses**.
3sgRS=be.able buy-TS-3sgO PREP money small
He can buy it for little money. (98016bz, 552.4800, 554.8494)

59 Ke=mas involv-ki lanwis nafsan, nafsan
3sgIRR=must involve language language language

emrom praemari skul.
inside primary school
Erakor language must be involved in the primary school. (20001b, 544.1, 548.9)

11.4.2. Benefactives

A prepositional phrase in pre-verbal position has an exclusively benefactive reading.[91] The following examples, both from the same text, contrast the benefactive with the possessive construction. In (60) *ni sokfal* 'of the owl' occurs with a possessive reading, and in (61) the same possessive morphology is used in pre-verbal position to express the beneficiary.

60 Mlapuas kin i=min nalkis ni sokfal.[92]
owl sp. COMP 3sgRS=drink herbs of owl sp.
Mlapuas who drank sokfal*'s herbs. (24:14) (005Ax, 1649.7199, 1668.0001)*

61 Ki=ni sokfal ut nai.
3sgIRR=of owl sp. pour water
He poured water for sokfal. *(24:10)(005Ax, 1591.62, 1594.7401)*

Example (62a) shows the pronominal possessor *ga* '3sgPOS' following the noun *nafuñkas* 'flowers' in canonical possessive construction word order.

62a U=sat nafuñkas ga mai.
1p.exRS=take flower 3sgPOS hither
We brought his flowers. (elicited)

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[91] It is interesting to observe that the pre-verbal (benefactive) pronominal position is recorded in Macdonald's 1907 dictionary, where he says, "thus instead of *ka fano*, *ke fano* we have *aga fano*, *iga fano*, in exactly the same sense, but, literally, 'I to go,' 'he to go.' This variation in Ef. of the order of the three elements of the expression in no way varies the sense, and seems to be purely for euphony." (ibid:84–85). If his conclusion about the sense of these forms is correct, it indicates that the grammaticalization of the benefactive was only incipient at the end of the nineteenth century. However, it is more likely that the benefactive was already a functioning construction that was not taken into account by Macdonald's analysis.

[92] The terms for two kinds of owl are used in the translation to distinguish them and are not proper names. I have not yet been unable to identify the two species of owl named here.

Contrast (62a) with (62b) in which the same pronoun *ga* '3sgPOS' in pre-verbal position encodes the beneficiary of the flowers being brought.

62b U=ga sat nafuñkas mai.
1p.exRS-3sgBEN take flower hither
We brought flowers for him. (98005)

While the benefactive and the possessive are expressed by the same oblique marker, they do not compete for the same slot, as shown in example (63). The two constructions can co-occur which provides evidence of the grammaticalized status of the benefactive construction.

63 Ru=**gamus** preg na naftaurwen gamus.
3p.RS=2p.BEN make ART wedding 2p.POS
They will make your wedding for you. (98009a, 1406.55, 1410.1200)

Possessed beneficiaries are encoded as a complex phrase in the benefactive position. The extent of the potential complexity of the benefactive phrase is shown in (64) where it consists of a relative clause dependent on a possessive NP all occurring within the slot between the possessive preposition *nig* (signaling the beginning of the benefactive phrase) and the main verb *slat*.

64 I=**nig** **tesa** **taklep** **nanwei** **nig** **marik** **p̃al-u-n**
3sgRS=of child firstborn male of mister brother-V-3sgDP

nag **i=pi** **naot** **p̃ur** **marik** **Nmak** **Kalmtapil** slat
REL 3sgRS=be chief big mister Nmak Kalmtapil take

ki nafinaotan.
PREP chiefly.line
He, for the firstborn son of his brother who was the big chief Nmak Kalmtapil, took the chiefly line. (053:46)

We can further distinguish the possessive from the benefactive construction by showing that benefactives can occur with intransitive verbs, in a construction in which possession is not a possible reading, as in (65), where the intransitive verb *traus* 'to tell' has no object, but does have a beneficiary, *neu* '1sgBEN'.

65 Kat natrauswen ga nrak lap i=to **neu** traus.
because story 3sgPOS time many 3sgRS=STAT 1sgBEN tell
Because he told his story to me many times. (lit: Because, his story, many times he would to me tell.) (004a, 1740.4, 1743.2373)

11.4.2.1. The benefactive phrase in the pre-verbal complex

In this section posssible explanations for the location of the benefactive phrase in the pre-verbal complex are explored. The grammaticalization of a benefactive from a possessive construction is widely attested (see Song 1997). Grammaticalization leads to the benefactive being morphologically or syntactically distinct from the possessive (Margetts 2004). In South Efate the benefactive is fully grammaticalized and distinct from the possessive construction on the basis

of the position each can occupy. In South Efate the benefactive construction is the only phrasal element permitted between the pre-verbal complex and the verb. That position may have become available by 'verbal attraction', a form of morphosyntactic grammaticalization by which "various dependents on the verb—adverbs, auxiliaries, pronominal subjects and objects, etc.—move to a position next to the verb" (Croft 1990:233–234).

The pre-verbal position in South Efate is also the slot in which the reflexive/reciprocal (RR) marker *tmo* occurs. As the reflexive/reciprocal object can occur in the position before the verb, and the reflexive/reciprocal is semantically similar to a prepositional phrase, this may have provided a pathway to the pre-verbal position for the benefactive prepositional phrase. There are no examples of the benefactive and reflexive/reciprocal co-occurring, as they could be expected to. Further work may reveal such examples, but at the moment it appears that the benefactive competes for the same position as the reflexive/reciprocal marker.

Another reason for the immediately pre-verbal slot being available for the benefactive prepositional phrase could be that an ambiguously pre-verbal position before deverbal directional particles is open to a prepositional phrase. There are three directional particles which are derived from homophonous verbs as can be seen in (66). These particles occur sentence finally and thus follow the verb and its object.

66

verb	**meaning**	**directional particle**	**meaning**
mai	to come	*mai*	hither, to here
pa/pan	to go	*pa/pan*	thither, to there
to	to stay	*to*	stay

When a prepositional phrase follows a verb and precedes the deverbal directional particle, as in the schema in (67), it could be interpreted as occurring in a pre-verbal position, if the directional particle is interpreted as being a verb.

67 PVC VERB PP directional particle

In (68) the prepositional phrase *skot tiawi* 'with old people' occurs immediately before the directional particle *mai* 'hither', illustrating the potentially ambiguous environment in which a prepositional phrase occurs before a de-verbal directional particle.

68 Ka=fo siwer skot tiawi mai.
1sIRR=PSP:IR walk with old.people hither
I will walk here with the old people. (elicited)

While this brief discussion is clearly speculative it is an intriguing aspect of South Efate that the Verb Complex permits a pre-verbal benefactive phrase, and further work on the history of the language may provide firmer evidence for the choice of this position.

11.5. Question formation

Content questions (§11.5.1.) can be formed by use of an interrogative lexeme. Polar (yes/no) questions (§11.5.2) are formed either by interrogative intonation, or by use of a post-clausal tag. Each is discussed in turn in the following sections.

11.5.1. Content questions

Content questions are formed by use of an interrogative proform (see 4.9), which can also stand as a sentence in its own right, for example, *Fei?,* 'Who?' (71) or *Eswa* 'Where?'. While these forms do not constitute a morphosyntactic class they do share the function of forming questions and so they are grouped together here. As is the case in Ambae (Hyslop 2001:103) these forms are "members of the class of words which the form is functioning to seek information about." Thus *eswa* 'where' functions as a locational noun; *fei* 'who' functions as a noun and so on.

Table 11:2. Interrogative lexemes

(e)swa/wa	where	nominal
fei	who	nominal
gas	when	temporal
iku, nlaken iku	why	?
ipi	how many/how much	quantifier
nafte	what	nominal
sef	which	adjective
tfale	how	adjective
tkanwan	how	adjective

Examples of each interrogative form follow.

Eswa 'where' usually occurs after the proposition of which it is seeking the location.

69 Mtulep nen to ga i=to pan sel nana, kai **eswa**?
woman that STAT 3sg 3sgRS=STAT go get hesit shellfish where
That woman, where does she get shellfish from? (98009a, 1682.0177, 1686.9550)

A reduced form of *eswa, wa* 'where' is commonly found in the data. In (70) the speaker is calling out for his wife, Limas, using the tag *o* following her name. He then asks his granddaughter where her grandmother is, using *wa.*

70 Limas, e, Limas o! E ati **wa**?
p.name hey p.name oh hey g.mother where
(calling) Limas, hey, Limas ooo. (to granddaughter) Hey, where's grandma? (98007bz, 1566.2800, 1571.8000)

Example (71) is from a court hearing in which the clerk announces that the next witness is missing. The second speaker says *fei* 'who', showing that the interrogative can form a sentence on its own.

71 <1> Kes karu i=pi te-ni, Emten, me iwelkia
case other 3sgRS=be DET-of p.name but 3sgRS=hesit

I. i=puel <2> **Fei**?
p.name 3sgRS=absent who
(Speaker 1) The next case is about Emten, but, um, I. isn't here. (Speaker 2) Who? (98016az, 1177.6400, 1183.5800)

Fei can head an interrogative relative clause, as in (72).

72 **Fei** kin i=preg te-ne?
who REL 3sgRS=make DET-this
Who is it that did this? (98016az, 58.7746, 60.0707)

73 P̃a=fo ler-ki-ø **gas**?
2sgIRR=PSP:IR return-TS-3sgO when
When will you return it? (98017bz, 502.4400, 510.8999)

Nlaken iku as a statement means 'because' as in (74), but with question intonation it means 'why' (lit: 'because why') as in (75).

74 I=na "Nlaken nafte?" Go a=na "Nlaken **iku."**
3sg=say because what and 1sgRS=say because why
He said "Why?" And I said "Because." (98017az, 177.5210, 179.7)

75 Nlaken **iku**? Nlaken nanwei ga i=pi naot.
because why because man 3sg 3sgRS=be chief
Why? Because the man is the chief. (98007bz, 339.6800, 346.6600)

76 **Iku** kin ku=to kai go?
why SUB 2sgRS=STAT cry and
Why are you crying? (98003az, 2464.9, 2466.3400)

The interrogative *ipi* 'how many' occupies the same position as would a quantifier in (77) (e.g., *nam̃er inru* 'two people', *nam̃er lap* 'many people').

77 Nam̃er **ipi**? Nam̃er ni natkon nen ru=to?
people how.many people of village REL 3p.RS=stay
How many people? People in the villages that were there? (98017bz, 165.0199, 171.4799)

78 Ku=to lel **nafte**?
2sgRS=STAT look.for what
What are you looking for? (20003b, 1351.0, 1351.89)

79 **Sef** ntau kin u=po nrokot go?
which year COMP 1p.exRS=PSP cross and
Which year did we cross over? (98010az, 1696.57, 1698.3200)

80 Komam ko=sat desison **tfale**?
1p.ex 1p.exIRR=take decision how
How will we take this decision? (98016az, 310.7800, 312.6982)

81 E, mama, me **tkanwan** kin ag ku=to maet
hey mother but how COMP 2sg 2sgRS=STAT fear

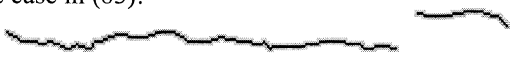
kuk p̃og tefla?
cook night thus
Hey mother, but how come you are afraid to cook at night like that? (98017bz, 2534.9701, 2540.5888)

11.5.2. Polar questions

Polar (yes/no) questions are formed by interrogative intonation and by the use of tag questions.

11.5.2.1. Interrogative intonation

Interrogative intonation is characterized by rising-falling on the last syllable of a statement which marks it as being a question, as shown in the following examples. In (82) there is no morphosyntactic question marking but, as can be seen from the pitch trace, there is a rise in pitch on the final syllable, as is also the case in (83).



82 Ka=tl-i-ø pak nafsan?
1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO to language
Should I tell it in language? (98001az, 1881.4, 1882.7092)

83 Tete nat i=fla traus -i-ø?
some person 3sgRS=CND tell -TS-3sgO
Has someone told you? (20003bz, 1131.7399, 1133.6399)

11.5.2.2. Tag questions

Three tags can be appended to a sentence to form polar questions. These tags typically accompany a change from statement to question intonation as will be illustrated below. Tags observed in the data are: *ko* 'or', *a/e* 'eh', and *go* 'and'.

The counter-factual tag *ko* 'or' (see §12.1.4.) is used to indicate that the opposite of the statement could be the case, similar to the tag 'or what' in English.

84 Ag ku=lakor lek-a-ø na-map, **ko**?
2sg 2sgRS=maybe look-TS-3sgO ART-map or
You might have seen a map, or what? (98017bz, 778.5372, 780.3765)

85 U=trok nen ka=net pak eut **ko**?
1p.exRS=agree COMP 1sgIRR=meet to sea or
We agree that we'll meet at the sea, or what? (98001b, 1061.7059, 1064.4238)

The tag *a* 'eh', or 'isn't it?' can be used on its own, for example, asking a speaker to repeat what they have just said, as in (86) which is a fragment of the end of a question asked by speaker 1 of speaker 2. Speaker 2 responds with *A?* seeking clarification of the question. In sentence-final position, *a* is the most common form of tag question marker.

86 <1> Ko i=ta tik? <2> A?
or 3sgRS=DUR not what
Speaker 1: Or hasn't he come yet? Speaker 2: What? (005a, 1459.9473, 1463.2400)

87 O natrauswen gag i=wi **a**?
oh story 2sgPOS 3sgRS=good INT
Oh your story is good, eh? (98001b, 243.8, 245.5603)

88 U=mtak-ki taos nkal ni nanwei **a**?
1p.exRS=scared-TR like clothes of man INT
We were scared to dress like a man, eh? (98003bz, 797.5, 801.1399)

89 Sef mal gag **go**?
what time 2sgPOS and
What is your time? (005Ax, 1475.7000, 1477.5683)

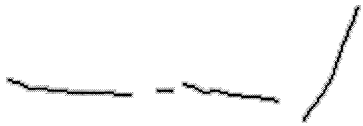
90 P̃a=fo pak sto **go**?
2sgIRR=PSP:IR go.to Vila and
Are you going to town? (20001az, 2362.8599, 2364.5800)

The intonation patterns associated with a question using *ko* 'or' are illustrated using pitch traces in the following examples. As can be seen, *ko* has falling intonation contrasting it with the rising question intonation which precedes it.

91 Ku=pilo to ko?
2sgRS=awake stay or
Are you awake? (elicited) (20001az, 2354.3400, 2357.1599)

92 Ag ku= pilo ko?
2sg 2SGRS=awake or
Are you awake? (elicited) (20001az, 2350.9800, 2353.5399)

A tag question formed with *go* has different intonation to that with *ko*. Whereas *ko* is used as a counterfactual with downward intonation following an utterance using question intonation, *go* follows a statement made with declarative intonation and forms a question with rising intonation, as we see in (93).



93 Ag ku=pilo to go?
2sg 2sgRS=awake stay and
Are you awake?(elicited) (20001az, 2348.5600,2350.7599)

11.6. Negation

Mosel (1999) establishes a list of functions of negatives in a sample of Oceanic languages. For the sake of comparability with that typology these functions and their realization in South Efate are outlined, where appropriate, below.

South Efate uses a negative verb (*tik*) with the same form as that used in negative existential constructions. It can be used either on its own, or with the generic subject 3sgRS proclitic, *i=*.

94 Go Ririal i=mer nrik Ririel ki na, "**Tik**,
and " 3sgRS=in.turn tell " PREP say no

ag p̃a=fag."
2sg 2sgIRR=climb:IR
And Ririal, in turn, said to Ririel, "No, you climb." (98003bz, 29.9799, 33.2001)

95 Akit tu=po tl-i-ø na nam̃er tar
1p.inc 1p.incRS=PSP tell-TS-3sgO say people white

ru=pnak-kit. **Tik.**
3p.RS=steal-1p.inc no
We would say that white people stole from us. No. (20003az, 656.2400, 659.4801)

In answer to a question about whether anyone was killed in an accident, the speaker answered as in (96).

96 I=**tik**, nanromien, nat i=ta mat mau.
3sgRS=no blessing man 3sgRS=NEG dead NEG2
No, thankfully no one was killed. (081:86) (98010az, 1668, 1671.6091)

Example (97) is part of a discussion by a young woman about her ability to choose her own marriage partner. She says she is able to say *itik* 'no' to a man who has asked her parents for the right to marry her.

97 Ka=fo tae nrik-i-n ki na, "I=**tik**.
1sgIRR=PSP:IR know say-TS-3sgO PREP say 3sgRS=no

Kineu a=kano taulu ag."
1sg 1sgRS=can't marry 2sg
I can say to him, "No, I can't marry you." (98009az, 1119.9, 1124.3401)

South Efate existential constructions are negated by use of the negative verb *tik* as in the following examples.

98 Esa=n i=**tik-ki** nawesien nen, go kai=pe
here=DST 3sgRS=not-TR work that and 1sgPS=PF

to preg carpenter.
STAT make "
Here there was none of that work and I had to work as a carpenter. (98007az, 798.7000, 803.9398)

These constructions can also negate the existence of a possessive relationship, as in (99), where the intransitive *tik* is transitivized by means of the suffix *-ki* and encodes the lack of a possessed item ('they had no axe'). Mosel (1999:11) notes a similar pattern for other Oceanic languages.

99 Ru=**tik**-ki kram. Ru=**tik**-ki sernale fserser.
3p.RS=no-TR axe 3p.RS=no-TR everything different
They had no axe. They didn't have all those different things. (98009b, 812.0800, 818.3647)

Another way of negating possession in South Efate is by use of the negative particle (discussed in §10.1.2.) and the verb *piatlak* 'to have or own'.

100 Koi=pe **tap** pitlak naor naṕelwen **mau.**
1p.exPS=PF NEG have place shelter NEG2
We didn't have anywhere to shelter. (98010az, 1604.9200, 1612.1124)

Simple existence, as encoded by the copula *pi*, is negated in the same way, so that the equative object *nafsan neu* 'my language' in (101) is negated just as a verb would be.

101 Taosi kin a=til "problem" i=po **ta** pi
like REL 1sgRS=say " 3sgRS=PSP NEG be

nafsan neu **mau.**
language 1sgPOS NEG2
Like, I say, "problem", it is not my language at all. (98010az, 1978.5600, 1982.3181)

Negation of predicates is also achieved by use of the discontinuous negative particles *ta ... mau*. The first part of the discontinuous negative marker occurs in the pre-verbal complex (PVC) described in §10.1.2. The second part, *mau*, follows at the end of the sentence. Example (102) shows negation of a simple verb and object suffix.

102 I=**tap** mur-i-n **mau.**
3sgRS=NEG want-TS-3sgO NEG2
He doesn't want it. (98003bz, 1479.1799, 1480.6)

South Efate makes no distinction between negation of predicates and of whole propositions (as Mosel 1999:13 notes for other Oceanic languages). As discussed in §10.1.2., the placement of the initial negative particle determines the scope of the negation, but in no case does the negative particle occur outside the PVC, as it does, for example, in Saliba (Margetts 1999b:25–26). In (103) the scope of negation is over an embedded relative clause.

103 U=**tap** tae fei kin ke=fo mos-mam
1p.exRS=NEG know who REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR take-1p.exO

pak HogHaba **mau.**
to p.name NEG2
We didn't know who would take us to Hog Harbor. (004b, 1272.4601, 1281.1599)

Imperatives (and hortatives, see §6.4.3) are negated in the same way as other predicates. The next two examples illustrate negated imperatives.

104 P̌a=**ta** mtak **mau.**
2sgIRR=NEG fright NEG2
Don't be scared! (98017bz, 2633.0, 2634.2150)

105 A i=tik p̃a=**ta** kat-i-ø **mau**.
ah 3sgRS=no 2sgIRR=NEG bite-TS-3sgO NEG2
Ah no, don't you bite him! (98017bz, 2686.1623, 2687.78)

Example (106) illustrates a negated hortative.

106 Komam rak=**ta** fam **mau** me rak=to.
1p.ex 1d.IRR=NEG eat:IR NEG2 but d.IRR=stay
Let us not eat, let us just stay. (20001az, 1656.4124, 1659.5)

Fronted NPs are negated by the same particles as negate predicates, as in most of the Oceanic languages studied in Mosel (1999).

107 **I=ta** pi mal leg nen kin tuk=kraksok
3sgRS=NEG be time straight that REL 1p.inclIRR=catch

independent **mau**.
independence NEG2
It wasn't the right time that we get independence. (98010az, 2300.2782, 2303.6822)

108 **I=ta** pi kineu kin a=mtir-i-ø **mau.**
3sgRS=NEG be 1sg REL 1sgRS=write-TS-3sgO NEG2
It is not me who wrote it. (20003az, 437.1107, 438.4756)

12. Complex sentences

In this chapter I will discuss clause linkage types in South Efate. In this discussion the elements considered to be sentences usually have some syntactic unity reflected in clauses that are linked to each other by morphemes such as conjoiners or subordinators. Where no such morphemes are present there are other features such as prosodic cues showing the unity of the sentence or utterance unit. In this analysis of complex constructions we will see how clauses can be combined under three main headings: Coordination (§12.1), Subordination (§12.2), and Other clause linkage (§12.3). Table 12:1. sets out the identifying features of different kinds of clause linkage (compound verbs are included for comparative purposes).

12.1. Coordination

There are several types of coordinators in South Efate. Payne (1985:5) distinguishes coordinating particles on the basis of the type of constituents that they can conjoin. He notes, for example, that *and* in English conjoins sentences, VPs, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, and NPs. He contrasts this with Fijian

Table 12:1. Characteristics of verb combinations compared to clause linkage

Linkage type		compound verbs	clause chain	clause juxta-position	clause co-ordination	clause sub-ordination
V1	Pro clitic S	+	+	+	+	+
	TMA	+	+	+	+	+
	O	-	+	+	+	+
	Lexical O	-	+	+	+	+
V2	Lexical S	-	-	+	+	+
	Pro clitic S	-	-	+	+	+
	TMA	-		+	+	+
	O	+	+	+	+	+
Explicit markers of	Subordi-nation	-	-	-	-	+
	Coordi-nation	-	-	-	+	-

in which *ka* conjoins sentences, VPs, adjectival phrases, and prepositional phrases, but a distinct form *kei* is used to conjoin noun phrases. The conjoiners in South Efate are: *me* 'but', 'and' (§12.1.2.) (which also has a sequential reading 'and then'); *go* 'and' (§12.1.3.); *ko* 'or' (§12.1.4.), all three of which can join sentences, clauses, and NPs. A fourth conjoiner is *ale* 'then' (§12.1.5.), which joins clauses and sentences. Each is illustrated in the following sections. The particle *kai* which is glossed as the echo-subject (ES) could be analyzed as either a conjoiner or an echo-subject marker. It shares features with the conjoiners discussed in this section but as it is closest in function and form to a subject proclitic it is discussed together with the pronominals in §5.1.3.2.3.

Numerals can be conjoined in the same way as other nominals, but the special case of numeral formation with *atmat* is discussed in §4.4. Verb stems can be conjoined by the particle *pe* for emphasis, as discussed in §9.1.1.3.

12.1.1. Unmarked (asyndetic) coordination

Not all coordinate constructions have an explicit conjoiner. Lists of nouns can, as in English, be presented paratactically without any conjunction, as in (1), or with a conjunction before only the last noun in the list, as in (2).

1 I=piatlak Lias, Limat, Ana, Sera, Pali.
3sgRS=have p.name p.name p.name p.name p.name
There was Lias, Limat, Ana, Sera, Pali. (98003bz, 1058.3199, 1073.2400)

2 Lanskoprel Jimmy T., praivet Jon L., **go** Naser.
lance corporal p.name private p.name and p.name
Lance corporal Jimmy T, private John L. and Naser. (005Ax, 47.2000, 58.3401)

When clauses are concatenated with no conjoiners they are treated as juxtaposed clauses (§12.3.1.) or clause chains (§12.3.2.).

12.1.2. *me* 'but', 'and'

Me is a conjunction meaning either 'but' or 'and'. Its most common use is as the adversative[93] (Payne 1985:6) 'but' which is only found in clause or sentence

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[93] There are examples in the data of the Bislama borrowing *pe* occurring as the adversative conjoiner 'but', e.g.,

I=kerkerai **pe** ku=mur-i=n na p̃a=fitlak
3sgRS=strong but 2sgRS=want-TR=3sgO say 2sgIRS=have.IR
mane ses
money small
It was hard, but you wanted to have some money. (98017a, 2245.2800, 2253.3600) (087:37)

linking and never in linking of NPs. In this section we will see examples of *me* conjoining sentences, clauses, and NPs. In example (3) *me* 'but' conjoins two clauses.

3 Spray, ru=traem nrik-wou ki-n **me** a=mal-ki-ø.
Spray 3p.RS=try tell-1sgO PREP-3sgO but 1sgRS=not.want-TR-3sgO
They tried to get me to use spray, but I didn't want to. (040:77) (98003az, 1452.1740, 1454.8200)

Similarly in (4) *me* functions as the adversative conjoining two clauses.

4 Tete ru=tae, **me** tete ru=tap tae mau.
some 3p.RS=know but some 3p.RS=NEG know NEG2
Some know, but some don't know. (20001b, 845.5599, 847.9012)

In (5) *me* conjoins two clauses in which the speaker is discussing his past of drinking and smoking. Rather than being opposed the two events are complementary and the conjoiner can only mean 'and'.

5 A=min **me** a=smok paket inru naliati i=skei.
1sgRS=drink and 1sgRS=smoke packet two day 3sgRS=one
I drank and I smoked, two packets a day. (040:68) (98003a, 1395.8199, 1403.1200)

In example (6) we see *me* encoding sequential action with no adversative reading. There is no suggestion that the speaker's departure here contradicts signing up with the army. Clearly it is the logical outcome of signing up for the army that the speaker should then depart for battle.

6 Nlaken kai=pe sain reki army nafkal **me** a=pa.
because 1sgPS=PF sign for army fight and 1sgRS=go
Because I had signed with the army to fight and then I went. (040:17) (98003a, 1086.9600, 1092.9199)

Similarly in (7) the two clauses joined by *me* are in a temporal sequence.

7 P̃a=freg-pun te-ne **me** tak=fo to
2sgIRR=make:IR-kill DET-this and 1p.inclRR=PSP:IR STAT

mailum traus.
slow talk
You turn off (lit: make dead) this (tape recorder) and then we will talk a little. (KN 98007b, 1900.1459, 1903.0896)

While there is a strong likelihood of switching subjects with an adversative (as it is used to contrast two situations) the use of *me* has no switch-subject implications (as discussed by Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004 for languages of the region), that is, the subject of the clauses preceding and following *me* may or may not be identical. So, in (8) the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, and in (9) they are not.

8 Mal na ku=mai **me** ku=lek nasuñ kapa...
time ART 2sgRS=come but 2sgRS=see house tin
When you come and you see a tin house... (98002bz, 1028.2200, 1029.86)

9 I=po kat nmart-er **me** ru=suer-ki-n.
3sgRS=PSP:R bite guts-3p.POS but 3p.RS=shit-TR-3sgO
It would bite/burn their guts and/but they shat it out. (98002bz, 938.8, 940.79)

When *me* conjoins two NPs it has no adversative meaning, as in the following two examples where it is used to list items.

10 Go ru=to ru=tu-a-ø na mït **me**
and 3p.RS=STAT 3p.RS=give-TS-3sgO ART mat and

nkal **me** te-namrun.
cloth and det-thing
And they were there, they gave mats, cloth, and other things. (20001az, 1141, 1142.8200, 1147.2473)

11 Pako **me** afsak, **me** fai, **me** [evri kain bikfala fis
shark and turtle and stingray and every kind big fish

i=kam so].
3sgS=come shore
Sharks and turtles and stingrays and [switch to Bislama] every kind of big fish came ashore. (98011a, 1811.7800, 1818.5799)

In a less common construction, *me* occurs between a lexical subject and the following Verb Complex, as in examples (12) to (14). It is unclear what function is served by *me* in these examples.

12 Go i=pi eswan kafman **me** i=tl-i-ø
and 3sgRS=be where govt. ? 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO

na natañol ruk=fo mai pak Efat.
say people 3p.IRR=PSP come go.to p.name
And that is where the government said that people would come to Efate (to escape the cyclone that destroyed the small Erakor island). (98007az, 1805.38, 1813.02)

13 Me ga i=po wi me ag ku=mai
but 3sg 3sgRS=PSP good but 2sg 2sgRS=come

nlaken kineu **me** a=po sup̃neki.
because 1sg ? 1sgRS=PSP not.know
And he would be okay, but you came because I didn't know (that he would be okay). (WW conversation)

14 Malnen u=na u=pa go Litrapog **me** i=mai.
as 1p.exRS=want 1p.exRS=go and name ? 3sgRS=come
As we wanted to go Litrapong also came. (Kalsarap.mov, 31.6802, 37.6801)

12.1.3. *go* 'and'

The conjoiner *go* is an equivalent of English 'and' in joining clauses (15 and 16) and NPs (17). *Go* is also used in tag question formation (see §11.5.2.2). In (15) we see clauses joined by *go* 'and' which links both same- and switch-subject clauses. The first two clauses have the same subject and the third has a different subject (as indicated by index numbers on the subjects in the translations).

15 Ru=to pan sor kai **go** ru=sor pamkin **go**
3p.RS=STAT go sell shellfish and 3p.RS=sell pumpkin and

ru=tu-er pret.
3p.RS=give-3p. bread
They$_1$ sold shellfish, they$_1$ sold pumpkin, and they$_2$ gave them$_1$ bread. (030)

In the following, *go* links two clauses with the same subject.

16 Go naliati i=skei i=pa=n **go** ki=piatlak atol.
and day 3sgRS=one 3sgRS=go=DST and 3sgPS=have egg
And one day he went and he had egg(s). (048:3)(98007az, 234.89, 249.49)

In (17) the two NPs *apap nigmam* 'our father' and *mama nigmam* 'our mother' are joined by *go*.

17 U=mer taos apap nigmam **go** mama nigmam
1p.exRS=in.turn follow father 1p.POS and mother 1p.POS

pak talm̃at.
to garden
We then followed our father and our mother to the garden. (20001az, 552.3242, 559.5201)

12.1.4. *ko* 'or'

The disjunction *ko* 'or' can join clauses and NPs. *Ko* is also used in tag question formation (see §11.5.2.2). Example (18) shows *ko* joining two clauses.

18 Ru=pi na natam̃ol iskei **ko** ru=pi ntuam.
3p.RS=be ART person one or 3p.RS=be devil
They are men or they are devils. (98001b, 1032.9, 1042.9601)

In (19) a sequence of nouns is listed with the final pair conjoined with *ko*.

19 Gar ru=ptu.kompenset-ki paep, stik tabak
3p. 3p.RS=give.compensate-TR pipe stick tobacco

ko botel ram.
or bottle rum
They compensated (the theft of land) with a pipe, stick tobacco, or a bottle of rum. (20003az, 639.2200, 652.2600)

In example (20) *ko* 'or' conjoins first three clauses and then two NPs.

20 I=tu-a-ø mĩit, **ko** i=tu-a-ø tete nafnag,
3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO mat or 3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO some food

ko i=tu-a -ø tete nkal **ko** mane.
or 3sgRS=give-TS-3sgO some cloth or money
He gave him a mat, or he gave him some food or he gave him some cloth or money. (98003bz, 1226.5346, 1233.1000)

12.1.5. *ale* 'then'

The conjoiner *ale* 'then' is from Bislama (and ultimately from the French *allez* 'go!') where it performs a similar function to the one it performs in South Efate. As a sentence introducer it is often glossed as 'okay', but it also has the sequential meaning of 'and then'. Example (21)[94] shows *ale* used to introduce the first sentence, and then to conjoin the sentences.

21 **Ale** i=tup̃ na metotel ga **ale**
then 3sgRS= get hesit maître.d'hôtel 3sgPOS okay

ru=preg-i-ø i=pak eut.
3p.RS= make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=go.to:R shore
Then he got his job as a maître d'hôtel. So they sent him ashore. (98002az, 392.6000, 399.0600)

12.2. Subordination

Subordinate clauses are those which occur as part of a larger unit, unlike independent clauses which are complete utterances. Cross-linguistically there are four common markers of subordination as outlined by Huddleston (1999:338). These are listed below with indications of their occurrence in South Efate.

1) particular verb forms are characteristic of subordinate clauses, typically nonfinite and subjunctive forms. South Efate uses a subjunctive-like form in some examples of complementation (§12.2.2.3).
2) a closed class of words act as subordinators or relators. South Efate uses a small set of subordinators (*kin*, *nen*, and *na[gʃ]*) to link subordinate clauses to main clauses (see §12.2.1.).

[94] Taken from Text 7:13 in the Appendix.

3) distinctive word order in subordinate clauses (not a feature in South Efate).
4) omission of elements in subordinate clauses that would be present in corresponding main clauses. There is no example of omission in subordinate clauses in South Efate but subject proclitics can be omitted in clause-chains (see §12.3.2.).

Subordinate clauses in South Efate are typically identified by their position following a subordinator except in those cases where a complement occurs following a complement-taking predicate with no marker of subordination. Except with some complement-taking predicates for which an irrealis form of the verb or proclitic is commonly required (for example, desiderative predicates, §12.2.3.6.), there are no specific requirements on the modal status of the verb in the subordinate clause. So, in example (22), the relative clause following the relativizer *nen* has the realis proclitic *ru=* '3p.RS' and not the irrealis form *ruk=* '3p.IRR'. The realis form of the proclitic is the most common form for the subject of a relative clause introduced by *nen*.

22 I=mer fit mai pak nagis esanie nen
3sgRS=in.turn run hither to point place REL
[Main clause [Relative clause

ru=sos-o-ø ki Emetp̃er.
3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name
]]

She then ran to the point at this place that they call Emetp̃er. (98002bz, 554., 557.59)

Contrast (22) with (23) in which the subject proclitic in the relative clause (*ke=* '3sgIRR') is in the irrealis form. The choice of a singular form for the subject of the relative clause (we would expect the pronoun to be *ruk=* '3p.IRR') is an example of number agreement mismatch as discussed in §5.1.3.1.

23 Go, ru=kano lekor tiawi nen ke=to emm̃rom to.
and 3p.RS=unable watch old.people REL 3sgIRR=stay inside at
And they couldn't watch over the old people who were inside. (98017a, 752.9399, 758.3953)

It is commonly observed typologically that subordinate clauses fall into three types (e.g., Vincent 1999:353; Longacre 1985:237) which we will use as a framework for the following discussion. The three types are complement clauses (§12.2.2.), relative clauses (§12.2.4.), and adverbial clauses (§12.2.5.), which we will turn to after a discussion of South Efate subordinators.

12.2.1. Subordinators *kin, nen, na(g)*

There are three morphemes which introduce subordinate clauses: *kin* 'SUB', *nen* 'that', and *na(g)* 'say' also functioning as a complementizer. Each is discussed in turn in the following sections. The distinction between them is unclear, although certain tendencies in their distribution are outlined in Table 12:2.

All three forms, *kin, na(g),* or *nen* can function as relativizers with animate and inanimate head nouns as shown in the following examples where inanimate nouns and animate nouns head a relative clause introduced by *kin, nag,* and *nen* respectively.

Table 12:2. Distribution of subordinating particles

Subordinator	Meaning	Clause type introduced		
		Complement clauses	Adverbial clauses	Relative clauses
kin	?	less common	common	common
nen	'that'	few	none	common
na(g)	'say'	common	none	common

24 Ku=pañor nafuñ nkas na nua nkas **kin**
2sgRS=find flower tree HESIT fruit tree REL

i=tk-os to.
3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL stay
You find the flower, the fruit that is there. (98007bz, 1555.4400, 1559.5366)

25 Me tesa gar **kin** ru=lap tu.
but child 3p.POS REL 3p.RS=many stay
But it is their children who stayed on. (20001az, 738.5600, 742.2200)

26 Ke=fo nrik-mam ki napet nafsan
3sgIRR=PSP:IR say-1p.exO prep meaning story

nag i=til-i-ø.
REL 3sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
He will tell us the meaning of the story that he told. (005Ax, 1035.2600, 1045.0800)

27 Iakop **nag** tesa nanwei karu nig Pomalfus Marik Nmak
p.name REL child male other of p.name

Kalmtapil i=slat-i-ø.
p.name 3sgRS=take-TS-3sgO
Jacob, whom Pomalfus Marik Nmak Kalmtapil's second son took the name of. (98009b, 1816.1, 1825.5600)

28 Ku=tai nkas **nen** ru=sos-o-ø ki Naplil.
2sgRS=cut tree REL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP tree sp.
You cut the tree that they call Naplil. (004a, 604.9846, 607.3859)

29 Malen i=pes go nam̃er **nen** ru=preg nafkal,
as 3sgRS=speak and people REL 3p.RS=make war

ruk=of pak etan.
3p.IRR=PSP:IR go.to down
When he talks, the people who are making war will pay him respect. (98009b, 793.9000, 802.5000)

12.2.1.1. *kin* relativizer, complementizer

The morpheme *kin* follows the noun head and precedes the relative clause. A relative clause introduced by *kin* is most likely non-restrictive as in (30).

30 I=mer p̃akot, nafteme, naur ses **kin**
3sgRS=again split whatsitsname island small REL

ru=sos-o-ø ki Em̃al.
3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP p.name
He then split the, whatchamacallit, small island which they call Em̃al. (98002bz, 759.5601, 763.9)

31 Nmatu **kin** i=kuk, nmatu **kin** i=puri,
woman REL 3sgRS=cook woman REL 3sgRS=grate

i=preg kapu.
3sgRS=make laplap
It is women who cook, women who grate food, make laplap. (98003bz, 963.1999, 969.8799)

Example (32) shows *kin* preceded by *nanwei* 'men' as the head and followed by the relative clause ('who cut down trees').

32 Me reki nen u=pul nkas, go nanwei **kin**
but as.for that 1p.exRS=cut tree and men REL

ru=to pul nkas.
3p.RS=STAT cut tree
But as for cutting trees, it is men who cut down trees. (98009az, 573.7801, 577.0399)

Examples (33) and (34) further illustrate the use of *kin*.

33 Me akam **kin** u=preg-sa-ki napu i=pi
but 2p. REL 2p.RS=make-bad-TR road 3sgRS=be

nlaken a=lok.
because 1sgRS=lock
But it is you who spoiled that way of doing things, that is why I locked (it). (98017az, 373.9600, 378.1586)

34 Kai=pe metpakor atlag i=pi **kin** a=weswes.
1sgPS=PF forget month 3sgRS=be REL 1sgRS=work
I have forgotton how many months I worked. (lit: how many months that I worked) (98002az, 2124.4965, 2127.5605)

We see that *kin* also functions as a complementizer following some complement-taking predicates in the following examples, further discussed in §12.2.1.2.

35 Me a=mal **kin** tu=sat tete desison.
but 1sgRS=not.want COMP 1p.IncRS=take some decision
But I don't want us to make some decision. (98018b, 232.9200, 234.54)

36 U=nrog-o-ø **kin** apu me ati
1p.exRS=hear-TS-3sgO COMP grandfather and grandmother

nigmam ru=to nigmam traus-i-ø.
1p.POS 3p.RS=STAT 1p.BEN tell-TS-3sgO
We hear that our grandfather and grandmother tell it to us. (98007az, 439.7120, 443.547)

12.2.1.2. *nen* 'that', relativizer

As is the case with *kin* as a relativizer, *nen* 'that' stands between the head and the following relative clause, as in the next two examples. In (37) the relative clause *nen ruur elag* 'that they put up' follows the head noun *waia* 'wire'.

37 Go a=mer pakot waia **nen** ru=ur elag.
and 1sgRS=in.turn pay wire REL 3p.RS=follow above
And then I bought wire that they put up. (98016bz, 527.7800, 529.65)

38 Ale naminwen kineu a=pi natam̃ol i=skei **nen**
okay drinking 1sg 1sgRS=be man 3sgRS=one REL

a=min. O, natam̃ol i=tik **nen** i=tol
1sgRS=drink O person 3sgRS=not REL 3sgRS=beat

neu naminwen.
1sg drink
Drinking, I am a man who can drink. Oh, there is no one that can beat me at drinking. (98003a, 1371.6600, 1381.7799)

There is a common collocation of *nen* 'that' and *kin* 'subordinator', as in (39), in which the forms are intonationally linked and equate to something like 'that which' in English. They appear to be fused together in many cases, but where there is a pause between these two forms it indicates that *nen* is likely to be acting as a demonstrative modifying the head NP and thus functioning as part of the head NP.

39	I=tau-ø	pak	nanre,	**nen**	**kin**	p̃al-u-k	nen
	3sgRS=carry-3sgO	to	side	that	REL	brother-V-1sgDP	REL

imat	wik	nen	pa	i=tk-os.
3sgRS=dead	week	that	go	3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL

He took her to the side, that (place) which my brother who died last week stayed at. (98011a, 1647.4, 1651.5)

It is not always possible to establish if *nen* is functioning as a demonstrative or a relativizer as there are contexts in which it could function as either. In (40) there are two readings of the sentence provided in (a) and (b) which are differentiated by intonation. A pause preceding *nen*, or no pause at all, would suggest reading (a), while a pause after *nen* would suggest reading (b).

40a	Mes	ne,	nawesien	p̃ur,	**nen**	a=to	preg-i-ø,	mes	ne.
	today	this	work	big	that	1sgRS=STAT	make-TS-3sgO	today	this
	a)		[NP			[REL			]]

a) Today, the big work that I do...

40b	Mes	ne,	nawesien	p̃ur	**nen,**	a=to	preg-i-ø,	mes	ne.
	today	this	work	big	that	1sgRS=STAT	make-TS-3sgO	today	this
	b)		[NP		][Verb Complex		]		

b) Today, that big work, I do... (98011a, 680.8401, 684.6518)

The next two examples distinguish the uses of *nen* as a relativizer and a demonstrative. In (41) *nen* introduces a relative clause modifying the subject and so requires a Verb Complex following it to complete the sentence.

41	Nataw̃ol	[**nen**	i=mur	ag] ...
	man	REL	3sgRS=want	2sg

A/The man who wants you ... (elicited)

In (42) a pause after *nen* 'that' distinguishes the subject NP formed by *nataw̃ol* 'man' and the demonstrative *nen* 'that' from the subject headed relative clause in the previous example.

42	[Nataw̃ol	**nen**]	i=mur	ag.
	man	that	3sgRS=want	2sg

That man wants you. (elicited)

In (43) the subject NP is the same as in the previous example but here it is followed by the clause introduced by *kin.*

43 [Nataṁol **nen**] [**kin** i=mur ag].
man that REL 3sgRS=want 2sg
That man who wants you/It is that man who wants you. (elicited)

In (44) there is a pause following *nen* 'that' indicating that the subject which is in a topicalized position is *tesa nen* 'those children' and not just *tesa* 'children'.

44 Tesa **nen,** ra=na rak=fa=n lel gkafik.
child that 3d.RS=want 3d.IRR=go:IR=DST look.for tree.sp
These two children wanted to look for nakavika fruit. (98003bz, 15.7000, 18.7)

Example (45) is from a story in which a man emerges from hiding. The pause indicated by the comma shows that *nen israkro* 'that hid it' modifies the noun *nataṁol* 'person' as a relative clause.

45 I=to panpan go nataṁol **nen** i=srakr-o-ø,
3sgRS=stay go:RED and person that 3sg=hide-TS-3sgO

i=po mai.
3sgRS=PSP:R hither
She stayed and stayed and that man who hid it came close. (20003bz, 1344.7000, 1347.8999)

The two functions of *nen* can be seen when both the deictic and relativizer *nen* co-occur, as in (46). This sentence follows a discussion of Europeans who had been in Erakor and who had built the school. (Mr.Waily is mentioned together with another person in the preceding discourse, hence the dual pronominal subject.) The head of the second relative clause is the modified noun, *skul nen* 'that school'.

46 Mr.Waily **nen** ra=preg skul nen **nen** i=to natkon ...
p.name REL d.RS=make school that REL 3sgRS=STAT village
Mr. Waily, who made that school that is in the village ... (98003a, 357.8799, 365.2200)

12.2.1.3. *na, nag* relativizer and complementizer

The complementizer used with most complement-taking predicates (CTPs) is *na(g),* which is identical to the verb 'to say' and also has a range of other functions in South Efate including: the expression of a purposive (meaning 'in order to', see§12.2.5.6.); marking inchoative or incipient action; and acting as the verb 'to want'. A morpheme with a similar range of functions is noted for Lolovoli by Hyslop (2001:386), and the verb *ika* in Anejom̃ means both 'say' and 'to want' (Lynch 2000b:162). The grammaticalization of the verb 'say' as a complementizer is not uncommon in languages of the world (cf. Lord 1976;

Saxena 1988) and its use marking subordinate clauses is widespread in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:53). Example (47) shows *nag* functioning as a complementizer following the verb *mur* 'to want'. The use of *nag* as the complementizer is associated with older speakers and is considered more classical than *na* which is used by younger speakers.

47 A=mur-i-n **nag** ka=mer-til naliati nag komam
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=in.turn-tell days REL 1p.

u=tok plisman.
1p.exRS=stay police
I want to tell you about the days when we were police. (005Ax, 29.1000, 36.7702)

Example (48) shows the complementizer following the verb *lek* 'to see'. Further examples can be found in §12.2.3.

48 Ru=lek-a-ø **nag** rak=fo krakpun silu
3p.RS=see-TS-3sgO COMP 3d.IRR=PSP:IR kill all

namẽr nig Erakor.
people of p.name
They saw that they would kill everyone in Erakor. (98009b, 1735, 1739.8)

While most relative clauses are introduced by *nen*, there are also a number of relative clauses introduced by *na(g)* as in the examples below. In example (49) we see *nag* acting as a relativizer modifying the object *tete kako ni raru* 'some boat cargo'. Other examples of the relativizers *na* and *nag* follow.

49 Ru=preg tete kako ni raru **nag** ru=to nakpei.
3p.RS=take some cargo of boat REL 3p.RS=STAT front
They took some cargo from the boat that was in the front. (004b, 1233.5000, 1242.3399)

50 Nagi natkon **nag** ru=tok elag emaloput Liῖilo go Tawa.
name village REL 3p.RS=stay above middle p.name
The name of the villages (on Maewo) that were up in the middle were Liῖilo and Tawa. (98001b, 1422.7000, 1434.5000)

51 Ka=fo sol natus **na** ka=traus-i-ø pan
1sgIRR=PSP:IR take paper REL 1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO go

naor nen i=takel go ka=fo leg-ki-ø.
place REL 3sgRS=crooked and 1sgIRR=PSP:IR straight-TR-3sgO
I will take the story that I told until where I made a mistake and I will correct it. (98001b, 429.4399, 437.4200)

Following this overview of subordinating particles we now turn to the three types of subordinate clauses found in South Efate.

12.2.2. Complement clauses

Complementation is the "syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (Noonan 1985:42). It is thus distinguished from other complex structures discussed in this chapter in that the complement is required as an argument of the verb, either as the subject or object. I will first discuss complement types and then outline CTPs in South Efate.

12.2.2.1. Complement types

Verbs that take subject or object complements are referred to as CTPs which, in South Efate, occur with the following morphological complement types (adapted from a list by Noonan 1985).

1) sentence-like complements
2) subjunctive-like complements
3) nominalized complements

These are discussed in turn below.

12.2.2.2. Sentence-like complements

Sentence-like complements are those in which the predicate has the same form as in a main clause. For example, in (52) the clause *tesa i=sigpir* 'the child disobeys' could stand as a sentence by itself.

52 Ku=kano lek **tesa i=sigpir.**
2sgRS=unable look child 3sgRS=disobey
(In the olden days) You wouldn't see a child disobeying. (98007bz, 527.2600, 532.3201)

Here the complement of the verb *mrokin* 'to think that' is the whole following sentence-like clause, with no markers of the relationship between the clauses.

53 A=mro-ki-n **nafsan ki=pe lakor leg,**
1sgRS=think-TR-3sgO story 3sgIRR maybe straight

go i=tlas-i-ø.
and 3sgRS=enough-TS-3sgO
I think the story is about right, and that's enough. (98016bz, 871.9800, 876.8400)

As discussed in the introduction to this section on subordination, in general subordinate clauses display no features that distinguish them from other clauses, apart from the subordinators that link them to the preceding main clause. While the irrealis mood may be required in the PVC of the complement clause, as in (54) (which is the type of clause we will call a subjunctive-like complement in the following section), this is not unique to complement clauses as irrealis forms may also occur in independent clauses. On the other hand, as example

(55) shows, the realis form can also occur in the complement of some CTPs. The determining factor is the semantics of the verb. Irrealis complement clauses follow verbs encoding events that are not yet achieved as discussed below in §12.2.2.

54 A=tae **nag** ke=fo nrik-mam ki
1sgRS=know COMP 3sgIRR=PSP:IR tell-1p.exO PREP

naṕet nafsan.
meaning story
I know that he will tell us the meaning of the story. (005Ax, 1035.2600, 1045.0800)

55 Nlaken ru=mro **na** gar ru=metmatu tol tiawi.
because 3p.RS=think COMP 3p. 3p.RS=wise beat old.people
Because they think they are cleverer than the old people. (98003bz, 396.7801, 401.1599)

12.2.2.3. Subjunctive-like complements

Some complements of CTPs in South Efate take an irrealis pronominal subject when the semantics of the verb involve an action that is desired or otherwise not yet achieved. If the verb in the complement clause can mark irrealis itself (by stem-initial mutation; see §6.4.5.1), then it will often be the irrealis form that occurs in this context, as can be seen in the complement clause in (56) where both the 1sg subject (*ka*) and the verb (*festaf* 'to talk') are irrealis forms. We consider these to be 'subjunctive-like' in Noonan's (1985) terms. (A discussion of the role of mood marking can be found in §6.4.)

56 A=mur-i-n na **ka=festaf-**mus.
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO say 1sgIRR=talk:IR-2p.O
I want to tell you. (lit: I want that I tell you.) (98001b, 725.45, 726.7599)

57 Ke=fo pregnrog-o-ø **nag** ke=wat m̃au
3sgIRR=PSP:IR try-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgIRR=hit giant

nranru nig Efil.
two of p.name
He would try to hit the two warrior giants from Vila. (98009b, 1752.4, 1757.6201)

These complements are unlike those described in the preceding section as they typcially cannot occur as main clauses in their own right. Thus the clause *kafestaf-mus* 'that I speak to you' can not stand as a main clause.

12.2.2.4. Nominalized complements

Nominalized complements (like 'His shooting of the dog') do not exist in South Efate, but deverbal nouns can act as complements when expressed by a possessed nominalized verb whose possessor corresponds to the subject of the

non-nominalized verb, as in example (58) where *namroan gar,* 'their thinking', acts as the subject. Nominalization is discussed in §5.4.

58 Ko **namroan gar** i=wi, ru=pak talm̃at.
or thinking 3p.POS 3sgRS=good 3p.RS=go.to garden
Or if their thinking is good, they go to the garden. (98010bz, 540.9728, 544.5799)

Nametmatuan 'wisdom' (from *metmatu* 'to be clever') is the nominalized subject of (59).

59 Me **nametmatuan ga** i=pi nlaken kin
but wisdom 3sgPOS 3sgRS=be because REL

a=mur-i-n na ka= gakit traus.
1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR 1p.inclBEN tell.story
But his wisdom is the reason I want to tell you this story. (98001b, 707.8000, 718.3800)

Namtirwen 'writing' (from *mtir* 'to write') is the nominalized subject of (60).

60 **Namtirwen ga,** i=pi te-ni nam̃er ni etog.
writing 3sgPOS 3sgRS=be det-of people of elsewhere
His writing, it belongs to foreigners. (20003az, 477.3801, 480.4478)

The nominalized objects in (61) are *nameswen* 'game' (from *mes* 'to play') and *nlauwen* 'dance' (from *lau* 'to dance').

61 Ruk=mur ru=preg- ruk=freg **nameswen** elau,
3p.IRR=want 3p.RS=make 3p.IRR=make:IR game beach

ko ru=freg **nlauwen.**
or 3p.RS=make:IR dance
They want to have a game on the beach, or they may have a dance. (98009a, 1448.7273, 1454.7399)

The object of the verb *lek* 'to see' in (62) is *nafsirwen* 'falsehood', the nominalized form of *psir* 'to lie'.

62 Tetwei a=pi[-], a=ni nafet tiawi pi polis
long.ago 1sgRS=be[-] 1sgRS=BEN group old.people be police

panpan mes a=pi kaonsil. Me a=lek **nafsirwen.**
until today 1sgRS=be councillor but 1sgRS=see lie
Before I was one of the village police for the old people until today I am a councillor. But I see falsehood. (lit: I see lying.) (98016az, 250.1881, 255.8400)

12.2.3. Complement-taking predicates (CTPs)

CTPs are verbs that take a clausal complement with or without a complementizer. In English, examples are the verb 'to know' which can occur both with and without a complementizer 'that' in "I know that you are sick/I know you are sick", and the verb 'to want' which does not take a complementizer ("I want him to go"). In South Efate the complement clause is typically, but not necessarily, introduced by the complementizer *na* (discussed in §12.2.1.3.). There are many examples both with and without a complementizer in which the same relationship holds between the predicate and its complement. In example (63a) the verb *mur* 'want' takes the complement *p̃asol nalenan knen* 'you get the truth of it' directly (which we call an unmarked complement), and in (63b) the same verb *mur* 'want' takes the complement *na rukfreg namrun* 'that they do anything', this time using the complementizer *na*. While the unmarked complement may appear structurally similar to a core-layer serial verb construction, we regard the relationship between the clauses to be one of dependency between the CTP and its complement. The irrealis form of the complement is further evidence that it is acting as a subordinate clause.

63a Tetwei i=f-wel ku=**mur** p̃a=sol nalenan knen.
long.ago 3sgRS=CND-thus 2sgRS=want 2sgIRR=take truth of.it
Long ago, if you want to get the truth of it. (20001b, 793.3400, 799.4400)

63b Ru=ta **mur** na ruk=freg namrun mau.
3p.RS=NEG want COMP 3p.IRR=make something NEG2
They don't want to do anything. (98009a, 730.2, 733.1000)

Example (63b) also shows that the scope of negation covers the verb and the entire complement clause, which indicates that the complement clause and the verb are tighly associated.

Noonan (1985) provides a set of semantic classes of CTPs. Listed below are those that have South Efate equivalents, which are exemplified in the following sections.

1) Utterance predicates — *nrik* 'tell'; *til* 'say'; *paos* 'ask'; *trok* 'agree'
2) Propositional attitude predicates — *mrokin* 'believe'; *mro* 'think'
3) Commentative predicates (factitives) — *wi* 'to be good'
4) Predicates of knowledge — *tae* 'to know'; *mroperkat* 'to remember'; *mrotae* 'to understand'; *pam̃ori* 'to discover'
5) Predicates of fearing — *krokur* 'to shake'
6) Desiderative predicates — *mur* 'to want'
7) Achievement predicates — *traem, pregnrogo* 'to try'
8) Immediate perception predicates — *lek* 'to see'; *nrog* 'to hear'
9) Negative predicates — *tap* 'negative'

It is not always clear which category a South Efate verb falls into, and some may have different senses that place them into more than one category. Noonan's 'modal' and 'phasal' predicates are encoded by auxiliary verbs in South Efate (see §10.1.5).

Complements that include desire for or comment on a future event, or on the negative possibility of events occurring (commentative predicates [factitives], desiderative predicates, achievement predicates, and negative predicates) typically use irrealis forms.

12.2.3.1. Utterance predicates

Utterance predicates usually introduce reported or direct speech (see also §12.3.4.) as can be seen in the following examples. Typical of utterance predicates in South Efate are *nrik* 'tell', *til* 'tell', *paos* 'ask', and *trok* 'agree'.

64 Me p̃a=lek apu go ati go p̃a=**nrik**-i-r
but 2sgIRR=look g.father and g.mother and 2sgIRR=tell-TS-3p.O

ki **na** "Awo ni Erakor ki=pato."
PREP COMP uncle of p.name 3sgIRR=stay
And you see grandfather and grandmother and you tell them, "Uncle from Erakor is there." (004a, 1648.8415, 1654.3600)

65 Te-p̃afp̃of ru=na ru=to ru=mai **paos-ki-ø** **na**,
det-old 3p.RS=want 3p.=STAT 3p.RS=come ask-TR-3sgO COMP

"Iku kin ku=to kai go?"
why REL 2sgRS=STAT cry INT
The adults came and asked "Why are you crying?" (98003az, 2461.9697, 2466.3400)

66 Go tiawi wan kin ru=**tl-i-ø** **na,**
and old.people TOP REL 3p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO COMP

"Mes i=pi mal gamus."
today 3sgRS=be time 2p.O
And the old people said, "Today it is your time" (i.e., it is up to you what you do). (98016az, 62.1, 65.5681)

When the complement of an utterance predicate is not direct speech then the complement clause usually has irrealis marking, as in (67) and (68).

67 Ku=trok na tesa nanwei neu **ke=fo**
2sgRS=agree COMP child male 1sgPOS 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

taulu tesa gag?
marry child 2sgPOS
Do you agree that my son will marry your daughter? (98003bz, 1415.5505, 1419.7713)

68 Malfanen ra=pusrek pan pan pan, ra=tl-i-ø
now 3d.RS=discuss until.RED 3d.RS=tell-TS-3sgO

na **rak=fes** nawesien.
COMP 3d.IRR=start:IR work
Now they talked until they said they would start work. (98010az, 125.1838, 128.7199)

12.2.3.2. Propositional attitude predicates

The only propositional attitude CTP in the data is *mro* 'to think' acting as an intransitive verb in (69) and as a derived transitive *mrokin* in (70). The irrealis in the complement clause in (70) is due to it acting as a hortative, and is not a feature of its complement clause status.

69 Nlaken ru=**mro** **na** gar ru=metmatu tol tiawi ...
because 3p.RS=think COMP 3p. 3p.RS=wise beat old.people
Becuase they think they are wiser than the old people ... (98003bz, 396.7801, 401.1599)

70 Tu=**mro-ki-n** na tuk=sat mal gakit
1p.inRS=think-TR-3sgO COMP 1p.inIRR=take time 1p.in
We believe we should choose our own time (for independence). (20003az, 759.6801, 763.0226)

A semantically related form *sertẽpal* 'to disbelieve' appears to take only object NPs in the data and not complement clauses (71).

71 Ru=**sertẽpal** nale rait-e-r, tm-e-r.
3p.RS=disbelieve voice mother-V-3sgDP father-V-3sgDP
They don't believe the voice of their mothers or fathers. (98009a, 633.4, 636.9999)

12.2.3.3. Commentative predicates (factitives)

The CTP *wi* 'to be good' is the only commentative CTP in the data. A semantically related form *sa* 'to be bad' does not take a complement clause in the data. Examples with *wi* 'good' in the data take an irrealis subject in the complement clause.

72 Go malfane te-nen kin i=**wi** **na** nataṁol
and now det-that REL 3sgRS=good COMP people

ruk=freg-i-ø...
3p.IRR=make:IR-TS-3sgO
And now what it would be good for people to do... (98014az, 992.9399, 997.6001)

73 I=**wi** **na** akit tuk=pei infom-ki sesin.
3sgRS=good COMP 1p.ex 1p.inIRR inform-TR session
It is good that we inform the session (of the church). (98018b, 208.2799, 215.8200)

12.2.3.4. Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge are the most common CTPs in South Efate and include *letae* 'to recognize', *tae* 'to know', *mrotae* 'to understand', and *paṁori* 'to discover'.

74 Ku=**tae** **na** tiawi gag ru=weswes-wes.
2sgIRR=know COMP ancestors 2sgPOS 3p.RS=work-3sgOBL
You know that your ancestors worked there. (98014az, 2026.0000, 2027.7597)

75 Ku=**pamor-i-ø** **na** pislama ru=tik.
2sgRS=find-TS-3sgO COMP bêche-de-mer 3p.RS=not
You find that there are no bêche-de-mer. (98018b, 313.3, 316.5783)

76 Me a=tap **letae** **na** i=trog-wes ko
but 1sgRS=NEG recognize COMP 3sgRS=drunk-3sgOBL or

i=tfale mau.
3sgRS=how NEG2
But I didn't see that he was drunk there, or how (he came to be drunk). (98007bz, 650.8599, 656.9799)

The second verb in (77) has a subject represented by the 3sg proclitic that refers to the preceding proposition (*the situation which the chief finds to be too hard*).

77 Go chief i=**paṁor**-i-ø i=kerkerai nen
and chief 3sgRS=find-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=strong this

ke=pestaf-i-r.
3sgIRR=talk-TS-3p.O
The chief finds it hard to talk to them. (059:20)

12.2.3.5. Predicates of fearing

The only verb of fearing that takes a complement is *krokur* 'to fear', 'to shake'. Other verbs expressing fear, such as *mtak* 'to be scared', are not attested with complements in the data.

78 Me i=**krokur** **kin** nam̃er nen ru=pakor m̃as.
but 3sgRS=shake COMP people that 3p.RS=appear just
But he shook that the people just appeared. (98017az, 828.7, 830.35)

79 I=tap tae teflan kin Kaltog i=taf mau,
3sgRS=not know how REL p.name 3sgRS=exit NEG2

i=**krokur** **kin** Kaltog ki=pe patu elag.
3sgRS=shake COMP p.name 3sgPS=PF stay above
He didn't know how Kaltong got out, he was scared that Kaltong was up there. (20001b, 1355.89, 1368.1001)

12.2.3.6. Desiderative predicates

There are two desiderative predicates, *mur* and *na,* which both mean 'to want'. The predicate *mur* 'want' takes the complementizer *na* and requires an irrealis subject in the complement clause. In (80) *mur* also takes a 3sgO, and so means literally 'I want it that I talk to him.'

80 Taos **a=mur-i-n** **na** ka=festaf-i-ø
like 1sgRS=want-TS-3sg COMP 1sgIRR=talk:IR-TS-3sgO

a=kano pestaf-i-ø.
1sgRS=unable talk-TS-3sgO
If I want to talk to him, I can't talk to him. (98003bz, 1315.2399, 1321.4399)

81 Kineu a=**mur** **na** ka=traus tete natrauswen ses.
1sg 1sgRS=want COMP 1sgIRR=tell some story small
I want to tell some short stories. (98002az, 35.5600, 40.2001)

Of the CTPs it is with the verb *mur* 'to want' that unmarked complements are most common as we see in (82) where the complement clause is *katae* 'I know' or (83) where the complement clause is *p̃alis kin* 'you lease it'.

82 Go a=ta **mur** ka=tae mau.
and 1sgRS=NEG want 1sgIRR=know NEG2
And I didn't want to know. (20003az, 1469.1545, 1471.0199)

83 Naor i=pi namlas tu me ku=tu nat ki=n,
place 3sgRS=be bush stay but 2sgRS=give man PREP-3sgO

na	ku=**mur**	p̃a=lis-ki-n.
PURP	2sgRS=want	2sgIRR=lease-TR-3sgO

The place is bush, but you give it to a man so that you can lease it. (lit: so that you want to lease it.) (98016bz, 547.4844, 552.2999)

The predicate *na* 'to want' does not take a complementizer as we see in (84)[95] where *na* is used in the first clause with the complement *ke=fak* '(that) he go'. The speaker needs to resituate the action of the story and so breaks off before the end of the first clause to tell us that the point of reference for the character is 'here', and then goes on to the second clause in which the verb *mur* 'to want' is used (with a complementizer).

84	Malnen	i=**na**	ke=fak[-].	I=tu	sa
	when	3sgRS=want	3sIRR=go.to:IR[-]	3sgRS=stay	here

i=mur	na	ke=fak	Ermag.
3sgRS=want	COMP	3sgIRR=go.to:IR	p.name

When he wanted to go. He was there (on Efate) and he wanted to go to Errromango. (98007az, 447.9600, 452.8401)

Again, in (85) we see an unmarked complement following the verb *na* 'to want'.

85	Me	selwan	ku=**na**	p̃a=to	nrog-o-ø,
	but	when	2sgRS=want	2sgIRR=STAT	hear-TS-3sgO

p̃a=to	nrog-o-ø.	
2sgIRR=STAT	hear-TS-3sgO	

But when you want to hear it, you hear it. (98009a, 1943.3800, 1950.6199)

There are many examples in the data of the desiderative *na* occurring in a collocation of the form "subject=*na* co-referential subject=Verb", as in (86).

86	Go	nam̃er	ni	Ermag	ru=**na**	ruk=wat-gi-ø.
	and	people	from	p.name	3p.RS=want	3pRS=hit-TS-3sgO

And the people fom Erromango wanted to hit him. (98007az, 267.4401, 272.0200)

A further common collocation is of *na* with the verb *to*, as in (87). Its meaning in these constructions is unclear, but is glossed as 'to want to stay'.

87	Ntuam	**i=na**	**i=to**	kai=slatlu	nua	nait
	devil	3sgRS=want	3sgRS=stay	ES=take.out	fruit	fig

[95] Taken from Text 2:3 in the Appendix.

iskei kai=pam-i-ø.
3sgRS=one ES=eat-TS-3sgO
The devil wanted to stay and it took out a fig and ate it. (004a, 343.7600, 348.2000)

12.2.3.7. Achievement predicates

The verb *pregnrog* 'to try' (together with its Bislama counterpart *traem*) occurs in only a few examples in the data in which it acts as a CTP. In two of them it takes the complementizer *nag,* as in (88).

88 Tete nat ru=tok **pregnrog-o-ø** **nag**
some people 3p.RS=STAT try-TS-3sgO COMP

ruk=lao-ki political empire iskei.
3p.IRR=build-TR political empire one
But some people keep trying to establish a political empire. (98009b, 2075.7194, 2081)

There are several examples of *pregnrog* 'to try' followed by *nen kin* as in (89) which seem to be functioning as a fused or compound complementizer (see §12.2.1.2.).

89 I=**pregnrog**-o-ø **nenkin** ke=fa=n, me mtulep
3sgRS=try-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgIRR=go:IR=DST but wife

i=tap trok **nenkin** ke=fo pa=n mau.
3sg=NEG agree COMP 3sgIRR go:R=DST NEG2
He tried to go, but his wife didn't agree that he could go. (20001b, 1284.9400, 1291.23)

12.2.3.8. Immediate perception predicates

Immediate perception predicates are *lek* 'to see' and *nrog* 'to hear'.

90 Ku=**lek**-a-ø **na** te-lap ru=ta pak
2sgRS=see-TS-3sgO COMP det-many 3p.RS=NEG go.to

skul i=top mau a?
school 3sgRS=much NEG2 INT
You see that many don't go to school, eh? (20001b, 121.4400, 128.9001)

91 Go ka=fo **lek**-a-ø **na** nakte nasum̃
and 1sgIRR=PSP:IR look-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgPOS house

i=nom i=p̃on.
3sgRS=finish 3sgRS=close
And I'll see that my house is finished, (the roof) is closed. (20001az, 164.2599, 172.4801) (Toukelau.mov, 135.8999, 144.1201)

92 I=wel a=**nrog**-o-ø **na** i=tik-ki
3sgRS=thus 1sgRS=hear-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgRS=not-TR

nafolp̃rakotwen.
bad.behavior
Well, I heard there was no bad behavior. (98011a, 2266.9400, 2279.5000)

Structures like the second part of (93) could be analyzed as a sentential complement: "You will hear [the devil will speak]."

93 P̃a=fo **nrog** ntuam ke=fo pes.
2sgIRR=PSP:IR hear devil 3sgIRR=PSP:IR speak
You will hear the devil speak. (lit: You will hear the devil, he will speak.) (095:15) (98017b, 2612.8, 2614.5399)

12.2.3.9. Negative predicates

The only negative predicate is the verb *tap* 'to be taboo', also used as a general negator.

94 Me ag ku=kano pak narfat. I=**tap**
but 2sg 2sgRS=unable go.to cave 3sgRS=taboo

nen p̃a=fa.
COMP 2sgIRR=go:IR
But you can't go to the cave. It is taboo that you go. (98007bz, 1801.5800, 1804.4400)

95 I=**tap** **nen** rak=mer tmo-mus wat-mus.
3sgRS=taboo COMP 2d.IRR=again RR-2p.DP hit-2p.O
It is taboo that you hit yourselves again. (98017bz, 2411.8578, 2413.9200)

12.2.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses restrict "the possible items that the head noun refers to" (Tallerman 1998:82). A relative clause in South Efate is formed by use of the relativizers *kin*, *nen*, or *nag* following the head. Like other modifiers, the relative clause follows the noun it modifies which is 'external' to the relative clause (in Keenan's 1985 terms). Structural defining features of relative clauses in South Efate are:

- the presence of one of the relativizers *kin*, *nen*, *na(g)*.
- the presence of a pause between the head noun and the relativizer.
- the position after the modified nominal.

Examples of relative clauses formed with each of the three relativizers follow.

96 Emẽlfat, naot ke-nen ga **kin** ru=sos-o-ø
p.name chief of-that 3sg REL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO

ki marik Tapau ...
PREP mister p.name
The chief of Emẽlfat, he whom they call Mister Tapau ... (98017bz, 96.76, 100.4)

97 Me tiawi **nen** ru=na ru=to
but old.people REL 3p.RS=want 3p.RS=stay

ru=pak Epag pa.
3p.RS=go.to p.name go
But the old people who wanted to stay, they went to Pango. (98017az, 845.1937, 849.6)

98 Nagi natkon **nag** ru=tok e-lag e-maloput.
name village REL 3p.RS=stay LOC-high LOC-middle
The name of the villages that are up in the middle (of the island) ... (98001b, 1422.7000, 1427.6369)

A relative clause can modify a nominal acting as S, O1, or O2, as we will see below. The following two examples show sentences where the head of the relative clause is its subject.

99 Ku=lek mes te=lap **nen** ru=to taon, te-fsofus...
2sgRS=look today DET-many REL 3p.RS=STAT town DET-youth
You see today, many that are in town, young people... (20003a, 1497.2433, 1499.2)

100 Tete nanwei **nen** i=mur na ke=taulu-wou.
some man REL 3sgRS=want COMP 3sgIRR=marry-1sgO
(Suppose there's) some man who wants to marry me ... (98009a, 1068.1404, 1073.4400)

The next two sentences are examples where the head of the relative clause is its object.

101 P̃a=fo leg-ki nafsan neu
2sgIRR=PSP:IR straight-TR story 1sgPOS

nen i=to rikod-ki-n i=to natus.
REL 3sgRS=STAT record-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=STAT paper
You will correct my story that it (the cassette recorder) recorded to go on paper. (005Ax, 1893.2, 1900.9)

102 Go i=pi nametp̃ag na natrauswen **nen** a=traus-i-ø.
and 3sgRS=be end DET story REL 1sgRS=tell-TS-3sgO
And it is the end of the story that I told. (004b, 1147.1000, 1155.6799)

In (103) the head of the relative clause, *natrauswen gakit* 'our story', acts as the O2 of the relative clause.

103 I=mag reki natrauswen gakit
3sgRS=stare as.for story 1p.exPOS

nen a=mur-i-n ka=nrik-i-ø ki-ø.
REL 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO 1sgIRR=tell-TS-3sgO PREP-3sgO
He was in wonder about our story that I want to tell about. (98007bz, 1485.2519, 1488.7400)

Similarly, in (104) it is the O2 of the relative clause, *ntan* 'land', that is its head.

104 Gar ru=pitlak na- ntan **nen** naot nig Efil
3p. 3p.RS=have HES ground REL chief of p.name

i=tu-e-r ki-n.
3sgRS=give-TS-3p.O PREP-3sgO
They had the ground that the chief of Vila had given them. (98002az, 417.9600, 423.6)

In (105) the head of the relative clause, *ntau ten* 'ten years', acts as its adjunct.

105 Mes i=pi ntau ten **nen** a=tij.
today 3sgRS=be year ten REL 1sgRS=teach
Today it is ten years that I teach. (20001b, 75.5, 79.0074)

A relative clause can modify the head of a benefactive phrase as in (106), re-presented from example (64) in Chapter 11. Here the relative clause is dependent on a benefactive NP occurring within the slot between the preposition *nig* (signaling the beginning of the benefactive phrase) and the main verb *slat*.

106 I=**nig** **tesa** **taklep** **nanwei** **nig** **marik** **p̃al-u-n** **nag**
3sgRS=of child first.b. male of mister brother-V-3sgDP REL

i=pi **naot** **p̃ur** **marik** **Nmak** **Kalmtapil** slat
3sgRS=be chief big mister Nmak Kalmtapil take

ki nafinaotan.
PREP chiefly.line
He, for the firstborn son of his brother who was the big chief Nmak Kalmtapil, took the chiefly line. (053:46)

12.2.5. Adverbial clauses

Longacre (1985:237) defines adverbial clauses as modifiers of verbs and propositions, and notes that they function as sentence margins. By sentence margins we understand that adverbial clauses are adjuncts. Examples of adverbial clause types follow, but note that adverbial clauses can also be formed with temporal nouns (§5.2.3) and temporal adverbs (§4.8). The adverb in these clauses can introduce the clause either alone or followed by the subordinating particle *kin,* as shown in the second example in each of the following sections.[96]

In all cases the adverbial clause is introduced by an adverbial form, as will be seen in the following sections. With the exception of the purposive clause (§12.2.5.6.) adverbial clauses can precede or follow the main clause.

12.2.5.1. *malnen* 'when'

In adverbial clauses *malnen* 'when' is used to encode an activity occurring at the time of that of the main clause. *Malnen* means literally 'that time'.

107 **Malnen** rukoi=pe laosok silua ru=tur pek,
when 3p.PS=PF pound all 3p.RS=sew bag

natarñol kin ke=fo slat-i-ø.
man REL 3sgIRR=PSP:IR take-TS-3sgO
When they have pounded it all (copra), they sew a bag; a man will come and get it. (98003bz, 595.6599, 602.9400)

108 **Malnen** kin i=nrog nai i=ser tefla=n
when SUB 3sgRS=hear water 3sgRS=flow thus=DST

i=tarp̃ek-ki napor.
3sgRS=fall-TR basket
When she heard the water running like that, she dropped her basket. (98002bz, 523.1600, 526.6178)

109 Ore natrauswen i=til-i-ø tefla=n **malnen**
yes story 3sgRS=tel-TS-3sgO thus=DST when

nalotwen i=mai.
prayer 3sgRS=come
Yes, that's what the story says about when Christianity came. (98002bz, 881.5400, 884.6867)

12.2.5.2. *selwan* 'while', 'when'

An adverbial clause introduced by *selwan* 'while', 'when' encodes an event that occurs at the same time as the event encoded in the main clause.

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[96] There are no examples of the purposive *na* followed by a subordinator *kin.*

110 **Selwan** a=piatlak ntau ipat a=stat pak skul.
when 1sgRS=have year four 1sgRS=start go.to school
When I was four I started going to school. (98003az, 2126.3799, 2133.1199)

111 **Selwan** kin ku=na ku=tai panpan i=nomser
when SUB 2sgRS=want 2sgRS=cut until 3sgRS=every

ale i=mai pi raru.
ok 3sgRS=come be canoe
When you want to cut (the wood) until it is all cut, then it becomes a canoe. (004a, 588.6331, 593.2800)

12.2.5.3. *eswan* 'where, the place that'

An adverbial clause introduced by *eswan* 'where, at the place that' describes the location of an event which is encoded in the following clause. The form *eswan* is made up of the locative prefix *e-*, the question morpheme *swa* 'where' (illustrated in [114]) with the distant clitic *=n*, which is obligatory when *eswan* functions to introduce an adverbial clause.

112 **Eswan** DL i=pakor-wes ru=sos-o-ø ki T.
where p.name 3sgRS=born-3sgOBL 3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP T
(The place) Where D L was born they call T. (98001b, 1278.6600, 1286.3801)

113 I=pi **eswan** kin sup̃ nig sautog i=po
3sgRS=be where SUB fashion of rent 3sgRS=PSP

pakor-wes.
appear-3sgOBL
It is where the custom of rent first appeared. (98009b, 2019.2400, 2025.4000)

114 Me ag ku=pi te-ni **swa**?
but 2sg 2sgRS=be DET=of where
But where are you from? (20001az, 921.7800, 924.1171)

12.2.5.4. *taos/taosi* 'like, in the manner of'

In adverbial clauses *taos* 'like' encodes similarity to or comparison with an activity or object in an adjoining clause.

115 **Taos** tiawi i=skei go tiawi i=nru
like ancestors 3sgRS=one and ancestors 3sgRS=two

ra=fla to pusrek ...
3d.RS=may STAT discuss
Like one or two old people may have been talking ... (98010az, 2094.6450, 2097.4867)

In example (116) the speaker is answering a question about the prevalence of wife-beating in the society today. She answers that her opinion is that such violence is 'something from today', not something that happened in the past.

116 Or **taosi** kin ku=paos-ki nalelewen neu
yes like SUB 2sgRS=ask-TR view 1sgPOS

i=pi te-ni mes.
3sgRS=be det-of today
Yes, as you are asking for my opinion, it is something from today. (98007bz, 506.2000, 519.9)

12.2.5.5. *nlaken*, reason 'because'

Reason clauses use *nlaken* 'because'. The preposition *kat* 'due to' has a similar meaning, but can not function as the head of an adverbial clause. In example (117) the speaker is telling about missionaries who used writing to trick local people and so the book is used to hide information because the old people couldn't read or write.

117 I=to natus **nlaken** tiawi ru=ta to
3sgRS=stay paper because old.people 3p.RS=NEG STAT

mtir natus mau tetwei.[97]
write book NEG2 before
It is in a book because the old people couldn't write in books in those days. (20003az, 472.8999, 476.8401)

118 Ku=ta pes-top mau **nlaken** kin i=min nmalok.
2sgRS=NEG talk-much NEG2 because SUB 3sgRS=drink kava
Don't talk too loud because he is drinking kava. (98007bz, 721.1, 724.3065)

12.2.5.6. *na*, purposive 'in order to'

Unlike the other adverbial clauses discussed in this section, purposive clauses always follow the main clause. Purposive clauses are introduced by the purposive

[97] The sentence-final *tetwei* 'long ago, before' occurs following NEG2 as an afterthought in this example.

subordinator *na*. In example (119) a devil seizes a mouth organ and the *na* purposive clause encodes the fact that he took it 'in order to blow it'.

119 Ntuam i=na i=sat nalag **na** i=si
devil 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=take m.organ PURP 3sgRS=blow

trau sat-i-ø sef.
just carry-TS-3sgO escape
The devil took the mouth organ to blow it, just took it and ran away. (98003a, 2452.93, 2456.3512)

In (120) the action of sitting down is performed in order to eat.

120 Ku=totan **na** ku=fam.
2sgRS=sit PURP 2sgRS=eat
You sit in order to eat. (98007bz, 979.1249, 981.4875)

The purposive is used to encode a devil's intention to appear in front of some people whose food he wants to eat.

121 I=mai **na** i=pakor ki-r.
3sgRS=come PURP 3sgRS=appear PREP-3p.O
He came in order to appear in front of them. (20001az, 1644.5800, 1646.2)

12.2.5.7. *fwel, fla,* conditional 'if'

The conditional particle *f* is discussed in §10.1.4 and here we observe the forms with which it combines to introduce an adverbial conditional clause. The two most common conditional forms are *fwel* 'if' and *fla* 'may'. The first form includes the verb stem *wel* often glossed as 'thus' in fixed expressions such as *welkia* 'and thus', or just as a filler. The second form includes a particle *la* which does not appear independently and so I consider it to form a single unit, *fla*, glossed as 'may'. As *la* is not a verb stem itself, *fla* requires a following verb stem to form a Verb Complex.

In a discussion about marriage partners the speaker in (122) notes that, if the man and the woman are close relatives then their parents can not agree to a marriage between them, but if they are more distant relatives then they are able to be married. The whole sentence is framed using the conditional *ifwel*.

122 Me **i=f** **wel** i=nrus pi emãe, go i=wi,
but 3sgRS=CND thus 3sgRS=just be far and 3sgRS=good
But if it (the relationship) was a little distant it was good. (98009a, 1381.2201, 1386.8400)

123 I=**f** wel kin ru=**f** trok go rak=fo
3sgRS=CND thus REL 3p.RS=CND agree and 3d.IRR

gar preg nlakwen.
3p.BEN make wedding
If they agree, then they would prepare their wedding for them. (98009a, 1210.6705, 1214.7601)

124 **I=f** **wel** kin ku=pakot i=pitlak nam̃er
3sgRS=CND thus SUB 2sgRS=pay 3sgRS=have people

nen kin gar ru=to tur rowat.
that REL 3p. 3p.RS=STAT sew thatch
And if you pay there are people who will sew thatch. (20001az, 357.5000, 362.8414)

While *fwel* is itself a predicate and can be followed by the subordinator *kin* as in (124), this is not the case for *fla* which requires a following verb, as can be seen in (125). There are no examples in the data of *fla* occurring independently of a following verb.

125 Ko ga i=**fla** mur-i-n na ke=tau tete
or 3sg 3sgRS=may want-TS=DST COMP 3sgIRR=leave some

nanromien ses, i=kano trau leg mai tau.
present small 3sgRS=unable just straight hither leave
Or if he wanted to leave a small present he couldn't just come and leave it. (98003bz, 1340.5399, 1348.3400)

126 Go i=taos malpei welkin u=fla... u=**fla**
and 3sgRS=like first.time HES 1p.exRS=may 1p.exRS=may

salem-ki kopra.
sell-TR copra
And, as in the old days, like, we would, we would sell copra. (98003bz, 661.5200, 668.9799)

12.3. Other clause linkage

There are several strategies for linking clauses or sentences without morphosyntactic markers of coordination or subordination. Clause juxtaposition (§12.3.1.) involves two (or more) clauses each with a fully inflected Verb Complex but with features that suggest a tighter link than that between separate sentences.

Clause chaining (§12.3.2.) consists of sequential clauses headed by verbs without explicit subject marking. Tail-head linkage (§12.3.3.) is a discourse strategy that links independent sentences within a paragraph or larger discourse

unit by repeating elements of the first in the second. Finally, we will consider the framing of direct speech (§12.3.4.) as another way in which clauses are linked.

12.3.1. Clause juxtaposition

Clause juxtaposition involves two (or more) clauses in sequence in which there is no morphosyntactic marker of the relationship between them. As was discussed in Chapter 9, there is no reason in South Efate to identify what are called 'core-layer' serial verb constructions in northern Vanuatu languages. We treat them as clauses exhibiting semantic features of linkage, but with no distinct structure. This avoids having to account for clause-like elements at a sub-clausal layer. However, the issue of identifying the relationship between these units remains. In the current description some structures that could be regarded as being juxtaposed clauses are analyzed as complement-taking predicates (CTPs). The remaining clause-clause sequences can be categorized into three types: (1) topic-comment; (2) cause and result; (3) directional clause linkage.

12.3.1.1. Topic-comment linkage

Topic-comment linkage involves two clauses in which the second modifies or comments on the content of the first, as in (127) where the second clause *itop* 'too much' modifies the whole preceding clause.

127 Ru=po kop namurien gar i=top.
3p.RS=PSP:R chase desire 3p.POS 3sgRS=much
[clause] [clause]
They follow their own desires too much. (98010bz, 1616.2, 1618.8552)

Similarly, in (128) the second clause comments on the first. There is no intonational cue in this type of construction to suggest that the second clause should be considered a new sentence, that is, the two clauses fall under one intonation contour.

128 I=gar preg nafnag pan pan pan ra=to fam.
3sgRS=3p.BEN makefood go:RED 3d.RS=STAT eat
She got food for them, they ate. (20003bz, 1513.3400, 1517.2599)

12.3.1.2. Cause and result linkage

A causal relationship between clauses is encoded by use of the verb *preg* 'to make' in the first clause whose object is the subject of the second clause which encodes the resultant situation. So in (129) the object of the first verb (*preg* 'to make') and the subject of the second verb (*msak* 'be sick') is *Kaltog* who is 'made sick'. Further examples follow.

129 I=pamor-i-ø na mtulep nen kin **i=preg**
3sgRS=discover-TS-3sgO COMP woman that REL 3sgRS=make
[clause] [[clause] [clause

Kaltog **i=msak.**
p.name 3sgRS=sick
]]
He found out that that woman had made Kaltong sick. (20001b, 1267.0, 1271.3399)

130 Charlie i=preg-i-ø a=pi polis ga ni natkon 1960.
Charlie 3sgRS=make-TS-3sgO 1sgRS=be police 3sg of village 1960
[clause] [clause]
Charlie made me his village policeman in 1960. (060:36) (98002az, 182.0599, 188.1799)

131 Missionary ki=preg-i-ø ru=mtalu marik nig Epag.
missionary 3gPS=make-TS-3sgO 3p.RS=choose man of Pango
[clause] [clause]
And the missionary made them choose a man from Pango. (lit: he made it so they chose.) (053:50)

132 Skot-i-r me ru=po sel tesa
with-TS-3p.O but 3p.RS=PSP:R take child

ru=lekor-wer e-sum̃.
3p.RS=look.after-3p.OBL LOC-house
(I was) with them, but they took children, they looked after them at home. (98003bz, 1082.2859, 1087.1399)

In (133) the situation of being made to come ashore is encoded by clausal juxtaposition where the object of the verb *preg* 'to make' is the subject of the second clause. This is an example of both cause/result and directional clause linkage (§12.3.1.3.).

133 Ale ru=preg-i-ø i=pak eut.
okay 3p.S=make-TS-3sgO 3sg=go.to ashore
[clause] [clause]
Then they made him come ashore. (061:16)

Cause and effect are not always marked by the verb *preg* 'to make', but can use other verbs, as in (134), which follows a discussion of special stones which are used to magically increase a crop. The action of turning and dropping this stone is part of the ritual. The object of the first clause is the subject of the second.

134 Ku=nre-a-ø i=tarpek.
2sgRS=turn-TS-ø 3sgRS=fall
[clause] [clause]
You turn it, it falls. (98017bz, 1662.9399, 1673.2200)

12.3.1.3. Directional clause linkage

Where the second clause is constituted by a directional verb the clause linkage is considered to be of a type called directional clause linkage.

135 Ru=pan sos-o-r ru=mai.
3p.RS=go call-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=come
[clause] [clause]
They$_1$ called them$_2$ to come. (lit: They$_1$ went called them$_2$ they$_2$ come.) (98003bz, 1076.2599, 1080.5400)

In (136) the object of the verb in the first clause is the 'yams' that are then the subject of the second clause and the direction of motion is encoded in the second clause *ru=ur* 'they follow'.

136 A=kil nawi. Ale a=mot-i-r ru=ur e-talm̃at.
1sgRS=dig yam then 1sgRS=tie-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=follow LOC-garden
[clause] [clause] [clause]
I dig yams. Then I tie them, they are at the garden. (lit:I tie them they follow the garden) (MK 98012)

In (137) the second clause is the complement of the first clause and the third clause specifies the direction (*kafak Nume* 'that I go to Noumea').

137 Mal-ne ru=na ruk=sent-ki kineu ka=fak Nume.
time-this 3p.RS=want 3p.IRR=sent-TR 1sg 1sgIRR=go:IR Noumea
[clause] [clause] [clause]
Then they wanted to send me to Noumea. (063:17)

Example (138) shows a complement taking predicate *mur* 'to want' and its complement clause *p̃asosor* 'you call them' followed by the directional clause *rusil* 'they enter'.

138 Ga i=tap mur p̃a=sos-o-r ru=sil mau.
3sg 3sgRS=NEG want 2sgIRR=call-TS-3p.O 3p.RS=enter NEG2
[clause] [clause] [clause]
He doesn't want you to call them to come inside. (98016az, 866.4799, 868.5222)

The second object, *mane neu* 'my money', of the first verb, *tao* 'give me', in the first clause in (139), is then the subject of the following verb, *ler* 'return', which specifies the direction of the activity in the first clause ('leaving my money').

139 Go ru=tao mane neu ke=ler.
and 3p.RS=give.me money 1sgPOS 3sgIRR=return
[clause] [clause]
And they give me my money back (They gave me my money it returned) . (98016bz, 212.4600, 215.1400)

12.3.2. Clause chaining

Longacre (1999) notes that clause chaining typically involves a series of clauses in which one or more is deficient in TMA marking. In the SOV Papuan languages in which chaining is best known (e.g., Yimas, Foley 1991) the last verb in the chain is inflected, while the preceding verb has reduced or absent TMA marking. In VSO and SVO languages the first verb in a clause chain is typically more fully inflected and subsequent verbs are called 'sequential' or 'consecutive' (Longacre 1999:176). In South Efate, which is an SVO language, the latter kind of clause chaining does occur. While sequential verbs in South Efate typically have reduced PVC marking, there is no prohibition on PVC particles in sequential clauses as will be seen below. The feature distinguishing clause chains from other clause linkage types in South Efate is the absence of subject marking on sequential or chained clauses, which we call subject omission.

In the following examples from South Efate the second and subsequent verbs have no subject marking. The position where we would expect to see a subject proclitic is marked with a null (Ø) in the present section, but not in the usual representation of such clauses in other parts of this volume. In these examples there is an understood subject that carries through from an earlier clause.

In (140) there is a pause before the verb *mai* 'come' which indicates that *mai* is not functioning as a directional particle ('hither', see §9.1.2.4) but as a verb without a subject. Similarly in all of the following examples there are one or more chained clauses preceded by a clause which has subject marking.

140	A=pan	tai	lop,	Ø=**mai**,	a=preg-ptak-ki,
	1sgRS=go	cut	bamboo	Ø=come	1sgRS=make-ready-TR

Ø=**tai-ptak-ki.**
Ø=cut-ready-TR
I go and cut bamboo, come, I make it ready, cut it ready. (20001az, 58.0827, 60.6691)

In (141) the final clause (*preg nalotwen* 'make prayer') has no subject proclitic and is intonationally linked to the preceding sentence in a clause chain.

141	Go	malfanen	iwelkia	i=to	siwer-ur	ser	natkon
	and	now	so	3sgRS=STAT	walk-follow	every	village

Ø=preg nalotwen.
Ø=make prayer
And now, she walked to each village to pray. (lit: And now, she walked to each village take prayer). (081:35) (98010az, 1182.9800, 1193.3)

Similarly, in (142) the clause beginning with *nrokot mai* 'cross hither' follows the O of the first clause (*raru* 'canoe') and has no subject marking and so is considered to be chained.

142 U=po pa raru **Ø=nrokot-mai** pak Efat gakit ne.
1p.RS=PSP:R go canoe Ø=cross-come to p.name 1p.incPOS this
We would take the canoe across to this, our Efate. (081:42) (98010az, 1237.0800, 1244.7199)

In (143) there are two clauses chained following the clause *ru panpan pato oraik* 'they went fishing'. The first is *ur elau* 'go on the sea' and the second is *panpan tp̃il fotasiks kaitau* 'blow up forty-six fish' in which a subject would be expected on the verb *tp̃il* 'to blow up'. Both the second and third clause in the sentence have no subject proclitic and so are considered to be chained.

143 Ru=panpan pato oraik **Ø=ur** elau **panpan** **Ø=tp̃il**
3p.RS=go.go stay fishing Ø=follow sea until Ø=blow.up

fotasiks kaitau ru=mat.
46 fish 3p.RS=die
They went fishing in the sea until they had dynamited 46 karong (type of fish). (021:27) (004b, 2127.4999, 2137.8800)

In the following short text there are several examples of verbs occurring without explicit subject marking. Again, a null (Ø) indicates where a subject proclitic would be expected and each subject is tracked by alphabetic characters, followed by a number representing each mention or each absence of mention of the subject where we would expect it. The change of subject at B1 is followed by a reiteration of the original subject with a pronominal reference at A4. In this example we see clause chaining used to maintain a constant reference without needing to restate the subject with each successive verb.

144 Jubilee pei a=mit-ki te-ni Samoa, ga kin Ø=pato sanpe,
" first 1sgRS=meet-TR DET-of p.name 3sg REL Ø=stay there
A1 B1 B2
The first jubilee I met the Samoans, they were over there,

foto k-nen kin i=pato. Ø=**preg** sain, a?
photo PREP-that REL 3sgRS=stay Ø=make sign INT
A2
a photo of them is there. Made (them) sign (it), eh?

Ale Ø=mit-ki-r elau. Ru=mai tau Baibol.
then Ø=meet-TR-3p.O beach 3p.RS=come give.me bible
A3 B3
Okay, meet them on the beach. They came and gave me the Bible.

A=sat-i-ø plak na Mobail Miusik. **Ø=Plak** krup
1sgRS=carry-TS-3sgO with DET mobile music Ø=with group
A4 A5
I took it with the army band. With a group

natamol **Ø=plak**-e-r, mai pa=n pak elag nmet ni
people Ø=with-TS-3p.O come go=DST to above window of
A6
of people, with them came up to the window

sumtap ale **Ø=ptu**-ki-ø na Baibol.
church then Ø=give-TR-3sgO DET bible
A7
of the church, then gave the Bible. (98002az, 775.3800, 802.9601)

In example (145) there are three chained clauses without subjects, each taking its subject referent from the first mention of *mal* 'hawk' and its proclitic on the first verb (*nrirlfek* 'fly around').

145 Ru=lek-a-ø go mal i=mai nrir-lfek-i-r
3p.RS=look-TS-3sgO and hawk 3sgRS=come fly-go.around-TS-3p.O

panpan i=nom **Ø=pan** pato emae **Ø=trau** preg
until 3sgRS=finish Ø=go be.at longway Ø=just make

nafar-u-n teflan **Ø=trau** nrir pe nrir.
wing-V-3sgDP thus Ø=just fly IF fly
They watched and the hawk flew down around them until he finished and flew a long way away, just trimmed his wings and flew and flew. (052:51) (98001b, 927.5454, 937.0769)

The auxiliary verb *trau* 'just' occurs as the first element of the chained clause in (145) and other parts of the PVC can also precede the verb in a clause chain. In example (146) the sequential clause is introduced by *mer* 'in turn' in a tail-head-linkage (discussed in the following section) which, in this case, copies the preceding clause minus the subject proclitic.

146 Go a=mer mai to e-sum, **Ø=mer** mai
and 1sgRS=in.turn come stay LOC-house Ø=in.turn hither

to e-sum to.
stay LOC-house stay
And then I came back home, came back to stay at home. (98010bz, 1302.7, 1306.4)

The realis prospective marker *po* also functions as the first element in a chained clause. The three next examples all show clause chaining in which the first element of the PVC is *po* 'realis prospective'. (There are no examples in the data where a sequential clause begins with the irrealis prospective marker *fo* or with the perfect marker *pe.*)

147 A=po su net pan pato sum̃ ni Paster pato pan
1sgRS=PSP descend meet go stay house of pastor stay go

Ø=po mai kia. A=mai kia **Ø=po** to los.
Ø=PSP:R come here 1sgRS=come here Ø=PSP:R STAT swim
I would go to the pastor's house, then come here. I come here then wash. (98005: conversation)

148 Apu gar i=pakor Epag̃, i=to Epag̃,
g.father3p.POS 3sgRS=born p.name 3sgRS=stay p.name

Ø=po pak Efil.
Ø=PSP:R go.to p.name
Their grandfather was born at Pango, he stayed at Pango then went to Vila. (98001az, 214.4800, 220.0968)

149 Ko=fa=n lek-a-ø ke=nom su
1p.exlRR=go:IR=DST look-TS-3sgO 3sglRR=end PF

Ø=po preg desison.
Ø=PSP:R make decision
We would see it was finished and would make a decision. (98018az, 1450, 1453.4000)

12.3.3. Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage is a discourse strategy in which the flow of information is supported by a reiteration of a clause at the beginning of the following sentence. This strategy is well known in languages of the region, e.g., Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:426), Lewo (Early 1994:454), Sye (Crowley 1998:282). In example (150) it is the clause *i=puel* 'he disappeared' that is repeated in (150b).

150a Malen i=pak ektem **i=puel.**
when 3sgRS=go.to:R outside 3sgRS=disappear

b Me **i=puel** me i=fak i=nrir.
and 3sgRS=disappear but 3sgRS=go.to:IR 3sgRS=fly
When he went outside he disappeared. He disappeared but he flew away. (98017bz, 635.5, 639.0800)

A number of instances of tail-head linkage can be seen in example (151) which is from text 6 (in the Appendix) and is part of a description of making thatch for roofing. In these examples we can see that it is the final clause (consisting of subject proclitc, main verb, and O, if present) which is repeated. Example (151f) shows tail-head linkage as part of a clause chain (*a=preg-pta-ki, Ø=tai-pta-ki* 'I made it ready, cut it ready').

151a Malen a=mur-i-n na ka=tur rowat go
when 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRR=sew thatch and
When I want to cut thatch and

b a=po pa=n **slat** **rowat**, ka=fa=n **slat** **rowat**.
1sgRS=PSP:R go=DST take thatch 1sgIRR=go:IR=DST take thatch
I will go get thatch, I would go get thatch.

c A=ler mai, ka=fo pei **m̃asel** **rowat**.
1sgRS=return hither 1sgIRR=PSP:IR first derib thatch
I come back, I will first take out the ribs (of the sago leaves).

d A=**m̃asel** **rowat** i=nom. A=mer **p̃el-ki-ø**.
1sgRS=derib thatch 3sgRS=end 1sgRS=in.turn bend-TR-3sgO
I take out the ribs, finish. I then bend it.

e A=**p̃el-ki-n** i=tu. Me a=po mer
1sgRS=bend-TR-3sgO 3sgRS=stay but 1sgRS=PSP in.turn
I bend it, it is there. But I then go

f pa=n **tai** **lop**. A=pa=n **tai** **lop**, mai,
go=DST cut bamboo 1sgRS=go=DST cut bamboo DP

a=preg-pta-ki-ø, **Ø=tai-pta-ki-ø.**
1sgRS=make-ready-TR-3sgO Ø=cut-ready-TR-3sgO
and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo, come, I get it ready, I cut it ready.
(20001az, 28.3600, 62.9200)

12.3.4. Direct and reported speech

Another type of complex sentence structure is used in quoting speech in which a sentence is embedded within another framing sentence. We can distinguish reported speech (e.g., 'They told us that there was a fire yesterday') from direct speech (e.g., 'They said, "There was a fire yesterday"') by using both grammatical and intonational cues. Both direct and reported speech are typically encoded as a complement of a CTP (§12.2.3.), but may also appear paratactically (as in example [153]).

The indicators usually associated with direct or reported speech are one or more of: (a) the use of a verb of locution preceding the speech; (b) a change in the reference point from that of the speaker to that of the person who is the

subject of the discourse (only with direct speech); (c) a pause preceding the quoted speech. For example, in (152) we know there is direct speech because of the verb of locution (*na* 'to say); because of a change of subject from 3sg in the framing sentence to 1sg in the quoted speech; and because of the pause preceding the quoted speech.

152 I=trau na, "Ka=tmalu-ki-ø."
3sgRS=just say 1sgIRR=depart-TR-3sgO
He just said "I'm leaving." (20001az, 1326.7200, 1331.6400)

In example (153) there is no verb of locution and the quoted speech is simply inserted into the discourse paratactically, with a change in the reference point to 1sg (*ka=* 1sgRS) in the quoted speech.

153 Ra=to wi. "Nta ka=fo tu-o-k gag m̃it."
3d.RS=stay good ok 1sgRS=PSP:IR give-TS-2sgO 2sgPOS mat
They were good. "Okay, I will give you your mat." (98003bz, 1223.0599, 1228.5270)

In example (154) the reported speech has an irrealis proclitic subject and follows *na* with no pause, both features suggesting that the speech is encoded as the complement of the verb *til* 'to tell' and so is reported rather than direct speech.

154 Ru=totan ru=tl-i-ø na ke=fo
3p.RS=sit 3p.RS=tell-TS-3sgO COMP 3sgIRR=PSP:IR

pitlak hotel naur.
have hotel island
They sat down, they said that there would be a hotel on the island. (98014az, 2634.2800, 2638.9200)

In the short text in (155) we see the same event described by the speaker first using direct speech and then reported speech in a tail-head linkage pattern (§12.3.3.). The pause indicated by a comma in (155a) introduces direct speech, while the switch of subject proclitic from first person to third person in the second signals reported speech.

155a Menal i=nrik katom ki-n na,
barracuda 3sgRS=tell h.crab PREP-3sgO COMP

"Tak=fo res." Menal i=nrik katom ki-n
1d.IRR=PSP:IR race barracuda 3sgRS=tel l h.crab PREP-3sgO

na rak=fo res.
COMP 3d.IRR=PSP:IR race
The barracuda said to the hermit crab, "Let us race." The barracuda said to the hermit crab that they should race. (98009az, 24.4000, 36.5399)

Example (156) shows how the framing of the reported speech can be determined pragmatically from the context; here a woman talks about passing a letter to a boyfriend via an intermediary. The reported speech is presented from the perspective of the woman speaking to the intermediary. There is no morphosyntactic marking of the direct speech, but the subject switch to 2nd person indicates the start of the reported speech.

156	Ka=fo	preg	leta	ke=skei.	Ale	a=tu	nat,
	1sgRS=PSP:IR	make	letter	3sgIRR=one	ok	1sgRS=give	man

"ʔa=fo	neu	tu-a-ø	ki."
2sgIRR=PSP:IR	1sgBEN	give-TS-3sgO	prep

I will prepare a letter. Okay, I give it to a man, "You will give it to him for me." (98003b, 1334.7999, 1340.5399)

Appendix—Texts in South Efate

The following eight texts were recorded with seven speakers. All texts are extracted from audio files and are playable from the attached DVD. These texts are all extracted from fieldtapes in which I am the primary interlocutor. The audio corpus on the attached DVD includes nineteen hours of transcribed data from which these texts are extracted.

Punctuation is to be interpreted as follows: a comma indicates a slight pause where there is reason to expect the speaker to continue. A fullstop indicates the end of an utterance unit usually accompanied by sentence-final downward intonation.

Texts 1–5 recount *kastom* stories that are well known to South Efate speakers. Text 6 is from a video of thatch making. Text 7 is a personal history that also discusses links between Erakor and Mare in New Caledonia. Text 8 was recorded to provide advice to young people in the future.

1. *Natopu karu*, 'Another spirit', by Tokelau Takau.
2. Asaraf and Erromango, by John Maklen.
3. Litrapong, a *natopu*, by Kalsarap Namaf.
4. The origin of coconuts, by Kalsarap Namaf.
5. Ririel and Ririal, by John Kalfau (child's speech).
6. Making roof thatch, by Tokelau Takau.
7. Links to Mare, by Chief Waia Tenene.
8. The need for respect, by Iokopet.

Text 1. *Natopu karu*, 'Another spirit'

Told by Tokelau Takau in 1998.

Audio source 98009bz, 985.1800, 1149.1600

1:1 There is (a *natopu*[98] at) Tasiriki, the Radison. Tasiriki has a woman spirit there.
1:2 She is there. Her name is Lisau.
1:3 She looks after this place.
1:4 They are *natopu* (spirits) but they know people, they know the people of the village, look after the people.
1:5 Anyone who does something crooked, they show him so that he knows that he is doing something crooked, they show him it.
1:6 And the man will recognize that what he did is not good.
1:7 (NT) But are there people who give them some presents?
1:8 Yes. Yes. Like, bad thoughts, a man wishes bad things on someone, he wishes bad things on some friend.
1:9 He takes a present, he goes and gives it to her [the spirit]. He says, "You will hit him for me."
1:10 She will do it, as that man brought a small present and gave it to her.

[98] The *natopu* is a spirit associated with a particular location.

1:11 Then that other man might get sick, because the other one went and made an offering to the *natopu,* a present.
1:12 If he is sick, eventually he will go and see a healer (*munwei*) who will be able to find out for him the cause of his sickness.
1:13 Then he will tell him, "He is the one who sooled the *natopu* onto you." (lit: who gave the *natopu* to you)
1:14 And he would then be able to tell him, "You now go and get a present and give it to me, and I will go and give it to her and we will come back."
1:15 That's it. There are some people who don't think straight.
1:16 But it is not a good way, it's a bad way.
1:17 (NT) But is the *natopu* bad or good?
1:18 She is good, she loves all people, but when a man gets angry with his friend and he gives her a present, she will
1:19 do as he wants. (lit: she will follow the present that they gave her)
1:20 It's like that. The *natopu* is like that.

Ipiatlak, Etasrik, Ratison. Etasrik
```
i=      piatlak Etasrik  Ratison  Etasrik
3sgRS= have     p.name   p.name   p.name
```

ipiatlak mtulep iskei itkos.
```
i=      piatlak mtulep i=      skei i=      tok  -os
3sgRS= have     wife   3sgRS= one  3sgRS= stay -3sgOBL
```
There is (a natopu *at) Tasiriki, the Radison. Tasiriki has a woman spirit there.*

Ga me itkos. Nagien ipi Lisau.
```
ga  me  i=      tok -os     nagi -e   -n     i=     pi Lisau
3sg and 3sgRS= HAB -3sgOBL name -V   -3sgDP 3sgRS= be Lisau
```
She is there. Her name is Lisau.

Ga me itu lekor ga esa.
```
ga  me  i=      to  lekor ga  e-   sa
3sg and 3sgRS= HAB watch 3sg LOC- here
```
She looks after this place.

Rupi natopu me rutae nam̃er,
```
ru=    pi natopu me  ru=    tae  nam̃er
3p.RS= be spirit but 3p.RS= know people
```

rutae natam̃ol ni natkon, lekor ptaki natam̃ol.
```
ru=    tae  natam̃ol  ni   natokon lekor   pta       -ki natam̃ol
3p.RS= know person   of   village  watch  make.good -TR person
```
They are natopu *(spirits) but they know people, they know the people of the village, look after the people.*

Tenen kin ipreg tenamrun itakel,
te- nen kin i= preg te- namrun i= takel
DET- that REL 3sgRS= make DET something 3sgRS= crooked

rufeikin kin teflan kin itae na
ru= fei -ki -n kin tefla =n kin i= tae na
3p.RS= show -TR -3sgO COMP tefla =DST COMP 3sgRS= know COMP

ipreg namrun itakel, rufeikin ki.
i= preg namrun i= takel ru= fei -ki -n ki -ø
3sgRS=make something 3sgRS=crooked 3p.RS=show-TR -3sgO PREP-3sgO
Anyone who does something wrong, they show him so that he knows that he is doing something wrong, they show him it.

Go natam̃ol ito mrotae na tenen kin
go natam̃ol i= to mrotae na tenen kin
and person 3sgRS= HAB recognize COMP that REL

ipregi, ita wi mau... [ga itu].
i= preg -i -ø i= ta wi mau ga i= tu
3sgRS= make -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= not good NEG2 3sg 3sgRS= stay
And the man will recognize that what he did is not good.

(NT) Me ipiatlak natam̃ol nen rutuer tete nanromien?
me i= piatlak natam̃ol nen ru= tu -e -r tete nanromien
but 3sgRS= have person that 3p.RS=give-TS -3p.O some present
(NT) But are there people who give them some presents?

(TT) Or. Or. Wel, namroan sa ni natam̃ol, natam̃ol imrosaki tete
ore wel namroan sa ni natam̃ol natam̃ol i=mro-sa -ki tete
yes like thinking bad of person person 3sgRS=think-bad-TR some

natam̃ol imrosaki tete aslen,
natam̃ol i= mro-sa -ki tete asel -e -n
person 3sgRS= think-bad -TR some friend -V -3sgDP
Yes. Yes. Like, bad thoughts, a man wishes bad things on someone, he wishes bad things on some friend.

isel tete nanromien ipan tua ki.
i= slat tete nanromien i=pan tu -a-ø ki -ø
3sgRS= carry some present 3sgRS= go give-TS-3sgO PREP -3sgO

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Ina "P̃afo neu, p̃afo neu watgi."

```
i=     na   p̃a=    fo       neu     p̃a=     fo      neu    wat-gi -ø
3sgRS=say 2sgIRR=PSP:IR 1sgBEN 2sgIRR=PSP:IR 1sgBEN hit-TS -3sgO
```

He takes a present, he goes and gives it to her. He says, "You will hit him for me."

Kefo pregi taosi kin, taosi kin natam̃ol

```
ke=      fo     preg -i  -ø     taos-i  kin  taos -i  kin  natam̃ol
3sgIRR= PSP:R make -TS -3sgO like-TS COMP like -TS COMP person
```

nen isel nanromien ipan tua ki.

```
nen  i=slat       nanromien i=  pan   tu-a-ø          ki    -ø
that 3sgRS=carry present    3sgRS= go  give-TS-3sgO  PREP -3sgO
```

She will do it, as that man brought a small present and gave it to her.

Malen kin natam̃ol karu nen ifla tu msak, nlaken kin

```
malnen kin  natam̃ol karu  nen  i=      fla tu   msak nlaken  kin
as     COMP person  other that 3sgRS= may stay sick because COMP
```

tekaru kipe pan tu natopu ki.

```
te- karu  ki=     pe pan tu   natopu ki   -ø
DET other 3sgPS= PF go  give spirit PREP -3sgO
```

Then that other man might get sick, because the other one went and made an offering to the natopu *a present.*

Iflatu msak, panpan ale ilel na, tete

```
i=      fla to   msak  panpan ale  i=      lel       na   tete
3sgRS= may stay sick  until  okay 3sgRS= look for COMP some
```

munwei nen ketae ga pam̃or nlak namsaki ga.

```
munwei nen  ke=      tae  ga     pam̃or  nlak namsaki  ga
healer that 3sgIRR= know 3sgBEN find   stem sickness 3sgPOS
```

If he is sick, eventually he will go and see a healer (munwei) *who will be able to find out for him the cause of his sickness.*

Pan kefo tli na, kefo tae

```
pan   ke=      fo      til -i  -ø    na   ke=      fo      tae
until 3sgIRR= PSP:IR say -TS -3sgO COMP 3sgIRR= PSP:IR know
```

nrikin ki na, "Ga kin itu natopu kik."

```
nrik -i  -n    ki   na    ga  kin i=     tu   natopu ki   -k
tell -TS -3sgO PREP COMP  3sg REL 3sgRS= give spirit PREP -2sgO
```

Then he will tell him, "He is the one who sooled the natopu *onto you." (lit: "who gave the* natopu *to you.")*

Go ga kefo mer tae nrikin ki na,

```
go  ga  ke=     fo      mer   tae  nrik -i  -n    ki   na
and 3sg 3sgIRR= PSP:IR again know tell -TS -3sgO PREP COMP
```

"P̃amer sel tete nanromien mai tao kin,

```
p̃a=     mer      slat  tete nanromien mai  tao     ki   -n
2sgIRR= in.turn carry some present   come give.me PREP -3sgO
```

me kineu kafo pan ga psi,

```
me  kineu ka=     fo     pan ga     pus -i  -ø
but 1sg   1sgIRR= PSP:IR go  3sgBEN put -TS -3sgO
```

me kafo plakek ler."

```
me  ka=     fo     plak -e -k    ler
but 1sgIRR= PSP:IR with -V -2sgO return
```

And he would then be able to tell him, "You now go and get a present and give it to me, and I will go and give it to her and we will come back."

Tefla. Ipitlak tete

```
tefla     i=     piatlak tete
like.that 3sgRS= have    some
```

natam̃ol nen kin namroan gar itakel, ruto.

```
natam̃ol  nen  kin namroan  gar    i=     takel   ru=    to
person   that REL thinking 3p.POS 3sgRS= crooked 3p.RS= stay
```

That's it. There are some people who don't think straight.

Me ita pi sup̃ wi mau, ipi sup̃ sa.

```
me  i=     ta  pi sup̃    wi   mau  i=     pi  sup̃    sa
but 3sgRS= not be fashion good NEG2 3sgRS= be  fashion bad
```

But it is not a good way, it's a bad way.

(NT) Me natopu ipi natopu sa, ko iwi?

```
     me  natopu i=     pi natopu sa  ko i=     wi
     but spirit 3sgRS= be spirit bad or 3sgRS= good
```

(NT) But is the natopu *bad or good?*

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(TT) Iwi inrom, inrom ser

```
i=      wi    i=      nrom i=      nrom ser
3sgRS= good 3sgRS= love 3sgRS= love every
```

natam̃ol, me malen kin nat iskei

```
natam̃ol    me  malnen kin  nat     i=      skei
person     but as      REL  person 3sgRS= one
```

imaetki aslen, me ipan tua

```
i=      maet  -ki asel   -en      me  i=      pan tu=      -a  -ø
3sgRS= angry -TR friend -3sgDP  and 3sgRS= go  1p.inRS -TS -3sgO
```

tete nanromien ga kefo pregi taosi

```
tete nanromien ga  ke=      fo      preg -i  -ø     taos -i  -ø
some present   3sg 3sgIRR= PSP:IR make -TS -3sgO like -TS -3sgO
```

She is good, she loves all people, but when a man gets angry with his friend and he gives her a present, she will

kin nanromien nen rupan tua kin

```
kin  nanromien nen ru=     pan tu   -a  -ø     ki   -n
COMP present   REL 3p.RS= go  give -TS -3sgO PREP -3sgO
```

do as he wants. (lit: she will follow the present that they gave her)

Itefla. Natopu itefla.

```
i=      tefla      natopu i=      tefla
3sgRS= like.that spirit 3sgRS= like.that
```

It's like that. The natopu *is like that.*

Text 2. Asaraf and Erromango

Story told by John Maklen. Recorded in 1998. Text id 049.

Audio source 98007a, 434.2999, 541.0799

2:1 Asaraf, he is a man from long ago.
2:2 We have heard our grandfather and grandmother tell us that he was tall, really tall.
2:3 When he wanted to go—. He was there (on Efate) and he wanted to go to Errromango.
2:4 When he crossed the sea to Erromango, the sea came to his knees.
2:5 Around here [indicating his chest] wasn't wet.
2:6 He went to Erromango and he came back, and one day, well, Erromango it was—, you could be on Efate and you could see Erromango.
2:7 Really close.
2:8 But those from Erromango, [corrected to] those from Efate made him angry.
2:9 And he went to Errromango, he went, and, well, he put his head into the water like this.
2:10 He did that with (his head) and the sea
2:11 rose. Well, he put his head in the water and he twisted his head like this so that the water
2:12 began to rise. And then you couldn't see Erromango.
2:13 And now that he stayed there, he stayed on Efate until the time that he died, and the old people of that place buried him.
2:14 But because he was so tall, they bent him in three.

Asaraf, ga ipi natam̃ol ni tetwei.

```
Asaraf  ga   i=     pi natam̃ol  ni   tetwei
Asaraf  3sg  3sgRS= be person   of   long.ago
```

Asaraf, he is a man from long ago.

Go komam unrogo kin apu me

```
go   komam  u=       nrog -o  -ø    kin  apu         me
and  1p.exS 1p.exRS= hear -TS -3sgO COMP grandfather and
```

ati nigmam ruto nigmam trausi na

```
ati         nigmam ru=    to  nigmam traus -i  -ø    na
grandmother 1p.POS 3p.RS= HAB 1p.BEN tell  -TS -3sgO say
```

ipi natam̃ol nen ipram, ipram kotkot.

```
i=      pi natam̃ol  nen  i=      pram i=      pram kotkot
3sgRS= be person    that 3sgRS= tall 3sgRS= tall really
```

We have heard our grandfather and grandmother tell us that he was tall, really tall.

Malnen ina kefak.[-] Ito sa

```
malnen i=      na     ke=      fak       i=      to     sa
as     3sgRS= want   3sgIRR= go.to:IR 3sgRS= stay   here
```

imur na kefak Ermag.

```
i=      mur    na     ke=      fak       Ermag
3sgRS= want   say    3sgIRR= go.to:IR Erromango
```

When he wanted to go—. He was there and he wanted to go to Errromango.

Malnen isiwer ur ntas kin

```
malnen i=      siwer ur      ntas       kin
as     3sgRS= walk  follow saltwater COMP
```

ipak Ermag, go ntas ipam̃or napu̇twen.

```
i=     pak      Ermag      go    ntas       i=     pam̃or napu̇-we-n
3sgRS=go.to:R Erromango and   saltwater 3sgRS=find  knee-V -3sgDP
```

When he crossed the sea to Erromango, the sea came to his knees.

Esan mana rutalom mau.

```
e-  sa     =n    mana    i=       ru=     ta  lom mau
LOC here- =DST and.so 3sgRS=  3p.RS= not wet NEG2
```

Around here [indicating his chest] wasn't wet.

Me ina ipak Ermag pan kai merler

```
me  i=      na    i=pak        Ermag      pan kai mer    ler
but 3sgRS= want 3sgRS=go.to Erromango go  ES  again return
```

mai go naliati iskei welkia Ermag, ipi [..]

```
mai  go  aliat    i=      skei  welkia  Ermag      i=      pi [..]
come and day      3sgRS= one   thus    Erromango 3sgRS= be [..]
```

kutae to Efat go kuto lek Ermag.
ku= tae to Efat go ku= to lek Ermag
2sgRS= know stay Efate and 2sgRS= stay look Erromango
He went to Erromango and he came back, and one day, well, Erromango it was—, you could be on Efate and you could see Erromango.

Emẽltig mẽas.
e- mẽltig mẽas
LOC close only
Really close.

Me, teni Ermag [..], teni Efat rupregi imaet.
me te- ni Ermag te- ni Efat ru= preg-i -ø i= maet
but DET-of Erromango DET-of Efate 3p.RS=make-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=angry
But those from Erromango,[corrected to] those from Efate made him angry.

Go itrau to nruski Ermag ipak [..], inrus pa
go i= trau to nrus-ki Ermag i=pak i= nrus pa
and 3sgRS=just stay move-TR Erromango 3sgRS=go.to 3sgRS=move go

me welkia ina ilaoki np̃aun pak ntas tefla.
me welkia i= na i= lao -ki np̃au-n pak ntas tefla
but thus 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=plant-TR head-3sgDP to sea thus
And he went to Errromango, he went, and, well, he put his head into the water like this.

Me ipregi teflan ki [nana] go ntas
me i= preg -i -ø tefla ki nana go ntas
but 3sgRS= make -TS -3sgO like.that PREP HESIT and sea
He did that with (his head) and the sea

ipo puk. Welkia, ipreg na p̃aun pak ntas
i= po puk welkia i= preg na p̃au -n pak ntas
3sgRS= PSP:R swell thus 3sgRS= make ART head -3sgDP to sea

tefla me ipulki np̃aun tefla, nen kin ntas.
tefla me i= pul -ki np̃au-n tefla nen kin ntas
like.that but 3sgRS=twirl-TR np̃au-3sgO similar that COMP sea
rose. Well, he put his head in the water and he twisted his head like this so that the water

ina ifu. Go, kupo kano lek Ermag.
i= na i= fuk go ku= po kano lek Ermag
3sgRS= INCH 3sgRS= swell:IR and 2sgRS= PSP:R unable look E.
began to rise. And then you couldn't see Erromango.

began to rise. And then you couldn't see Erromango.
Go malnen kin itu san tu, itu Efat
```
go  malnen kin  i=     tu   san   tu   i=     tu   Efat
and as      COMP 3sgRS= stay there stay 3sgRS= stay Efate
```

to to pan pan mal nen kin imat, go
```
to    to    pan   pan   mal  nen  kin  i=     mat go
stay  stay  go    go    time that COMP 3sgRS= die and
```

tiawi ni esan rupo tanki.
```
tiawi     ni e-  sa   =n   ru=    po    tan  -ki -ø
ancestors of LOC here =DST 3p.RS= PSP:R bury -TR -3sgO
```
And now that he stayed there, he stayed on Efate until the time that he died, and the old people of that place buried him.

Me nlaken ipram top go rupo p̃elkin
```
me  nlaken  i=     pram top  go  ru=    po    p̃el  -ki -n
but because 3sgRS= tall much and 3p.RS= PSP:R bend -TR -3sgO
```

itolwes.
```
i=     tol   -wes
3sgRS= three -3sgO
```
But because he was so tall, they bent him in three.

Text 3. Litrapong, a *natopu*

Story from tape 20001b, told by Kalsarap Namaf. Transcribed and translated into Bislama by Manuel Wayane. The story concerns a *natopu* or spirit called Litrapong, also known in Bislama as a Lisepsep. The telling of this story is also recorded on video.

Audio source 20001b, 1133.54, 1396.22

3:1 We all know that place, and this Litrapong, I want to tell you about.
3:2 Litrapong. She is of grandfather's clan. Those two, grandfather and Litrapong, would talk every now and then.
3:3 Every time they would talk, they would be at one place. I know one day
3:4 we went up a hill, me with some children. Kaltong was small. Kaltong was already a big man,
3:5 but when we went Litrapong also came. She might have come to visit Grandfather
3:6 over there, because they are the same *naflak* (clan), *naflak kram*, the clam clan.
3:7 Maybe she came to see him, then go back. We went to the garden, and she was holding Kaltong.
3:8 We came to go to the house. Kaltong was sick. I waited until he felt better, we got him herbal medicine.
3:9 All along the road I got him medicine, but he didn't feel better.
3:10 There was this man from the Banks Islands, called Selwin.
3:11 At this time, that man was with Paul and Alec by the sea at Emtapenr.
3:12 I went to see him and I said, "Hey, I would like you to come and make some medicine for Kaltong, if you can do it." And he said "Okay."
3:13 And he came, I told him, "Kaltong is there but he is sick.
3:14 I don't know what caused his sickness.
3:15 I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him as you know how to."
3:16 So he tried, he said, "Okay." He went and brought leaf medicine, gave it to Kaltong to drink. And he looked, the medicine made him walk.
3:17 When he went, he went to Eratap. Kaltong was in this cave that I am talking about.
3:18 He walked about for (or because of) the leaf medicine. He found out that this woman (Litrapong) made Kaltong sick.
3:19 That's why he went, he went but this old woman (Litrapong) was in this place I talked about, she was right at the end of it.
3:20 Her police were at the door, but she was at the end of the cave.
3:21 He tried to go, but the old woman didn't want him to go. She said, this old woman looked at him and said, "It is just today that I see you."
3:22 She said this to Selwin, and Selwin said, "I come on behalf of Kaltong,
3:23 If you agree to it, then I will go back with him." And the old woman said to him,
3:24 the old woman said to him, "I don't agree that you take Kaltong back."
3:25 He stopped and thought and thought. "I'm going to try." He went and saw a small vine. He pulled

3:26 this rope, and he climbed a rock that was up above.
3:27 He threw the rope down the rock. The rope went to the bottom (of the cave).
3:28 When he had made the rope go down, Kaltong was down, he looked up again like this, and Selwin said to him,
3:29 "You take hold of the rope." When Kaltong took hold of the rope and
3:30 Selwin slowly pulled he came and came. The old woman was doing her own things, she didn't know how Kaltong got out.
3:31 She was surprised that Kaltong got up out of the cave. Selwin said to Kaltong, "You hold my back."
3:32 Then [they held his back, and—] Kaltong held Selwin's back like this and they came back to the house at Erakor.
3:33 And it is the end of my story. Kaltong is alive to this day.

Akit tumaui tae esan ipi, go
```
akit  tu=       mau tae  esan  i=     pi go
1plin 1p.inRS= all know place 3sgRS= be and
```

Litrapog ne, amurin na kanrikmus ki,
```
Litrapog ne   a=    mur-i-n       na   ka=    nrik-mus  ki  -ø
name      this 1sgRS=want-TS-3sgO COMP 1sgIRS=tell-2plO PREP-3sgO
```
We all know that place, and this Litrapong, I want to tell you about.

Litrapog ne, ipi naflak ni apu.
```
Litrapog ne   i=     pi naflak ni apu
name      this 3sgRS= be clan   of grandfather
```

Gar apu rato pusrek ser tete nrak.
```
gar apu          ra=      to    puserek ser   tete nrak
3pl grandfather 2/3d.RS= HAB   talk    every some time
```
Litrapong. She is of grandfather's clan. Those two, grandfather and Litrapong, would talk every now and then.

Sernrak rato pusrek rato ur naor
```
ser.nrak   ra=     to  puserek ra=     to  ur     naor
every.time 2/3d.RS=HAB talk    2/3d.RS=HAB follow place
```

iskei. Atae naliati iskei
```
i=skei     a=     tae  aliat   i=     skei
3sgRS=one  1sgRS= know day     3sgRS= one
```
Every time they would talk, they would be at one place. I know one day

komam upak elag ntaf, aplak tesa nen upa,
```
komam u=      pak     elag ntaf a=    plak      tesa  nen  u= pa
1plex 1plexRS=go.to:R high hill 1sgRS=with child that 1plexRS=go
```

upan, Kaltog ises, Kaltog kipepi nataɱ̃ol
u= pa=n Kaltog i= ses Kaltog ki=pe pi nataɱ̃ol
1plexRS= go=DST name 3sgRS=small name 3sgPS=PERF be person
we went up a hill, me with some children. Kaltong was small.[99] *Kaltong was already a big man,*

p̃ur, me malnen una upa, go Litrapog me
p̃ur me malnen u= na u= pa go Litrapog me
big but as 1plexRS= want 1plexRS= drive and p.name and

imai, imai. Ilakor mai saof apu
i= mai i= mai i= lakor mai saof apu
3sgRS=come 3sgRS=come 3sgRS= approximate come visit grandfather
but when we went Litrapong also came. She might have come to visit Grandfather

sanie nlaken gar rapi nametrau iskei, naflak kram.
sanien nlaken gar ra= pi nametrau i= skei naflak kram
there because 3pl 2/3d.RS be family 3sgRS= one clan clam
over there, because they are the same naflak *(clan),* naflak kram, *the clam clan.*

Ralakor[..], ilakor mai lemsi, mer, na keler.
ra= lakor i= lakor mai lemis -i -ø mer na
3d.RS=maybe 3sgRS=approximate come look.at-TS-3sgO again PURP

Mam upak talɱ̃at pan go ipuetsok Kaltog.
ke= ler mam u= pak talɱ̃at pan go
3sgIRR= return 1plPOS 2plRealS= go.to:R garden go and

i= puetsok Kaltog
3sgRS= hold name
Maybe she came to see him, then go back. We went to the garden, and she was holding Kaltong.

Umai na kofak esum̃. Kaltog imsak.
u= mai na ko= fak e- sum̃ Kaltog i= msak
1plexRS=come PURP 1plexIRS=go.to:IR LOC house p.name 3sgRS=sick

[99] I have been unable to determine what the speaker means here when he says that "Kaltong was small."

Appendix

Alereki nen kin kenrogtiawi, uga preg

```
a=     lereki nen   kin   ke=     nrogtiawi u=     ga      preg
1sgRS=depend that COMP 3sgIRR=be.well    2p:RS=3sgBEN make
```

We came to go to the house. Kaltong was sick. I waited until he felt better, we got him herbal medicine.

nalkis. Ser nawes napu, na, a ga preg nalkis

```
nalkis  ser     nawes napu  a=     ga      preg nalkis
medicine every side  road  1sgRS=3sgBEN make medicine
```

ikano nrogtiawi.

```
i=     kano    nrogtiawi
3sgRS=unable well
```

All along the road I got him medicine, but he didn't feel better.

Me natam̃ol iskei ipi natam̃ol ni Banks, rusoso

```
me   natam̃ol i=     skei i=      pi natam̃ol ni Banks ru=     sos -o
but person  3sgRS=one  3sgRS= be person  of Banks 3plRS= sos -TS
```

There was this man from the Banks Islands, called Selwin.

ki Selwin, naliati ne, natam̃ol nen iskot Paul go Alick to, elau Emtapenr.

```
ki     Selwin aliat ne    natam̃ol  nen  i=      skot Paul    go
Alick
PREP  p.name day    this person    that 3sgRS= with p.name and
p.name

to  elau Emtapenr -ø
at  sea  p.name   -3sgO
```

At this time, that man was with Paul and Alec by the sea at Emtapenr.

Apan leka anrikin ki na,

```
a=      pa =n    lek  -a  -ø     a=      nrik -i  -n     ki    na
1sgRS= pa =DST look -TR -3sgO 1sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP say
```

"E amurin na p̃amai ni Kaltog preg nalkis,

```
a=     mur -i  -n     na   p̃a=    mai  ni  Kaltog  preg nalkis
1sgRS=want-TS -3sgO say 2sgIRR=come BEN p.name  make medicine
```

ifwel kuf tae pregi." Go ina,

```
i=     f     wel  ku=   f    tae  preg-i -ø     go  i=     na
3sgRS=COND like 2sgRS=CND know make-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS=say
```

I went to see him and I said, "Hey, I would like you to come and make some medicine for Kaltong, if you can do it." And he said "Okay."

"O iwi." Go ipo mai, anrikin kin, "Kaltog kin to me imsak.
```
O i=     wi   go  i=     po    mai  a=     nrik -i  -n    kin
O 3sgRS= good and 3sgRS= PSP:R come 1sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO COMP

Kaltog  kin  to   me  i=     msak
p.name  COMP stay and 3sgRS= sick
```
And he came, I told him, "Kaltong is there but he is sick.

Atap tae nafte if pi nlaken kin imsak mau.
```
a=    tap tae  nafte i=    f    pi nlaken  kin  i=     msak mau
1sgRS=not know what  3sgRS=COND be because COMP 3sgRS= sick NEG2
```
I don't know what caused his sickness.

Amurin na p̃atraem ga preg tete nalkis
```
a=    mur -i  -n    na   p̃a=     traem ga     preg tete nalkis
1sgRS=want-TS -3sgO COMP 2sgIRR= try   3sgBEN make some medicine
```

gag nen ag kutae."
```
gag    nen  ag   ku=    tae
2sgPOS that 2sgO 2sgRS= know
```
I want you to try to make some of your medicine for him as you know how to."

Go ipo pregnrogo. Ina, "Iwi."
```
go  i=     po    pregnrog-o-ø      i=    na  i=    wi
and 3sgRS= PSP:R pregnrogo-TS-3sgO 3sgRS=say 3sgRS=good
```

Ipan neu wes nalkis mai
```
i=     pa=n    neu    wes nalkis   mai
3sgRS= go =DST 1sgBEN get medicine come
```

tu Kaltog kin imingi. Me ipo preg
```
tu   Kaltog ki  -n    i=     min  -gi-ø    me  i=     po    preg
give name   PREP-3sgO 3sgRS= drink-TS-3sgO and 3sgRS= PSP:R make
```

nalkis nen ipo pregi ipo siwer.
```
nalkis   nen  i=     po    preg -i  -ø    i=      po    siwer
medicine that 3sgRS= PSP:R make -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= -PSP:R walk
```
So he tried, he said, "Okay." He went and brought leaf medicine, gave it to Kaltong to drink. And he looked, the medicine made him walk.

Malnen ipa, ipak Ertap pa, ipan patu,
```
malnen i=     pa i=     pak     Ertap  pa      i=     pan pato
as     3sgRS= go 3sgRS= go.to:R Eratap thither 3sgRS  go  be.at
```

ipan. Kaltog ito erfale nen ato tli.

```
i=     pan Kaltog i=     to    erfale nen  a=     to    til -i  -ø
3sgRS go   name   3sgRS=stay cave   that 1sgRS=PROG say -TS -3sgO
```

When he went, he went to Eratap. Kaltong was in this cave that I am talking about.

Isiwer ki, nalkis nen pa. Ipam̃ori

```
i=      siwer ki   nalkis   nen  pa i=      pam̃or     -i -ø
3sgRS= walk  PREP medicine that go 3sgRS= discover -TS-3sgO
```

na, mtulep nen kin ipreg Kaltog imsak.

```
na    mtulep nen  kin  i=      preg Kaltog i=      msak
COMP wife    that COMP 3sgRS= make name    3sgRS= sick
```

He walked about for (or because of) the leaf medicine. He found out that this woman (Litrapong) made Kaltong sick.

Ipi nlaken ipa, ipan me mtulep nen

```
i=      pi nlaken  i=      pa i=      pa =n     me  mtulep nen
3sgRS= be because 3sgRS= go 3sgRS= go =DST  but wife   that
```

ipato esan kin

```
i=      pato  esan  kin
3sgRS= be.at place COMP
```

ato tli. Ipato mp̃agon, maumau.

```
a=      to    til -i  -ø    i=      pato  mp̃ag   -o -n     maumau
1sgRS= HAB   say -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= be.at end    -V -3sgDP really
```

That's why he went, he went but this old woman (Litrapong) was in this place I talked about, she was right at the end of it.

Polis ga ratu na, nmet, me ga ipato mp̃agon.

```
polis nega ra=   tu   na  namet me  ga  i=pato      mp̃ag-o-n
polis 3sg  3d.RS=stay ART door  but 3sg 3sgRS=be.at end-V-3sgDP
```

Her police[100] *were at the door, but she was at the end of the cave.*

Ipregnrogo nen kin kefan, me mtulep itap trok

```
i=      pregnrog -o -ø    nen  kin  ke=     fa    =n    me
3sgRS= try       -TS-3sgO that COMP 3sgIRS= go:IR =DST  but

mtulep i=      tap trok
wife   3sgRS= not agree
```

[100] The *natopu* has their own 'police' who are creatures who will do their bidding.

nen kin kefo pan mau. Ina, mtulep nen
```
nen  kin  ke=     fo     pa  =n    mau  i=     na  mtulep nen
that COMP 3sgIRS= PSP:IR go  =DST  NEG2 3sgRS= say wife   that
```

ileka go ina "Mes kin apo pkaskei lemsik."
```
i=     lek  -a  -ø    go  i=     na   mes   kin a=     po
3sgRS= look -TS -3sgO and 3sgRS= say  today REL 1sgRS= PSP:R
```

```
pkaskei lemis   -i  -k
same    look.at -TS 2sgO
```
He tried to go, but the old woman didn't want him to go. She said, this old woman looked at him and said, "It is just today that I see you."

Inrik, inrik Selwin kin teflan, go Selwin
```
i=     nrik i=     nrik Selwin kin tefla =n    go  Selwin
3sgRS= tell 3sgRS= tell p.name REL tefla =DST  and p.name
```

ina, "Kineu amai, apareki Kaltog.
```
i=     na  kineu  a=     mai  a=     pa-reki Kaltog
3sgRS= say 1sg    1sgRS= come 1sgRS= go-for  p.name
```
She said this to Selwin, and Selwin said, "I come on behalf of Kaltong,

Ifwel kuf tae trokwes go kafo
```
i=     f   wel  ku=    f   tae  trok  -wes    go  ka=     fo
3sgRS= CND like 2sgRS= CND know agree -3sgOBL and 1sgIRS= PSP:IR
```

plake ler." Go mtulep inrikin ki na,
```
plak -e -ø    ler    go mtulep i=     nrik -i  -n    ki   na
with -V -3sgO return and wife  3sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP COMP
```
If you agree to it, then I will go back with him." And the old woman said to him,

mtulep nen inrikin ki na, "Atap trok nen
```
mtulep nen  i=     nrik -i  -n    ki   na  a=     tap trok  nen
wife   that 3sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP say 1sgRS= not agree that
```

p̃afo plak Kaltog mau."
```
p̃a=     fo     plak      Kaltog  mau
2sgIRR= PSP:IR accompany p.name  NEG2
```
the old woman said to him, "I don't agree that you take Kaltong back."

Ito mro panpan inom. "Kafo
```
i=     to  mro   panpan i=     nom    ka=    fo
3sgRS=HAB think until  3sgRS=finish 1sgIRS=PSP:IR
```

pregnrogo."
```
pregnrog-o-ø   -3sgO
try      -TS
```

Ito ipan lek nmarit ses iskei. Ipuet
```
i=    to    i=    pa =n    lek  nmarit ses    i=    skei i=    puet
3sgRS=stay 3sgRS=go =DST look rope   small 3sgRS=one  3sgRS=pull
```
He stopped and thought and thought. "I'm going to try." He went and saw a small vine. He pulled

nmarit nen, me iur elag fat pan patu elag.
```
nmarit nen  me  i=    ur      elag fat   pa=n    pato elag
rope   that but 3sgRS=follow high stone pa=DST  be.at high
```
this rope, and he climbed a rock that was up above.

Me ipo pus fif ki fat nen
```
me  i=     po    pus fif   -ki  fat   nen
but 3sgRS= PSP:R put twist -TR  stone that
```

ipak etan pa. Nmarit nen ipak etan.
```
i=     pak     etan pa       nmarit nen  i=     pak     etan
3sgRS= go.to:R down thither rope   that 3sgRS= go.to:R down
```
He threw the rope down the rock. The rope went to the bottom (of the cave).

Malnen ina ipregi ipan go Kaltog
```
malnen i=     na    i=     preg-i  -ø    i=     pan go  Kaltog
as     3sgRS= want 3sgRS= make-TS -3sgO 3sgRS= go  and p.name
```

ina ito etan imer
```
i=     na    i=     to    etan i=     mer
3sgRS= want 3sgRS= stay down 3sgRS= again
```

le sak tefla, go Selwin inrikin kin na,

```
lek  sak    tefla   go  Selwin i=     nrik -i  -n    kin  na
look ascend similar and p.name 3sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO COMP say
```

When he had made the rope go down, Kaltong was down, he looked up again like this, and Selwin said to him,

"P̃afuetsok nmarit." Malnen Kaltog ina ipuetsok nmarit

```
P̃a=   fuetsok nmarit malnen Kaltog i=    na   i=puetsok nmarit
2sgIRS=hold:IR rope   as     p.name 3sgRS=want 3sgRS=hold rope
```

"You take hold of the rope." When Kaltong took hold of the rope

go Selwin imailum pueti imai mai mai mai.

```
go  Selwin i=    mailum puet -i -ø    i=     mai  mai  mai  mai
and p.name 3sgRS=slow   pull -TS-3sgO 3sgRS= come come come come
```

Mtulep ne itu preg namurien ga, itap tae teflan

```
mtulep  ne   i=    tu  preg namurien nega   i=    ta  tae  tefla
wife    this 3sgRS=HAB make desire   3sgPOS 3sgRS=not know thus
```

kin Kaltog itaf mau.

```
kin  Kaltog i=     taf  mau
COMP p.name 3sgRS= exit NEG2
```

and Selwin slowly pulled he came and came. The old woman was doing her own things, she didn't know how Kaltong got out.

Ikrokur kin Kaltog kipe pato elag. Selwin

```
i=     krokur kin  Kaltog ki=    pe pato  elag Selwin
3sgRS= fright COMP p.name 3sgPS= PF be.at high p.name
```

inrikin ki na, "P̃akel ntakuk."

```
i=     nrik -i  -n    ki   -ø    na  p̃a=     kel  ntak -u -k
3sgRS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP -3sgO say 2sgIRR= hold back -V -1sgDP
```

She was surprised that Kaltong got up out of the cave. Selwin said to Kaltong, "You hold my back."

Malnen [rakel ntakun go-] Kaltog ikel ntak

```
malnen ra=      kel  ntak -u -n     go  Kaltog i=     kel  ntak
as     2/3d.RS= hold back -V -3sgDP and p.name 3sgRS= hold back
```

Appendix

Selwin teflan go rakailer mai pak esum̃, Erakor.

```
Selwin teflan  go  rakai= ler     mai  pak e-     sum̃    Erakor
p.name similar and 2d.PS= return come to  LOC-  house  p.name
```

Then [they held his back, and-] Kaltong held Selwin's back like this and they came back to the house at Erakor.

Go ipi nametp̃ag natrauswen neu. Kaltog im̃ol tuk mes.

```
go  i=    pi nametp̃ag natrauswen neu
and 3sgRS=be end      story      1sgPOS

Kaltog i=m̃ol      tup̃    mes
p.name 3sgRS=live until today
```

And it is the end of my story. Kaltong is alive to this day.

Text 4. The origin of coconuts

Told by Kalsarap Namaf; recorded at Erakor, 2/4/97. Text 014. This story is well known in Erakor. It tells of the first coconut, which grows out of a man's head, which is why coconuts have eyes and a mouth today.

Audio source 004b, 728.6799, 879.8600

4:1 He said that there was this ancestor who had a son, he and his wife.
4:2 But his wife died, and the father and son were left.
4:3 Until this old man became old and he called his son.
4:4 His father said, "Come here, I want to talk to you." The boy went to see his father.
4:5 And his father said to him,
4:6 "We are both here but when ['you' corrected to 'I'] I may die.
4:7 Some day you will bury me.
4:8 And you will come to look after my grave.
4:9 If you see a tree growing from my grave
4:10 don't pull it out. But look after it until it bears fruit."
4:11 While they waited the father died, and the child went to bury his father.
4:12 But he didn't forget his father's story.
4:13 He waited awhile then he went to his father's grave. But he didn't see any tree growing out of the grave.
4:14 He stayed until he went back to the grave and
4:15 saw a small tree growing from his father's head.
4:16 And he looked after it until that tree bore fruit, and it was coconuts.

Itili nag tiawi iskei itok kai

```
i=      til -i  -ø    na   tiawi     i=     skei i=     tok  kai
3sgRS= say -TS -3sgO COMP ancestors 3sgRS= one  3sgRS= stay ES
```

piatlak tesa nanwei iskei nega go nmatu nega.

```
piatlak tesa  nanwei i=     skei nega   go  nmatu  nega
have    child man    3sgRS= one  3sgPOS and female 3sgBEN
```

He said that there was this ancestor who had a son, he and his wife.

Me nmatu nega imat, me tmen go tesa nen

```
me  nmatu  ga     i=    mat me tem     -e  -n     go  tesa  nen
but female 3sgPOS 3sgRS=die but father -V  -3sgDP and child that
```

But his wife died, and the father and son were left.

ranru to. Panpan go tiawi nen itok pi tiawi

```
ra=    nru to  panpan  go  tiawi     nen i=     tok pi tiawi
3d.RS= two stay until  and ancestors REL 3sgRS= HAB be ancestors
```

Until this old man became old and he called his son.

go ki sos tesa nega. Tmen inag "p̃amai

```
go  ki=   sos  tesa  nega  tem    -e-n     i=     nag p̃a=mai
and 3sgPS=call child 3sgPOS father-V-3sgDP 3sgRS= say 2sgIR=come
```

na kafo pestafik," Tesa nen ito kai pan lek tmen.

```
na   ka=    fo     pestaf -i -k    tesa  nen  i=    to   kai pan
PURP 1sgIRR=PSP:IR talk to-TS-2sgO child that 3sgRS=stay ES  go

lek  tem    -e -n
look father -V -3sgDP
```

His father said, "Come here, I want to talk to you." The boy went to see his father.

Go tmen kinrikin ki nag,

```
go  tem    -e -n     ki=    nrik -i  -n    ki   na
and father -V -3sgDP 3sgPS= tell -TS -3sgO PREP say
```

And his father said to him,

"Akit tanru tok me selwan ag [corrected to] kineu afla mat.

```
akit  ta=      nru tok  me  selwan ag    kineu a=     fla mat
1p.in 1p.exRS  two stay but when   2sg   1sg   1sgRS= may die
```

"We are both here but when ['you' corrected to 'I'] I may die.

Tete naliati ag kin p̃afo tankiwou.

```
tete aliat   ag  kin  p̃a=     fo     tan  -ki -wou
some day     2sg COMP 2sgIRR= PSP:IR bury -TR -1sgO
```

Some day you will bury me.

Me p̃afo to mai leperkat emat nigneu.

```
me  p̃a=     fo     to  mai  leperkat   emat  nigneu
and 2sgIRR= PSP:IR HAB come watch.over grave 1sgPOS
```

And you will come to look after my grave.

Ifwel kuf lek tete nkas iftom emat nigneu

```
i=    f   wel  ku=   f   lek  tete nkas i=    ftom emat  nigneu
3sgRS=CND like 2sgRS=CND look some tree 3sgRS=ftom grave 1sgPOS
```

If you see a tree growing from my grave

p̃atap m̃okus mau. Me p̃aleperkati panpan ketau."

```
p̃a=     ta  m̃ok  -us     mau  me  p̃a=     leperkat   -i  -ø
2sgIRR= not pull -3sgOBL NEG2 but 2sgIRR= watch over -TS -3sgO

panpan ke=      tau
until  3sgIRR=  bear
```

don't pull it out. But look after it until it bears fruit."

Selwan ratorik go temen kimat go tesa nen
```
selwan ra=   torik go  tem    -e -n     ki=    mat go  tesa  nen
while  d.RS= wait  and father -V -3sgDP 3sgPS= die and child
that
```

ipo pan ofakin temen.
```
i=     po    pan  ofa  -ki -n    tem    -e -n
3sgRS= PSP:R go   bury -TR -3sgO father -V -3sgDP
```
While they waited the father died, and the child went to bury his father.

Me itap metp̃akor nafsan nig apap nega mau.
```
me  i=     ta  metp̃akor  nafsan ni  apap   nega   mau
but 3sgRS= not forget    story  of   father 3sgPOS NEG2
```
But he didn't forget his father's story.

Itok rik go kipak emat temen pan. Me
```
i=    tok  rik   go  ki=    pak     emat tem   -e -n     pan me
3sgRS=stay small and 3sgPS= go.to:R die  father-V -3sgDP go  but
```

itap lek tete nakas iftom emat temen mau.
```
i=    ta  lek  tete  nakas i=    ftom emat tem    -e -n     mau
3sgRS=not look some  tree  3sgRS=ftom die  father -V -3sgDP NEG2
```
He waited awhile then he went to his father's grave. But he didn't see any tree growing out of the grave.

Itok panpan mer pak emat nig temen pan, kai
```
i=    tok  panpan mer   pak     emat  ni tem   -e-n     pan  kai
3sgRS=stay until  again go.to:R grave of father-V-3sgDP go   ES
```
He stayed until he went back to the grave and

lek nkas ses nen iftom tok ep̃au temen.
```
lek  nkas ses   nen  i=     ftom tok  e-   p̃au  tem    -e -n
look tree small that 3sgRS= ftom stay LOC- head father -V -3sgDP
```
saw a small tree growing from his father's head.

Go kitok leperkati panpan go
```
go  ki=    to  leperkat   -i  -ø    panpan go
and 3sgPS= HAB watch over -TS -3sgO until  and
```

nkas nen kitau ipi nuan go ipi naniu.
```
nkas nen  ki=    tau  i=     pi nua   go  i=     pi naniu
tree that 3sgPS= bear 3sgRS= be fruit and 3sgRS= be coconut
```
And he looked after it until that tree bore fruit, and it was coconuts.

Text 5. Ririel and Ririal

John Kalfau, a primary school child, tells a *kastom* story. Recorded in 1998.
Audio source 98003bz, 2382.3999, 2457.2199

5:1 My name is John Kalfau. I want to tell a custom story from the village.
5:2 The title of it is Ririel and Ririal.
5:3 They were walking and they saw an almond tree.
5:4 They climbed the almond tree, Ririel climbed this almond, he climbed high and looked for almonds until he was done.
5:5 So he threw them down to Ririal. But Ririel wanted to hold on to a branch.
5:6 He put his feet on a dry branch and broke the wood, and fell to the ground.
5:7 He died straight away. Then Ririal cried and cried, then he sang until it was over.
5:8 Ok, they took him and followed the road and came back to the house. Then he came and saw his mother and others.
5:9 They cried for him until they stopped. They put flowers on him. Then
5:10 they buried him by the side of his house. And that's the end.

Nagi kineu John Kalfau. Ana katil na kastom stori ni natkon.
nagi kineu J K a= na ka= til na kastom stori ni natkon
name 1sg J K 1sgRS=want 1sgIRR=say ART custom stori of village
My name is John Kalfau. I want to tell a custom story from the village.

Me taitel, taitel knen, taitel taetel
me taitel taitel knen taitel taetel
and title title of.it title title

knen ina, ipi teni Ririel go Ririal.
knen i= na i= pi te- ni Ririel go Ririal
of it 3sgRS= want 3sgRS= be DET of Ririel and Ririal
The title of it is Ririel and Ririal.

Me gar rato siwer pan, ra siwer pan ale ratrau
me gar ra= to siwer pan ra= siwer pan ale ra= trau
and 3p. 3d.RS=stay walk until 3d.RS=walk until okay 3d.RS=just

lek ntali ale ramai.
```
lek   ntali   ale   ra=     mai
look almond okay 3d.RS= come
```
They were walking and they saw an almond tree.

Rapag-saki ntali Ririel ga
```
ra=       pag-sak       -ki ntali  Ririel ga i=      pag     -ki
2/3d.RS= climb-ascend -TR almond Ririel 3sg 3sgRS= climb -TR
```

ipagki ntali ne, me ipag pato elag, ale ruto
```
ntali  ne    me   i=      pag    pato   elag   ale   ru=     to
almond this and 3sgRS= climb be at high  okay 3p.RS= HAB
```

le, le ntali pan pan ina inom.
```
le    le    ntali   pan    pan    i=      na    i=      nom
look look almond until until 3sgRS= PURP 3sgRS= finish
```
They climbed the almond tree, Ririel climbed this almond, he climbed high and looked for almonds until he was done.

Ale ito npakin isu mai pak
```
ale  i=      to    nep    -ki -n     i=      su       mai   pak
okay 3sgRS= HAB  throw -TR -3sgO 3sgRS= descend come to
```

etan ito tu Ririal kin. Me Ririel ina
```
etan i=      to   tu    Ririal ki    -n     me   Ririel i=      na
down 3sgRS= HAB give Ririal PREP -3sgO and Ririel 3sgRS= want
```

ipuetsok nra-nkas iskei.
```
i=      puetsok nra-nkas i=      skei
3sgRS= hold     branch    3sgRS= one
```
So he threw them down to Ririal. But Ririel wanted to hold on to a branch.

Ale me imer pus natuen
```
ale  me   i=      mer      pus natu-e -n
okay and 3sgRS= in.turn put foot-V -3sgDP
```

nranru ipak nkas nmarteu ale ina ito
```
nranru i=      pak      nkas nmarteu ale  i=      na    i=      to
two     3sgRS= go.to:R tree dry      okay 3sgRS= want 3sgRS= stay
```

teflan trau prai nkas teflan trau tarp̃ek mai pak etan.
```
tefla    trau prai   nkas tefla    trau tarup̃   mai   pak etan
similar just break tree similar just fall    come to   down
```
He put his feet on a dry branch and broke the wood, and fell to the ground.

Appendix

Trau mat nrak iskei. Ale Ririal itrau kai teflan ale
trau mat nrak i= skei ale Ririal i= trau kai tefla ale
just die time 3sgRS=one okay Ririal 3sgRS=just cry similar okay

itrau kai teflan ale ikai pan ina ilag pan pan pan inom.
i= kai pan i= na i= lag panpanpan i= nom
3sgRS= cry until 3sgRS= want 3sgRS= sing until:RED 3sgRS= finish
He died straight away. Then Ririal cried and cried, then he sang until it was over.

Ale rusati elag mai mer us napu mai mai
ale ru= slat -i -ø elag mai mer us napu mai mai
okay 3p.RS= carry-TS-3sgO above come again follow road come come

mai pak esum̃. Ale imai lek mama mana.
mai pak e- sum̃ ale i= mai lek mama mana
come to LOC- house okay 3sgRS= come look mother group
Ok, they took him and followed the road and came back to the house. Then he came and saw his mother and others.

Ale gar ru kaiten pan na inom
ale gar ru= kait -e -n pan na i= nom
okay 3p. 3p.RS= cry -TS -3sgO until COMP 3sgRS= finis

rupus nafum̃ nkas kin pan inom. Rupo
ru= pus nafum̃ nkas ki -n pan i= nom ru= po
3p.RS= put flower tree PREP-3sgO until 3sgRS=finish 3p.RS= PSP:R
They cried for him until they stopped. They put flowers on him. Then they

tankin nanre, nanre nasum̃ gar. Ale ipo nom.
tan-ki -n nanre nanre nasum̃ negar ale i= po nom
bury-TR -3sgO side side house 3p.POS okay 3sgRS= PSP:R finish
buried him by the side of his house. And that's the end.

Text 6. Making roof thatch

This text gives a description of using sago leaves ('rowat') for thatching houses. It was recorded while Tokelau Takau was preparing thatch, as seen on the video extract. Picture 4 in the front matter shows Tokelau standing outside her thatched house in Erakor village.

Audio source 20001az, 28.3600, 132.4000

6:1 When I want to sew thatch
6:2 And I would go and get thatch, I go and get thatch.
6:3 I return, I will first soften the thatch, I soften the thatch, it's done.
6:4 I then fold it, I fold it, it is there.
6:5 I will then go and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo and bring it, I get it ready.
6:6 It is right for me to make thatch, I get it, I measure them to the same length. Bamboo the same length.
6:7 He tells me to make my thatch the same length. It's done.
6:8 I then cut the bamboo into short pieces.
6:9 I will then carve a pin,
6:10 they call it a 'pin'. I cut the pin until it is finished.
6:11 And I will sew the thatch.
6:12 I sew like this, finish, and then I can,
6:13 I can sew fifty, I can sew fifty,
6:14 or I can sew a hundred.
6:15 And I know that fifty cover one side of the house.
6:16 And fifty I can put on the other side of the house.

Malen amurin na katur rowat

```
malnen a=     mur  -i  -n    na   ka=     tur rowat
as     1sgRS= want -TS -3sgO COMP 1sgIRR= sew sago
```

When I want to sew thatch

go apo pan slat rowat, kafan slat rowat.

```
go  a=     po    pan slat  rowat ka=     fan   slat  rowat
and 1sgRS= PSP:R go  carry sago  1sgIRR= go:IR carry sago
```

And I would go and get thatch, I go and get thatch.

Aler mai, kafo pei m̃asel

```
a=     ler    mai  ka=     fo     pei   m̃asel
1sgRS= return come 1sgIRR= PSP:IR first derib
```

rowat, am̃asel rowat inom.

```
rowat a=     m̃asel  rowat i=     nom
sago  1sgRS= soften sago  3sgRS= finish
```

I return, I will first soften the thatch, I soften the thatch, it's done.

Appendix

Amer p̃el ki, ap̃el kin itu.
```
a=      mer   p̃el  -ki -ø    a=      p̃el  -ki -n    i=      tu
1sgRS= again bend -TR -3sgO 1sgRS= bend -TR -3sgO 3sgRS= stay
```
I then fold it, I fold it it is there.

Me apo mer pan tai lop. Apan tai lop,
```
me  a=      po    mer   pan tai lop    a=         pan tai lop
and 1sgRS= PSP:R again go  cut bamboo 1sgRS= go cut bamboo
```

mai, apreg ptaki, tai ptaki.
```
mai  a=     preg pta       -ki -ø    tai pta         -ki -ø
come 1sgRS=make make.good-TR -3sgO cut make.good  -TR -3sgO
```
I will then go and cut bamboo. I cut bamboo and bring it, I get it ready.

Ileg nen kin kafo tur rowat, apreg,
```
i=      leg       nen  kin  ka=     fo     tur rowat a=      preg
3sgRS= straight that COMP 1sgIRR= PSP:IR sew sago  1sgRS= make
```

aton kin rupitkaskei. Lop rupitkaskei.
```
a=    ton      -ki -n    ru=    pitkaskei lop    ru=    pitkaskei
1sgRS=compare -TR -3sgO 3p.RS= equal      bamboo 3p.RS= equal
```
It is right for me to make thatch, I get it, I measure them to the same length. Bamboo the same length.

Inrikwou kin na kafo preg namtampe
```
i=    nrik -wou  ki   -n    na   ka=     fo     preg namtampe
3sgRS=tell -1sgO PREP -3sgO COMP 1sgIRR= PSP:IR make thatch
```

neu ru fitkaskei. Inom.
```
neu    ru=    fitkaskei i=     nom
1sgPOS 3p.RS= same:IR   3sgRS= finish
```
He tells me to make my thatch the same length. It's done.

Amer pei takotkot lop ruto m̃it
```
a=      mer   pei   takotkot lop    ru=    to    m̃it
1sgRS= again first cut       bamboo 3p.RS= stay  short
```
I then cut the bamboo into short pieces.

Kafo mer pei mas, mas pin, tenen
```
ka=     fo     mer   pei   mas  mas pin  te- nen
1sgIRR= PSP:IR again first saw  saw pin  DET that
```
I will then carve a pin,

rusoso ki 'pin'. Amas pin

```
ru=   sos -o-ø     ki   pin a=    mas pin i=    na
3p.RS=call-TS-3sgO PREP pin 1sgRS=saw pin 3sgRS=INCH
```

they call it a 'pin'. I cut the pin until

ina inom. Go apo tur rowat.

```
i=    nom    go  a=     po    tur rowat
3sgRS=finish and 1sgRS= PSP:R sew sago
```

it is finished . And I will sew the thatch.

Atrus tefla inom go malfane atae

```
a=     tur  -us   tefla     i=     nom go  malfane a=     tae
1sgRS= sew  -3sgO like.that 3sgRS= end and then    1sgRS= know
```

I sew like this, finish, and then I can,

na, atae tur fifti, [correction] atae tur tur ralim ilim,

```
na[..] a=    tae  tur fifti a=    tae  tur tur ralim i=     lim
COMP   1sgRS=know sew fifty 1sgRS=know sew sew ten   3sgRS= five
```

I can sew fifty, I can sew fifty

ko atae tur tifli iskei. Go kafo tae

```
ko a=     tae  tur tifli iskei go  ka=     fo     tae
or 1sgRS= know sew hundred     and 1sgIRR= PSP:IR know
```

or I can sew a hundred. And I know

na ralim ilim kefo tae

```
na   ralim i=     lim  ke=     fo     tae  pakor
COMP ten   3sgRS= five 3sgIRR= PSP:IR know cover
```

that fifty can cover

pakor nanre nasum̃. Go ralim ilim kin atae pakor nanre nasum̃.

```
nanre nasum̃ go ralim i=    lim  kin a=    tae  pakor nanre nasum̃
side  house and ten  3sgRS=five REL 1sgRS=know cover side  house
```

one side of the house. And fifty I can put on the other side of the house.

Text 7. Links to Mare

Chief Waia Tenene talks about the people, including his father, from Mare, in New Caledonia, who came to live in Erakor. French police were brought to the New Hebrides around the 1920s to assist in subduing the Malakulans.

Recorded 27/9/1998 at Waia Tenene's house in Erakor.

Audio source 98002az, 279.9400, 434.6400

7:1 Ah, those people from Mare (in New Caledonia) who came here long ago in the time of the Colonial Government.
7:2 The French government sent them to come as police.
7:3 They came to be police on Efate. On the side of the French, the French government.
7:4 There was fighting on Malakula, and it sent them to Malakula.
7:5 Fight with the people from Malakula.
7:6 And me, well, my father. My straight father, his brother, they shot him.
7:7 Those from Mare that came, those from Caledonia came here because the French government called them. A group of police came, they came here.
7:8 Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war.
7:9 And me, as my father's brother was there. And they went to Malakula and shot him. He was dead at Malakula.
7:10 They called him Nano. My father was a nurse at the big hospital in Noumea.
7:11 He went on leave and they sent him to France.
7:12 He went on the boat of the Messageries Maritimes. The big ship. It went around to France and he came back here.
7:13 Then he got his job as a maître d'hotel. So they sent him ashore.
7:14 He wanted to come ashore, he came, then those that were there became police. They were there and he joined them.
7:15 My father, Tenene. He stayed until he was married, then he stayed here.
7:16 He married my mother and he stayed here.
7:17 They had land that the chief of Ifira gave them at Emlapo, where Kawenu (college) was.
7:18 Those from Mare they stayed there. Those from Caledonia. When they married, they came to Erakor. And they moved here.

A, teni Emar nen kin rumai pak san

```
a  te- ni Emar nen  kin ru=    mai  pak san
ah DET of Mare that REL 3p.RS= come to  there
```

tetwei mal ni, na, kolonial kafman.
tetwei mal ni na kolonial kafman
long.ago time of ART colonial government
Ah, those people from Mare (in New Caledonia) who came here long ago in the time of the Colonial Government.

Franis kafman isent kir rumai reki na polis.
Franis kafman i= sent-ki -r ru= mai reki na polis
French government 3sgRS=sent-TR -3p.O 3p.RS= come for ART polis
The French government sent them to come as police.

Rumai pi polis ni Efat. Nanre ni Franis, Franis kafman.
ru= mai pi polis ni Efat nanre ni Franis Franis kafman
3p.RS= come be polis of Efate side of France French government
They came to be police on Efate. On the side of the French, the French government.

Go ipiatlak nafkal nen ito
go i= piatlak nafkal nen i= to
and 3sgRS= have war REL 3sgRS= stay

Emlakul go isent kir pak Emlakul.
Emlakul go i= sent -ki -r pak Emlakul
Malakula and 3sgRS= sent -TR -3p.O to Malakula
There was fighting on Malakula, and it sent them to Malakula.

Preg nafkal skot nam̃er nig Emlakul.
preg nafkal skot nam̃er ni Emlakul
make war with people of Malakula
Fight with the people from Malakula.

Go, neu welkia papa neu. Papa neu nen kin ipi
go neu welkia papa neu papa neu nen kin i= pi
and 1sg thus father 1sgPOS father 1sgPOS that REL 3sgRS= be

tmak leg p̃alun rusi.
tem -a -k leg p̃al -u -n ru= si -ø
father -V -1sgDP straight brother -V -3sgDP 3p.RS= shoot -3sgO
And me, well, my father. My straight father, his brother, they shot him.

Teni Emar nen kin rumai, teni Caledoni nen rumai
te- ni Emar nen kin ru= mai te- ni Caledoni nen ru= mai
DET of Mare that REL 3p.RS= come DET of Caledoni REL 3p.RS=come

pak esa nlaken Franis kafman isosor.

```
pak e-  sa   nlaken  Franis kafman     i=    sos  -o  -r
to  LOC here because France government 3sgRS=call -TS -3p.O
```

Nafet polis rumai rumai pak esa.

```
nafet polis ru=    mai  ru=    mai  pak e-   sa
group polis 3p.RS= come 3p.RS= come to  LOC- here
```

Those from Mare that came, those from Caledonia came here because the French government called them. A group of police came, they came here.

Ale rupan preg nafkal skot teni Emlakul malnen ipiatlak

```
ale  ru=   pan preg nafkal skot te-ni Emlakul  malnen i=piatlak
okay 3p.RS=go  make war     with DETof Malakula as     3sgRS=have
```

Okay, they went to fight with those from Malakula when there was a civil war.

na sifil wo. Go neu taos p̃al papa neu iskei

```
na  sifil wo  go  neu taos p̃al     papa   neu    i=     skei
ART civil war and 1sg like brother father 1sgPOS 3sgRS= one
```

ga ipato sanpen mai. Go rupak Emlakul go rusi.

```
ga  i=     pato  sanpe =n   mai  go  ru=   pak     Emlakul  go
3sg 3sgRS= be at there =DST come and 3p.RS= go.to:R Malakula and
```

Imat, imat Emlakul.

```
ru=    si-ø        i=     mat i=     mat Emlakul
3p.RS= shoot-3sgO  3sgRS= die 3sgRS= die Malakula
```

And me, as my father's brother was there. And they went to Malakula and shot him. He was dead at Malakula.

Ru soso ki Nano. Me papa neu ga ga

```
ru=    sos  -o  -ø    ki   Nano  me  papa   neu    ga  ga
3p.RS= call -TS -3sgO PREP Nano  and father 1sgPOS 3sg 3sg
```

ipi anfermie ni Nume, ospital p̃ur.
```
i=      pi anfermie ni Nume   ospital p̃ur
3sgRS= be nurse     of Noumea ospital big
```
They called him Nano. My father was a nurse at the big hospital in Noumea.

Ale ga imarmar, a iliv, go rusent kin
```
ale  ga  i=      marmar a i=      liv   go  ru=     sent -ki -n
okay 3sg 3sgRS= rest    a 3sgRS= leave and 3p.RS= sent -TR -3sgO
```
He went on leave and they sent him to France.

ipak Franis. Ipa na Messageries Maritimes raru a? Raru p̃ur.
```
i=      pak      Franis i=      pa na  M M raru raru p̃ur.
3sgRS= go.to:R France 3sgRS= go ART M M ship ship big
```

Ipan round Franis na imai, imai pak esa.
```
i=     pan round Franis na   i=     mai  i=     mai  pak e-  sa
3sgRS=go  round France PURP 3sgRS=come 3sgRS=come to  LOC here
```
He went on the boat of the Messageries Maritimes. The big ship. It went around to France and he came back here.

Ale itup̃ na metotel ga.
```
ale  i=      tup̃      na     metotel         ga
okay 3sgRS= achieve hesit maître.d'hotel 3sg
```

Ale rupregi ipak eut.
```
ale  ru=     preg -i  -ø     i=      pak      eut
okay 3p.RS= make -TS -3sgO 3sgRS= go.to:R shore
```
Then he got his job as a maître d'hotel. So they sent him ashore.

Ina ipak eut imai ale, tenen kin
```
i=      na   i=      pak      eut   i=      mai  ale  te-nen    kin
3sgRS= want 3sgRS= go.to:R shore 3sgRS= come okay DET-that  REL
```

rupato rumai pi polis. Rutu san tu go
```
ru=     pato  ru=     mai  pi polis ru=     tu   san   to go
3p.RS= be at 3p.RS= come be polis 3p.RS= stay there at and
```
He wanted to come ashore, he came, then those that were there became police. They were there and he joined them.

kipe skotir. Kin papa neu Tenene. Me ito pan
```
ki=   pe skot-i -r  kin  papa   neu    Tenene  me  i=    to
3sgPS=PF with-TS-3p.OCOMP father 1sgPOS p.name but 3sgRS=stay
```

pan na ilak ale kipe to san to.
pan na i= lak ale ki= pe to san to
until COMP 3sgRS= married okay 3sgPS= PF stay there at
My father, Tenene. He stayed until he was married, then he stayed here.

Itaulu iak neu go kipe to san to.
i= taulu iak neu go ki= pe to san to
3sgRS= marry mother 1sgPOS and 3sgPS= PF stay there at
He married my mother and he stayed here.

Gar rupitlak na ntan nen naot nig Efil
gar ru= piatlak na- ntan nen naot ni Efil
3p. 3p.RS= have HESIT ground REL chief of Vila

ituer kin Emlaƀo, san kin Kawenu
i= tu -e -r ki -n Emlaƀo san kin Kawenu
3sgRS= give -TS -3p.O PREP -3sgO p.name there REL p.name
They had land that the chief of Ifira gave them at Emlaƀo, where Kawenu (college) was.

itkos. Teni Emar rutuwes. Teni Caledoni.
i= tok -os te- ni Emar ru= tu -wes te- ni Caledoni
3sgRS=stay-3sgOBL DET of Mare 3p.RS=stay -3sgOBL DET of Caledoni

Me malnen gar runa rulak, go
me malnen gar ru= na ru= lak go
and as 3p. 3p.RS= want 3p.RS= married and

rulak mai pak Erakor. Go ruipe muf mai.
ru= lak mai pak Erakor go rui= pe muf mai
3p.RS= married come to p.name and 3plPS= PF move come
Those from Mare they stayed there. Those from Caledonia. When they married, they came to Erakor. And they moved here.

Text 8. The need for respect

Recorded with Iokopet 3/10/1998

Audio source 98007bz 940.8000, 1003.5

8:1 Children, I want to tell you that respect is a good thing.
8:2 Respect your father and
8:3 your mother. And your sister and your brother.
8:4 As long ago, in my view, when I was first there, a Sunday. It wasn't noisy.
8:5 You went to church, you sat to eat and you rested, you ate. And for many days you will do
8:6 your work, but you will remember it.
8:7 First, hear the voice of your father and mother. And your days will be many.
8:8 That is a little story that I wanted to tell you. It is finished here.

Tesa lap amurin nrikmus kin na nfaketanwen ipi tewi.

```
tesa  lap  a=     mur  -i  -n    nrik -mus  kin  na  nfaketanwen
child many 1sgRS= want -TS -3sgO tell -2p.O COMP say respect
```

Children, I want to tell you that respect is a good thing.

Kofaketanki tem mus go

```
i=     pi te- wi   ko=       faketan   -ki tem   -mus   go
3sgRS= be DET-good 2p.exIRR= respect:IR-TR father-2p.DP and
```

Respect your father and

rait mus. Go na kor mus go p̃al mus.

```
rait   -mus   go  na    kor    -mus   go  p̃al     -mus
mother -2p.DP and hesit sister -2p.DP and brother -2p.DP
```

your mother. And your sister and your brother.

Taos tetwei, nalelewen neu, kineu

```
taos tetwei     nalelewen neu     kineu
like long.ago   opinion   1sgPOS 1sg
```

apei tkos, taos aliat tap. Nakrakpeswen itik.
a= pei tok -os taos aliat tap Nakrakpeswen i= tik
1sgRS= first stay -3sgOBL like Sunday noisiness 3sgRS= no
As long ago, in my view, when I was first there, a Sunday. It wasn't noisy.

Kuto. Kupak sum̃ tap. Kumai. Kutotan na kufam
ku= to ku= pak sum̃ tap ku= mai ku= totan
2sgRS= stay 2sgRS= go.to:R house taboo 2sgRS= come 2sgRS= sit

na ku= fam
PURP 2sgRS= eat:IR

kumarmar panpan inom. Ale naliati m̃ol kupreg
ku= marmar panpan i= nom ale aliat m̃ol ku= preg
2sgRS= rest until 3sgRS= finish okay day live 2sgRS= make
You went to church, you sat to eat and you rested, you ate. And for many days you will do

nawesien negag, me p̃amroperkati.
nawesien negag me p̃a= mro-perkat -i -ø
work 2sgPOS but 2sgIRR= think-truly -TS -3sgO
your work, but you will remember it.

Tepei p̃anrog nale tmam ko
te- pei p̃a= nrog nale tem -a -m ko
DET first 2sgIRR= hear voice father -V -2sgDP or

raitom. Go naliati gag rukfo lap.
rait -o -m go aliat gag ruk= fo lap
mother -V -2sgDP and day 2sgPOS 3p:IRR= PSP:IR many
First, hear the voice of your father and mother. And your days will be many.

Ipi nafsan ses wan amur wan
i= pi nafsan ses wan a= mur wan
3sgRS= be story small one 1sgRS= want one

kanrik mus ki. Inom esan.
ka= nrik -mus ki -ø i= nom esan
1sgIRR= tell -2p.O PREP -3sgO 3sgRS= finish place
That is a little story that I wanted to tell you. It is finished here.

Attachment DVD (notes)

Attached to this book is a DVD which contains additional information about the language of South Efate. To use the DVD open the file called '!Readme.html' in a web browser and follow the instructions from there.

The DVD contains the following items:

- A presentation of media versions of most example sentences in this book, listed by chapter and example number, linked to their textual version
- Keyboarded texts from historical sources: Genesis in South Efate (Bible. 1874. *Kenesis natus a bei nag Moses ki mtir i*) and English
- Keyboarded version of handwritten stories by Pastor Sope from the 1950s found in Arthur Capell's papers
- Jean-Claude Rivierre's South Efate wordlist (produced with Maxime Carlot in the 1960s)
- Dahl's (1985) TMA questionnaire data for South Efate (interlinearized)
- A dictionary and finderlist of South Efate linked to photographs

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