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A GRAMMAR OF LENAHEL

by

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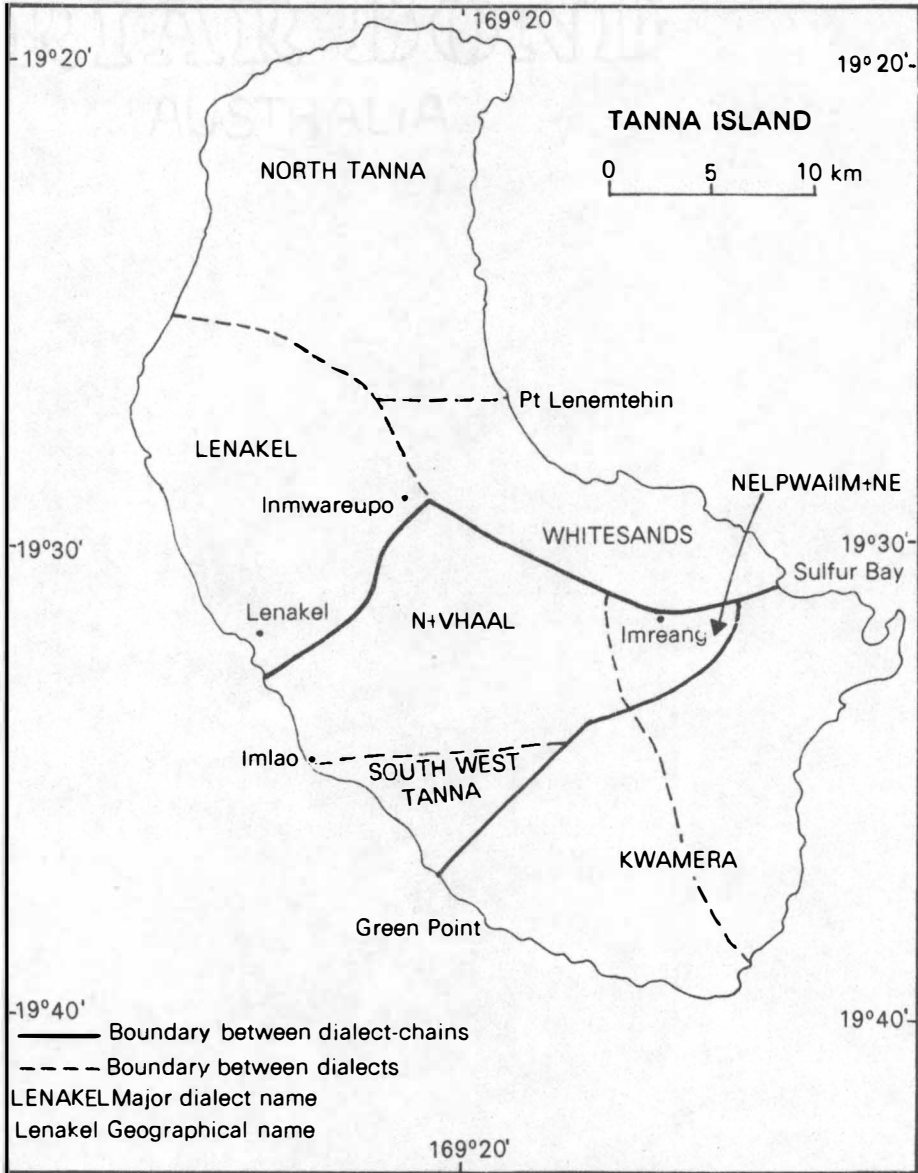
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

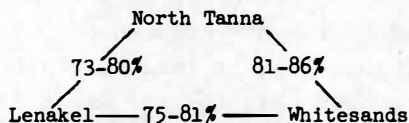
1.1. GENERAL

The Lenakel language is spoken in the central west of the island of Tanna, the most heavily populated island in the Southern District of the New Hebrides Condominium.¹ It is an Austronesian language, whose closest relatives are the other four languages of Tanna and the languages of the neighbouring islands of Eromanga and Aneityum. Its 3,000 speakers speak the language in a number of dialects; that outlined here is spoken natively in the south-west of the Lenakel-speaking area, but for the past century it has gained wider currency as the 'standard' dialect used by the Presbyterian Mission on the island.

Little previous work has been done on this language, and virtually all of it is in manuscript form (Capell Ms.; Paton 1922). However, there are sketch grammars of related languages on Tanna by Codrington (1885), Gray (Macdonald 1891), and Ray (1926). The available material prior to 1968 is summarised in Capell 1962 and Lynch 1967.

I began fieldwork on the languages of the Southern New Hebrides with a month's work in 1968. This was followed by six months in 1970, three months in 1973, and two months in 1975. Most of this period has been

¹The situation is rather more complicated than is stated here. The Lenakel 'language' is in effect a complex of dialects; and this complex forms part of a dialect chain with two other dialect-complexes, the North Tanna complex and the Whitesands complex (see map). Lexicostatistical figures, based on a slightly modified Swadesh 200-word list, are:



The grammars of all three 'languages' are virtually identical, with the same kinds of morphemes being used in the same way in each. The major phonological differences are (1) the lack of the phoneme /w/ in Whitesands and North Tanna, and (2) the presence of prenasalised stops /mpw/, /mp/, and /nt/ in North Tanna.

spent on the Lenakel language, and the following works have resulted: Lynch (1970-71, 1971, 1973a, 1973b, 1975). A dictionary of the language has recently been published (Lynch 1977).

1.2. AIM AND ORGANISATION

It is hoped that this grammar of Lenakel may be read and understood by both linguists and laymen. I have thus attempted to explain clearly and simply the workings of Lenakel grammar, and have eschewed the use of unnecessarily difficult terminology where possible. This grammar is thus essentially a descriptive account of the Lenakel language, although I have used the footnotes to make points of an explanatory nature when I have felt that these would be of interest to professional linguists.

The following chapter contains a very general introduction to Lenakel phonology; a much more detailed analysis may be found in Lynch 1975. Chapter 3 deals with the morphology of Lenakel. It outlines the various classes of free morphemes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adjuncts, and interjections) and then deals with affixes to verbs, affixes to nouns, and the case-marking prepositions. The fourth chapter deals with the structure of the simple sentence in Lenakel, while Chapter 5 is concerned with complex sentences as expansions of simple sentences or components of simple sentences. This chapter is followed by some illustrative texts in Lenakel.

The orthography is discussed in Chapter 2. Lenakel examples in Chapters 3-6 are presented as follows: first, the way the phrase, sentence or text is written in the suggested orthography; second, a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown of the Lenakel material; third, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses; and finally, a free English translation.

1.3. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take great pleasure in acknowledging the assistance I have received from many people in the preparation of this grammar. My debt to my major informant, Tom Hiua, is immense - his unruffled patience and cheerful assistance have been indispensable over the years, and I hope he finds this grammar a just reward. I must also thank John Kalete, Lomhanteni, Iasu, David Nasu, and other Tannese from Lounelapen, Isini, Bethel and Lomtehekel for their help. Père Albert Sacco has also shared his 20 years' experience of the Lenakel language in a most open-handed way, and I owe him a great debt of gratitude for his down-to-earth comments on previous drafts.

The Paul family of Tanna have assisted this work in almost every extralinguistic way possible. I am eternally grateful for their

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1.4. ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

-	morpheme-boundary
:	separates English words which together form the gloss for a single Lenakel morpheme
-->	is rewritten as
==>	is transformed into
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	adjective root
Adj	adjective (= root + affixes)
appos	appositive prefix
benef	benefactive marker
conc	concurrent tense-aspect prefix
cont	continuative prefix
d	dual
D	adjunct
dat	dative marker
Ddem	demonstrative adjunct
Ddsc	descriptive adjunct
Dnum	grammatical number marking adjunct
Dqty	quantifying adjunct
Dvb	verbal adjunct
exc	exclusive
fut	future
inc	inclusive
ins	instrumental marker
int	intentional prefix
itr	interrogative prefix
k.o.	kind of
lit.	literally
loc	locative marker

LP	locative phrase
M	modality
N	noun
neg	negative prefix, negative postclitic
Ninal	inalienable noun
NL	locative noun
no.	number-of-subject prefix
nom	nominalising affix
NP	noun phrase
NPinal	inalienable noun phrase
NPsemi	semi-alienable noun phrase
ns	non-singular
NT	temporal noun
P	proposition
perf	perfective prefix
pers	person-of-subject prefix
pl	plural
poss	possessive marker
PP	possessive phrase
PPal	alienable possessive phrase
PPinal	inalienable possessive phrase
PPsemi	semi-alienable possessive phrase
PRO	pronoun
pro:sfx	pronominal suffix
rec	reciprocal suffix
refl	reflexive suffix
rel	relative marker
s	singular
S	sentence
seq	sequential prefix
tns	tense-aspect
TP	temporal phrase
tr	trial
trans	transitive postclitic
V	verb root
Vdir	directional verb
Verb	verb (= root + affixes)
Vintr	intransitive verb
VP	verb phrase
Vsing	singular verb
Vtr	transitive verb

As explained in Chapter 2, the acute accent (') marks either irregular stress, or the fact that a high vowel has not become a glide as expected; in many words it marks both simultaneously.

The asterisk (*) is used with three meanings, each of which is deducible from the context: (1) marks a following sentence as ungrammatical; (2) marks a following word as having been reconstructed as belonging to some proto-language; (3) marks a preceding constituent in a rule as being permitted to occur more than once in a string.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0. INTRODUCTION

The sound system of Lenakel is relatively complex as compared with that of other Austronesian languages of Oceania. In this chapter I merely wish to outline some general aspects of Lenakel phonology, and to explain the orthography used (which differs considerably from the early Mission orthography). A fuller account of Lenakel phonology can be found in Lynch 1975.

The following symbols are used to represent the 21 Lenakel phonemes: a, e, f, g, h, i, †, k, l, m, mw, n, o, p, pw, r, s, t, u, v, w.¹ In addition, the acute accent ' is also used; its functions are described in 2.2.2. and 2.4.1. below.

¹The phonemes /g/, /†/, /mw/ and /pw/ were written as /ŋ/, /ə/, /m̄/ and /p̄/ respectively in Lynch 1975.

The early mission orthography (1) did not represent the velarised bilabials /pw/ and /mw/, nor the mid central vowel /†/; (2) represented both the voiced and voiceless allophones of /p/ and /t/ (but not of /k/); and (3) represented [w], the glide allophone of /u/ (but not [y], the corresponding glide allophone of /i/).

2.1. CONSONANTS

Lenakel has 15 consonant phonemes, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: LENAHEL CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Velarised Bilabial	Simple Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Postvelar
Stops	pw	p	t	k	
Fricatives		f	s		
Nasals	mw	m	n	g	
Lateral			l		
Flap			r		
Glides		w	v		h

2.1.1. OBSTRUENTS

The stops /pw p t k/ are all lenis. In initial position they occur unaspirated and variable as to voicing; in medial position unaspirated and voiced;

tribution is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: DISTRIBUTION OF STOP ALLOPHONES

	Initial	Medial	Final
/pw/	[p ^w ~ b ^w]	[b ^w]	[p ^{wh}]
/p/	[p ~ b]	[b]	[p ^h]
/t/	[t ~ d]	[d]	[t ^h]
/k/	[k ~ g]	[g]	[k ^h]

Some examples follow.

- (1) /pwapwauk/ [p^wɔpɔw^wkw^h ~ b^wɔpɔw^wkw^h] 'butterfly'
 /paranpaat/ [pɔʔanbáth ~ bɔʔanbáth] 'k.o. crab'
 /takrɪn/ [tɔgʔɪn ~ dɔgʔɪn] 'a little'

¹The notion of the phonological word is an important one, as lexical items may be words in certain contexts but only parts of words in others. Consider the following:

- a. /kam-lau/ [kám^law ~ gám^law] 'we (exc.d.)'
 b. /le-kam-lau/ [lɔgám^law] 'to us (exc.d.)'

In example a., /kam-lau/ is a phonological word, and in word-initial position the stop is variable as to voicing (i.e. [k ~ g]). In example b., however, /kam-lau/ is only part of the phonological word, and thus in word-medial position the stop is voiced.

/k-ar-epw/	[kɑ́ʔepʷh ~ gɑ́ʔepʷh]	'they (pl.) slapped it'
/r-ɪp/	[ʔʔpʰ]	'it is raining'
/matak/	[mɑ́dakʰ]	'cooked'

In addition, /t/ and /k/ occur voiceless and aspirated before /h/, while /p/ becomes the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] in this position; /h/ is lost in both cases.¹

(2) /kathel/	[kɑ́tʰɛl ~ gɑ́tʰɛl]	'we (inc.tr.)'
/t-n-ak-ho/	[tɪ́nɑ́kʰo ~ dɪ́nɑ́kʰo]	'you (s.) will hit it'
/t-n-ep-hal-va/	[tɪ́nɛɸɑ́lɪ̌a ~ dɪ́nɛɸɑ́lɪ̌a]	'you (tr.) will come'

The alveolar stop /t/ is palatalised before /i/, becoming [tʲ] or [dʲ] according to its position within the word.²

(3) /katilum/	[kadʲɪ́lum ~ gadʲɪ́lum]	'five'
/t-i-ak-ol/	[tʲɑ́dɔ́l ~ dʲɑ́dɔ́l]	'I'll do it'

The velar stop /k/ becomes a fricative intervocalically; thus medial intervocalic [g] varies with [ɣ], while medial intervocalic [kʰ] (which derives from /k/ + /h/) varies with [x].

(4) /n-ak-am-kɪn/	[nɑ́gɑ́mɣɛn ~ nɑ́gɑ́mɣɛn]	'you (s.) are eating it'
/i-ak-hal-ol/	[ɣɑ́kʰɑ́lɔ́l ~ ɣɑ́kʰɑ́lɔ́l]	'we (inc.tr.) do it'

The fricative /f/ is phonetically labio-dental [f] in all environments. The fricative /s/ is phonetically [s] in all environments, except that in word-final position [s] freely varies with [h].

(5) /pukas/	[púgɑ́s ~ púgɑ́h ~ búgɑ́s ~ búgɑ́h]	'pig'
/r-ɪm-kɪs/	[ʔfmgɑ́s ~ ʔfmgɑ́h]	'he bit it'

2.1.2. SONORANTS

All the consonantal sonorants /mw m n g l r/ normally occur voiced: [mʷ], [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [r]. The flap [ɾ] becomes trilled ([r̄]) in word-final position.

(6) /nohar/	[nɔ́hɑ́r̄]	'wall'
/rɪmir/	[ʔfmér̄]	'outrigger float'

¹There are no examples of the sequence /pw/ + /h/. Comparative evidence, however, suggests that this would become f in Lenakel. Note first that surface Ch in Lenakel often corresponds to surface Cah in North Tanna: Lenakel /agh/, North Tanna /agah/, 'to spit'. Now if we compare Lenakel /alfa/, North Tanna /alpwah/, 'to be lazy', we find some confirmation of the suggestion that Lenakel pw + h would become f.

²In some dialects, particularly in the north-west of the Lenakel-speaking area, ti or ty becomes s. Thus /t-i-ak-ɪni/, 'I will say', which in the dialect which forms the basis for this study is phonetically [tʲɑ́gɛ́ni ~ dʲɑ́gɛ́ni], is pronounced [sɑ́gɛ́ni] in the north-west and some other dialects.

When immediately followed by /h/, however, these sonorants become voiceless: [ɲʰ], [ŋʰ], [ŋʰ], [ŋʰ], [ɲʰ], [ʃʰ], [ʃʰ]; the /h/ is lost in these cases.

(7) /amwʰa/	[ámwʰa]	'to suck'
/n-im-ho/	[nɪmho]	'you (s.) hit it'
/r-n-ho/	[rɪmho]	'he has hit it'
/agh/	[áŋ]	'to spit'
/ilhel/	[ɪlɛl]	'they (tr.)'
/rho/	[ʃó]	'he hit it'
/tɪnmúrʰ/	[tɪnmúʃ ~ dɪnmúʃ]	'island'

The glide /h/ is always voiceless. The glide /v/ is a voiced high central glide, phonetically [ɥ], which becomes voiceless in the same manner as the consonantal sonorants (i.e. when immediately followed by /h/).

(8) /r-im-vɪn/	[ʃɪmɪn]	'he went'
/kavhevʰau/	[kaɪéɪaw ~ gaɪéɪaw]	'hat'

The glide /w/ occurs relatively infrequently. Phonetically, it is identical to the glide [w] which derives from /u/ (see 2.2.2. below), but its phonological behaviour, especially with respect to the number-markers in verbs, is somewhat different - see 3.2.7. below.¹ The glides [w] (derived from both /w/ and /u/) and [ɥ] (derived from /i/) normally occur voiced, but become voiceless when immediately preceded or followed by /h/, the /h/ subsequently being lost.

(9) /r-am-awh/	[ʃamáw]	'she is weaving'
/r-am-auh/	[ʃamáw]	'she is cooking'
/huaihue/	[wáɥwe]	'fast'
/r-am-aih/	[ʃamáy]	'it is flowing'
/hiaav/	[ɥáɪ]	'down'

¹Briefly, the argument is this. Verbs with initial /a/ delete this when preceded by the trial and plural prefixes:

/i-im-aliuok/	[yɛmalɪwɔkʰ]	'I walked'
/i-im-ai-aliuok/	[yɛmayɪwɔkʰ]	'we (exc.pl.) walked'

Most verbs with initial [o ~ ɔ] retain this after trial and plural prefixes and show phonologically different forms of these prefixes from those which appear with a-initial verbs:

/i-im-ouiek/	[yɛmɔwɥɛkʰ]	'I changed skin'
/i-im-ar-ouiek/	[yɛmaɔwɥɛkʰ]	'we (exc.pl.) changed skin'

Some verbs which begin phonetically with [ɔw], however, delete the initial vowel when preceded by trial and plural prefixes, which prefixes are of the same phonological form as those found with a-initial forms. It is suggested that these verbs begin with underlying /aw/, with a later changed to ɔ before /w/ by the rule of A-ROUNDING (Rule (38)).

/i-im-awta/	[yɛmɔwda]	'I sat down'
/i-im-ai-awta/	[yɛmaywɔda]	'we (exc.pl.) sat down'

Note also that /w/ is not pronounced in word-final position, although it does condition vowel tensing (see 2.2.2. below); compare /nu/ [nú] 'water' with /nuw/ [nú] 'yam'.

There appear to be no restrictions as to the nature of consonants which may cluster with one another. Other aspects of consonant clustering are discussed in 2.3. below.

2.2. VOWELS

The six Lenakel vowel phonemes are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: LENAHEL VOWEL PHONEMES

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ɨ	o
Low		a	

2.2.1. CENTRAL VOWELS

The vowel /a/ is generally low, central and unrounded [a]. It becomes low front unrounded [a] after /v/.

- (10) /nikava/ [niɡáɨa ~ niɣáɨa] 'kava'
 /ativan/ [adʷíɨan] 'to be warm'

When adjacent to a velarised bilabial, /a/ becomes low back rounded [ɔ].

- (11) /apwa/ [ɔbʷɔ] 'locative marker'
 /epwaik/ [ɛbʷɔykʰ] 'to fold'
 /namwi-n/ [nómʷɨn] 'his footprints'
 /niɱwataa-n/ [niɱmʷɔdɔn] 'his back'

The mid central vowel /ɨ/ occurs relatively high ([ɨ]) after alveolar consonants (/t s n l r v/) and relatively low ([ə]) in other environments.

- (12) /n-ɨm-kɨn/ [nɨmɡən] 'you (s.) ate it'
 /amkɨmɨk/ [amɡəməkʰ] 'dirty'
 /rimɨr/ [ɨɨmɨr] 'outrigger float'
 /ɨtɨktɨk/ [əɨfɡdɨkʰ] 'not to know'

2.2.2. HIGH VOWELS

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ occur lax ([ɪ] and [ʊ]) in closed syllables - i.e., before a consonant cluster or a word-final consonant - and tense ([i] and [u]) in other positions - i.e., before a single medial consonant, before a vowel, or in word-final position.

(13) /ilmwaga/	[ilm ^w óŋa]	'Eromanga island'
/kig/	[kíŋ ~ gíŋ]	'k.o. worm'
/iko/	[ígo]	'to be twisted'
/pwia-k/	[p ^w íakh ~ b ^w íakh]	'my older brother'
/kati/	[káðvi ~ gáðvi]	'coconut pudding'
(14) /kumkum/	[kúmgum ~ gúmgum]	'to be stiff'
/suk/	[súk ^h]	'a spear'
/nuto/	[núdo]	'k.o. arrow'
/nua-n/	[núan]	'his shoulder'
/alu/	[álu]	'to dig'

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ become glides ([y] and [w]) when adjacent to vowels. There are two ordered directional rules which account for this.¹

(15) [i, u] ---> [y, w] / ___ V

(16) [i, u] ---> [y, w] / V ___

Rule (15) begins from the right-hand end of the word and changes any high vowel which is immediately followed by another vowel to a glide.

(17) /k-am-ia-ol/	[kamyáol ~ gamyáol]	'they (d.) are doing it'
/ua/	[wá]	'or'

The directionality of this rule can be observed in a word like /nuiu/ [núyu] 'k.o. pandanus':

(18) /nuiu/

nuiu first application, to final u - vacuous

nuyu second application, to i - i ---> y

nuyu third application, to leftmost u - vacuous

The first application is vacuous since final u is not followed by a vowel. The second application changes i to y since it is followed by the vowel u. The third application is vacuous, since the leftmost u is now no longer followed by a vowel (i having already changed to y).

After rule (15) applies, rule (16) then applies, beginning from the left-hand end of the word and changing to a glide any high vowel which is preceded by a vowel.

(19) /aik/	[áykh]	'to swim'
/r-arou/	[řářow]	'he followed'

Rule (16) must apply after rule (15); if the reverse order applies, then underlying /uus/ 'man' becomes *[úws] and not the correct [wús].²

¹Directional rules in phonology are discussed in Howard 1972.

²It follows from the above remarks that certain occurrences of [w] derive from /u/ and certain others from /w/. In many cases, there are no criteria for deciding whether a particular occurrence of [w] derives from /u/ or /w/. In such cases I have consistently assumed that the [w] derives from /u/.

There are certain regular exceptions to these rules. First, in words of the form #CHV(C)# - i.e., if the word is composed of consonant + high vowel + any vowel + optional consonant - the rules do not apply, and the high vowel remains a high vowel.¹

- (20) /pwia-k/ [pʷfakʰ ~ bʷfakʰ] 'my older brother'
 /tui/ [túi ~ dúi] 'the top of'

Second, if the last vowel in a morpheme is a geminate cluster of high vowels, and if this is preceded by a consonant, neither of the high vowels becomes a glide.²

- (21) /ausiim/ [awsím] 'tabu'
 /amnumw/ [amnúmw] 'to drink'

There are also a few irregular words in which the high vowel does not become a glide as expected. In these words the appropriate vowel will be marked with an acute accent.

- (22) /níamha/ [níaḡa] 'anger'
 /eiúa/ [eyúa] 'to tell a lie'

2.2.3. MID VOWELS

The mid front and back vowels /e/ and /o/ occur lax ([ɛ] and [ɔ]) before a consonant and tense ([e] and [o]) before a vowel or in word-final position.

- (23) /elmas/ [éimas] 'to frighten'
 /kathel/ [kátʰɛl ~ gátʰɛl] 'we (inc.tr.)'
 /kímelu/ [kəmélu ~ gəmélu] 'k.o. basket'
 /mweamwea/ [mʷèɔmʷéa] 'ant'
 /níte/ [níde] 'taro'
- (24) /vìlovlo/ [vìlɔ́lɔ] 'k.o. bird'
 /tíkómkom/ [tígɔ́mgɔm ~ dtígɔ́mgɔm] 'branches'
 /oti/ [ótvi] 'to separate'
 /kamatoa/ [kámadóa ~ gámadóa] 'k.o. taro'
 /amako/ [ámágo] 'to dance (of a woman)'

¹Note, however, that when lexical items like these are preceded in the same phonological word by one or more syllables, the high vowel regularly becomes a glide. Compare the examples in (20) with those below:

- /to-pwia-k/ [tɔ́bʷyakʰ ~ dɔ́bʷyakʰ] 'to my older brother'
 /le-tui/ [lédwi] 'on top of'

²Geminate vowel clusters are further discussed in 2.2.4. below.

2.2.4. VOWEL CLUSTERS

Within Lenakel morphemes, certain kinds of clusters of unlike vowels are prohibited: the vowel /ɨ/ only occurs in the clusters /uɨ/ and /iɨ/; and the clusters /ae/, /ao/, /eo/ and /oe/ do not occur. That is, if the first member of the unlike cluster is /i/ or /u/, the second member may be any vowel; if the first member is /e/ or /o/, then the second member must be higher or lower; if the first member is /a/, the second member must be a high vowel; no unlike vowel clusters with /ɨ/ as the first member occur in Lenakel. The list below shows examples of each of the permissible clusters of unlike vowels.¹

(25) /aik/	'to swim'	/kalau/	'we (inc.d.)'
/eakru/	'to break off'	/oatisig/	'behind'
/olkeikei/	'to like'	/koiameta/	'a political group'
/euk/	'to stamp'	/arou/	'to hear'
/kiag/	'a fly'	/ua/	'or'
/nien/	'coconut'	/ueiai/	'pumice'
/iowanɨn/	'virgin'	/tui-n/	'on top of it'
/kiu/	'two'	/uiuu/	'a boil'
/nɨmɨiv/	'k.o. tree'	/suɨr/	'a grave'

It is apparent that certain of the clusters of unlike vowels which are prohibited within Lenakel morphemes may occur across morpheme-boundaries. Because of the nature of Lenakel minor morphemes, only the cluster /ao/ is commonly observed:

(26) /n-ɨm-ia-ol/	'you two did it'
-------------------	------------------

Geminate vowel clusters also occur, and all six possible geminate vowel clusters have been observed: /ii/, /uu/, /ee/, /ɨɨ/, /oo/ and /aa/. These clusters have the following characteristics: they are no longer than single vowels; when in word-final position, the word takes final stress rather than penultimate stress; before word-final consonants front and back vowels occur tense, not lax.

(27) /asiis/	[asís]	'to swell up'
/amnuumw/	[amnúmw]	'to drink'
/apkeen/	[abgén]	'to be jealous'
/almɨɨl/	[almél]	'to be insane'
/ielmoou/	[yɛlmów]	'saltwater eel'
/esuaas/	[eswás]	'small'

¹We will see below - rule (36) I-FRONTING - that /ɨ/ changes to e when preceded by i or y, in those cases where the i or y is morpheme-final and the /ɨ/ is morpheme-initial.

2.3. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Particular morphophonemic rules which are morphologically conditioned will be noted in the appropriate sections in the chapter on morphology (Chapter 3). Certain other morphophonemic rules are more general, however, and it will be useful to detail these here.

2.3.1. RULES RELATING TO [ɪ]

As well as phonemic occurrences of the mid central vowel /ɪ/, there are also non-phonemic occurrences which are predictable. In each of the cases to be briefly discussed below, the inserted [ɪ] may receive stress or is in any case regarded as a full-fledged vowel when the rules assigning stress are applied.¹

When two consonants come together at the beginning or the end of a word, [ɪ] is inserted between them provided that neither is a glide.

- (28) /t-n-ep-kɪn/ [tɪnɛ́bgən ~ dɪnɛ́bgən] 'you will eat it'
 /r-ɪm-ɪgn/ [ʔɪmɛ́ŋən] 'he was afraid'

The rule inserting [ɪ] is (29):

(29) SCHWA-INSERTION

∅ → ɪ % # [+cons] ___ [+cons]

(The symbol % indicates that the rule is mirror-image).

When three non-vowels occur together word-internally, [ɪ] is inserted between the second and the third.

- (30) /ɪs-ɪt-pn-aan/ [əsɪdbəndɪn] 'don't go up there'
 /i-ak-ai-alfa/ ==> /i-ak-ai-lfa/ [ɪdɔgɪlʔfa] 'we (exc.pl.) are lazy'

The rule inserting [ɪ] is (31):

(31) MEDIAL SCHWA-INSERTION

∅ → ɪ / CC ___ C

When two identical consonants occur together across a morpheme-boundary, [ɪ] is inserted between them.

- (32) /i-ak-kɪn/ [ɪagɛ́gən] 'I eat it'
 /t-r-rai/ [tɪʔʔɪy ~ dɪʔʔɪy] 'he will write'

The rule which inserts [ɪ] is (33):

(33) GEMINATE CLUSTER SPLITTING

∅ → ɪ / C_i ___ C_i

¹By 'the inserted [ɪ]' I mean [ɪ] or [ə], depending on the previous consonant (see the discussion of the allophones of /ɪ/ in 2.2.1.).

In addition, [ɨ] optionally occurs between any two consonants (as long as the first is not a glide and the following vowel is unstressed). This [ɨ] has no effect on the placement of stress.

- (34) /r-am-alfa/ [ʔamáɫfa ~ ʔamáɫɨfa] 'he is lazy'
 /nɨmr-n/ [nfmʔin ~ nfməʔɨn] 'his eye'

There is one further predictable occurrence of [ɨ]. Especially in fast speech, unstressed /a/ in any position, and unstressed /i/ and /e/ in a closed final syllable, optionally reduce to [ɨ].

- (35) /maniuan/ [maníwan ~ maníwən ~ maníwan ~ maníwən] 'hidden'
 /ilɨs/ [íɫɨs ~ íɫɨs] 'up'
 /eheg/ [éheɣ ~ éheɣ] 'to blow the nose'

Finally, /ɨ/ becomes [e] by rule (36):

- (36) ɨ-FRONTING
 ɨ ---> e / {i} - ___

That is, morpheme-initial ɨ changes to e when preceded by morpheme-final i or y:

- (37) /i-ɨm-kɨn/ [yémgən] 'I ate it'
 /i-ɨni/ [yéni] 'spokesman'

2.3.2. RULES RELATING TO OTHER VOWELS

The vowel /a/ undergoes a number of changes. One of these is rounding, by the following rule.

- (38) A-ROUNDING
 a ---> o / ___ /w/

That is, a becomes o before the phoneme /w/ (but not before those cases of phonetic [w] which derive from /u/). This rule is needed to explain why some phonetically əw-initial verbs delete the initial vowel in certain grammatical contexts - a characteristic of a-initial verbs but not of o-initial verbs. Thus what is phonetically [ɔwda], 'to sit', is phonologically /awta/.

Two separate rules change /a/ to e. One is (39):

- (39) LOW VOWEL DISSIMILATION
 a ---> e / ___ aa

That is, /a/ is raised to e before the geminate cluster /aa/.

- (40) /t-i-ɨs-va-aan/ [tʔèsɨeán ~ dʔèsɨeán] 'I won't come'
 /n-akɫha-aan/ [ndgɫeán] 'theft'

The other is (41):

- (41) LOW VOWEL RAISING
 a ---> e / ___ - i

That is, /a/ is raised to e before morpheme-initial /i/.

- (42) /i-ɪm-aklha-ɪn/ [yɛmag]ɛfn 'I stole it'
 /ɛtag-pa-ɪn/ [ɛdaŋbɛfn] 'look this way!'

Vowels are regularly lost by the following rule:

- (43) VOWEL LOSS

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-rnd} \end{array} \right]_1 \text{ ---} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{VC}_0 - \text{C}_0 \text{ --- h } \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-rnd} \end{array} \right]_1 \text{C}_0$$

Rule (43) states that, if morphemes beginning with ClhI, Cehe, Cɪhɪ, or Caha are preceded in the same phonological word by another morpheme, then the first of the two identical vowels flanking the h is deleted (and other changes characteristic of consonant clusters with h also occur). Compare the examples in (44) with those in (45).

- (44) /paha/ [páha ~ báha] 'westwards'
 /tehe/ [téhe ~ déhe] 'sea'
 /nihIn/ [níhIn] 'day before yesterday'

- (45) /r-ɪm-asou-paha/ [ʔɪmasɔwɔa] 'he went westwards'
 /le-tehe/ [léthe] 'to the sea'
 /to-nihIn/ [tɔŋIn ~ dɔŋIn] 'day after tomorrow'

Vowels are inserted before verbs beginning with m by the following rule:

- (46) VOWEL INSERTION

$$\emptyset \text{ ---} \rightarrow \text{V}_1 / \text{V}_1\text{C} \text{ --- } - \text{m} (\text{C}_0\text{V})_0\text{C}_0 \text{ \#]V}$$

Rule (46) states that, when verbs beginning with m are preceded by a morpheme ending in a consonant - with the exception of the number markers - a vowel identical to the vowel preceding that consonant is inserted between that consonant and verb-initial m.

- (47) /t-r-ep-mig/ [tɪʔɛbɛmɪŋ ~ dɪʔɛbɛmɪŋ] 'he will stay away'
 /r-ak-mɪs/ [ʔagámɪs] 'he is sick'
 /r-n-mɪr/ [ʔɪnfmɛɾ] 'it has dried'

2.3.3. RULES RELATING TO CONSONANTS

The glide /h/ metathesises by the following rule:

- (48) H-METATHESIS

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{+hi} \end{array} \right] - \text{h} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{-hi} \\ \text{-rnd} \end{array} \right] \text{ ---} \rightarrow 3, 1, 2, 4$$

1 2 3 4

Rule (48) states that, given a morpheme which ends in *i* or *u* which is followed by a morpheme beginning with *he*, *hɪ*, or *ha*, then the *h* meta-thesises to a position preceding the *i* or *u*.¹

- (49) /kami-hel/ ---> /kamhi-el/ [káŋyɛl ~ gáŋyɛl] 'you (tr.)'
 /ai-hapel/ ---> /ahi-pel/ [ahíβɛl] 'clean it (pl.)!'
 /u-harɪg/ ---> /hu-arɪg/ [wáʔɪŋ] 'close it (pl.)!'

Certain consonants are deleted by the following rule:

(50) CORONAL SIMPLIFICATION

[+cor] ---> ∅ / ___ - [+cor] C₀V

Rule (50) states that, if a morpheme ending in a coronal (alveolar) consonant is followed in the same word by a morpheme beginning with a coronal consonant, then the first of these two consonants is lost.²

- (51) /kat-lau/ [kálaw ~ gálaw] 'we (inc.d.)'
 /il-lau/ [ílaw] 'they (d.)'
 /k-hal-rɪsɪn/ [kʰaʔsɪn] 'they (tr.) untied it'
 /n-ɪm-ar-su/ [nɪmásu] 'you (pl.) planted it'

If two identical consonants come together across a word-boundary, the first is deleted.³

- (52) /menuk#kɪsɪl/ [mènuKésɪl ~ mènugésɪl] 'three birds'
 /nam#miin/ [ndmín] 'fish (pl.)'

2.4. ACCENT

2.4.1. STRESS

Stress in Lenakel is generally of an alternating pattern, and falls on the vowel as the nucleus of a syllable.

The vowel in a monosyllable receives primary stress, as does the penultimate syllable in a polysyllable.

¹In the second example in (49), /ai-hapel/ first becomes ahi-apel by H-METATHESIS. Since the verb now begins with *a*, this *a* is deleted since it is preceded by the plural prefix (see fn.1, p.10 above, and also 3.2.7. below); the verb thus becomes ahi-pel, ultimately [ahíβɛl].

²CORONAL SIMPLIFICATION does not apply to the verbal prefixes /t-/ 'future', /r-/ 'third person singular subject', /n-/ 'perfective', or /ɪs-/ 'negative'.

³That it is the first of the two identical consonants which is deleted can be seen from an examination of the first example in (52). There the velar stop is variable as to voicing ([k ~ g]), indicating that it is word-initial; and the vowel preceding it is tense ([u]), indicating that it is word-final. It is thus the *k* of /menuk/ and not the *k* of /kɪsɪl/ which has been deleted.

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------|
| (53) /io/ | [yó] | 'I' |
| /napuk/ | [nábukʰ] | 'song' |
| /r-ɪm-augɪn/ | [ʔɪmáwŋən] | 'he ate' |
| /nelulaglag/ | [nəluyáŋyaŋ] | 'twig' |

In polysyllabic verbs and adjectives of four or more syllables, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable; secondary stress falls on the initial syllable; and secondary stress also falls on each alternate syllable to the right of the initial syllable, except that the syllable immediately preceding the primary-stressed syllable never receives stress.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (54) /r-ɪm-olkeikei/ | [ʔɪmɔlgéygey] | 'he liked it' |
| /n-ɪm-ar-olkeikei/ | [nɪmáɔlgéygey] | 'you (pl.) liked it' |
| /n-ɪm-am-ar-olkeikei/ | [nɪmamáɔlgéygey] | 'you (pl.) were liking it' |
| /t-n-ak-am-ar-olkeikei/ | [tɪnagámaɔlgéygey ~ dɪnagámaɔlgéygey] | 'you (pl.) will be liking it' |

In other polysyllables, every alternate syllable to the left of the primary-stressed penultimate syllable receives secondary stress, (and thus the initial syllable is not necessarily stressed, as it is in verbs).

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| (55) /kamatoa/ | [kámadóa ~ gámadóa] | 'k.o. taro' |
| /nɪmwakɪlakɪl/ | [nɪmʷɔgəlágəl] | 'beach' |
| /tupwalukaluk/ | [tubʷɔlugálukʰ ~ dubʷɔlugálukʰ] | 'lungs' |

In phrases and sentences, each word maintains its own internal stress pattern, but primary stress occurs only once in the string. Thus the last primary-stressed vowel retains primary stress, while all other occurrences of primary stress reduce to secondary stress, and all occurrences of secondary stress reduce to tertiary stress (symbolised here by ^). The stress pattern for sentence (56a) - in which / marks a phrase-boundary and // a sentence-boundary - is given as (56b).

- (56) a. // lɛram#ituga / r-olkeikei / maiko#matak //
- 'The foreigner likes cooked manioc (cassava)'
- b. [yɛʔamidùŋaʔɔlgéygeymayágomádakʰ]

There are certain regular exceptions to the rules outlined above. Words ending in a geminate vowel cluster followed optionally by a consonant, or in a glide + consonant cluster, or in a glide + h, take final and not penultimate primary stress.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (57) /r-am-amnuumw/ | [ʔámamnúmʷ] | 'he is drinking' |
| /r-am-elhuaig/ | [ʔámɛ]wáyŋ] | 'he is hiding it' |
| /r-am-aih/ | [ʔamáy] | 'it is flowing' |

The transitive postclitic *-ín* always receives primary stress when in word-final position.

- (58) /r-ím-aklha-ín/ [ʔímag]eín] 'he stole it'
 /r-ím-ígn-ín/ [ʔíməŋnín] 'he was afraid of it'

In polysyllabic verbs which take final stress for one or another of the reasons described above, the antepenultimate syllable receives secondary stress; the initial syllable receives secondary stress; and secondary stress also falls on each alternate syllable to the left of the initial syllable, except that it never falls on the syllable immediately preceding the secondary-stressed antepenult.¹

- (59) /n-ím-ar-aklha-ín/ [nímaʔdg]eín] 'you (pl.) stole it'
 /n-ím-am-ar-aklha-ín/ [nímamaʔdg]eín] 'you (pl.) were stealing it'
 /t-r-ep-aukíranímw-ín/ [tíʔebdwəʔdnímʷín ~ dítʔebdwəʔdnímʷín]
 'he'll subsequently drown it'
 /na-t-i-ep-ai-aukíranímw-ín/ [nddʷebdyugəʔdnímʷín] 'we (exc.pl.)
 will be ready to drown it'

Certain historically complex morphemes also take final stress, but these are indicated by an acute accent on the final vowel: /hinatín/ [hínadʷín] 'to know'; /nímwanár/ [nímʷandʔ] 'leaf-container'. An acute accent also marks antepenultimate primary stress in the few exceptional cases in which this occurs: /nákapun/ [nógabun] 'fishing-net'.

Monosyllabic objects which immediately follow the verb are de-stressed, with the immediately preceding syllable taking primary stress.

- (60) /r-am-kín#nam/ [ʔamgónam] 'he is eating fish'
 /r-ím-ho#io/ [ʔíŋóyo] 'he hit me'

Monosyllabic possessors behave identically, losing their stress and transferring primary stress to the immediately preceding vowel.²

- (61) /nelu#kí|/ [nelúkəl ~ nelúgəl] 'the flying-fox's tooth'
 /taha#nau/ [tahánaw ~ dahánaw] 'belonging to Nau'

Monosyllabic adjuncts in phrase-final position take tertiary, not primary stress.

- (62) /maiako#ker/ [mayágokêʔ ~ mayágogêʔ] 'a manioc'
 /pwas#ra/ [pʷósʔâ ~ bʷósʔâ] 'wait on now!'

¹Final-stressed verbs of four syllables take secondary stress on the initial syllable but not on the antepenultimate syllable: /r-n-hinatín/ [ʔíŋinadʷín] 'he knew it'.

²Monosyllabic objects and possessors undergo this destressing only when they are the sole constituent of the object or possessive phrase. If a monosyllabic object or possessor is followed by another word in the same phrase, destressing does not occur: /r-am-kín#nam#ker/ [ʔámŋenámkêʔ ~ ʔámŋenámgêʔ] 'he is eating a fish'.

2.4.2. INTONATION

Intonation in Lenakel has not been investigated in any depth. However, certain general patterns of intonation in statements, yes-no questions and information questions have been observed, and these are briefly detailed below. In all the examples which follow, intonation levels are represented by numbers, with 1 representing the lowest pitch and 4 the highest; the numbers indicating pitch-levels are changed only when the pitch-level itself changes (so that in (63), for example, the first two vowels are on level 1, the next six on level 2, and so on).

Statements generally end in a 131 (fall-rise-fall) intonation pattern.

(63) /r-ɪm-aliuok m-vɪn apwa lenakɪl/

1 2 1 3 1
[ʔɪmalɪwɔkʰ məvɪn əbʷɔ lenáɔɔl]

'He walked to Lenakel'

Yes-no questions without the sentence-final question-tag *ua* end in a rising intonation.

(64) /r-ɪm-aliuok m-vɪn apwa lenakɪl?/

1 2 4
[ʔɪmalɪwɔkʰ məvɪn əbʷɔ lenáɔɔl]

'Did he walk to Lenakel?'

Yes-no questions with the sentence-final question-tag *ua* end in a 43 (rise-fall) intonation pattern.

(65) /r-ɪm-aliuok m-vɪn apwa lenakɪl ua?/

1 2 4 3
[ʔɪmalɪwɔkʰ məvɪn əbʷɔ lenáɔɔl wá]

'Did he walk to Lenakel (or not)?'

Information questions have the same intonation patterns as statements, except that interrogatives occurring in non-final position have a higher pitch-level than neighbouring words.¹

(66) /pehe r-ɪm-aliuok m-vɪn apwa lenakɪl?/

3 2 1 2 1 3 1
[pèhe ʔɪmalɪwɔkʰ məvɪn əbʷɔ lenáɔɔl]

'Who walked to Lenakel?'

¹For convenience, only the representation [pèhe] of /pehe/ is given in (66); the variant [bèhe] may, of course, also occur.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.0. INTRODUCTION

Five classes of free morphemes occur in Lenakel - nouns, verbs, adjectives, adjuncts, and interjections - and each of these will be discussed in turn in section 3.1., where the various subclasses and methods of formation will be examined. The rest of this chapter will be taken up with a discussion of minor morphemes: the complex system of verbal affixes in section 3.2., nominal affixes in 3.3., and the case-marking prepositions in 3.4.

3.1. FREE MORPHEMES

3.1.1. NOUNS

Nouns (N) are words which can never take verbal affixes like those discussed in 3.2. below, and which may stand alone as the sole constituent of a noun phrase (NP).

3.1.1.1. Classes of Nouns

There are a number of different classes of Lenakel nouns.

Locative Nouns (NL) are nouns which may stand alone as the sole constituent of a locative phrase (LP). Some locative nouns are names of places:¹

¹A few very common place names, like Isangel and Lenakel in (1), are spelled here in the way they are usually written in Tanna; the phonetically correct forms Isag†l and Lenak†l will not be used.

For orthographic purposes, † will be written wherever it is inserted by the rules discussed in 2.3.1. in the first line of each example, although any case of inserted † will not, of course, appear in the morpheme-by-morpheme transcription.

- (1) Isangel 'Isangel (a government station)'
 Isini 'Sydney (a village)'
 Lenakel 'Lenakel (a region)'
 Ifila 'Vila (capital of the New Hebrides)'

Others are locational words:

- (2) isfu 'to or at the lake'
 limwa 'homewards, at home'
 irhe 'to or at the sea'
 lauau 'to or in the village'

Most locative nouns occur with initial *l* or *l*, which seem at one time to have been locative prefix.¹

Temporal Nouns (NT) are nouns which may stand alone as the sole constituent of a temporal phrase (TP). Some indicate various times of the day:

- (3) lakapnɪpɪn 'morning'
 lalukiaat 'midday'
 lenhaiu 'evening'
 lapɪn 'night'
 lalukɪn 'midnight'

Others indicate other kinds of time-relationships:

- (4) nuhu 'long ago'
 nenav 'yesterday'
 touek ~ toue 'today'
 tolauk 'tomorrow'

Pronouns (PRO) form another type of Lenakel noun. Free pronouns function as subject and object of verbs, and may also occur after most case-marking prepositions. In the non-singular, Lenakel shows a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person, and also between dual, trial and plural numbers. The free pronouns are:²

¹The fact that initial *l* and *l* in these words were at one time prefixes can be seen by comparing some of the words in (2) with the corresponding non-locative nouns *nɪsfu* 'lake'; *nimwa* 'house'; and *nauanu* 'village'. (The initial *n* in these words, and in many others, also seems to have been a prefix, and apparently reflects the Proto-Oceanic reconstructed article **na*).

²The morphemic composition of the free pronouns is shown below. The second morpheme in each of the non-singular pronouns represents the number.

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1 inc.	---	kat-lau	kat-hel	kat-ar
1 exc.	io	kam-lau	kam-hel	kam-ar
2	iik	kami-lau	kami-hel	kami-ar
3	in	il-lau	il-hel	il-ar

(cont'd opposite)

(5)	singular	dual	trial	plural
1 inc.	---	kalau	kathel	katar
1 exc.	io	kamlau	kamhel	kamar
2	iik	kamilau	kamhiel	kamiar
3	in	iiiau	ilhel	iiar

All other nouns fall into a large residual subclass:

(6)	nimwa	'house'
	kuri	'dog'
	ieramim	'person'
	tehe	'sea'
	rimin	'his father'

Cross-cutting this classification is another series of classes based on how the noun is possessed. Some nouns are inalienable (Ninal) and, as such, can never occur without some indication as to the possessor:

(7)	rim-	'father';	rimin	'his father'
	nelu-	'tooth';	neluk	'my tooth'
	in-	'mother';	in+ Tom	'Tom's mother'
	nelm-	'hand';	nelm+ nik	'branch of a tree'

Other nouns do not need to show the possessor, although they may be possessed in a variety of ways which are discussed in 4.1.3.:

(8)	nau	'knife'
	uikar	'seed'
	nien	'coconut'
	peravin	'woman, wife'

3.1.1.2. Formation

Nouns can be formed from other words, chiefly verbs (V) and adjectives (A) (but also occasionally from adjuncts (D)), in a number of ways. Certain of these involve affixes, and the use of these affixes is shown in Table 4.

(fn.2 cont'd from previous page)

In comparing these underlying forms with the orthographic forms in (5), note the application of the rule of H-METATHESIS (1.48) in the second person trial, and of the rule of CORONAL SIMPLIFICATION (1.50) in the first person inclusive dual and the third person dual.

Suffixed pronominal forms, which occur in possessive and some other contexts, are discussed in 3.3. below.

Table 4: NOUN FORMATION

Affix + K.O. root	-->	K.O. noun
i- ~ ia-	V, A	Personal or agentive
pera-	V, A	Personal or agentive (feminine)
ir-	A, D	Identificatory
k-	V	Instrumental
n-...aan	V, A	Abstract, general
n-	V, A, D	Abstract, general

The prefixing of i- (before vowels) or ia- (before consonants) changes a verb or adjective into a personal or agentive noun:¹

- (9) akIha 'to steal' iakIha 'a thief'
 ahigɪl 'to be old' iahigɪl 'old man'
 vɪnhenap 'senile' iavɪnhenap 'a senile person'
 rou 'to chase' iarou 'one who chases'

The prefix pera- occurs as a feminine personaliser in a few instances:²

- (10) ahigɪl 'to be old' perahigɪl 'old woman'
 esuaas 'to be small' perasuaas 'girl'
 mil 'dual marker' peramil 'two women'

Adjectives may also be nominalised by the prefix ir-, which serves an identificatory function in lists or comparisons. Adjuncts are also nominalised in this way.

- (11) esuaas 'to be small' iresuaas 'the small(er) one'
 vi 'new' irvi 'the new(er) one'

The prefixing of k- changes verbs into instrumental nouns:

- (12) arai 'to cut' karai 'axe'
 ilɪl 'to fan' kilɪl 'a fan'
 askɪn 'to limp' kaskɪn 'walking-stick'

General nominalisation is effected by the discontinuous affix n-...aan:

¹Before verbs beginning with ha and he the prefix is i- and it metathesises with the initial h of the root by H-METATHESIS: thus hapel 'to clean'; hiapel 'a cleaner'. With verbs beginning with ho and hu, the prefix changes from ia- to io-: thus ho 'to hit'; ioho 'one who hits'.

²Note also that when pera- is prefixed to a vowel-initial word, that initial vowel is lost: pera- + ahigɪl --> perahigɪl.

The word peravɪn 'woman', contains the prefix pera- followed by a form vɪn which does not occur in isolation with any related meaning.

(13) akar	'to talk'	nakaraan	'language, speech'
aklha	'to steal'	naklhaaan	'theft'
arkanpus	'to shade'	narkanpusaan	'shade, shadow'
hinatín	'to know'	nhinatinaan	'knowledge'
m̄ts	'to be sick'	n̄m̄tsaan	'illness'
olkeikei	'to like'	nolkeikeiaan	'love, desire'
pw̄rhien	'to be true'	n̄pw̄rhienaan	'truth'

In a few cases, general nouns are formed from verbs and adjectives solely by the prefixing of n-; no suffix appears.¹ General nouns are also formed from adjuncts in this manner.

(14) amk̄m̄k	'to be dirty'	namk̄m̄k	'dirt'
asiis	'to swell'	nasiis	'fullness after eating'
iat̄v	'out, outside'	niat̄v	'deep water outside reef'
†ka	'not to be'	n̄ka	'nothing'

Reduplication also plays a small part in the formation of Lenakel nouns, though it is not as common as in some other Oceanic languages. In some cases, the reduplicated form of a noun indicates diminution:

(15) kova	'child'	kovakova	'small child'
suk	'spear'	suksuk	'toy spear'
kopwiel	'stone'	kopwielkopwiel	'gravel, coral'

Other reduplicated forms indicate intensity:

(16) isou	'a long way'	isouisou	'a very long way'
n̄kal̄n	'its side'	n̄kalkal̄n	'its edge'

A few nouns occur as the first member of a large number of compound nouns. The noun n̄m̄wa- 'leaf', occurs in compounds to do with leaves or coverings:²

(17) n̄siin	'his excrement'	n̄mwansiin	'his buttocks'
n̄vhaal	'grass'	n̄mwanvhaal	'grassed area'

The noun n̄pwag- 'hole', occurs in compounds to do with openings:

(18) kopwiel	'stone'	n̄pwagkopwiel	'cave'
noua-	'mouth'	n̄pwagnoua-	'hollowed part of canoe'

¹There do not seem to be any semantic or phonological grounds on which one might predict which verbs and adjectives take n- instead of n-.-aan. In this context, the following are noteworthy: amk̄m̄k 'dirty'; namk̄m̄k 'dirt'; namk̄m̄kaan 'dirty weather'.

²The apparent deletion of † in the second member of each compound is explained by the fact that the underlying forms of these words in fact begin with two consonants (thus /nsii-/); when preceded by a vowel-final prefix, these consonants remain as a cluster (thus n̄mwansii-); when in isolation, however, † is inserted between the first and the second by rule (1.29) (thus n̄siii-).

The noun noua- 'mouth', also occurs in compounds to do with openings:

- (19) hiau 'volcano' nouahiau 'crater of volcano'
 nimwa 'house' nouanimwa 'room, inside of house'

The noun noua- 'fruit' (which is phonologically identical to noua- 'mouth') occurs in a very large number of compounds, in some of which the idea of fruit or product of something is present, although in others there seems to be no observable semantic connection with the idea of 'fruit':¹

- (20) koupwa 'k.o. tree' nouankoupwa 'fence made of koupwa'
 nelmɪn 'his hand' nouanelmɪn 'his finger'

These nouns also occur in compounds in which the second member is not (though it may once have been) a freely occurring morpheme in Lenakel:

- (21) nɪmwatɛlg- 'ear'
 nɪpwaghag- 'nose, nostril'
 nouanmɪrhɪn 'channel, passage'
 nouanoukɔk 'kidney'

3.1.1.3. Number

Four numbers - singular, dual, trial, and plural - are recognised in Lenakel, but number is not generally indicated in the noun itself but by other words in the sentence or by non-linguistic context. In many cases, in fact, where it is not felt to be significant, indicators of number may be omitted altogether: thus rɪmkɪn nuw may mean 'he ate a yam', 'he ate the yam', 'he ate the yams', 'he ate yams', etc.² The number of the subject, however, is reflected in certain verbal prefixes (see 3.2. below), and all nouns may be marked for number by a following quantifying or grammatical-number-marking adjunct (see 3.1.4. below).

Although most nouns are invariable as regards number, certain nouns do change in the plural.³ Personal nouns formed by the prefix i- ~ ia- change this to n- ~ na- in the plural:

- (22) iahigɪl 'old man' nahigɪl 'old men'
 iarou 'one who chases' narou 'those who chase'

¹I am unable to find an explanation for the intrusive /n/ in words like nouankoupwa.

²Note parenthetically that there are no 'true' articles in Lenakel.

³Thus while the PLURAL of ieramɪm 'person', is neramɪm, this change applies only to the plural, not to the non-singular generally: thus ieramɪm kɪu 'two people', not *neramɪm kɪu.

Certain other nouns with initial *i*, in which this *i* may formerly have been a prefix but which has since fused with the root, also follow this rule:

- (23) *ieramím* 'person' *neramím* 'people'
 ieramwaan 'man' *neramwaan* 'men'

Some other nouns have irregular plurals, although the use of the prefix *n-* is a common feature. The list below is probably complete:¹

- (24) *mwipwín* 'his grandchild' *namwipwín* 'his grandchildren'
 nerín 'his child' *nererín* 'his children'
 peravín 'woman' *niperavín* 'women'
 perasuaas 'girl' *niperasuaas* 'girls'
 pehe 'who (s.)?' *níphe* 'who (pl.)?'
 pukas 'pig' *nípukas* 'pigs'
 uusuaas 'boy' *nuosuos* 'boys'

3.1.2. VERBS

Verbs (V) are words which must always take the verbal affixes discussed in 3.2. below, and in this form may stand alone as the sole constituent of a verb phrase (VP).²

3.1.2.1. Classes of Verbs

There are three major classes of Lenakel verbs. Transitive verbs (V tr) are verbs which must always be followed by an object and which may never take the transitive postclitic *-ín: kín* 'to eat', *aukíranímwín* 'to sink, drown', *atakín* 'to destroy' are all transitive verbs.³

- (25) a. *Rímamkín nuw.*
 r-im-am-kín nuw
 3:s-past-cont-eat *yam*
 '*He was eating yams*'

¹With most of the words in (24) there exists an alternative, in that the regular plural may also be used: thus both *nípukas* and *pukas miin* are acceptable plural forms of *pukas* 'pig'.

²The sole exception to the rule that verbs always take verbal affixes is in the singular imperative, where, since singular number is unmarked, no surface affixes appear: thus *va!* 'come (sing.)!'. Not all verbs can be used in the imperative; for the sake of simplicity, all verbs have been quoted in their root form, and this has been glossed as an infinitive: thus *kín* 'to eat'.

³Recall that the first line of any example is in regular orthography; the second shows morpheme-breaks within words; the third is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; and the fourth a free translation.

- b. Nerík rínaukíránimwín tahak kuri.
 ner-k r-n-aukíránimwín taha-k kurl
child-1:s 3:s-perf-drown poss-1:s dog
'My son has drowned my dog'
- c. Nímataag asuul rísatakínaan nasumwaan ka.
 nímataag asuul r-ís-atakín-aan n-asumw-aan ka
wind big 3:s-neg-destroy-neg nom-garden-nom that
'The hurricane did not destroy that garden'

Third person singular pronoun objects are normally deleted after transitive verbs:

- (26) Ieskínaan.
 i-ís-kín-aan
 1:exc-neg-eat-neg
'I didn't eat it'

Intransitive verbs are verbs which may never take an object: e.g., araua *'to be mistaken'*, avín *'to walk about'*, and epín *'to be flat'*.

- (27) a. Nakamaraua.
 n-ak-am-araua
 2-conc-cont-be:mistaken
'You (s.) are mistaken'
- b. Iemavín am.
 i-ím-avín am
 1:exc-past-wander just
'I just wandered around'
- c. Nímoptín taham repin ua?
 nímop-tín taha-m r-epin ua
ground poss-2:s 3:s-flat or
'Is your (s.) land flat?'

There are a number of pairs of verbs, one transitive, the other intransitive, which have similar meanings but unrelated phonological forms: e.g., kín *'to eat (tr.)'*, and augín *'to eat (intr.)'*; or il *'to dig (tr.)'*, and alu *'to dig (intr.)'*.

All other verbs are classed as neutral verbs and may be used either transitively or intransitively; when used transitively, they normally take the transitive postclitic -ín. Two such verbs are ígn *'to be afraid'*, and eiúa *'to tell a lie'*.

- (28) a. 1. Iakamígn akín.
 i-ak-am-ígn akín
 1:exc-conc-cont-afraid very
'I am very frightened'

ii. Iakamɨgnɨn uus aan.
 i-ak-am-ɨgn-ɨn uus aan
 1:exc-conc-cont-afraid-trans man that
 'I am afraid of that man'

b. i. Pwiam rɨmameiúa.
 pwia-m r-ɨm-am-eiúa
 older:brother-2:s 3:s-past-cont-lie
 'Your (s.) older brother was telling lies'

ii. Pwiam rɨmameiúeɨn rɨmam.
 pwia-m r-ɨm-am-eiúa-ɨn rɨm-m
 older:brother-2:s 3:s-past-cont-lie-trans father-2:s
 'Your (s.) older brother was lying to your father'

Verbs classed as transitive, intransitive, or neutral according to the criteria above may also belong to one or both of two very limited subclasses: (a) singular verbs, which require that the subject be singular in number, or (b) directional verbs, which obligatorily take directional suffixes (cf. 3.2.10. below). Two singular verbs, the intransitive verb *ahan* 'to stop raining', and the neutral verb *mhan* 'be hot, scorch (of the sun)', are exemplified below:

(29) a. Nihin rɨnahan.
 nihin r-n-ahan
 rain 3:s-perf-stop:raining
 'The rain has stopped', 'It has stopped raining'

b. Mɨt rɨmhan io.
 mɨt r-mhan io
 sun 3:s-burn I
 'The sun burned/is burning me'

The two commonest directional verbs are *asou-* 'proceed', and *sɨm-* 'come from':

(30) a. Kuri rɨmasoupɨn le nɨmwakɨlakɨl.
 kuri r-ɨm-asou-pɨn le nɨmwakɨlakɨl
 dog 3:s-past-proceed-there loc beach
 'The dog went along to the beach'

b. Nakamsɨmhie?
 n-ak-am-sɨm-hie
 2-conc-cont-come:from-where
 'Where are you (s.) coming from?'

3.1.2.2. Formation

Verbs are not usually formed from nouns; rather, the reverse is the case, as was noted in 3.1.1.2. above. However, a few verbs are derived from nouns by prefixing a:¹

(31) temalua	'young man'	atemalua	'to be young'
peravɨn	'woman'	aperavɨn	'to become a woman'
nɨmwa-telg-	'ear'	ateltg	'to listen to'

Reduplication occurs sporadically in verbs, though it is by no means a productive process in Lenakel. Comparisons of reduplicated verbs with their unreduplicated bases, however, indicate that the semantic range of reduplication includes diminution, as in (32a); intensity, as in (32b); and repetitive action, as in (32c).

(32) a. amel	'to lie down'	amelamel	'to bend down'
amnuumw	'to drink'	amnuumwnuwmw	'to sip'
ho	'to hit'	hoho	'to tap'
b. akar	'to talk'	akarakar	'to talk a lot'
amig	'to breathe'	amigamig	'to pant'
asiis	'to swell'	asiisasiis	'to be fat'
c. arou	'to chase'	arouarou	'to keep on chasing'
kɨs	'to bite'	kɨskɨs	'to soften by biting'
ɨkil	'to hang onto'	ɨkilɨkil	'to climb hand over hand'

A number of other verbs do occur reduplicated or partly reduplicated, although no semantically related unreduplicated form has been observed:

(33) apnapɨn	'not answer when called'
auaua	'to be thirsty'
outkɨlkɨl	'to tickle'
elohaloh	'to drizzle (of the rain)'

A number of compound verbs also occur in Lenakel, but again verb-compounding, like reduplication, is not a productive grammatical process.

¹The majority of Lenakel verbs begin with vowels (and almost all vowel-initial words are verbs); most such verbs have initial a. Historical evidence shows that in many cases these initial vowels are accretions onto reconstructed consonant-initial stems: Proto-Oceanic *malino, *mapo, and *pano, for example, become Lenakel amelɨnu 'to be calm'; amɨv 'to heal'; and avɨn 'to go', respectively. This view is strengthened by the fact that some verb-initial vowels are deleted in certain contexts (see 3.2.7. below).

(34) apul	'to sleep'	}	apulalu	'to sleep soundly'
alu	'to be deaf'			
aamh	'to see'	}	aamhauk+r	'to measure'
auk+r	'to fit, match'			
amel	'to lie down'	}	amelait	'to dream'
ait	'to wake up'			

3.1.3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives (A) are words which must take verbal affixes in certain syntactic contexts and must not take these affixes in certain other contexts. While the details of this affixation will be discussed below, we can state here that adjectives may occur (with verbal affixes) as the sole verb in a sentence, or they may occur (without verbal affixes) qualifying a noun in a noun phrase or a verb in a verb phrase. Note, for example, the use of the adjective v+it 'good', with verbal affixes in (35a), unaffixed in an NP in (35b), and unaffixed in a VP in (35c):

- (35) a. Nimwa taham r+v+it ak+in.
 nimwa taha-m r-v+it ak+in
house poss-2:s 3:s-good very
'Your house is very nice'
- b. Iemaamh nimwa v+it ker.
 i-+m-aamh nimwa v+it ker
 1:exc-past-see house good one
'I saw a nice house'
- c. Kuri ka ramaliuok v+it touek.
 kuri ka r-am-aliuok v+it touek
dog that 3:s-cont-walk good today
'That dog is walking well today'

3.1.3.1. Classes of Adjectives

There are two major classes of adjectives: adjectives of colour and general adjectives. Adjectives of colour generally function like other adjectives: e.g., nar tuan aan 'that white thing'; nar aan r+ituan 'that thing is white'. When they are applied to non-singular nouns representing animals, however, adjectives of colour may only be used impersonally (i.e., with the third person non-singular prefix k- and with no tense or number prefixes); they may not occur with regular person, tense or number prefixes, and they may not occur unaffixed within an NP.¹

¹Thus both *pukas ap+in aan k+inaik+mw and *pukas a+n kaip+n k+inaik+mw are ungrammatical variants of (36a).

A number of these adjectives of colour apply ONLY to animals: e.g., k-+lai 'reddish-brown and white, of pigs'; k-alato 'grey, of pigs'; k-anta 'brown, of any animal'.

- (36) a. Pukas aan kapin kinaikimw.
 pukas aan k-apin k-n-ai-akimw
pig that 3:ns-black 3:ns-perf-pl-run:away
'Those black pigs have run away'
- b. Iemaamh menuk mil kauhia.
 i-im-aamh menuk mil k-auhia
 l:exc-past-see bird dual 3:ns-yellow
'I saw two yellow birds'
- c. Kuri miin petimw lauano kituan.
 kuri miin petimw lauano k-tuan
 dog pl all loc:village 3:ns-white
'All the dogs in the village are white'

All other adjectives belong to the residual class of general adjectives.

3.1.3.2. Number

Adjectives normally take the appropriate number prefixes (see 3.2.7.) when they are predicated:

- (37) a. Iakamuamíuh am.
 i-ak-am-u-amíuh am
 l:exc-conc-cont-d-alive yet
'We (exc.) are both still alive'
- b. Uusuaas mihel ka khaimkimik kinahlva.
 uusuaas mihel ka k-hai-amkimik k-n-hal-va
 boy trial that 3:ns-tr-dirty 3:ns-perf-tr-come
'Those three dirty boys have come'

It is quite common for plural nouns, however, to be followed by an adjective in the singular number, especially if the adjective is one denoting quantity:

- (38) a. Ilar ripwir, karena am ralu.
 il-ar r-ipwir, karena am r-alu
 they-pl 3:s-many, one only 3:s-deaf
'There are many of them, but only one is deaf'
- b. Iemkin nuw miin raukir touek.
 i-im-kin nuw miin r-aukir touek
 l:exc-past-eat yam pl 3:s-enough today
'I ate enough yams today'

3.1.4. ADJUNCTS

Adjuncts (D) are words which may never take verbal affixes and which normally occur following nouns in NPs and verbs in VPs. There are five classes of adjuncts in Lenakel, and when a member of more than one class occurs in the same phrase they generally occur in the order in which they are discussed here. The verbal adjuncts discussed in 3.1.4.1. only occur in VPs, and the grammatical number markers (3.1.4.3.) only occur in NPs; adjuncts of all other classes may occur in either NPs or VPs, though their presence in NPs is far more common.

3.1.4.1. Verbal Adjuncts

Verbal adjuncts (Dvb) occur only in VPs following a verb. The verbal adjuncts *iativ* 'out, outside', *ru* 'try to', and *akimwakimw* 'all around', are illustrated below.

- (39) a. *Nimataag ritik iativ kinu tahak.*
nimataag r-ritik iativ kinu taha-k
wind 3:s-spear out canoe poss-1:s
'The wind speared the canoe out to sea'
- b. *Pwas iakeiua ru lan.*
pwas i-ak-eiua ru le-n
let 1:exc-conc-lie try dat-3:s
'Let me try to deceive him'
- c. *Karu akimwakimw menuk miin.*
k-a-iru akimwakimw menuk miin
3:ns-pl-shoot all:around bird pl
'They (pl.) shot birds all over the place'

3.1.4.2. Descriptive Adjuncts

Descriptive adjuncts (Ddsc) differ little, if at all, from adjectives in the range of meanings they possess, and they also occur in the same position as adjectives in NPs and VPs. Unlike adjectives, of course, descriptive adjuncts may never take verbal affixes.

The majority of descriptive adjuncts can occur in both NPs and VPs. Three such adjuncts are illustrated below in each kind of phrase: *petimw* 'all, completely', *psin* 'apart, separate', and *akin* 'very, very much'.

- (40) a. 1. *Neramim petimw kinarvin le nimwahaak.*
n-eramim petimw k-n-ar-vin le nimwa-ahaak
pl-person all 3:ns-perf-pl-go loc house-pray
'Everyone has gone to the church'

11. Rĩmkin petĩmw neramĩm miin.
 r-ĩm-kin petĩmw n-eramĩm miin
 3:s-past-eat all pl-person pl
 'He ate up all the people'
- b. 1. Rĩmaamh kova rakowta, in psĩn am.
 r-ĩm-aamh kova r-ak-awta, in psĩn am
 3:s-past-see child 3:s-conc-sit, he apart just
 'He saw the child sitting down, all by himself'
11. Taniel rĩmarĩk psĩn.
 ta-n-iel r-ĩm-arĩk psĩn
 poss-3:s-friend 3:s-past-live apart
 'His friend lived apart'
- c. 1. Temalua vĩt akĩn ker rĩmva touek.
 temalua vĩt akĩn ker r-ĩm-va touek
 youth good very one 3:s-past-come today
 'A very fine young man came today'
11. Mĩt rĩmhan akĩn io.
 mĩt r-mhan akĩn io
 sun 3:s-burn very I
 'The sun is really burning me'

A few descriptive adjuncts, like *ituga* 'foreign, imported', *vi* 'new', and *kalĩn* 'classificatory (of a kinship relationship)', are normally found only in NPs.

- (41) a. Kĩnairhapĩkĩn kopwiel ituga.
 k-n-ai-arhapĩk-ĩn kopwiel ituga
 3:ns-perf-pl-ask-trans stone imported
 'They (pl.) have asked for guns (lit., imported stones)'
- b. Nimwa vi ua nimwa owas?
 nimwa vi ua nimwa awas
 house new or house old
 'Is it a new house or an old one?'
- c. In uk rĩmok kalĩn.
 in uk rĩm-k kalĩn
 he this father-1:s classificatory
 'This is my uncle (father's brother)'

More than one descriptive adjunct may occur in a phrase, and unaffixed adjectives also occur in this position. Descriptive adjuncts follow any other adjunct or adjective which they modify; in the examples below, *huaihue* 'quick, quickly', *mun* 'again, more', and *am* 'just, only' all modify the preceding adjunct or adjective.

- (42) a. Aimi †pus huaihue n†kom!
 ai-ami †pus huaihue n†kom
 pl-urinate extinguished quick fire
 'Piss (pl.) on the fire and put it out quickly!'
- b. Rhali ita mun uus ker.
 r-hali ita mun uus ker
 3:s-send away again man one
 'He sent one man away again'
- c. Ilau ps†n am kamuar†k apwa ik†n ka.
 il-lau ps†n am k-am-u-ar†k apwa ik†n ka
 they-d apart just 3:ns-cont-d-live loc place that
 'The two of them live all alone in that place'

3.1.4.3. Grammatical Number Markers

Grammatical number markers (Dnum) form a third class of adjunct. Unlike the two previous classes, this is a closed class, containing three members: *mil* 'dual', *mihel* 'trial', and *miin*. Members of this class of adjunct occur only in NPs, and mark the number of the head noun in the NP.¹

- (43) a. Perasuaas mil kuaamh iarou ker.
 pera-suaas mil k-u-aamh iarou ker
 woman-small dual 3:ns-d-see clam one
 'The two girls saw a clam'
- b. Rin†ru menuk esuaas mihel.
 r-n-†ru menuk esuaas mihel
 3:s-perf-shoot bird small trial
 'He shot three small birds'
- c. Kuri miin aan k†nark†n menuk tahak.
 kuri miin aan k-n-ar-k†n menuk taha-k
 dog pl that 3:ns-perf-pl-eat fowl poss-1:s
 'Those dogs have eaten my fowl(s)'

The use of grammatical number markers with non-singular nouns is not obligatory if the number of the noun can be deduced from other parts of the sentence or from the non-linguistic context. Thus in (44a) *kova* is known to be plural (or at least non-singular) because of the presence of *pet†mw* 'all', in the VP; in (44b), *menuk* is known to be

¹Although grammatical number markers normally follow descriptive adjuncts, *miin* 'plural', always precedes *pet†mw* 'all', as in (36c) above.

plural because of the presence of the plural marker ar- in the verb; and in (44c) nuw is indeterminate in number, but the non-linguistic context would usually indicate at least whether it is singular or non-singular.

- (44) a. Kuri taham r+ɪm+ɪgnɪn petɪmw kova tahak.
 kuri taha-m r-ɪm-ɪgn-ɪn petɪmw kova taha-k
dog poss-2:s 3:s-past-fear-trans all child poss-1:s
'Your dog is frightened of all my children'
- b. Menuk ka kɪnarivɪk ita.
 menuk ka k-n-ar-ivɪk ita
bird that 3:ns-perf-pl-fly away
'Those birds have flown away'
- c. Inarkɪn ita nuw aan.
 i-n-ar-kɪn ita nuw aan
 1:exc-perf-pl-eat already yam that
'We (exc.pl.) have eaten that yam/those yams'

The grammatical number marker miin 'plural', is also used after non-singular pronouns - especially the dual pronouns - to denote reflexivity or reciprocity.

- (45) a. Nian ker kɪmuakar kam ilau miin.
 nian ker k-ɪm-u-akar kam il-lau miin
day one 3:ns-past-d-talk dat they-d pl
'One day they (d.) spoke to each other'
- b. Kɪmueiúeɪn kalau miin ua?
 k-ɪm-u-eiúe-ɪn kat-lau miin ua
 1:inc-past-d-lie-trans we:inc-d pl or
'Did we (inc.d.) deceive ourselves?'
- c. Kɪnamarho ilar miin.
 k-n-am-ar-ho ii-ar miin
 3:ns-perf-cont-pl-fight they-pl pl
'They (pl.) began to fight one another'

3.1.4.4. Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers (Dqty) includes the numerals, the first five of which are shown below:

- (46) karena 'one'
 kiu 'two'
 kɪsil 'three'
 kuvɪr 'four'
 katilum 'five'

Numerals between six and nineteen were traditionally derived from the base *katilum* 'five', while each unit of twenty was expressed by *ieramfm* 'person', as the following examples show:

- (47) *katium-ktsil* 'eight'
katium-katium-katium-kiu 'seventeen'
ieramfm karena rka 'twenty (lit., person one 3:s-not)'
ieramfm kiu kuika kiu 'forty-two (lit., person two 3:ns-d-not two)'

The tendency at the present time, however, is for numerals above six - and especially those above ten - to be expressed by terms borrowed from English via Bislama.

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *rol* (= *r-ol* '3:s-make') to the cardinal numeral:

- (48) *roikiu* 'second'
roiktasil 'third'
rolkatium-katium 'tenth'

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numeral:

- (49) *karenakarena* 'one by one'
kuvirkuv+r 'four by four'

Other members of the class of quantifier include *nivn* 'some' - whose position within the phrase is not as fixed as that of other quantifiers - *nahuto* 'too much, too many', and *ker*, an indefinite singular quantifier which in various contexts may be translated as 'a', 'some', 'another', etc.¹ (*Ker* is uniformly glossed here as 'one'.)

Certain numerals and other quantifiers are exemplified below.

- (50) a. *Ieram imwa Ioualmne kiu kniav+n Ifila.*
i-eram i-imwa Ioualmne kiu k-n-ia-v+n Ifila
s-the:one loc-place:of Ioualmne two 3:ns-perf-d-go Vila
'Two Ioualmne men have gone to Vila'
- b. *Tiepaamhie takiel ker rasitu?*
t-i-ep-aamh-hie ta-k-iel ker r-asitu
fut-l:exc-seq-see-where poss-l:s-friend one 3:s-help
'Where will I find a friend to help [me]?''

¹Note that quantifiers can, in certain contexts, function alone as an NP: for example, the use of *ker* as the subject of *r+v+n* and as the object of *maamh* in (50c). This aspect of pronominalisation will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

- c. Nian ker, ker rívín maamh ker.
 nian ker, ker r-vín m-aamh ker
day one, one 3:s-go and-see one
'One day, one went and saw the other'
- d. Neramím ka nívín kínarva ita.
 n-eramím ka nívín k-n-ar-va ita
pl-person that some 3:ns-perf-pl-come already
'Some of those people have already come'

Although the numerals kiu 'two', and kísil 'three', convey the same semantic information as the grammatical number markers mil 'dual', and mihel 'trial', it is not unusual to find both being used in the same NP. This is especially true in the dual:

- (51) Uus mil kiu ka tikiava tolauk.
 uus mil kiu ka t-k-ak-ia-va to-lauk
man dual two that fut-3:ns-conc-d-come tomorrow
'Those two men will come tomorrow'

3.1.4.5. Demonstrative Adjuncts

There are six demonstrative adjuncts (Ddem) in Lenakel, and they occur in both NPs and VPs. They are:¹

- (52) uk *'this, near speaker'*
 hua *'this, near speaker, indicated'*
 un ~ u *'this, that, near addressee'*
 aan ~ aa *'that, yonder'*
 apwa ~ apwan *'that, indicated, or in a place already referred to'*
 ka *'this, that, previously referred to'*

These demonstratives are illustrated below:²

- (53) a. Tiakapul uk lkín uk.
 t-i-ak-apul uk lkín uk
fut-1:exc-conc-sleep this place this
'I will sleep here'

¹Of the pairs of alternates un ~ u, aan ~ aa, etc., the second is less commonly used than the first in careful speech, but more commonly used in casual speech. The exception to this rule is the pair apwa ~ apwan: the former is far more common in all styles.

The adjunct ka often occurs after conjunctions with the same sense as English 'then': thus kani ka kínarvín 'and then they (pl.) went'.

²Note in particular the fact that a demonstrative is often repeated in the next phrase, especially in equative sentences or in a VP + LP construction: e.g. (53a, b, d, f).

- b. Nar hua in hua, lemarit lan.
 nar hua in hua, i-im-ar-it le-n
thing this it this, 1:exc-past-pl-climb ins-3:s
'See this thing here? We (exc.pl.) climbed up on it'
- c. Ofa nuw un!
 ofa nuw un
give:to:speaker yam that
'Give (s.) me that yam near you!'
- d. Rilelitgpin mun aan ikin aan.
 r-lelitg-pn mun aan ikin aan
3:s-return-there again that place that
'He went back there again'
- e. Navinpin nivin kimalis io marva ikin apwa.
 n-avin-pn nivin k-im-a-lis io m-ar-va ikin apwa
pl-spirit some 3:ns-past-pl-take I and-pl-come place this
'Some spirits brought me to this place here'
- f. Uus ker mine peravin tahak kimiava limwak. Uus ka netgin
 ka Tom, kani ka peravin ka netgin ka Lisi.
 uus ker mine pera-vin taha-n k-im-ia-va i-imwa-k.
man one and woman poss-3:s 3:ns-past-d-come loc-place-l:s.
 uus ka netg-n ka Tom, kani ka pera-vin ka
man that name-3:s that Tom, and that woman that
 netg-n ka Lisi
name-3:s that Lisi
*'A man and his wife came to my house. The man's name was Tom,
 and the woman's name was Lisi'*

While demonstrative adjuncts usually occur phrase-finally, they are sometimes followed rather than preceded by the descriptive adjunct *petimw* 'all', and the quantifier *nivin* 'some', especially in contexts when *petimw* and *nivin* are emphasised:

- (54) a. Pehe rinos ita nouanhalin miin petimw?
 pehe r-n-os ita nouanhal-n miin petimw
who 3:s-perf-take away egg-3:s pl all
'Who has taken away all the eggs?'
- b. Ofa nimilh un nivin!
 ofa nimilh un nivin
give:to:speaker orange that some
'Give me some of those oranges (near you)!'

3.1.5. INTERJECTIONS

There are a number of interjections in Lenakel, the most common of which are listed below. Those followed by exclamational marks are able to stand alone as a (verbless) sentence; the others generally introduce a full sentence.

(55) e!	'hey!'
epweuh!	an exclamation of surprise
ita!	'alright! OK!'
kapwa!	'no!'
ouaah!	'yes!'
rolkamwa	'well ...'
rolmamwa	'well ...'
rolpɪn	'perhaps, maybe'
siarap!	'shut up!' [English loan].

A brief phonological note on ouaah 'yes', is appropriate here. As well as being the only Lenakel word ending in vowel + h - although words with final s may change this s to h - it also has an unusual intonation: the first syllable has a low-level or low-falling tone, but the second syllable, as well as being very heavily stressed, also has a sharply rising tone.

3.2. VERBAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

By far the most complex area of Lenakel morphology is the system of affixes and clitics to verbs and predicated adjectives. There are seven strictly ordered ranks of prefixes (indicating, *inter alia*, tense, aspect, and person and number of the subject), a number of less strictly ordered ranks of suffixes (indicating, *inter alia*, direction, reflexivity, reciprocity), and two postclitics. The structure of the verb is shown below:

(56) Verb → ((int) fut) pers + tns (cont) (itr) no + V (suffixes).

The structure of the adjective is:

(57) Adj → (fut) pers + tns + no. + A (suffixes).

In each case the categories of person, tense, and number are obligatory, except that person and tense are omitted in imperatives, and tense may be omitted in certain other circumstances detailed below. The categories of future and the various suffixes and postclitics may occur with both verbs and adjectives, while prefixes marking intentional, continuative, and interrogative occur with verbs only.

3.2.1. INTENTIONAL PREFIX

The intentional prefix (int) is na-, and it occurs with verbs but not with predicated adjectives. It indicates that the actor is about to or ready to perform the action, and cannot be used without being immediately followed by the future prefix t-. Almost all occurrences of na- observed so far - and these have been few - have been in narrative texts; it appears extremely rarely in conversation.

(58) a. Natiakamɨs.

na-t-i-ak-mɨs
 int-fut-1:exc-conc-die
 'I'm about to die'

b. Ilar kɨnarva natakaillɨpɨn menuk.

il-ar k-n-ar-va na-t-k-ak-ai-ɨlpɨn menuk
 they-pl 3:ns-perf-pl-come int-fut-3:ns-conc-pl-exchange bird
 'They (pl.) had come intending to exchange the birds'

3.2.2. FUTURE PREFIX

The future prefix (fut) t- indicates that all or part of the action will occur or be completed at some future time. This prefix must be used in conjunction with one of the tense prefixes ak- or ep-, the latter combination (t-...ep-) indicating a more remote future than the former (t-...ak-).

(59) a. Tiakapul uk ikɨn uk.

t-i-ak-apul uk ikɨn uk
 fut-1:exc-conc-sleep this place this
 'I will sleep here'

b. Tɨnakiakɨn nuw.

t-n-ak-ia-kɨn nuw
 fut-2-conc-d-eat yam
 'You two will eat yams'

c. Rolkeikei mamwa tɨrvɨn Ifila.

r-olkeikei mamwa t-r-vɨn Ifila
 3:s-like that fut-3:s-go Vila
 'He wants to go to Vila'

d. Tiepaamhie takiel ker rasitu?

t-i-ep-aamh-hie ta-k-iel ker r-asitu
 fut-1:exc-seq-see-where poss-1:s-friend one 3:s-help
 'Where will I find a friend to help [me]?''

- e. Iolu t̄repva.
 Iolu t-r-ep-va
 Iolu fut-3:s-seq-come
 'Iolu will come later'

A number of morphophonemic changes are associated with the future prefix. First, the first person inclusive prefix k- and the third person non-singular prefix k- are deleted after t-; thus:

- (60) t-k-ak- ---> tak-
 t-k-ep- ---> tep-

Second, in the future dual in all persons except second person, the vowel of the concurrent prefix ak- assimilates to the vowel of the dual prefix ia- or u-; thus:

- (61) t-i-ak-ia- ---> tikia-
 t-i-ak-u- ---> tiuku-
 t-k-ak-ia- ---> t-ak-ia- ---> tikia-
 t-k-ak-u- ---> t-ak-u- ---> tuku-

Some examples of these changes are given below.

- (62) a. Pwas tikiaipw̄r.
 pwas t-k-ak-ia-ipw̄r
 let fut-3:ns-conc-d-big
 'Wait until they (d.) grow up'
- b. Uus ka m̄ine perav̄n tahan tepiava.
 uus ka m̄ine pera-v̄n taha-n t-k-ep-ia-va
 man that and woman poss-3:s fut-3:ns-seq-d-come
 'That man and his wife will come later'
- c. Tiukualiuk miav̄n apwa le tui touar.
 t-i-ak-u-aliuk m-ia-v̄n apwa le tui touar
 fut-1:exc-conc-d-walk and-d-go loc loc top mountain
 'We (exc.d.) will walk to the top of the mountain'

The future prefix t- is normally omitted if the verb is preceded by a future temporal phrase.

- (63) a. Tolauk nihin r̄ip.
 to-lauk nihin r-̄ip
 to-morrow rain 3:s-rain
 'Tomorrow it will rain'
- b. Takamwa r̄iva, iakuauḡnuas.
 takamwa r-va, i-ak-u-auḡn-uas
 if:fut 3:s-come, 1:exc-conc-d-eat-together
 'If he comes, we (exc.d.) will eat together'

3.2.3. PERSON PREFIXES

There are six prefixes which indicate the person of the subject (pers):

- (64) k- 'first inclusive'
 i- 'first exclusive'
 n- 'second'
 r- 'third singular'
 k- 'third non-singular'
 m- 'subject has already been mentioned'

The first five of these present no problems, apart from the homophony between k- 'first inclusive', and k- 'third non-singular'; which of these is actually present is almost always determined by the context. Each of these five person prefixes is illustrated below.

- (65) a. Kalau k⁺miav⁺n apwa ipaat.
 kat-lau k-⁺m-ia-v⁺n apwa i-paat
 we:inc-d 3:ns-past-d-go loc loc-shore
 'We (inc.d.) went towards the shore'
- b. Iemar⁺t le netp⁺mar.
 i-⁺m-ar-⁺t le netp-m-ar
 l:exc-past-pl-climb ins belly-l:exc:ns-pl
 'We (exc.pl.) climbed up on our bellies'
- c. T⁺nak⁺gn⁺n nanmwok ua?
 t-n-ak-⁺gn-⁺n nanmw-k ua
 fut-2-conc-fear-trans spirit-l:s or
 'Will you (s.) be afraid of my ghost?'
- d. Mwatikt⁺k r⁺imarhap⁺k to ilar ...
 Mwatikt⁺k r-⁺m-arhap⁺k to il-ar ...
 Mwatikt⁺k 3:s-past-ask dat they-pl ...
 'Mwatikt⁺k asked them (pl.) ...'
- e. Peramil kiu k⁺muowta.
 pera-mil kiu k-⁺m-u-awta
 woman-dual two 3:ns-past-d-sit
 'Two women were sitting down'

The person prefix m-, which will be glossed here as 'and', indicates that the subject of the verb is an identifiable NP which occurred in an earlier part of the sentence or discourse. Tense, continuative and interrogative prefixes may be deleted under identity after m-, and the intentional and future prefixes never occur with it. Number prefixes, however, must always appear after m-.

Most normally, *m-* is used when the subject of the verb is the same as the subject of the previous verb:

- (66) Karol vɪlɪvɪla mailhaaupɪn perahigɪl lan, malɪs mamaikɪmw marier
 iatɪv maikɪmw, marvɪn maiulu le uaia.
 k-ar-ol vɪlɪvɪla m-ai-alhaau-pn pera-ahigɪl le-n,
 3:ns-pl-make *stretcher* and-pl-put-there woman-old loc-3:s,
 m-a-lɪs m-am-ai-akɪmw m-ar-ier iatɪv
 and-pl-take and-cont-pl-go:away and-pl-go:out out
 m-ai-akɪmw, m-ar-vɪn m-ai-aulu le uaia
 and-pl-go:away, and-pl-go and-pl-go:through loc wire
 'They (pl.) made a stretcher and put the old woman on it, and
 took her away and went off with her, and they went on and went
 through a barbed-wire fence'

The prefix *m-* may, however, also refer to any NP other than the subject of the previous verb under certain conditions. These conditions are (i) that the NP to which *m-* refers has been previously mentioned; (ii) that the NP to which *m-* refers is of a different number from the subject of the previous verb or, if of the same number, that the verb with *m-* is semantically such that it could not take as subject the subject of the previous verb. In (67a, b) we find that the verbs with *m-* have as subject both the subject and object of the previous verb; in (67c) the referent of each occurrence of *m-* is identifiable from the accompanying number prefix; and in (67d) the verb *pwalhepwalhe* 'splatter', may only take an inanimate subject, and the subject of the previous verb, being animate, cannot be the subject of *pwalhepwalhe*.

- (67) a. Nian ker, ker rɪvɪn maamh ker, muarɪk muamnuumw nɪkava.
 nian ker, ker r-vɪn m-aamh ker, m-u-arɪk m-u-amnuumw nɪkava
 day one, one 3:s-go and-see one, and-d-stay and-d-drink kava
 'One day, one went and saw the other, and the two of them stayed
 on and drank kava'
- b. Uusuaas kiu kiarou kuri ker mhaisouhiu.
 uus-suaas kiu k-ia-rou kuri ker m-hai-asou-hiu
 man-small two 3:ns-d-chase dog one and-tr-proceed-north
 'Two boys chased a dog and all three headed north'
- c. Uus kiu kɪmuaamh nɪperausuos nɪvɪn muɪlhieelh le ɪlar maikɪmw.
 uus kiu k-ɪm-u-aamh n-pera-uosuos nɪvɪn m-u-ɪlhieelh
 man two 3:ns-past-d-see pl-woman-small some and-d-laugh
 le ɪl-ar m-ai-akɪmw
 loc they-pl and-pl-go:away
 'Two men saw some girls and they (d.) [i.e. the men] laughed
 at them (pl.) and they (pl.) [i.e. the girls] ran away'

- d. Iemalakhiaavfn kesl mfpwalhepwalhe.
 i-†m-alak-hiaav-fn kesl m-pwalhepwalhe
 l:exc-past-throw-down-trans pawpaw and-splatter
 'I dropped a pawpaw and it splattered'

All the examples given so far are of underlying co-ordinate sentences. The prefix m- cannot be used to denote an identifiable NP when one occurrence of that NP is in a matrix sentence and the other occurrence is in an embedded sentence (e.g. relative clause, conditional clause, etc.). Thus in (68a), m†maamh cannot be used instead of Iemaamh, nor can mepaamh be used in place of repaamh in (68b).

- (68) a. Iesolkelkeiaan peravfn ka leram iemaamh nenv.
 i-†s-olkeikei-aan pera-vfn ka leram i-†m-aamh nenv
 l:exc-neg-like-neg woman that rel l:exc-past-see yesterday
 'I don't like that woman whom I saw yesterday'
- b. Takamwa riva, repaamh ilk.
 takamwa r-va, r-ep-aamh ilk
 if:fut 3:s-come, 3:s-seq-see you:s
 'If he comes, then he will look you up'

3.2.4. TENSE/ASPECT PREFIXES

There are five prefixes which indicate the time of the action, its completion or incompleteness, and negativity. Properly, these prefixes have functions which can be described as partly covered by the label 'tense' and partly 'aspect'; for convenience, I will refer to them as tense (tns) prefixes. The five prefixes are:

- (69) ak- present, habitual, concurrent (conc)
 †m- past
 n- stative, perfective (perf)
 ep- sequential (seq)
 †s- negative with no specific time-orientation (neg)

The tense prefix ak- indicates that part or all of the action is occurring at the time of speaking or in the narrative present, or that the action is habitual; it is referred to herein as the concurrent tense prefix.

- (70) a. Iakamol k†nu.
 i-ak-am-ol k†nu
 l:exc-conc-cont-make canoe
 'I am making a canoe'

- b. Nakɪtɪktɪk uus ka?
 n-ak-ɪtɪktɪk uus ka
 2-conc-not:know man that
 'Don't you (s.) know that chap?'
- c. Iakɪkɪn kapis.
 i-ak-kɪn kapis
 1:exc-conc-eat cabbage
 'I eat cabbage'

When used in conjunction with the future prefix t-, the concurrent prefix indicates that the action is about to take place, or is being planned. (The morphophonemic changes involving ak- in the neighbourhood of the future prefix t- were illustrated in (60) and (61) above.)

- (71) a. Tiakofɪna nuw nɪvin.
 t-i-ak-ofɪna nuw nɪvin
 fut-1:exc-conc-give:to:hearer yam some
 'I'm going to give you some yams'
- b. Tɪnakamarɪk mamalkalɪk to taham peravɪn.
 t-n-ak-am-arɪk m-am-alkalɪk to taha-m pera-vɪn
 fut-2-conc-cont-stay and-cont-look:after dat poss-2:s woman
 'You (s.) will stay and look after your wife'
- c. Takailakpɪnɪn nɪkɪkɪlɪi menuk le nɪkom.
 t-k-ak-ai-alak-pn-ɪn nɪkɪkɪlɪi menuk le nɪkom
 fut-3:ns-conc-pl-throw-there-trans bone fowl loc fire
 'They (pl.) will throw the chicken bones into the fire'

The concurrent prefix is also used in verbs which follow pwah (or pwah) 'let', in hortative expressions:

- (72) a. Pwah iakol.
 pwah i-ak-ol
 let 1:exc-conc-do
 'Let me do it'
- b. Pwas iakiavɪn apwa le sɪtoa.
 pwah i-ak-ia-vɪn apwa le sɪtoa
 let 1:exc-conc-d-go loc loc store
 'Let us both go to the store'

Occasionally, ak- occurs reduplicated in verbs with singular subjects under conditions I have not been able to determine:

- (73) a. Iakakamɪs.
 i-ak-ak-mɪs
 1:exc-conc-conc-ill
 'I am sick'

- b. Nakakavɪn apwa ihie?
 n-ak-ak-avɪn apwa i-hie
 2-conc-conc-go loc loc-where
 'Where are you (s.) going?'

The past tense prefix *ɪm-* indicates that the action occurred before the time of speaking or before the narrative present.

- (74) a. Iarmɪs asuul ker rɪmkɪn petɪmw neramɪm miin.
 iarmɪs asuul ker r-ɪm-kɪn petɪmw n-eramɪm miin
 devil big one 3:s-past-eat all pl-person pl
 'A big devil ate up all the people'

- b. Nɪmeiúa lak.
 n-ɪm-eiúa le-k
 2-past-lie dat-1:s
 'You (s.) lied to me'

- c. Rɪmva nenav mɪru menuk.
 r-ɪm-va nenav m-ɪru menuk
 3:s-past-come yesterday and-shoot bird
 'He came yesterday and shot birds'

The tense prefix *n-* has both perfective and stative functions; it will be referred to herein as the perfective tense prefix. In its perfective use, it indicates that the action of the verb has been completed.

- (75) a. Nɪkava rɪnɪka, kɪnuɪtɪktɪk nɪkava tukuamnuumw.
 nɪkava r-n-ɪka, k-n-u-ɪtɪktɪk nɪkava
 kava 3:s-perf-not:to:be, 3:ns-perf-d-not:know kava
 t-k-ak-u-amnuumw
 fut-3:ns-conc-d-drink
 'The kava had run out, and they (d.) did not know of any more
 kava that they could drink'
- b. Inva le tehe makowta, nɪnapwas makowta ipaat.
 i-n-va le tehe m-ak-awta, n-n-apwas
 1:exc-perf-come loc sea and-conc-sit, 2-perf-refuse
 m-ak-awta i-paat
 and-conc-sit loc-shore
 'I have come into the sea and am sitting [here], while you (s.)
 have refused to come and are sitting on the shore'
- c. Neramɪm kɪnaihuaak ita, marier iatɪv.
 n-eramɪm k-n-ai-ahuaak ita, m-ar-ier iatɪv
 pl-person 3:ns-perf-pl-pray already, and-pl-go:out outside
 'When the people had finished praying, they went outside'

The perfective prefix also occurs with a stative function in both stative intransitive verbs (as in (76a, b)) and with adjectives (as in (76c, d)).

(76) a. Tamiel rɪnɪmɪs ua?

ta-m-iel r-n-mɪs ua
 poss-2:s-friend 3:s-perf-die or
 'Is your (s.) friend dead?'

b. Nɪmrɪn rɪnou.

nɪmr-n r-n-ou
 eye-3:s 3:s-perf-blind
 'He is blind'

c. Uus aa rɪnasɪls pɪk.

uus aa r-n-asɪls pɪk
 man that 3:s-perf-fat much
 'That fellow is very fat'

d. Iemasumw masumw mɪnapou.

i-ɪm-asumw m-asumw m-n-apou
 1:exc-past-garden and-garden and-perf-tired
 'I worked and worked in the garden and now I'm tired'

The sequential tense prefix ep- indicates either that the action occurs later than the time of speaking, or that it occurs later than the previous action.

(77) a. Tiakamamel mamwa iakarou rɪvɪt esuaas takrɪn am, lepaliuok taat am mɪvɪna mowta.

t-i-ak-am-amel mamwa i-ak-arou r-vɪt esuaas
 fut-1:exc-conc-cont-lie that 1:exc-conc-feel 3:s-good small
 takrɪn am, i-ep-aliuok taat am m-vɪna m-awta
 a:bit just, 1:exc-seq-walk bad just and-go:to-hearer and-sit
 'I'll stay lying down so that I'll feel just a bit better, and then I'll just limp off and come and sit with you'

b. Lauk ka, repakavɪn.

lauk ka, r-ep-akavɪn
 next:day that, 3:s-seq-go:off
 'Then on the next day he went off'

c. Kɪmanɪ petɪmw netgɪnɪllar mɪln ka, mepalɪs io.

k-ɪm-a-ɪni petɪmw netg-nɪl-ar mɪln ka, m-ep-a-lɪs io
 3:ns-past-pl-say all name-3:ns-pl pl that, and-seq-pl-take I
 'They (pl.) told me all their names, and then they took me away'

When used in conjunction with the future prefix *t-*, *ep-* signifies a future more remote than that signified by *ak-* in conjunction with *t-*.

- (78) a. *Tinakofa kopwiel ituga ker toue, kani tiepofna menuk n+vin.*
t-n-ak-ofa kopwiel ituga ker toue,
fut-2-conc-give:to:speaker stone imported one today,
kani t-i-ep-ofna menuk n+vin
and fut-1:exc-seq-give:to:hearer bird some
'You lend me a gun today, and later on I'll give you some birds'
- b. *Tiepaamhie iahig+I Natou?*
t-i-ep-aamh-hie i-ahig+I Natou
fut-1:exc-seq-see-where nom-old Natou
'Where might I find old man Natou?'

The negative tense prefix *ts-* differs from the four discussed above in that it does not indicate any specific time-relationship.¹ Thus Lenakel only has future negatives (*t-..ts-*) and non-future negatives (without *t-*), since *ts-* is mutually exclusive with the four tense prefixes discussed above. Verbs with the negative prefix must also take the negative postclitic *-aan* (see 3.2.11. below).

- (79) a. *Merou tukuaite, t+ts+sofnaan netg-nil-lau!*
merou t-k-ak-u-ait, t-n-ts-ofn-aan netg-nil-lau
but fut-3:ns-conc-d-born, fut-2-neg-give-neg name-3:ns-d
'But when they (d.) are born, don't you (s.) give them their names!'
- b. *Toko r+skinaan iik.*
toko r-ts-kin-aan iik
maybe 3:s-neg-eat-neg you:s
'It's unlikely that he will eat you (s.)'
- c. *Nimarho io, misarhoapwninaan io*
n-tm-ar-ho io, m-ts-ar-hoapwnin-aan io
2-past-pl-hit I, and-neg-pl-kill-neg I
'You (pl.) beat me up, but you didn't kill me'

¹In the Lauinio area the form of this prefix is *tnh-*.

Negatives do not occur with as great a frequency in Lenakel as in some other languages, largely because of the frequent occurrence of the common negative verbs *apwas* 'not to want'; *itiktik* 'not to know'; *ika* 'not to be, not to be there', and other less common verbs like these.

- d. R̄is̄m̄isaan merou r̄nak̄mw am.
 r-*is*-*m̄is*-aan merou r-n-ak̄mw am
 3:s-neg-*die*-neg but 3:s-perf-*run:away just*
 'He didn't die; he just ran away'

Certain tense prefixes may be omitted under certain conditions. The markers *ak-* and *im-* may be omitted in verbs with third person subjects when the context makes the time of action quite clear. That is, the presence of time-words, the nature of previous parts of the discourse, or other circumstances of interpersonal communication may make the use of the tense prefixes redundant. The prefixes *n-*, *ep-*, and *is-*, however, may not be omitted in these contexts.

(80) a. R̄va nenav.

r-*va* nenav
 3:s-*come yesterday*
 'He came yesterday'

b. Iakamaamh karol nimwa.

i-*ak-am-aamh* k-*ar-ol* nimwa
 1:exc-conc-cont-*see* 3:ns-pl-*make house*
 'I'm looking at them (pl.) making a house'

All the tense prefixes except *is-* may also be deleted under identity if preceded by the person prefix *m-*; *n-* and *ep-*, however, are only rarely omitted in this context. (See examples (66) through (68) above.)

The tense prefixes *ak-* and *n-* may combine to form two additional tense-aspects:

- (81) *ak-n-* recent completive: 'have just finished doing'
n-ak- inceptive: 'have just begun doing'

These combinations are illustrated below:

(82) a. Iakn̄it le n̄k.

i-*ak-n-it* le n̄k
 1:exc-recent:completive-*climb* loc *tree*
 'I have just climbed the tree'

b. Hiau r̄nakowta.

hiau r-n-*ak-awta*
volcano 3:s-inceptive-*sit*
 'Volcanic ash has begun to cover everything'

3.2.5. CONTINUATIVE PREFIX

The continuative prefix *am-* (cont) indicates that the action is progressive or continuous.

- (83) a. Rɪmwa, 'Neta un nakamarol?' Kani kamwa, 'Iakamaivɪkɪl'.
 r-ɪmwa, 'neta un n-ak-am-ar-ol' kani k-a-ɪmwa,
 3:s-say, 'what this 2-conc-cont-pl-do' and 3:ns-pl-say,
 'i-ak-am-ai-avɪkɪl'
 1:exc-conc-cont-pl-play
 'He said, "What are you (pl.) doing here?" And they (pl.)
 replied, "We (exc.pl.) are playing".'
- b. Nar uk neta katar kɪmamaihuaak mairou?
 nar uk neta kat-ar k-ɪm-am-ai-ahuaak m-ai-arou
 thing this what we:inc-pl 1:inc-past-cont-pl-pray and-pl-hear
 'What was this we (inc.pl.) heard while we were praying?'

The combination of the perfective prefix n- with am- has an inceptive sense:

- (84) Kahau rɪmeai mɪmeai merou mɪnamapou.
 kahau r-ɪm-eai m-ɪm-eai merou m-n-am-apou
 rat 3:s-past-swim and-past-swim and-past-cont-tired
 'Rat swam and swam, but then he began to tire'

3.2.6. INTERROGATIVE PREFIX

The prefix etu- has an interrogative function (itr), translating 'how?', 'why?', or 'in which way?'.¹

- (85) a. Takiel miin kɪmarva mɪnetuarvɪn?
 ta-k-iel miin k-ɪm-ar-va m-n-etu-ar-vɪn
 poss-1:s-friend pl 3:ns-past-pl-come and-perf-itr-pl-go
 'My friends came here but how did they go from here?'
- b. Tiaketuarkɪn nar uk?
 t-i-ak-etu-ar-kɪn nar uk
 fut-1:exc-conc-itr-pl-eat thing this
 'How do we (exc.pl.) eat this?'
- c. Rɪmwa, 'E, Nau rɪnetuvɪn?'
 r-ɪmwa, 'e, Nau r-n-etu-vɪn'
 3:s-say, 'hey, Nau 3:s-perf-itr-go
 'He said, "Hey, why has Nau gone?".'

¹The use of etu- in questions is further discussed in Chapter 4.

With a few common verbs, etu- is often shortened to et-. With the verb ol 'to do, make', in addition to et-ol (from etu-ol) 'how to do it', there is a related verb atol 'to do what?'. (This is found as etaol in the northern dialect.)

3.2.7. NUMBER PREFIXES

These prefixes indicate the number of the subject of the verb (no.), and occur obligatorily.¹ Most of them vary in phonological form, and some of them condition phonological changes in the verb root itself.

3.2.7.1. Singular

Singular number (s) is not overtly marked.

- (86) a. Kani r̄n̄ip̄n̄ to tahan perav̄n̄ m̄m̄wa, 'N̄im̄ēīú̄a lak'.
 kani r-̄n̄i-p̄n̄ to taha-n̄ pera-v̄n̄ m-̄m̄wa, 'n-̄i-m̄-ei-ú̄a le-k'
 and 3:s-say-there dat poss-3:s woman and-say, '2-past-lie dat-1:s'
 'And he said to his wife, "You (s.) lied to me".'
- b. Takamwa taham perav̄n̄ r̄s̄in̄n̄, nakhinat̄n̄ mamwa mwilmw̄l̄.
 takamwa taha-m̄ pera-v̄n̄ r-s̄in̄n̄, n-ak-hinat̄n̄ mamwa mwilmw̄l̄
 if:fut poss-2:s woman 3:s-pregnant, 2-conc-know that twin
 'If your (s.) wife becomes pregnant, you will know that it
 will be twins'

3.2.7.2. Dual

The most common form of the dual prefix (d) is ia-, but it also occurs as u- depending on the nature of the initial segment or segments of the root. The environments in which each form of the prefix occurs are detailed in Table 5 below.

Table 5: DUAL PREFIX

Verb root begins with	Dual Prefix is	Other changes	Examples	
			sing.	dual
a, e, ɨ, ou, ow	u-	none	arɨk	uarɨk
ua	u-	u + ua → uɨua	uai	uɨuai
ha, he	u-	u + ha → hua u + he → hue	hal	hual
any other segment	ia-	none	kɨn	iakɨn

Some examples of the dual prefix are given below.

¹The only context in which number-markers must not be used is in impersonal constructions, which are discussed in 3.2.7.4.

- (87) a. Iemamuŋni pwiŋhien apwa ua iemamuelúefn kamlau miin?
 i-ŋm-am-u-ŋni pwiŋhien apwa ua
 1:exc-past-cont-d-say true there or
 i-ŋm-am-u-eiúá-ŋn kam-lau miin
 1:exc-past-cont-d-lie-trans we:exc-d pl
 'Were we (exc.d.) telling the truth or were we lying to each other?'
- b. Kŋmuaamh mamwa peramil kiu kŋnuowta ita.
 k-ŋm-u-aamh mamwa pera-mil kiu k-n-u-awta ita
 3:ns-past-d-see that woman-d two 3:ns-perf-d-sit already
 'They (d.) saw that the two women had already sat down'
- c. Kŋnuŋual ita nite aan.
 k-n-u-uai ita nite aan
 3:ns-perf-d-pull:out already taro that
 'They (d.) have already pulled out that taro'
- d. Kŋnhualak mŋniaviin le nouanumwan
 k-n-u-halak m-n-ia-viin le noua-numwan
 3:ns-perf-d-make:laplap and-perf-d-cook loc oven
 'They (d.) made laplap (pudding) and cooked it in an earth-oven'
- e. Ieram le tŋn Iru kiu kiaier iatŋv mamiavl nam miin.
 i-eram le tŋn Iru kiu k-ia-ier iatŋv
 s-the:one loc land Iru two 3:ns-d-go:out outside
 m-am-ia-vi nam miin
 and-cont-d-pull fish pl
 'Two men from the Iru region went out fishing'
- f. Kŋmiaos nuw nŋvin miakŋn mialelŋg iimwa.
 k-ŋm-ia-os nuw nŋvin m-ia-kŋn m-ia-lelŋg i-imwa
 3:ns-past-d-take yam some and-d-eat and-d-return loc-house
 'They (d.) took some yams and ate them and returned home'

The following are exceptions to the rules given in Table 5:

(88)	Singular	Dual	
	pkom	uapkom	'heavy'
	vŋt	uavŋt	'good'

3.2.7.3. Trial and Plural

The trial prefix varies in exactly the same manner as the plural prefix, and both will be treated together here. The variations undergone by the trial and plural prefixes, however, are quite different - and occur in quite different contexts - from the variations undergone

by the dual prefix. The most common forms of these prefixes are hal- (trial) and ar- (plural); in environments detailed in Table 6, however, these change to hai- and ai-, and to ha- and a-.¹

Table 6: TRIAL AND PLURAL PREFIXES

Verb root begins with	Trial Prefix is	Plural Prefix is	Other changes	Examples		
				sing.	trial	plural
ua	hai-	ai-	none	uai	haiuai	aiuai
a (not ai)	hai-	ai-	hai- + a → hai ai- + a → ai	arɪk	haiɪk	aiɪk
ow	hai-	ai-	hai- + o → hai ai- + o → ai	owta	haiwɪta	aiwɪta
ha	hai-	ai-	hai- + ha → hahi ai- + ha → ahi	hai	hahil	ahil
alveolar consonant	ha-	a-	none	sɪg	hasɪg	asɪg
ɪ- + alveolar (in a polysyllable)	ha-	a-	ha- + ɪ → ha a- + ɪ → a	ɪni	hani	ani
ai	hai-	ar-	hai- + ai → haii ar- + ai → ari	aik	haiik	ariik
any other segment	hal-	ar-	none	kɪn	haiɪn	ariɪn

Of special interest here are verbs beginning with i-. Monosyllabic ɪ-initial verbs take the prefixes hal- and ar-; polysyllabic ɪ-initial verbs whose second segment is an alveolar consonant take ha- and a- and delete the initial ɪ; while polysyllabic ɪ-initial verbs whose second segment is not an alveolar consonant take hai- and ar-.² For example:

¹No Lenakel verbs have been found beginning with hɪ, but for various reasons it appears that such verbs, if found, would behave like those with initial he.

Verbs which begin with orthographic ow, which represents underlying /aw/, are treated in this and other tables in this section as a-initial verbs. Thus orthographic owta (underlying /awta/) takes u- as the dual prefix, hai- as the trial, and ai- as the plural, and deletes the initial vowel in the trial and plural; the three forms, orthographically, are uowta, haiwɪta, and aiwɪta.

²The situation is in fact simpler than it appears at first glance, since ha- and a- occur only when the next consonant is an alveolar (or an alveolar preceded by ɪ). These two prefixes can thus be derived from hal- and ar- since, if the rule deleting initial ɪ applies first, hal- and ar- will then become ha- and a- by CORONAL SIMPLIFICATION (rule (1.50)).

(89)	Singular	Trial	Plural	
	ɪlh	halɪh	arɪh	'to pick fruit'
	ɪni	hani	ani	'to say'
	ɪpus	haiɪpus	arɪpus	'to be blunt'

Some examples of the trial prefix in its various forms are given below.

- (90) a. Kapamwa kɪnhaiugɪn ita, kephaiwɪta takrɪn am.
 kapamwa k-n-hai-augɪn ita, k-ep-hai-awta takrɪn am
if:past 3:ns-perf-tr-eat already, 3:ns-seq-tr-sit a:bit just
 'If they (tr.) have already eaten, they will just sit for a while'
- b. Uus mihei kɪnhalelɪg iimwa.
 uus mihei k-n-ha-lelɪg i-imwa
man trial 3:ns-perf-tr-return loc-house
 'The three men have returned home'
- c. Kɪmhahihaau pukas mhaliis.
 k-ɪm-hai-alhaau pukas m-ha-ɪliis
3:ns-past-tr-put pig and-tr-tie
 'They (tr.) put down the pig and tied it up'
- d. Kɪnhahiu nɪk mɪnhaik.
 k-n-hai-hau nɪk m-n-hal-aik
3:ns-perf-tr-plant tree and-perf-tr-swim
 'They (tr.) planted the tree and went swimming'
- e. Peramihei aan kɪmhalos nuw mhalier iatɪv.
 pera-mihei aan k-ɪm-hal-os nuw m-hai-ier iatɪv
woman-tr that 3:ns-past-tr-take yam and-tr-go:out outside
 'Those three women took the yams and went outside'
- f. Kuri kɪsil ka kɪmhalkɪs io mhalivɪn iauanu.
 kuri kɪsil ka k-ɪm-hal-kɪs io m-hai-vɪn i-auanu
dog three that 3:ns-past-tr-bite I and-tr-go loc-village
 'Those three dogs bit me and then went to the village'

As was pointed out above, the plural prefix undergoes phonological changes similar to those undergone by the trial prefix. The few examples given below should be sufficient to illustrate this.

- (91) a. Ilar petɪmw kɪnailiuok marvɪn apwa Lenakei.
 ii-ar petɪmw k-n-ai-aliuok m-ar-vɪn apwa Lenakei
they-pl all 3:ns-perf-pl-walk and-pl-go loc Lenakei
 'They have all walked to Lenakei'

- b. Takahili ner+nilar apwa Ifila.
 t-k-ak-ai-hali ner-nil-ar apwa Ifila
 fut-3:ns-conc-pl-send child-3:ns-pl loc Vila
 'They (pl.) will send their children to Vila'
- c. N+nasu ita uikar miin ka ua?
 n-n-a-su ita uikar miin ka ua
 2-perf-pl-plant already seed pl that or
 'Have you (pl.) planted those seeds yet?'
- d. Iemamarik nenav.
 i-+m-am-ar-aik nenav
 l:exc-past-cont-pl-swim yesterday
 'We (exc.pl.) were swimming yesterday'

The following are exceptions to the rules given in Table 6:

(92)	Singular	Trial	Plural	
	ail	hailil	ailil	'to stand'
	amnuumw	halamnuumw	aramnuumw	'to drink'
	eihuaig	heilhuaig	eilhuaig	'to hide'
	elue	{ halelue halue	{ arelue alue	'to be lost'
	esuaas	{ halesuaas haluasuaas	{ aresuaas aruasuaas	'small'
	imwa	hamwa	amwa	'to say'

3.2.7.4. Deletion of Number Prefixes: the Impersonal Construction

There is one important environment in which number prefixes are not used. This is the impersonal construction, which uses the third person non-singular prefix *k-* without any number prefix. These constructions are often translatable as a passive with unspecified agent (there being no passive in Lenakel). Another feature of these constructions is that the object frequently precedes the verb, although it normally follows the verb in other constructions.¹

- (93) a. Kos ilau kav+n k+ren+m ilau.
 k-os il-lau k-av+n k-ren+m il-lau
 3:ns-take they-d 3:ns-go 3:ns-bury they-d
 'The two of them were taken away and buried'

¹Note also that the person prefix *m-* is not used in these constructions; thus, in (93a and b), all three verbs have the prefix *k-*, although in non-impersonal constructions of a similar type the second and third verbs would normally take *m-*. This is presumably because the subject of each verb, being unidentified or non-specific, cannot be equated with the subject of any other verb in the sentence.

- b. Nakamuapui lenhaiu miin, mamuarou nakaraan kol kiva kamavtn
irhe ua kapwa?
n-ak-am-u-apul l-enhaiu miin, m-am-u-arou
2-conc-cont-d-sleep loc-evening pl, and-cont-d-hear
n-akar-aan k-ol k-va k-am-avtn irhe ua kapwa
nom-speak-nom 3:ns-do 3:ns-come 3:ns-cont-go loc:sea or no
'While you two are sleeping in the evenings, do you hear talking
and people doing things and coming and going to and from the
sea?'
- c. Ntk ka ktnarai ita.
ntk ka k-n-arai ita
tree that 3:ns-perf-cut already
'That tree has already been cut down'
- d. Kamktn ua?
k-am-ktn ua
3:ns-cont-eat or
'Is it edible?', 'Does one eat it?'

Since k- is deleted after the future prefix t- (see (60) above),
future impersonal constructions show merely t- + tense + verb:

- (94) a. Tepoi.
t-k-ep-oi
fut-3:ns-seq-do
'It will be done'
- b. Nuw uk takamktn.
nuw uk t-k-ak-am-ktn
yam this fut-3:ns-conc-cont-eat
'This yam (or these yams) will be eaten'

3.2.8. RECIPROCAL/REFLEXIVE SUFFIX

The suffix -atu indicates reciprocity (rec): in a verb with a non-singular subject, each of the individuals involved performs the action on at least one of the others.

- (95) a. Pwas tikiaipwtr, muauninatu netgtniaiu miin.
pwas t-k-ak-ia-ipwtr, m-u-aunfn-atu netg-nil-lau miin
let fut-3:ns-conc-d-big, and-d-call-rec name-3:ns-d pl
'Wait until they (d.) grow up, and they will name each other'
- b. Ktmamaikaratuptn kam ilar miin.
k-tm-am-ai-akar-atu-pn kam il-ar miin
3:ns-past-cont-pl-talk-rec-there dat they-pl pl
'They (pl.) were talking to each other'

The suffix *-atu* also indicates reflexiveness (*refl*): the subject is also the goal of the action.

- (96) a. Mīran rīmhoatu.
 mīra-n r-īm-ho-atu
mother's:brother-3:s 3:s-past-kill-refl
'His (maternal) uncle killed himself'

- b. Nīnaraiaatu ua?
 n-n-arai-atu ua
 2-perf-cut-refl or
'Have you (s.) cut yourself?'

Note also the use of *-atu* in the following example, indicating an accidental happening.

- (97) Rīmolate am.
 r-īm-ol-atu am
 3:s-past-do-refl just
'It just happened on its own'

3.2.9. ASSOCIATIVE SUFFIX

The associative suffix *-uas* (*assoc*) indicates that those involved in performing the action do so together; in some, though not all, cases, the suffix implies concerted action.

- (98) a. Kīmūiniuas to nahuto.
 k-īm-u-īni-uas to nahuto
 3:ns-past-d-say-assoc dat many
'They were both talking at once to the crowd'
- b. Nīkiik rho namnuumwuasaan tīlau.
 nīkii-k r-ho n-amnuumw-uas-aan taha-t-lau
 mind-l:s 3:s-hit nom-drink-assoc-nom poss-l:inc-d
'I remember that we (inc.d.) used to drink together'

3.2.10. DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

Suffixes which indicate the direction of the action and/or the location of the participants are obligatorily suffixed to directional verbs and optionally suffixed to certain other verbs. There are three types of directional suffixes: personal, specific, and general.

3.2.10.1. Personal Directionals

These suffixes indicate the direction of the action with respect to the participants. There are three of these:¹

- (99) -pa in the direction of the speaker (glossed '*to: speaker*')
 -pna in the direction of the addressee (glossed '*to: addressee*')
 -pn away from speaker and addressee (glossed '*there*')

Personal directional suffixes do not normally occur suffixed to verbs of motion, although they may occur with directional verbs of motion like asou- '*to proceed*', and sim- '*to return from*'.² They do occur, however, with a large number of other verbs, particularly verbs of saying, giving, and looking.³

- (100) a. Ieramira rarmwig m+nipa to kalau ...
 ieramira r-armwig m-+ni-pa to kat-lau ...
chief 3:s-get:up and-say-to: speaker dat we:inc-d ...
'The chief got up and said to us (inc.d.) ...'
- b. Semusemu r+mail Ikiamu metagpefn nhankom apwa le T+n.
 Semusemu r-+m-ail Ikiamu m-etag-pa-+n
Semusemu 3:s-past-stand Aneityum and-look-to: speaker-trans
nha-n+kom apwa le T+n
smoke-fire loc loc Tanna
'Semusemu stood up in Aneityum and looked over this way and
saw smoke in Tanna'

¹Note the phonological similarity between the directional suffixes in (99) and the verbs of motion va '*to come*'; v+na '*to go in the direction of the addressee*'; and v+n '*to go (yonder)*'. Note also that a similar relationship obtains between the last three specific directionals in (101) and the verbs viis '*to go south*'; vaat '*to go east or shorewards*'; and vaha '*to go west or seawards*'. Obviously, a now non-productive process generated one set from the other.

²The verb sim- '*to return from*', becomes si- before a directional suffix beginning with p, as can be seen from the orthographic representation of (100d).

In the northern dialect this verb is consistently si- (Père A. Sacco, personal communication).

³Compare the two major verbs of giving with the personal directions in (99):

ofa	l+fa	'to give to speaker'
of+na	l+f+na	'to give to addressee'
of+n	l+f+n	'to give to a third person'

These verbs appear to derive, phonologically and semantically, from os '*to take*', and l+is '*to carry*', plus personal directional suffix.

- c. Iemhalipna taham nisa.
 i-ĩm-hali-pna taha-m nisa
 1:exc-past-send-to:addressee poss-2:s bushknife
 'I sent your bushknife back to you (s.)'
- d. Uus aa rĩmsĩpĩn Ifila.
 uus aan r-ĩm-sĩm-pn Ifila
 man that 3:s-past-return:from-there Vila
 'That man came back from Vila'
- e. Franis karosipĩn loto nĩvin kam neram le Tĩn.
 Franis k-ar-os-ĩn-pn loto nĩvin kam n-eram
 France 3:ns-pl-take-trans-there vehicle some dat pl-the:one
 le Tĩn
 loc Tanna
 'The French gave some trucks to the Tannese people'

3.2.10.2. Specific Directionals

These suffixes refer to the points of the compass, and indicate the direction in which or from which the action is proceeding. There are four of these suffixes:¹

- (101) -hiu 'north, northwards'
 -piis 'south, southwards'
 -paat 'east, eastwards'
 -paha 'west, westwards'

Specific directionals usually only occur suffixed to directional verbs:

- (102) a. Tehe rĩsĩpiis, mĩsĩmhiu, mĩsĩpha, mĩva mamep io.
 tehe r-sĩm-piis, m-sĩm-hiu, m-sĩm-paha,
 sea 3:s-come:from-south, and-come:from-north, and-come:from-west,
 m-va m-am-ep io.
 and-come and-cont-slap I
 'The sea comes from the south, from the north, from the west,
 and comes and slaps against me'
- b. Rĩmasua le kĩnu mamasoupaat.
 r-ĩm-asua le kĩnu m-am-asou-paat
 3:s-past-travel loc canoe and-cont-proceed-east
 'He sailed eastwards in his canoe'

¹Specific directionals were termed 'compass directionals' in Lynch 1975.

Locative nouns may be formed by prefixing i- to the specific directionals: thus i-hiu 'the north'; i-paat 'the east, the shore'; etc.

The directional suffix -piis 'south', is also used to indicate the direction one travels from Lenakel to reach Whitesands, the mission centre on the east coast - a direction which is almost due east. I cannot account for this usage.

3.2.10.3. General Directionals

These suffixes further elucidate the direction of the action. There are three of these:¹

- (103) -ɪt ~ -fɪt 'up, upwards'
 -hiaav 'down, downwards'
 -hie 'where?'

These suffixes have probably the widest range of use:

- (104) a. Karol vɪlɪvɪla ton marosfɪt mallhaaupɪn.
 k-ar-ol vɪlɪvɪla to-n m-ar-os-it m-ai-alhaau-pn
 3:ns-pl-do *stretcher* dat-3:s and-pl-take-up and-pl-put-there
 'They made a stretcher for her, and picked her up and put
 her on it'
- b. Alakhiaavɪ kɪpaas!
 alak-hlaav-fɪn kɪpaas
 throw-down-trans *axe*
 'Throw (s.) down the axe!'
- c. Iakamkɪn menuk nian miin, tiakoshle nɪkam nɪvin?
 i-ak-am-kɪn menuk nlan mlin, t-i-ak-os-hie
 l:exc-conc-cont-eat *bird day* pl, fut-l:exc-conc-take-where
 nɪk-m nɪvin
 poss:to:eat-2:s *some*
 'I eat birds every day, but where will I get some for you (s.)
 to eat?'

3.2.10.4. Combinations of Directionals

Directional suffixes admit of certain limited combinations. Specifically, a general directional suffix may precede a personal directional.² Thus:

- (105) Alakhiaavpeɪn!
 alak-hiaav-pa-fɪn
 throw-down-to:speaker-trans
 'Throw (s.) it down to me!'

Such combinations, however, are exceedingly rare in conversations observed or texts recorded.

¹Of the two allomorphs -ɪt and -fɪt, the former occurs after directional verbs and the latter elsewhere.

Note also that -ɪt ~ -fɪt may mean 'south' as well as 'upwards', and -hlaav may mean 'north' as well as 'downwards'.

²Specific directionals may follow general directionals; the following is a possible, though not a normally used, Lenakel sentence: lɪsɪtpaha! 'take it up there to the west!'

3.2.11. THE NEGATIVE POSTCLITIC

The negative postclitic *-aan* obligatorily occurs when the negative tense-prefix *ʔs-* is used. It follows all other suffixes in the verb:

(106) a. *Rʔsveaan apwa Ifila.*

r-ʔs-va-aan apwa Ifila
 3:s-neg-come-neg loc Vila
 'He didn't come to Vila'

b. *Ilau tahan peravʔn kʔsamuakaratupnaan kam ilau miin.*

il-lau taha-n peravʔn k-ʔs-am-u-akar-atu-pn-aan
they-d poss-3:s woman 3:ns-neg-cont-d-talk-rec-there-neg
kam il-lau miin
dat they-d pl
 'He and his wife are not speaking to each other'

c. *Kʔsarositaan nau tenilar.*

k-ʔs-ar-os-it-aan nau taha-nil-ar
 3:ns-neg-pl-take-up-neg knife poss-3:ns-pl
 'They (pl.) did not pick up their knives'

The postclitic *-aan* may also follow verbal adjuncts which themselves follow the verb:

(107) a. *Tieslelʔgpa munaan apwa le Tʔn.*

t-i-ʔs-lelʔg-pa mun-aan apwa le Tʔn
 fut-1:exc-neg-return-to:speaker again-neg loc loc Tanna
 'I will not be returning here to Tanna again'

b. *Iesaugʔn ʔneaan.*

i-ʔs-augʔn ʔna-aan
 1:exc-neg-eat not:yet-neg
 'I haven't eaten yet'

c. *Uusuaas aa rʔskʔn akʔinaan.*

uus-suaas aan r-ʔs-kʔn akʔn-aan
man-small that 3:s-neg-eat very-neg
 'That boy did not eat very much'

However, *-aan* may also occur suffixed to verbs in VPs which contain adjuncts; the differences in meaning appear to be that, if *-aan* immediately follows the verb, then the verb is negated, while if it follows the adjunct it negates the adjunct:

(108) a. *Rʔsowteaan suun lan.*

r-ʔs-awta-aan suun le-n
 3:s-neg-sit-neg covering loc-3:s
 'He didn't sit on it and cover it up'

b. Rísowta suunaan lan.

r-ts-owta suun-aan le-n

3:s-neg-sit covering-neg loc-3:s

'He didn't cover it by sitting on it'

Because of the distribution of -aan - i.e., because it may occur both verb-finally and verb-phrase-finally - it cannot be truly called either a suffix or a clitic. I am using the term clitic here in the sense of a morpheme which may occur in phrase-final position, to distinguish -aan (and also -ín, which is discussed in the next section) from 'true' suffixes.

3.2.12. THE TRANSITIVE POSTCLITIC

The transitive postclitic - which is the same kind of 'clitic' as the negative - occurs with neutral verbs to indicate that they are used transitively; it never occurs attached to transitive verbs. This postclitic appears as -ín before vowels and glides, as -í or -ín in free variation before alveolar consonants (l, n, r, s, and t), and as -í before other consonants. It is always stressed if it occurs word-finally.¹

Neutral verbs fall into two classes based on their use of the transitive postclitic. Some, like eiúa 'lie, deceive', optionally take the postclitic; they may also take a prepositional phrase instead:

(109) a. Kímueiúeí kalau miin ua?

k-ím-u-eiúa-ín kat-lau miin ua

1:inc-past-d-lie-trans we:inc-d pl or

'Did we (inc.d.) deceive each other?'

b. Io apwa iakameiúa am lam.

io apwa i-ak-am-eiúa am le-m

I loc 1:exc-conc-cont-lie just dat-2:s

'I'm just having you (s.) on'

Other verbs, like ígn 'fear', or alak 'throw', obligatorily take the transitive postclitic when used transitively:

¹It was shown in Lynch 1975 that there exists a special boundary intermediate between the morpheme- and the word-boundary, symbolised as =, which, among other functions, causes primary stress to be assigned to the final syllable of a word if that syllable is immediately preceded by =. The transitive postclitic -ín is, in fact, phonologically /=in/; i.e., it is the presence of the boundary = which causes the postclitic to take final stress. For the sake of simplicity, however, this boundary will be dispensed with here.

(110) a. T̄nakt̄gn̄n̄ nanmwok ua?
 t-n-ak-t̄gn-ín nanmw-k ua
 fut-2-conc-fear-trans spirit-1:s or
 'Will you (s.) be afraid of my ghost?'

b. R̄malakhiaav̄f̄ toula.
 r-ím-alak-hiaav-ín toula
 3:s-past-throw-down-trans rope
 'He threw down a rope'

A number of verbs appear to have permanently fused the transitive postclitic, and can never appear without it (even if used intransitively); e.g., hinat̄n̄ 'know'; agrit̄n̄ 'push into a heap'; amlit̄n̄ 'blow hard'; and etan̄n̄ 'wait (for)'. Needless to say, these verbs take no further postclitic when used transitively.

The position of the transitive postclitic is quite variable. It normally follows the directional suffixes, though it occasionally precedes the personal directionals. It normally precedes the negative postclitic -aan if the object is not expressed, but may precede or follow it if the object is expressed. The following give some idea of the variable position of the transitive postclitic.

(111) a. Osipa!
 os-ín-pa
 take-trans-to:speaker
 'Bring it here!'

b. Alakhiaav̄pefn̄!
 alak-hiaav-pa-ín
 throw-down-to:speaker-trans
 'Throw it down to me!'

c. R̄ts̄igninaan.
 r-t̄s-t̄gn-ín-aan
 3:s-neg-fear-trans-neg
 'He is not afraid of him'

d. R̄ts̄igninaan kuri ka.
 r-t̄s-t̄gn-ín-aan kuri ka
 3:s-neg-fear-trans-neg dog that
 'He is not afraid of that dog'

e. R̄ts̄ignaani kuri ka.
 r-t̄s-t̄gn-aan-ín kuri ka
 3:s-neg-fear-neg-trans dog that
 'He is not afraid of that dog'

3.3. NOMINAL AFFIXES

Apart from the affixes which form nouns from other word-classes (see 3.1.1.2.) certain other affixes occur on nouns. Of these the most important are the possessive pronominal suffixes:¹

(112)	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1.inc.	---	-lau	-thel	-tar
1.exc.	-k	-mlau	-mhel	-mar
2	-m	-milau	-mhiel	-miar
3	-n	-nilau	-nilhel	-nilar

The syntax of possession will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The following examples, however, are useful in showing how these suffixes are used:

- (113) a. Rîmok rîshinatinaan pwiam.
 rîm-k r-îs-hinatîn-aan pwia-m
father-1:s 3:s-neg-know-neg older:brother-2:s
'My father doesn't know your (s.) older brother'
- b. Inînilau rîmho nîmwansiimar le nouanîk.
 in-nil-lau r-îm-ho nîmwansii-m-ar le noua-nîk
mother-3:ns-d 3:s-past-hit buttocks-1:exc-pl ins stick
'Their (d.) mother smacked our (exc.pl.) backsides with a stick'

The only nominal prefix so far located is nîki-, which has a kind of locative function not accurately identified as yet.² Note the following examples:

- (114) a. Ramarîk le nîkithe.
 r-am-arîk le nîki-tehe
 3:s-cont-live loc loc-sea
'It is underwater', 'It lives underwater'
- b. Rîmîru nouanîk ker apwa le nîkikopwiel.
 r-îm-îru noua-nîk ker apwa le nîki-kopwiel
 3:s-past-throw stick one loc loc loc-stone
'He threw a stick at/towards the rock(s)'

¹These pronoun suffixes do occur affixed to one or two verbs, which are historically compounds of verb + inalienable noun: e.g., avînitaa- 'to go backwards'; alîmr- 'to keep out of sight of'.

²Note in 3.4.2., however, the use of the preposition to as a future prefix to some temporal nouns.

3.4. PREPOSITIONS

Although a discussion of the function of the case-marking prepositions properly belongs to the chapters on sentence structure, it is appropriate to illustrate some of the uses of the four prepositions *le*, *to*, *kam*, and *taha* before that discussion.

3.4.1. THE PREPOSITION /le/

The preposition *le* has the widest semantico-syntactic range of all the Lenakel prepositions, being very similar in function to the Melanesian Pidgin preposition *long*.¹ The major function of *le* is to introduce that type of locative or directional phrase which does not contain a locative noun:

(115) a. *Ramarik le touar.*

r-am-arik le touar

3:s-cont-live loc mountain

'He lives on the mountain'

b. *Iemarit le nik.*

i-im-ar-it le nik

1:exc-past-pl-go:up loc tree

'We (exc.pl.) climbed up the tree(s)'

c. *Raliuok mivn le nmwaklakl.*

r-aliuok m-vn le nmwaklakl

3:s-walk and-go loc beach

'He walked to the beach'

d. *Iemsipn le tinmurrh ker.*

i-im-sip-pn le tin-murrh ker

1:exc-past-come:from-there loc island one

'I came (back) from an island'

Another major function of *le* is as an introducer of instrumental phrases:²

(116) a. *Rimho pukas ka le nouatavha.*

r-im-ho pukas ka le nou-tavha

3:s-past-kill pig that ins club

'He killed that pig with a club'

¹The preposition *le* becomes *la* (1) obligatorily before the singular pronoun suffixes *-k*, *-m*, and *-n*; and (2) optionally before a word whose first vowel is *a* or *o*.

²Note the rather wide interpretation of 'instrumental' in the case of (116c).

- b. Uusuaas uk rɪmarai nɪk le kɪpaas.
 uus-suaas uk r-ɪm-arai nɪk le kɪpaas
man-small this 3:s-past-cut tree ins axe
'This boy cut down a tree with the axe'
- c. Rɪmok rakamɪs le mumuk.
 rɪm-k r-ak-mɪs le mumuk
father-1:s 3:s-conc-sick ins mosquito
'My father is sick with malaria'

A third function of *le* is as the equivalent of English '*than*' in comparisons (which are more fully discussed in Chapter 5 below):

- (117) a. Kopwiel uk ripwɪr mun le ieram aan.
 kopwiel uk r-ipwɪr mun le i-eram aan
stone this 3:s-big again than s-the:one that
'This stone is bigger than that one'
- b. In uk ripwɪr pɪk mun le petɪmw.
 in uk r-ipwɪr pɪk mun le petɪmw
it this 3:s-big more again than all
'This one is the biggest of all'

With certain verbs, which are so marked in the lexicon, *le* indicates the semantic goal (which is more normally unmarked or marked by the transitive postclitic):

- (118) Inhepus le nuw.
 i-n-hepus le nuw
 1:exc-perf-eat:enough goal yam
'I have eaten enough yam(s)'

With a few other verbs, *le* marks the dative (which is more normally marked by *to* or *kam*):

- (119) Nɪmeiúa le peravɪn taham.
 n-ɪm-elúa le pera-vɪn taha-m
 2-past-lie dat woman poss-2:s
'You (s.) lied to your wife'

3.4.2. THE PREPOSITION /to/

The preposition *to* - which becomes *ton* before singular pronouns¹ - is also multifunctional. Its primary function is to mark the dative:

¹The third person singular pronoun *in* is deleted after *ton*.

- (120) a. Rīmīni to uus aan, mīmwa, ...
 r-īm-īni to uus aan, m-īmwa, ...
 3:s-past-say dat man that, and-say, ...
 'He said to that man, ...'
- b. Alkalīk to taham peravīn!
 alkalīk to taha-m pera-vīn
 look:after dat poss-2:s woman
 'Look after your (s.) wife!'
- c. Iakameukpīn to pukas miin.
 i-ak-am-eukpīn to pukas miin
 1:exc-conc-cont-hunt dat pig pl
 'I am hunting for pigs'
- d. Navīnpīn kīmarelmas ton io.
 n-avīn-pn k-īm-ar-elmas to io
 pl-evil:spirit 3:ns-past-pl-frighten dat I
 'The evil spirits frightened me'

Another primary function of to is as a causative preposition, translating roughly 'because of' in English:

- (121) a. Iakamīs to nam.
 i-ak-mīs to nam
 1:exc-conc-sick cause fish
 'I am sick because of (eating) fish'
- b. Níamha tahan ripwīr ton iik.
 níamha taha-n r-ipwīr to iik
 anger poss-3:s 3:s-big cause you:s
 'He is very angry with you (s.)'
- c. Rīmeai pīk to kalhiavīn.
 r-īm-eai pīk to kalhiavīn
 3:s-past-swim more cause shark
 'He swam fast because of the shark'

The preposition to also occasionally functions as a locative or directional marker in circumstances which are not exactly clear. A few verbs require to instead of le; while a few others allow a locative phrase - including a locative phrase already introduced by le - to be preceded by to nar (lit., 'to the thing'):

- (122) a. Naias rīvilīk mamowta ton.
 Naias r-vilīk m-am-awta to in
 Naias 3:s-make:bird:trap and-cont-sit loc it
 'Naias made a bird-trap and was sitting in it'

- b. Iemaiiuok to nar Lenakei.
 i-ɨm-aiiuok to nar Lenakei.
 1:exc-past-walk loc thing Lenakei
 'I walked to Lenakei'
- c. Uus aan rɨmvɨn to nar le tui touar.
 uus aan r-ɨm-vɨn to nar le tui touar
 man that 3:s-past-go loc thing loc top mountain
 'That man went to the top of the mountain'

Mention should also be made here of the use of to as a prefix to certain temporal nouns to indicate the future:¹

- (123) lauk 'the next day' → toiauk 'tomorrow'
 nihin 'two days ago' → tonhi 'two days hence'
 nahan 'when (past)?' → tonhan 'when (future)?'

3.4.3. THE PREPOSITION /kam/

The preposition kam is normally a dative. Certain verbs, especially those of giving, require kam rather than to, but there appears to be no simple way of distinguishing on semantic grounds which verbs take to and which take kam: thus akar 'speak', takes kam, but ɨni 'say, speak', takes to. Some examples of the dative use of kam are:

- (124) a. Kɨmuakar kam iiau miin.
 k-ɨm-u-akar kam il-lau miin
 3:ns-past-d-speak dat they-d pl
 'They (d.) talked to each other'
- b. Rɨmoi kaiuk kam tahan ieramwaan.
 r-ɨm-ol kaiuk kam taha-n l-eramwaan
 3:s-past-make coconut:oil dat poss-3:s s-man
 'She oiled her husband's body with coconut oil'
- c. Uus uk rɨmofɨn nuw miin kam pwian.
 uus uk r-ɨm-ofɨn nuw miin kam pwia-n
 man this 3:s-past-give yam pl dat older:brother-3:s
 'This man gave the yams to his older brother'

¹Tonhi derives from to-nihin by the rule of VOWEL LOSS (1.43) and unexplained loss of final n; while tonhan derives regularly from to-nahan by the VOWEL LOSS rule.

There is a strong probability, reinforced by an examination of comparative data, that to and the future prefix to verbs t- are historically related.

- d. Inin ramako kam tahan kova.
 in-n r-amako kam taha-n kova
mother-3:s 3:s-dance dat poss-3:s child
'The mother dandled her child'

Occasionally, kam functions as a benefactive:

- (125) Rimhat+kptn nauginaan kam kova ka.
 r-im-hat+k-pn n-augin-aan kam kova ka
3:s-past-lay:down-there nom-eat-nom benef child that
'He laid down food for that child'

3.4.4. THE PREPOSITION /taha/

The primary function of taha is as the marker of neutral alienable possession, and its use in this context as well as its morphophonemic variants will be discussed in the next chapter. This preposition also functions, however, as an introducer of benefactive phrases; and in this environment, when the beneficiary is a pronoun, the pronoun occurs in its suffixed and not its free form.

- (126) a. Kamilau ker tiroso n+vin timilau.
 kami-lau ker t-r-os n+vin taha-mi-lau
you:ns-d one fut-3:s-take some benef-2:ns-d
'One of you (d.) will get some for you both'
- b. Iakamasumw taha rimok.
 i-ak-am-asumw taha rim-k
1:exc-conc-cont-garden benef father-1:s
'I am gardening for my father'

CHAPTER 4

SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

4.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the structure of Lenakel simple sentences will be examined in some detail. A simple sentence in Lenakel is one which contains:

(a) Not more than one verb phrase (VP).¹ For the purposes of exposition, adjectives without verbal affixes, and possessive constructions, are taken not to be derived from underlying verbs, even though there is considerable evidence that they in fact are.

(b) A variable number of noun phrases (NPs) of various cases, some of which are preceded by case-marking prepositions. No NP in a simple sentence is co-ordinate with any other NP, nor does any NP contain an embedded sentence. Simple sentences do occur without any surface NP at all, but these will be shown to be the result of general deletion rules which will be discussed below.

This chapter is restricted to a discussion of sentences of this type in order to provide a basic framework for the understanding of Lenakel syntax. Complex sentence-types, which are discussed in Chapter 5, can be conceived of in terms of the notion of the simple sentence discussed in this chapter: either as strings of simple sentences in co-ordination, or as simple sentences embedded within other simple sentences.

The discussion of the structure of the Lenakel sentence in 4.2. below will be preceded by an examination of the kinds and structure of Lenakel phrases.

¹There are Lenakel sentences with no VP at all - see 4.2.5. - but these may be conceived as containing an underlying performative verb which has no phonological representation.

4.1. PHRASES

In this section we will examine the structure of simple noun phrases, locative phrases, possessive phrases, verb phrases, and temporal phrases.

4.1.1. THE SIMPLE NOUN PHRASE

The simple NP is a phrase whose head is a noun and which contains no embedded sentence. Lenakel simple sentences contain simple NPs, some of which may be preceded by prepositions. The structure of the simple NP is outlined in rule (1):

(1) NP \rightarrow N ($\{ \overset{A}{Ddsc} \}$)* (Dnum) (Dqty) (Ddem)

Rule (1) states that an NP must contain a noun,¹ which is optionally followed by one or more constituents. The first of these optional slots is usually filled by an adjective without verbal affixes, or by a descriptive adjunct; the asterisk following this constituent in rule (1) indicates that more than one item may be chosen. The next three slots are filled by adjuncts of the other three classes: grammatical number markers, adjuncts of quantity, and demonstrative adjuncts respectively.² Some examples of simple NPs in simple sentences are given below, and the structure of the NP in each case is outlined within parentheses at the right of the sentence. Slashes in these and all other examples in this chapter indicate phrase-boundaries.

(2) a. Uus asuul uk riva.

uus asuul uk / r-va (N + Ddsc + Ddem)
man big this / 3:s-come
'This big man came'

b. Nau rimaamh n+k mil kiu.

Nau / r-im-aamh / n+k mil kiu (N); (N + Dnum + Dqty)
Nau / 3:s-past-see / tree dual two
'Nau saw two trees'

c. Pukas esuaas miin aan kinaikmw.

pukas esuaas miin aan / k-n-ai-akmw (N + A + Dnum + Ddem)
pig small pl that / 3:ns-perf-pl-run:away
'Those small pigs have run away'

¹NPs which do not contain nouns - e.g., as a result of pronominalisation - will be discussed in the next chapter.

²See the discussion in 3.1.4. regarding the idiosyncratic changes in the ordering of particular adjuncts.

d. Nĩnaamh neram ituga petĩmw ka?

n-n-aamh / n-eram ituga petĩmw ka (N + Ddsc + Ddsc + Ddem)
 2-perf-see / pl-the:one foreign all that
 'Did you (s.) see all those foreigners?'

e. Iakhinatĩn nimwa esuaas vi mil kiu ka.

i-ak-hinatĩn / nimwa esuaas vi mil kiu ka (N + A + Ddsc + Dnum
 + Dqty + Ddem)
 1:exc-conc-know / house small new dual two that
 'I know of those two small new houses'

4.1.2. THE SIMPLE LOCATIVE PHRASE

Locative phrases (LP) may be either situational or directional.¹ Whether an LP is situational or directional, however, is determined not by its internal structure but by the nature of the preceding verb. When an LP follows a verb or directional motion (e.g., vĩn 'to go'; lelĩg 'to return'; or eai 'to swim to'), or a directional verb (like asou- 'to proceed', or sĩm- 'to return from'), or a verb of giving (like ofĩn 'to give'), then that LP is always directional. For example:

(3) Iemvĩn apwa Ifila.

i-ĩm-vĩn / apwa Ifila
 1:exc-past-go / loc Vila
 'I went to Vila'

When an LP follows any other verb, including verbs of non-directional motion (like aliuok 'to walk', or avĩn 'to wander'), it is always situational.² For example:

(4) Iemaliuok apwa Ifila.

i-ĩm-aliuok / apwa Ifila
 1:exc-past-walk / loc Vila
 'I walked around in Vila'

¹A situational locative is one which, in English, follows the verb 'to be': thus 'He is in the house'. A directional locative implies motion: 'He went to the house'.

²For a directional LP to be used in conjunction with a verb of non-directional motion, a complex sentence involving the co-ordination of a directional verb with the non-directional verb must be used; contrast the example below with example (4):

Iemaliuok mĩvĩn apwa Lenakel
 i-ĩm-aliuok / m-vĩn / apwa Lenakel
 1:exc-past-walk / and-go / loc Lenakel
 'I walked to Lenakel'

Lenakel LPs show greater structural variation than do NPs. The following rule generates the large majority of LP-types found in simple sentences:

$$(5) \quad LP \quad \rightarrow \quad (apwa) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NL \\ ik\dot{i}n-NP \\ loc + NP \end{array} \right\}$$

Rule (5) states that an LP consists of either a locative noun (NL), or an NP with the noun *ikḱin* 'place', as its head, or an NP introduced by a locative preposition - usually *le*, but occasionally *to*. Each of these types may optionally be preceded by the LP-introducer *apwa*, whose use appears to be entirely optional: that is, no semantic distinctions appear to attach to its presence or absence, as the following semantically identical sentences indicate:

- (6) a. *Kḱnarvḱn apwa le nḱmwakḱlakḱl.*
k-n-ar-vḱn / apwa le nḱmwakḱlakḱl
 3:ns-perf-pl-go / loc loc *beach*
 'They (pl.) went to the beach'
- b. *Kḱnarvḱn le nḱmwakḱlakḱl.*
k-n-ar-vḱn / le nḱmwakḱlakḱl
 3:ns-perf-pl-go / loc *beach*
 'They (pl.) went to the beach'

As rule (5) shows, one kind of LP which follows optional *apwa* consists solely of a locative noun:

- (7) a. *Kḱmarvaat apwa Lenḱmtehin.*
k-ḱm-ar-vaat / apwa Lenḱmtehin
 3:ns-past-pl-land / loc *Lenḱmtehin*
 'They (pl.) landed at *Lenḱmtehin*'
- b. *Kḱmhalvḱn iikhu.*
k-ḱm-hal-vḱn / iikhu
 3:ns-past-tr-go / loc:north
 'They (tr.) went up north'
- c. *Iakamarḱk Imlau.*
i-ak-am-arḱk / Imlau
 1:exc-conc-cont-live / *Imlau*
 'I live at *Imlau*'

A second type of LP consists of an NP whose head noun is the locative noun *ikḱin* 'place, location'. This kind of LP is used especially in translating demonstrative locatives like 'here' and 'there' which, in Lenakel, consist of *ikḱin* followed by the appropriate demonstrative adjunct.

- (8) a. Tiakapul uk ikɪn uk.
 t-i-ak-apul uk / ikɪn uk
 fut-1:exc-conc-sleep *this* / *place this*
 'I will sleep here'
- b. Vɪn aan ikɪn aan!
 vɪn aan / ikɪn aan
 go *that* / *place that*
 'Go (s.) over there!'
- c. Uus aan ramartk ikɪn petuen?
 uus aan / r-am-artk / ikɪn petuen
 man *that* / 3:s-cont-live / *place which*
 'Where does that fellow live?'
- d. Rɪmahum iatɪv apwa ikɪn taat.
 r-ɪm-ahum iatɪv / apwa ikɪn taat
 3:s-past-dive out / loc *place bad*
 'He dived out into a bad place'

The third type of LP is the only one which uses a case-marking preposition. This type consists of an NP preceded by *le* or, occasionally, *to* (see 3.4.2. above).

- (9) a. Uusuaas ka rɪt le tui nɪk ker.
 uus-suaas ka / r-ɪt / le tui nɪk ker
 man-small *that* / 3:s-go:up / loc *top tree one*
 'That boy climbed to the top of a tree'
- b. Kɪmastɪpɪn apwa le touar.
 k-ɪm-a-sɪm-pn / apwa le touar
 3:ns-past-pl-come:from-there / loc loc *mountain*
 'They (pl.) came from the mountain'
- c. Kɪrentɪm ilau le nɪmil karena.
 k-renɪm / il-lau / le nɪmil karena
 3:ns-bury / they-d / loc *hole one*
 'The two of them were buried in the same grave'
- d. Rɪmowta to nɪkom ka.
 r-ɪm-awta / to nɪkom ka
 3:s-past-sit / loc *fire that*
 'He sat at that fire'

4.1.3. THE SIMPLE POSSESSIVE PHRASE

As pointed out in Lynch 1973a, 1973b, possessive phrases (PP) should properly be considered as expansions of a simple NP. However, it is not

only convenient to deal with PPs here, but it is also somewhat pedantic in a grammar of this kind to treat, for example, possessive pronominal suffixes - some of which consist of but a single consonant - as being the phonological representation of an embedded sentence.

Possessive phrases are generally of the following structure:

(10) PP --> NP + poss + NP

where the first NP is possessed and the second is the possessor, with 'poss' indicating a possessive-marking morpheme of some kind. There are, however, three subtypes of PP in Lenakel, and it is useful to discuss each separately.

4.1.3.1. Inalienable Possessive Phrases

Certain possessive phrases in Lenakel, as in most other Oceanic languages, are said to be inalienable. Such constructions are used when an intimate relationship obtains between the possessor and the possessed - so intimate, in fact, that the term 'possession' seems inappropriate. Kinship terms and most parts of the body or of a whole are normally inalienably possessed, although certain other nouns representing things intimately involved with the possessor are also possessed inalienably.

The structure of the inalienable possessive phrase (PP_{inal}) is shown in rule (11):

(11) PP_{inal} --> NP_{inal} + NP

An inalienable PP consists, in other words, of a (possessed) NP whose head is an inalienable noun, followed immediately by the NP acting as possessor. Some examples follow:

(12) a. Pwia uus aan rakam̄s.

pwia uus aan / r-ak-m̄s
older:brother man that / 3:s-conc-sick
'That man's older brother is sick'

b. Ramk̄n nelk̄ pukas.

r-am-k̄n / nelk̄ pukas
 3:s-cont-eat / leg pig
'He is eating the pig's leg'

c. Ieshinatinaan netḡt perav̄n mil uk.

i-ʔs-hinatín-aan / netḡt pera-v̄n mil uk
 1:exc-neg-know-neg / name woman dual this
'I don't know the names of these two women'

When the possessor is a noun or a noun phrase - but NOT a pronoun - any adjectives or adjuncts contained in the inalienable possessed NP are moved into a following appositive phrase (AP) by rule (13):

- (13) $[_{PP} [_{NP} \text{Ninal} + X]_{NP} + [_{NP} N + Y]_{NP}]_{PP}$
 $\implies [_{PP} \text{Ninal} + [_{NP} N + Y]_{NP}]_{PP} + [_{AP} \text{appos} + X]_{AP}$

Although apposition is discussed in detail in 4.2. below, a few examples are appropriate here:

- (14) a. Ner† uus aan iresuaas r†sveaan ina.
 ner uus aan / ir-esuaas / r-†s-va-aan ina
child man that / appos-small / 3:s-neg-come-neg not:yet
'That man's small son has not yet come'
- b. Pehe r†narai nouanu kova ir†pwomh?
 pehe / r-n-arai / nouanu kova / ir-†pwomh
who / 3:s-perf-cut / hair child / appos-long
'Who cut the child's long hair?'

When the possessor NP is a pronoun (PRO), the possessive pronominal suffixes (pro:sfx) listed in (3.112) above are affixed directly to the inalienable noun by rule (15):¹

- (15) $[_{PP} [_{NP} \text{Ninal} + X]_{NP} + [_{NP} \text{PRO}]_{NP}]_{PP}$
 $\implies [_{PP} [_{NP} \text{Ninal} + \text{pro:sfx} + X]_{NP}]_{PP}$

Note in rule (15), as well as in examples (16b) and (16c) below, that adjectives or adjuncts modifying the inalienable noun occur after the pronominal suffix.

- (16) a. R†m†mar r†nva ita.
 r†m-m-ar / r-n-va ita
father-1:exc-pl / 3:s-perf-come already
'Our (exc.pl.) father has already come'
- b. Ner†k miin pet†mw k†narv†n Ifila.
 ner-k miin pet†mw / k-n-ar-v†n / Ifila
child-1:s pl all / 3:ns-perf-pl-go / Vila
'All my children have gone to Vila'
- c. Inho le nelmok kiu.
 i-n-ho / le nelm-k kiu
 1:exc-perf-hit / ins hand-1:s two
'I hit it with two hands'

¹When the possessed noun (or the possessive morphemes discussed in 4.1.3.2.) ends in a consonant and the possessor begins with a consonant, † is inserted between the two consonants. This † changes to o before -k 'my', and to a before -m 'your (s.)'.

d. Pehe netgam?

pehe / netg-m

who / name-2:s

'What is your (s.) name?'

4.1.3.2. Alienable Possessive Phrases

Certain other types of possessive constructions are said to be alienable. In these cases there is generally no intimate relationship between possessor and possessed; thus, 'possession' is a more appropriate term in this case than in the case of inalienable constructions.

The structure of the alienable possessive phrase (PPal) is shown in rule (17):

$$(17) \quad \text{PPal} \quad \dashrightarrow \quad \text{NP} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{n}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{k-} \\ \text{n}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{mw-} \\ \text{ne-} \\ \text{iimwa-} \\ \text{taha-} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NP}$$

That is, an alienable PP consists of the possessed NP, followed by one of the five possessive morphemes shown in (17), followed by the possessor. As is the case in inalienable possession, a pronoun possessor becomes a pronominal suffix attached to the possessive morpheme by rule (18):

$$(18) \quad \text{NP} + \text{poss} + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \text{ PRO} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \quad \Rightarrow \quad 1, 2, \text{pro:sfx}$$

1 2 3

It is important in alienable constructions to know whether the possession is to be eaten, drunk, or planted, or whether it has to do with one's home, or whether it is conceived of only as a general possession. The form of the possessive morpheme is different in each case.¹

If the possession is to be eaten, the possessive morpheme is ntk-:

(19) a. Iesaamhaan nte nikt uusuaas uk.

i-ts-aamh-aan / nte ntk uus-suaas uk

l:exc-neg-see-neg / taro poss:to:eat man-small this

'I haven't seen this boy's taro (for eating)'

b. Nuw miin ntkok ihie?

nuw miin ntk-k / i-hie

yam pl poss:to:eat-l:s / loc-where

'Where are my yams (to eat)?'

¹The phrases 'to be eaten', 'to be drunk', etc., do not imply only that the possessor intends to eat or drink the possession; in context, they also refer to a possession which is being or has been eaten, drunk, etc. They do not imply merely that the possession is edible or drinkable.

If the possession is to be drunk, then the possessive morpheme *nɪmw-* is used:

- (20) a. Nu *nɪmwɪ* kuri *rɪ*taat.
 nu *nɪmw* kuri / *r*-taat
water poss:to:drink dog / 3:s-bad
'The dog's water (to drink) is bad/spoiled'
- b. *Nɪ*kava ituga *nɪmwam* apwa *ikɪn* aan.
*nɪ*kava ituga *nɪmw-m* / apwa *ikɪn* aan
kava foreign poss:to:drink-2:s / loc place that
'Your (s.) liquor is over there'

If the possession is to be planted, the possession morpheme *ne-* is used:

- (21) a. Inarai ita *nɪkɪlɪv* owas *ne* misi.
i-n-arai ita / *nɪkɪlɪv* owas *ne* misi
1:exc-perf-cut already / hibiscus old poss:to:plant missionary
'I have cut down the missionary's old hibiscus (which he planted)'
- b. *Kɪ*nahiu *nɪk* nenilar.
k-n-ai-hau / *nɪk* *ne-nil-ar*
3:ns-perf-pl-plant / tree poss:to:plant-3:ns-pl
'They (pl.) have planted their trees'

If the possession is a location, then the possessive morpheme *iimwa-* MAY be used; its use, however, is not obligatory (as is the use of *nɪk-*, *nɪmw-*, and *ne-*), and the general possessive morpheme *taha-* may be used instead of *iimwa-*.

- (22) a. Ieram ituga ker *ramarɪk* le nauanu *iimwa* Nasu.
i-eram ituga ker / *r-am-arɪk* / le nauanu
s-the:one foreign one / 3:s-cont-live / loc village
iimwa Nasu
poss:place Nasu
'There is a foreigner living in Nasu's village'
- b. *Kɪ*nɪalelɪg apwa le *tɪn* *iimwanɪ*lau.
k-n-ia-lelɪg / apwa le *tɪn* *iimwa-nil-lau*
3:ns-perf-d-return / loc loc land poss:place-3:ns-d
'The two of them have returned to their homeland'

If the possession cannot be eaten, drunk, or planted; or if the possessor has no specific intention at the time of speaking of eating, drinking, or planting the possession; or if the speaker does not wish

to make his intentions known - then the general possessive morpheme *taha-* is used.¹

- (23) a. Kuri miin taha uus mil aan kinaikimw ita.
 kuri miin taha uus mil aan / k-n-ai-akimw ita
dog pl poss man dual that / 3:ns-perf-pl-run:away already
'Those two men's dogs have run away'
- b. Nimwa vi tahak ikin aan.
 nimwa vi taha-k / ikin aan
house new poss-1:s / place that
'My new house is over there'

The possessive morpheme *taha-* is also used in cases of non-possessive attribution:

- (24) a. In uk nouanik taha nikinaan.
 in uk / noua-nik taha n-kin-aan
it this / fruit-tree poss nom-eat-nom
'This fruit is for eating'
- b. Nouanvirin taha napulaan ihie?
 nouan-virin taha n-apul-aan / i-hie
place poss nom-sleep-nom / loc-where
'Where is there a place to sleep?'

When the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive-morpheme-plus-pronominal-suffix constituent optionally precedes the possessed noun.² In such a case, adjuncts of quantity also precede the possessed noun, although all other adjuncts remain in their regular position following the noun. These changes are brought about by rule (25):

- (25) [PP [NP N + X + (Dqty) + Y]_{NP} poss + pro:sfx]_{PP}
 $\xrightarrow{\text{OPT}}$ [PP poss + pro:sfx + (Dqty) [NP N + X + Y]_{NP}]_{PP}

For example:

- (26) a. Ofa n+kok ker nuw!
 ofa / n+k-k ker nuw
give:to:speaker / poss:to:eat-1:s one yam
'Give me a yam (to eat)!'

¹The possessive morpheme *taha* - which is identical to the benefactive preposition - undergoes a number of phonological changes in various environments. Before non-singular pronominal suffixes, *taha* becomes *tɨ:*: thus *tɨ:miar* 'your (pl.)', is morphemically *taha-mi-ar*. In valued possession (see below), *taha* contracts to *ta*. Finally, in certain idiomatic constructions with noun possessors, *taha* contracts to *te*: e.g., *nouanur+k-te-iati* 'k.o. round yam' (said to have been introduced to Tanna by a man named Iati).

²I have not, however, observed this taking place with the locative-possessive morpheme *iimwa-*.

- b. Inos ita nɪmwam pia.
 i-n-os ita / nɪmw-m pia
 1:exc-perf-take *already* / poss:to:drink-2:s beer
 'I have taken away your (s.) beer'
- c. Nenilar nien ihie?
 ne-nil-ar nien / i-hie
 poss:to:plant-3:ns-pl coconut / loc-where
 'Where are their (pl.) coconut trees (which they planted)?'
- d. Rɪnɪtkivɪn tahak ker nimwa.
 r-n-ɪtkivɪn / taha-k ker nimwa
 3:s-perf-build / poss-1:s one house
 'He has built me a house'

When the possessor is a noun, the possessive-morpheme-plus-NP constituent may also precede the noun, but only in cases of emphasis. Such occurrences are, however, extremely rare. Thus (27b) is an emphatic version of (27a):

- (27) a. Iemaamh peravɪn taha Tom.
 i-ɪm-aamh / pera-vɪn taha Tom
 1:exc-past-see / woman poss Tom
 'I saw Tom's wife'
- b. Iemaamh taha Tom peravɪn!
 i-ɪm-aamh / taha Tom pera-vɪn
 1:exc-past-see / poss Tom woman
 'It was TOM'S wife that I saw!'

When the speaker wishes to indicate that the possessor places a high value on his possession, the possessive-morpheme-plus-pronominal-suffix obligatorily precedes the possessed noun, and if this noun begins with *n* then this *n* is deleted.¹ (This deleted *n* is represented as (n) in the morpheme-by-morpheme representation.) The possessive morpheme *taha-* contrasts to *ta-* in this context.

- (28) a. Tiakofɪna nɪmwam ɪkava ker.
 t-i-ak-ofɪna / nɪmw-m (n)ɪkava ker
 fut-1:exc-conc-give:to:addressee / poss:to:drink-2:s kava one
 'I'll give you (s.) some of your favourite kind of kava'

¹There is no deletion if the noun begins with any segment other than *n*. This supports the claim that this *n* in Lenakel probably derives from the reconstructed Proto-Oceanic article **na*.

Note that the adjunct of quantity follows the noun, as in (28a); compare rule (25) and the examples in (26).

I have no examples of this construction being used with the locative-possessive morpheme *imwa-*.

- b. Ilar uk n̄k̄ok uw.
 il-ar uk / n̄k̄-k (n)uw
 they-pl this / poss:to:eat-1:s yam
 'These are my most valued yams (to eat)'

If in the context of 'valued possession' the possessor is a noun, then the possessive morpheme with the appropriate pronominal suffix precedes the possessed noun, while the noun possessor follows it:

- (29) a. Tan au Magau ihie?
 taha-n (n)au Magau / i-hie
 poss-3:s knife Magau / loc-where
 'Where is Magau's favourite knife?'
 b. R̄matak̄n nenilar ip̄n uus miin aan.
 r-̄m-atak̄n / ne-nil-ar (n)ip̄n uus miin aan
 3:s-past-destroy / poss:to:plant-3:ns-pl banana man pl that
 'He destroyed those men's special planting-bananas'

Many nouns, of course, may be possessed by more than one possessive morpheme, depending on the possessor's intentions at the time. Thus a noun like nien 'coconut', may be possessed with n̄k̄- if thought of as food, n̄mw- if thought of as something to be drunk, ne- if thought of as a plant, or taha- if thought of in other ways, or if the possessor is unspecified. Further, nien will become ien in any of these four constructions if it is highly valued by the possessor. A few examples only illustrate this:

- (30) a. Pehe r̄nos n̄k̄ok nien?
 pehe / r-n-os / n̄k̄-k nien
 who / 3:s-perf-take / poss:to:eat-1:s coconut
 'Who took my (eating-)coconut?'
 b. In uk n̄mw̄n ien r̄m̄ok.
 in uk / n̄mw-n (n)ien r̄m-k
 it this / poss:to:drink-3:s coconut father-1:s
 'This is my father's favourite kind of drinking-coconut'
 c. Taham nien ihie?
 taha-m nien / i-hie
 poss-2:s coconut / loc-where
 'Where is your (s.) coconut?'

4.1.3.3. Semi-alienable Possessive Phrases

Lenakel has a third type of possessive phrase which I have termed semi-alienable. In these constructions, the nouns possessed often represent parts of wholes which are in some way removable: e.g.,

nepwka 'coconut husk'; nĩmraau 'ashes'; or uikar 'seed'. Other nouns possessed semi-alienably do not, however, seem to involve the idea of removability, and some, in fact, are body parts: nau 'backbone'; uulpĩs 'heel'; and nĩamha 'anger'. Thus no satisfactory basis for deciding the semantic range of semi-alienable possession has as yet been discovered.

The structure of the semi-alienable possessive phrase (PPsemi) is shown in rule (31):

$$(31) \quad \text{PPsemi} \quad \text{---} \rightarrow \quad \text{NPsemi} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{taha-} \\ \text{le} \\ \text{-fn} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NP}$$

That is, a semi-alienable PP consists of a semi-alienable NP - an NP with a semi-alienable noun as its head - followed by taha-, le, or -fn, followed by the possessor NP. Pronominal possessors are manifested as pronominal suffixes after taha and, in the singular, after le (which in this context becomes la); otherwise, pronoun possessors occur in their free forms (see (3.5) above).

There is no readily discernible semantic distinction between the use of the three possessive morphemes since, with a few minor exceptions, any noun that can be possessed semi-alienably may be possessed in any of these three ways. One kind of semi-alienable construction uses the regular neutral alienable possessive morpheme taha-, which functions in the same way as it does in alienable possessive phrases:

- (32) a. Uluou ker le uulpĩs tahak. (OR Uluou ker le tahak uulpĩs)
 uluou ker / le uulpĩs taha-k
 sore one / loc heel poss-l:s
 'There is a sore on my heel'
- b. ĩsamnumwaan nigĩs taha nien aan!
 ĩs-amnumw-aan / nigĩs taha nien aan
 neg-drink-neg / coconut:water poss coconut that
 'Don't (s.) drink the water of that coconut!'

The second kind of semi-alienable construction uses the locative case-marking preposition le:

- (33) a. Uluou ker le uulpĩs lak.
 uluou ker / le uulpĩs le-k
 sore one / loc heel loc-l:s
 'There is a sore on my heel'
- b. ĩsamnumwaan nigĩs le nien aan!
 ĩs-amnumw-aan / nigĩs le nien aan
 neg-drink-neg / coconut:water loc coconut that
 'Don't (s.) drink the water of that coconut!'

The third kind of semi-alienable construction uses the transitive post-clitic *-ín*:

(34) a. Uiuou ker le uulpts ín io.

uiuou ker / le uulpts ín io

sore one / loc heel trans I

'There is a sore on my heel'

b. ʔsamnumwaan nigts í nien aan!

ʔs-amnumw-aan / nigts ín nien aan

neg-drink-neg / coconut:water trans coconut that

'Don't (s.) drink the water of that coconut!'

A few nouns may be possessed both alienably and semi-alienably. In each case, the use of *taha-* unambiguously indicates alienable possession, and suggests a relationship between possessor and possessed less close than the corresponding semi-alienable relationship indicated by *le* or *-ín*. Note the examples below:

(35) a. 1. Nɪnarou nouanage taha Titoga ua?

n-n-arou / nouanage taha Titoga / ua

2-perf-hear / story poss Titoga / or

'Have you (s.) heard Titoga's story (the one he told)?'

ii. Nɪnarou nouanage í Titoga ua?

n-n-arou / nouanage ín Titoga / ua

2-perf-hear / story trans Titoga / or

'Have you (s.) heard the story about Titoga?'

b. 1. Iakamaamh nau taham. (OR Iakamaamh taham nau)

i-ak-am-aamh / nau taha-m

1:exc-conc-cont-see / blade poss-2:s

'I can see your (s.) knife'

ii. Iakamaamh nau lam.

i-ak-am-aamh / nau le-m

1:exc-conc-cont-see / blade loc-2:s

'I can see your (s.) backbone'

4.1.3.4. Irregularities

In locative attributive phrases, such as '*a man of Tanna*', the two nouns may either stand together with no intervening possessive morpheme, or else they are separated by *taha nar*, literally '*of the thing*':¹

¹Note the parallel here with the use of *to nar* as a locative, described in 3.4.2. above.

- (36) a. Ieram Imlau kiu k̄miava nenav.
 i-eram Imlau kiu / k-̄m-ia-va / nenav
 s-the:one Imlau two / 3:ns-past-d-come / yesterday
 'Two men from Imlau came yesterday'
- b. N̄ipukas taha nar Lounelap̄n ripw̄r.
 n-pukas taha nar Lounelap̄n / r-ipw̄r
 pl-pig poss thing Lounelap̄n / 3:s-many
 'The pigs of Lounelap̄n are numerous'

A few words are possessed in an irregular fashion: they are inalienable, in that they must always be possessed, but the method of possession is more reminiscent of valued alienable possession. Some of these nouns occur with *ta* + pronominal suffix prefixed to them: *-iel* 'friend, brother-in-law'; *-kapwa* 'head'; *-mwanilp* 'dorsal fin'; *-uua* 'vagina'.

- (37) a. R̄imho takkapwa.
 r-̄m-ho / ta-k-kapwa
 3:s-past-hit / poss-1:s-head
 'He hit my head', 'He hit me on the head'
- b. Iesaamhaan taniel Magau.
 i-̄s-aamh-aan / ta-n-iel Magau
 1:exc-neg-see-neg / poss-3:s-friend Magau
 'I didn't see Magau's friend'

Other nouns in this category are prefixed by *ne* + pronominal suffix: *-kauga* 'jaw'; *-rou* 'neck'.

- (38) Nar ker r̄k̄is Iasu le nenrou.
 nar ker / r-k̄is / Iasu / le ne-n-rou
 thing one / 3:s-bite / Iasu / loc poss-3:s-neck
 'Something bit Iasu on the neck'

4.1.4. THE SIMPLE VERB PHRASE

A simple Lenakel verb phrase (VP) has the following structure:¹

- (39) VP ---> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Verb} + (\text{Dvb})^* + (\{\text{Ddsc}^{\text{A}}\})^* + (\text{Ddem}) \\ \text{Adj} + (\text{Dvb})^* + (\text{Ddsc})^* \end{array} \right\}$

Rule (39) states that there are two kinds of VPs. One kind must contain a verb - i.e., a verb root with prefixes and suffixes as appropriate - and may contain one or more verbal adjuncts, one or more adjectives or descriptive adjuncts, and a demonstrative adjunct. For example:

¹Since this grammar is, albeit tenuously, following the Fillmoreian rather than the Chomskyan model, the VP does not include the NP object.

- (40) a. Rĩmkin mun akĩn.
 r-ĩm-kin mun akĩn (Verb + Dvb + Ddsc)
 3:s-past-eat again very
 'He ate a lot again'
- b. Tiakvĩn ru aan.
 t-i-ak-vĩn ru aan (Verb + Dvb + Ddem)
 fut-1:exc-conc-go try that
 'I'll try and go there'
- c. Rĩmaliuok taat am.
 r-ĩm-aliuok taat am (Verb + A + Ddsc)
 3:s-past-walk bad just
 'He just limped'
- d. Kĩnaimi ru apus am.
 k-n-ai-ami ru apus am (Verb + Dvb + A + Ddsc)
 3:ns-perf-pl-urinate try extinguished just
 'They (pl.) just tried to put it out by urinating on it'

The other kind of VP must contain an adjective (with appropriate affixes) and may contain one or more verbal adjuncts and one or more descriptive adjuncts:

- (41) a. Resuaas am.
 r-esuaas am (Adj + Ddsc)
 3:s-small just
 'It's quite small'
- b. Karipwĩr akĩn.
 k-ar-ipwĩr akĩn (Adj + Ddsc)
 3:ns-pl-big very
 'They (pl.) are very big'
- c. Ramkĩmik mun akĩn.
 r-amkĩmik mun akĩn (Adj + Dvb + Ddsc)
 3:s-dirty again very
 'He is very dirty again'

4.1.5. THE SIMPLE TEMPORAL PHRASE

The simple temporal phrase (TP) has the following structure:

- (42) TP \rightarrow {^{NT}_{le} + NP}

Some TPs consist solely of a temporal noun (NT):

- (43) a. Tolauk iepvɪn Ifila.
 to-lauk / i-ep-vɪn / Ifila
tomorrow / 1:exc-seq-go / Vila
'Tomorrow I'll go to Vila'
- b. Rɪnvi nam miin nenav.
 r-n-vi / nam miin / nenav
 3:s-perf-pull / fish pl / yesterday
'He caught some fish yesterday'
- c. Nɪmva nahan?
 n-ɪm-va / nahan
 2-past-come / when:past
'When did you (s.) come?'

Other TPs consist of the case-marking preposition *le* followed by an NP whose head noun denotes something to do with time; *le* may be deleted if the head of the NP is *nian* 'time':

- (44) a. Kamairɪk le nahuohueaan.
 k-am-ai-arɪk / le n-ahuohua-aan
 1:inc-cont-pl-live / loc nom-troubled-nom
'We (inc.pl.) are living in troubled times'
- b. Rɪmasouhiu le nian petuen?
 r-ɪm-asou-hiu / le nian petuen
 3:s-past-proceed-north / loc time which
'When did he go north?'
- c. Uus aan rɪmɪsmɪs nian miin.
 uus aan / r-mɪs-mɪs / nian miin
man that / 3:s-sick-sick / time pl
'That fellow is sick all the time'

4.2. SIMPLE SENTENCES

According to certain versions of the case-grammar model of linguistic description (e.g., Fillmore 1968), each Sentence (S) in a language is composed of a Modality Element (M) and a Proposition (P). Thus the first rule of Lenakel grammar is (45):

- (45) S \rightarrow M + P

In Lenakel, M is manifested in surface structures by the intentional, future, tense-aspect and continuative prefixes; by the negative post-clitic; by certain verbal adjuncts; and by temporal phrases.

The Proposition, in the case-grammar model, consists of a VP and a number of cases:

- (46) P \rightarrow VP + C₁ + ... + C_n

These cases represent the relationship between the participants and between each participant and the action. A number of such cases are recognised, among them Agentive, Goal, Dative, Benefactive, Instrumental, and Locative. Each case is composed of the appropriate case-marker (K) and an NP:

(47) $C_j \rightarrow K_j + NP$

In Lenakel, the Agentive case is always unmarked. The Goal case is also normally unmarked, although certain verbs mark the Goal with the transitive postclitic *-fn* (see 3.2.12. above) while a few others mark it with the preposition *le* (see 3.4.1. above). All other cases are overtly marked by one of the four prepositions *le*, *to*, *kam*, or *taha*; their precise functions will be examined in 4.2.2. below.

4.2.1. SENTENCE-NUCLEUS

In regular Lenakel sentences,¹ one of the cases, usually the Agentive, immediately precedes the VP, and in most regular sentences this is the only case which precedes the VP. This case is the grammatical subject, and it conditions the person and number prefixes of the verb. In transitive sentences there is also a grammatical object: this is usually the Goal case, which generally immediately follows the VP. Subject + verb in intransitive sentences, and subject + verb + object in transitive sentences, form a kind of unit into which no other case may normally be inserted. This unit will be termed the sentence-nucleus. Some examples of sentence-nuclei are given below: (48a, b) show nuclei of intransitive sentences, and (48c, d) show nuclei of transitive sentences.

(48) a. *Nakankip rimamapul.*

Nakankip / r-ɨm-am-apul (Subject + VP)

Nakankip / 3:s-past-cont-sleep

'Nakankip was sleeping'

b. *Pukas miin petimw tahak kɨnaikimw ita.*

pukas miin petimw taha-k / k-n-ai-aktimw ita (Subject + VP)

pig pl all poss-l:s / 3:ns-perf-pl-run:away already

'All my pigs have already run away'

c. *Iarmɨs asuul ker rimkin petimw neramim miin.*

i-armɨs asuul ker / r-ɨm-kin petimw / n-eramim miin
(Subject + VP + Object)

s-devil big one / 3:s-past-eat all / pl-person pl

'A big devil ate up all the people'

¹Verbless sentences are discussed in 4.2.5. below.

d. Uusuaas uk rɪnkɪn ita nuw mil kiu.

uus-suaas uk / r-n-kɪn ita / nuw mil kiu (Subject + VP + Object)
man-small this / 3:s-perf-eat already / yam dual two
'This boy has already eaten two yams'

Pronoun subjects, and third person singular pronoun objects, do not normally occur in Lenakel surface structures unless they are emphasised. It follows that there are also sentence-nuclei without surface subjects, and transitive sentence-nuclei without surface objects:

(49) a. Nɪmamaiiuok mɪruk akɪn.

n-ɪm-am-aliuok mɪruk akɪn (VP)
 2-past-cont-walk slow very
'You (s.) were walking very slowly'

b. Magau rɪnos.

Magau / r-n-os (Subject + VP)
 Magau / 3:s-perf-take
'Magau has taken it'

If the object is emphasised, it may be moved to sentence-initial position, although it never intervenes between the subject and the VP:

(50) a. Naramnár miin petɪmw nɪmataagasuul rɪmataɪkɪn!

nar-am-nar miin petɪmw / nɪmataag-asuul / r-ɪm-atakɪn
 (Object + Subject + VP)
thing-just-thing pl all / wind-big / 3:s-past-destroy
'ALL OUR HOUSEHOLD GOODS were destroyed by the hurricane!'

b. Nau ka iesosaan!

nau ka / l-ɪs-os-aan (Object + VP)
 knife that / 1:exc-neg-take-neg
'I didn't take THAT KNIFE!'

In impersonal constructions (see 3.2.7.4. above), however, the object occurs sentence-initially more often than not:

(51) a. Nɪk ka kɪnarai ita.

nɪk ka / k-n-arai ita (Object + VP)
 tree that / 3:ns-perf-cut already
'That tree has already been cut (down)'

b. Nuw ka kɪmkɪn.

nuw ka / k-ɪm-kɪn (Object + VP)
 yam that / 3:ns-past-eat
'That yam was eaten'

4.2.2. SENTENCE-PERIPHERY

Dative, Benefactive, Locative, Temporal, and Instrumental phrases make up the periphery of the sentence. Apart from Temporal phrases, which will be discussed later, all other peripheral phrases occur outside and following the sentence-nucleus. In addition, each of these phrases is always marked by a case-marking preposition - except, of course, those LPs composed solely of locative nouns and TPs composed solely of temporal nouns. The examples in (52a-c) show respectively a dative, benefactive, and locative phrase occurring in the periphery.

- (52) a. Rīmofɪn pukas to pehe?
 r-ɪm-ɔfɪn / pukas / to pehe
 3:s-past-give:to:third:person / pig / dat who
 'Who did he give the pig to?'
- b. Os nuw nɪvin taha rɪmam!
 ɔs / nuw nɪvin / taha rɪm-m
 take / yam some / benef father-2:s
 'Take some yams for your (s.) father'
- c. Iemaamh nerɪm le nɪmwakɪlakɪl.
 i-ɪm-aamh / ner-m / le nɪmwakɪlakɪl
 1:exc-past-see / child-2:s / loc beach
 'I saw your (s.) child on the beach'

Phrases within the periphery are not specifically ordered relative to one another, although Dative, more often than not, occurs at the beginning of the periphery. As a simple example, (53a) shows Dative + Locative, (53b) Locative + Instrumental, and (53c) Instrumental + Locative:

- (53) a. Rɪmakar kam io le nɪmwakɪlakɪl.
 r-ɪm-akar / kam io / le nɪmwakɪlakɪl
 3:s-past-speak / dat I / loc beach
 'He spoke to me on the beach'
- b. Iemarai nɪk ker le nɪkinhamra le kɪpaas taha.
 i-ɪm-arai / nɪk ker / le nɪki-nhamra / le kɪpaas taha-m
 1:exc-past-cut / tree one / loc loc-bush / ins axe poss-2:s
 'I cut down a tree in the bush with your (s.) axe'
- c. Uus aan rɪmho kuri ker le kopwiel iuokɪt to nɪmwahuaak.
 uus aan / r-ɪm-ho / kuri ker / le kopwiel / iuokɪt to nɪmwa-ahuaak
 man that / 3:s-past-hit / dog one / ins stone / near loc house-pray
 'That man hit/killed a dog with a stone near the church'

The ordering of Benefactive phrases marked by *taha* is also not fixed; these phrases normally come towards the beginning of the periphery (as in (54a)), but may be moved further to the right if they could be interpreted as inalienable possessive phrases (54b)).

- (54) a. Uusuaas ka r̄mamasumw taha r̄m̄n̄ iuok̄t̄ to nimwa tahak.
 uus-suaas ka / r̄-̄m̄-am-asumw / taha r̄m̄-n̄ /
man-small that / 3:s-past-cont-garden / benef father-3:s /
 iuok̄t̄ to nimwa taha-k
near loc house poss-1:s
'That boy was gardening for his father near my house'
- b. Iem̄l̄h̄ n̄m̄ ker le n̄kinhamra taham.
 i-̄m̄-̄l̄h̄ / n̄m̄ ker / le n̄ki-nhamra / taha-m
 1:exc-past-pick / *breadfruit one / loc loc-bush / benef-2:s*
'I picked a breadfruit for you (s.) in the bush'

Note in (54b) that if the Benefactive Phrase occurred at the beginning of the periphery - *Iem̄l̄h̄ n̄m̄ ker taham le n̄kinhamra* - a possessive interpretation is more likely, viz., *'I picked your (s.) breadfruit in the bush'*.

As in many languages, Temporal Phrases are more freely permutable than other phrases in the periphery. TPs occur most frequently as either the first or the last phrase in the sentence:

- (55) a. Lenhaiu k̄m̄m̄uap̄ul̄ am ka apwa le n̄mwak̄l̄ak̄l̄.
 l-enhaiu / k̄-̄m̄-am-u-ap̄ul̄ am ka / apwa le n̄mwak̄l̄ak̄l̄
 loc-evening / 3:ns-past-cont-d-sleep just that / loc loc beach
'In the evening the two of them were just sleeping there on the beach'
- b. Lauk ka uus ka repakav̄n̄.
 lauk ka / uus ka / r̄-ep-akav̄n̄
 morrow that / man that / 3:s-seq-go:off
'On the next day the man set off'
- c. Tiakailuak̄n̄ ik̄n̄ aan tolauk.
 t-i-ak-ai-aluak̄n̄ / ik̄n̄ aan / to-lauk
 fut-1:exc-conc-pl-war / place that / to-morrow
'We (exc.pl.) will go to war over there tomorrow'
- d. Ramk̄n̄ menuk̄ iuok̄t̄ to n̄kom̄ nian miin̄.
 r-am-k̄n̄ / menuk̄ / iuok̄t̄ to n̄kom̄ / nian miin̄
 3:s-cont-eat / fowl / near loc fire / time pl
'He always eats chicken near the fire'

Very occasionally, TPs occur other than sentence-initially or sentence-finally:

(56) a. Nhinatinaan ka kinamol toue le T+n.

n-hinatín-aan ka / k-n-am-ol / toue / le T+n

nom-know-nom *that* / 3:ns-perf-cont-do / *today* / loc *Tanna*

'That knowledge is still used today in Tanna'

b. Ramasitu le r+m+n nian miin le nasumwaan.

r-am-asitu / le r+m-n / nian miin / le n-asumw-aan

3:s-cont-help / dat *father*-3:s / *time* pl / loc nom-garden-nom

'He always helps his father in the garden'

Notice that in both examples there is a certain amount of emphasis on the TP; this probably explains the shift of position. I have no explanation, however, for the following example, which is the only one I have observed where a TP is inserted within the sentence-nucleus itself:

(57) Kova tahak r+mho nenav tahak menuk mlin pet+m+w.

kova taha-k / r+m-ho / nenav / taha-k menuk miin pet+m+w

child poss-1:s / 3:s-past-kill / *yesterday* / poss-1:s *fowl* pl *all*

'My child yesterday killed all my chickens'

4.2.3. IMPERATIVES

Imperative sentences do not differ in any significant way from regular simple sentences except in the fairly frequent occurrence of vocatives.

In positive commands, the only prefixes the verb may take are the continuative *am-* and those marking the number of the (understood) subject; the full range of suffixes, however, may occur.

(58) a. Perahig+!l, va!

pera-ahig+!l / va

woman-old / *come*

'Old woman, come!'

b. Kamiar, aik+m+w!

kami-ar / ai-ak+m+w

you:ns-pl / *pl-go:away*

'Go away, all of you!'

c. Osip+n nar aan!

os-ín-pn / nar aan

take-trans-there / *thing that*

'Take (s.) that thing over there!'

d. Amuail un!

am-u-ail un

cont-d-stand there:near:addressee

'Just keep standing there, you two!'

In negative commands, of course, the verb takes the negative tense prefix and the negative postclitic as well:

(59) a. $\text{\textcircled{+}sk\textcircled{+}naan}$ nam aan!

$\text{\textcircled{+}s-k\textcircled{+}n-aan}$ / nam aan

neg-eat-neg / fish that

'Don't (s.) eat that fish!'

b. Kamilau $\text{\textcircled{+}sualakhiaav\textcircled{+}naan}$ $\text{\textcircled{k\textcircled{+}paas}}$ ka!

kami-lau / $\text{\textcircled{+}s-u-alak-hiaav-\textcircled{+}n-aan}$ / $\text{\textcircled{k\textcircled{+}paas}}$ ka

you:ns-d / neg-d-throw-down-trans-neg / axe that

'Don't you two drop that axe!'

In polite imperatives, the verbal adjunct ru 'try to', is placed after the verb:

(60) a. $\text{\textcircled{Iat\textcircled{+}v}}$, $\text{\textcircled{ak\textcircled{+}mw}}$ ru!

$\text{\textcircled{Iat\textcircled{+}v}}$ / $\text{\textcircled{ak\textcircled{+}mw}}$ ru

$\text{\textcircled{Iat\textcircled{+}v}}$ / go:away try

' $\text{\textcircled{Iat\textcircled{+}v}}$, please go away!'

b. $\text{\textcircled{\textcircled{+}sarolaan}}$ ru!

$\text{\textcircled{+}s-ar-ol-aan}$ ru

neg-pl-do-neg try

'Would you (pl.) mind not doing that?'

Often a polite imperative may be expressed by the second person future:

(61) a. $\text{\textcircled{T\textcircled{+}nakva}}$ uk $\text{\textcircled{ik\textcircled{+}n}}$ uk!

$\text{\textcircled{t-n-ak-va}}$ uk / $\text{\textcircled{ik\textcircled{+}n}}$ uk

fut-2-conc-come this / place this

'Please come (s.) here!'

b. Takiel, $\text{\textcircled{t\textcircled{+}nsarolaan}}$ nar aan!

ta-k-iel / $\text{\textcircled{t-n-\textcircled{+}s-ar-ol-aan}}$ / nar aan

poss-1:s-friend / fut-2-neg-pl-do-neg / thing that

'Please don't do that, my friends!'

First person imperatives are complex sentences, which use the singular imperative of the verb pwás 'to let, allow', followed by a verb with regular affixes:

- (62) a. Pwas karofin ina netginilau!
 pwas / k-ar-ofin ina / netg-nil-lau
let / 1:inc-pl-give:to:third:person correct / name-3:ns-d
'Let us (inc.pl.) give them (d.) their right names!'
- b. Pwas ru iakalminstivn ru takiel!
 pwas ru / i-ak-almn-sivn ru / ta-k-iel
let try / 1:exc-conc-try-imitate try / poss-1:s-friend
'Let me try and trick my friend!'

When two or more imperatives follow each other, all except the first take the person prefix *m-* (see 3.2.3. above):

- (63) a. Vin mini to tamiel!
 vin / m+ni / to ta-m-iel
go / and-say / dat poss-2:s-friend
'Go (s.) and tell it to your (s.) friend!'
- b. Amuail uk miahinatn timilau!
 am-u-ail uk / m-ia-hinatn / taha-mi-lau
cont-d-stand this / and-d-know / poss-2:ns-d
'Just stand here, you two, and think about your actions!'

4.2.4. QUESTIONS

Questions may be asked in three different ways in Lenakel. One of these has already been discussed in 2.4.2. above: it merely involves a change from statement intonation (sentence-final fall-rise-fall) to sentence-final rising intonation, with no other changes to the sentence. Examples (2.63) and (2.64) illustrate this clearly.

Questions may also be asked by adding *ua kapwa* 'or no', to the end of a statement:

- (64) Kamilau ker tirva ua kapwa?
 kami-lau ker / t-r-va / ua kapwa
you:ns-d one / fut-3:s-come / or no
'Will one of the two of you come (or not)?'

More normally, however, *ua kapwa* is contracted to *ua*, which then functions as a question-tag. The intonation patterns for sentences containing the question-tag *ua* are illustrated in (2.65) above. Some examples:

- (65) a. Ninho ua?
 n-n-ho / ua
 2-perf-hit / or
'Did you (s.) hit it?'

- b. Ieram ituga rĩnva ua?
 i-eram ituga / r-n-va / ua
 s-the:one foreign / 3:s-perf-come / or
 'Has the foreigner come?'
- c. Kĩmuetũefn kalau miin ua?
 k-ĩm-u-eiũa-ĩn / kat-lau miin / ua
 l:inc-past-d-lie-trans / l:inc-d pl / or
 'Did we (inc.d.) deceive ourselves?'

The third method of asking questions in Lenakel employs interrogative words. The interrogative verbal affixes etu- 'how?, why?', and -hie 'where?', were discussed in 3.2.6. and 3.2.10.3. above respectively. Other interrogatives are the general nouns in (66a), the temporal nouns in (66b), the locative noun in (66c), and the adjunct in (66d):

- (66) a. pehe 'who?'
 neta 'what?'
 tonha 'why?'
- b. nahan 'when (past)?'
 tonhan 'when (future)?'¹
- c. ihie 'where?'
- d. petuen 'which?, where?'²

Some examples of these interrogatives follow:

- (67) a. Pehe rĩmos nau tahak?
 pehe / r-ĩm-os / nau taha-k
 who / 3:s-past-take / knife poss-1:s
 'Who took my knife?'
- b. Nĩnaklhefn menuk taha pehe?
 n-n-aklha-ĩn / menuk taha pehe
 2-perf-steal-trans / fowl poss who
 'Whose chickens have you (s.) stolen?'
- c. Nĩmaamh neta?
 n-ĩm-aamh / neta
 2-past-see / what
 'What did you (s.) see?'

¹Tonhan is morphemically to-nahan 'future-when'. Note also that tonhan almost always occurs sentence-initially, while nahan rarely occurs in that position.

²Petuen occurs most frequently after the nouns ikĩn 'place', and nian 'time', to translate 'where?' and 'when?' respectively.

- d. Nakamarol tonha?
 n-ak-am-ar-ol / tonha
 2-conc-cont-pl-do / why
 'Why are you (pl.) doing it?'
- e. Rimin rīmasoupin nahan apwa Ifila?
 rim-n / r-īm-asou-pn / nahan / apwa Ifila
 father-3:s / 3:s-past-proceed-there / when:past / loc Vila
 'When did his father go to Vila?'
- f. Tonhan kepasu nuw?
 to-nahan / k-ep-a-su / nuw
 fut-when / 1:inc-seq-pl-sow / yam
 'When will we (inc.pl.) plant yams?'
- g. Nakamavīn ihie?
 n-ak-am-avīn / i-hie
 2-conc-cont-go / loc-where
 'Where are you (s.) going?'
- h. Uus aan ramarik apwa ikīn petuen?
 uus aan / r-am-arik / apwa ikīn petuen
 man that / 3:s-cont-live / loc place which
 'Where does that man live?'
- i. Nian petuen usuaas ka rīmaamh kīnu tahak?
 nian petuen / uus-suaas ka / r-īm-aamh / kīnu taha-k
 time which / man-small that / 3:s-past-see / canoe poss-1:s
 'When did that boy see my canoe?'

The behaviour of the verb *ol* 'to do, make', in questions deserves comment. When *ol* is preceded by the interrogative prefix *etu-* the whole verb translates 'how?' or 'why?', as in (68a). This is often shortened to *at-ol*, as in (68b); while there is also a related compound verb *atau-ol* 'to do what?', which is illustrated in (68c).¹

- (68) a. Tiaketuol mīgnīn iik?
 t-i-ak-etu-ol / m-īgn-īn / iik
 fut-1:exc-conc-itr-do / and-fear-trans / you:s
 'How could I be frightened of you (s.)?', 'Why should I be frightened of you (s.)?'

¹ Although the verb *atau-ol* appears to be a compound, the first element has not been identified (unless it is a phonological variant of *neta* 'what?').

b. Takiel, nakamarou ratol?

ta-k-iel / n-ak-am-arou / r-at-ol
 poss-1:s-friend / 2-conc-cont-perceive / 3:s-itr-do
 'My friend, how do you feel?'

c. Rīmamarīk lauānu mamatauol?

r-īm-am-arīk / l-auānu / m-am-atau-ol
 3:s-past-cont-stay / loc-village / and-cont-what-do
 'What did he do while he was staying in the village?'

4.2.5. VERBLESS SENTENCES

Because of the absence of verbs like English 'have' and 'be' in Lenakel, sentences without verbs occur quite frequently. These verbless sentences are usually identificatory in nature.

Many verbless sentences are equational, and virtually all Lenakel equational sentences are verbless:

(69) a. Netgīn ka Lomai.

netg-n ka / Lomai
 name-3:s that / Lomai
 'His name is Lomai'

b. In uk Misak.

in uk / Misak
 he this / Misak
 'He is Misak', 'This is Misak'

c. Pehe ieramasuul?

pehe / i-eram-asuul
 who / s-the:one-big
 'Who is the headman?'

Other identificatory sentences consist of an NP followed by a temporal, locative, or possessive phrase. Identificatory sentences also occur with temporal or possessive phrases preceding the NP:

(70) a. Norhīmilau ihie?

norh-mi-lau / i-hie (NP + LP)
 younger:brother-2:ns-d / loc-where
 'Where is your (pl.) younger brother?'

b. Nimwa kiu apwa le touar aan.

nimwa kiu / apwa le touar aan (NP + LP)
 house two / loc loc mountain that
 'There are two houses on that mountain'

- c. Nĩpĩn miin nĩvin nenav.
 nĩpĩn miin nĩvin / nenav (NP + TP)
banana pl some / yesterday
'There were some bananas yesterday'
- d. Tolauk nihĩn asuul.
 to-lauk / nihĩn asuul (TP + NP)
to-morrow / rain big
'Tomorrow there will be a lot of rain'
- e. Nar uk nĩkĩn.
 nar uk / nĩk-n (NP + PP)
thing this / poss:to:eat-3:s
'This is his (to eat)', 'He has this to eat'
- f. Tahak un iik!
 taha-k un / iik (PP + NP)
 poss-1:s *this:near:addressee / you:s*
'You (s.) there belong to me!'

When a verbless sentence is negatived it loses its verbless character.¹ In such cases, the negative verb *ĩka* 'not to be, not to be there', or the third person singular negative of *ol* 'to do, make', are used:

- (71) a. Nuw rĩka apwa ikin uk.
 nuw / r-ĩka / apwa ikin uk
yam / 3:s-not:to:be / loc place this
'There are no yams here'
- b. Nimwa aan rĩsolaan tahak.
 nimwa aan / r-ĩs-ol-aan / taha-k
house that / 3:s-neg-do-neg / poss-1:s
'That house is not mine'
- c. Nĩkĩn nar ker rĩka.
 nĩk-n nar ker / r-ĩka
 poss:to:eat-3:s *thing one / 3:s-not:to:be*
'He doesn't have anything to eat'

¹Sentences like the following include what appears to be a negative verbless sentence:

Rĩmho ru pukas merou kapwa.
 r-ĩm-ho ru / pukas / merou / kapwa
 3:s-past-kill try / pig / but / not
'He tried to kill the pig, but he couldn't'

These will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will briefly discuss the more important kinds of complex sentences which occur in Lenakel. I will not attempt to delve deeply into linguistic theory in this discussion, but will, in general, confine myself to a descriptive account. Certain kinds of complex sentences can be viewed as involving an expansion of the NP, and these will be treated in section 5.1. Other types of expansions will be dealt with in 5.2., while some brief notes on pronominalisation and other features of discourse will be given in 5.3.

5.1. NP EXPANSIONS

Rule (1) in the previous chapter, which is repeated below, gives only the simplest expansion of NP:

(1) NP \rightarrow N($\overset{A}{Ddsc}$)* (Dnum) (Dqty) (Ddem)

In this section, other expansions - co-ordination, relativisation, expansion of TPs and LPs, and complementation - will be examined.

5.1.1. CO-ORDINATION

One expansion of NP is shown in the following rule:

(2) NP \rightarrow NP + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} m\dot{n}e \\ ua \end{matrix} \right\}$ + NP

Co-ordinate NPs are joined by *m $\dot{n}e$ 'and'*. If such an NP occurs in subject position, then the number prefix to the verb reflects the number of the whole subject; i.e., if two singular nouns occur as a co-ordinate NP subject, the verb takes the dual prefix.

- (3) a. Uus aan m̄ne r̄im̄n kamuar̄tk ihie?
 uus aan m̄ne r̄im̄-n k-am-u-art̄k i-hie
man that and father-3:s 3:ns-cont-d-live loc-where
'Where do that man and his father live?'
- b. Iiau m̄ne in̄nilau khaisouhiu.
 il-lau m̄ne in-nil-lau k-hai-asou-hiu
they-d and mother-3:ns-d 3:ns-tr-proceed-north
'The two of them and their mother went north'
- c. Iemaamh pukas asuul ker m̄ne kuri esuaas kiu.
 i-̄im̄-aamh pukas asuul ker m̄ne kuri esuaas kiu
 l:exc-past-see pig big one and dog small two
'I saw a big pig and two small dogs'

When two conjoined NPs are thought of as being almost inseparable - as the legendary twin brothers Kati and Koukau in the example below - m̄ne usually contracts to m:

- (4) Nian ker, Kati m Koukau k̄imiav̄in le n̄kinhamra.
 nian ker, Kati m Koukau k-̄im̄-ia-v̄in le n̄ki-nhamra
day one, Kati and Koukau 3:ns-past-d-go loc loc-bush
'One day, Kati and Koukau went into the bush'

When more than two NPs occur in co-ordination, each occurrence of m̄ne usually contracts to ne. In addition, m̄ne also usually occurs after the last of the co-ordinate NPs.

- (5) Iarmis ka r̄im̄kin pet̄im̄w neram̄m ne pukas ne menuk m̄ne.
 i-armis ka r-̄im̄-kin pet̄im̄w n-eram̄m ne pukas ne menuk m̄ne
 s-devil that 3:s-past-eat all pl-person and pig and bird and
'That devil ate up all the people and pigs and birds'

If a co-ordinate NP is the possessor in a PP, whether alienable, inalienable, or semi-alienable, then either of two structures may occur. In one case (as in (6a) below), the appropriate pronominal suffix is attached to the possessed inalienable noun or the possessive morpheme, and the co-ordinate NP immediately follows; in the other case (as in (6b) below), the pronominal suffix is omitted, the resulting construction being ambiguous:

- (6) a. Iemaamh in̄nilau Kasasaau m̄ne Kaniapniin.
 i-̄im̄-aamh in-nil-lau Kasasaau m̄ne Kaniapniin
 l:exc-past-see mother-3:ns-d Kasasaau and Kaniapniin
'I saw Kasasaau's and Kaniapniin's mother'

- b. Iemaamh in̄ Kasasaau m̄ne Kaniapniin.
 i-ṯm-aamh in Kasasaau m̄ne Kaniapniin
 l:exc-past-see mother Kasasaau and Kaniapniin
 'I saw Kasasaau's and Kaniapniin's mother', or 'I saw
 Kasasaau's mother and Kaniapniin'

When one of the NPs in co-ordination is a pronoun, then, except in cases of possession, the rules noted above normally apply:

- (7) a. Io m̄ne r̄m̄ok tikiava tolauk.
 io m̄ne r̄m̄-k t-i-ak-ia-va to-lauk
 I and father-1:s fut-1:exc-conc-d-come to-morrow
 'My father and I will come tomorrow'
- b. Tiesof̄neaan kam iik m̄ne pwiam.
 t-i-ṯs-of̄na-aan kam iik m̄ne pwia-m
 fut-1:exc-neg-give:to:addresssee-neg dat you:s and older:brother-2:s
 'I will not give it to you (s.) and your older brother'

However, it is also possible to replace the free pronoun, which represents one of the co-ordinate NPs, with a free pronoun whose person and number is appropriate to all the co-ordinated NPs. The conjunction *m̄ne* is not used, and the nouns immediately follow the pronoun. Thus the examples in (8) are acceptable alternatives to those in (7):

- (8) a. Kamlau r̄m̄ok tikiava tolauk.
 kam-lau r̄m̄-k t-i-ak-ia-va to-lauk
 we:exc-d father-1:s fut-1:exc-conc-d-come to-morrow
 'My father and I will come tomorrow'
- b. Tiesof̄neaan kam kamilau pwiam.
 t-i-ṯs-of̄na-aan kam kami-lau pwia-m
 fut-1:exc-neg-give:to:addresssee-neg dat you:ns-d older-brother-2:s
 'I will not give it to you (s.) and your older brother'

In possessive constructions, when the possessor is one or more NPs co-ordinated with a pronoun, this second pattern is almost always used.¹

¹It is possible not to use the free pronoun of a person and number appropriate to all the co-ordinated NPs; e.g.:

- i. R̄m̄ok m̄ne r̄m̄ṯ Tion.
 r̄m̄-k m̄ne r̄m̄ Tion
 father-1:s and father John
 'John's and my father', or 'My father and John's father'
- ii. Nimwa taha m̄ne taha Tion.
 nimwa taha-k m̄ne taha Tion
 house poss-1:s and poss John
 'John's and my house', or 'My house and John's house'

Such constructions, however, are felt to be not only rather clumsy, but also to contain potential ambiguities.

The pronominal suffix reflects the person and number of all the co-ordinated NPs, while the nouns follow the suffix; the free pronoun does not appear on the surface but its person and number can be deduced from the nature of the pronominal suffix and the noun possessors. Thus, in (9a), the suffixed pronoun is first exclusive trial, and two singular nouns occur as possessors; therefore the free pronoun omitted must be first singular. Similarly, in (9b), the suffixed pronoun is second trial, and one singular noun occurs as a possessor; therefore the free pronoun omitted must be second dual.

- (9) a. Kuri miin t̄mhel Tom m̄ne Titoga k̄maitak̄n nasumwaan.
 kuri miin taha-m-hel Tom m̄ne Titoga k-̄m-al-atak̄n
 dog pl poss-1:exc-tr Tom and Titoga 3:ns-past-pl-destroy
 n-asumw-aan
 nom-garden-nom

'Tom's, Titoga's and my dogs destroyed the garden'

- b. K̄nu t̄mhiel r̄m̄milau ramar̄k ihle?
 k̄nu taha-m̄l-hel r̄m̄-mi-lau r-am-ar̄k i-hie
 canoe poss-2:ns-tr father-2:ns-d 3:s-cont-stay loc-where
'Where is the canoe belonging to you two and your father?'

While m̄ne in rule (2) links co-ordinate NPs, ua 'or', links disjunctive NPs:

- (10) a. T̄nakolkeikei in uk ua in aan?
 t-n-ak-olkeikei in uk ua in aan
 fut-2-conc-want it this or it that
'Do you (s.) want this one or that one?'
- b. Uus ka ua r̄m̄n r̄nos ita.
 uus ka ua r̄m-n r-n-os ita
 man that or father-3:s 3:s-perf-take already
'That man or his father has taken it', 'That man or his father must have taken it'

(Note especially in (10b) that Lenakel, like English, uses a singular verb when two singular NPs are disjoined by ua 'or').

In many sentences, ua may also precede the first of the two disjunctive NPs, similar to the use of English 'either':

- (11) Ua Iat̄iv ua pwian t̄rva tolauk.
 ua Iat̄iv ua pwia-n t-r-va to-lauk
 or Iat̄iv or older:brother-3:s fut-3:s-come to-morrow
'Either Iat̄iv or his older brother will come tomorrow'

5.1.2. RELATIVISATION

The introducer of a Lenakel relative clause is *ieram* 'the one who', which is invariable for person, number, and case.¹ The use of *ieram* is optional in all contexts in which it appears, unless the verb in the relative clause is an adjective, in which case it is very rarely omitted.

Before proceeding to an analysis of relatives in Lenakel, consider the following examples, where the optional occurrence of *ieram* is indicated by parentheses, and the relative clause itself is enclosed in square brackets:

- (12) a. *Peravɪn (ieram) rɪmva nenav rakamɪs.*
pera-vɪn [(ieram) r-ɪm-va nenav] r-ak-mɪs
woman [(rel) 3:s-past-come yesterday] 3:s-conc-sick
'The woman who came yesterday is sick'
- b. *Uus ka (ieram) iakolkeikei mamwa tiakaamh tolauk tɪrɪsvaan.*
uus ka [(ieram) i-ak-olkeikei mamwa t-i-ak-aamh
man that [(rel) 1:exc-conc-want that fut-1:exc-conc-see
to-lauk] t-r-ɪs-va-aan
to-morrow] fut-3:s-neg-come-neg
'The man whom I want to see tomorrow will not come'
- c. *Nien (ieram) rɪmok rɪmhau kɪmarai.*
nien [(ieram) rɪm-k r-ɪm-hau] k-ɪm-arai
coconut [(rel) father-1:s 3:s-past-plant] 3:ns-past-cut
'The coconut tree which my father planted was cut down'
- d. *Pwiam rɪmho pukas (ieram) rɪmkɪn nuw taham.*
pwia-m r-ɪm-ho pukas [(ieram) r-ɪm-kɪn
older:brother-2:s 3:s-past-kill pig [(rel) 3:s-past-eat
nuw taha-m]
yam poss-2:s]
'Your (s.) older brother killed the pig which ate your yams'
- e. *Iemaamh peravɪn ka (ieram) iik nɪsolkeikeiaan.*
i-ɪm-aamh pera-vɪn ka [(ieram) iik n-ɪs-olkeikei-aan]
1:exc-past-see woman that [(rel) you:s 2-neg-like-neg]
'I saw that woman whom YOU (s.) don't like'

¹When functioning as a noun (as in *ieram ituga* 'foreigner'), the change of *i* to *n* indicates a plural (*neram ituga* 'foreigners'). This change does NOT take place when *ieram* functions as a relative clause introducer.

- g. Rɪnarai ita nɪk ka le kɪpaas (ieram) iemol.
 r-n-arai ita nɪk ka le kɪpaas [(ieram) i-ɪm-ol]
 3:s-perf-cut already tree that ins are [(rel) 1:exc-past-make]
 'He has cut down the tree with the axe I made'

The following rules are necessary to explain the Lenakel relative clauses in (12), and most other such clauses. Firstly, yet another expansion of NP is needed:

- (13) NP \rightarrow NP + S

If the embedded sentence contains an NP co-referential with the NP in the matrix, then that embedded NP is replaced by *ieram*:

- (14) $[_{NP} NP_1 [_{S} X + NP_1 + Y]_{S}]_{NP} \Rightarrow 1, 2, \text{ieram}, 4$
 1 2 3 4

Ieram is then obligatorily moved to the beginning of the embedded sentence:

- (15) $[_{S} X + \text{ieram} + Y]_{S} \Rightarrow 2, 1, 3$
 1 2 3

Finally, *ieram* may be optionally deleted:¹

- (16) *ieram* \xrightarrow{OPT} \emptyset

The derivation of a sentence like (12c) would thus proceed as follows:²

- (17) $[_{S} [_{NP} \text{nien} [_{S} \text{rɪmɔk rɪmhau} [_{NP} \text{nien}]_{NP}]_{S}]_{NP} \text{kɪmarai}]_{S}$
 $\Rightarrow [_{S} [_{NP} \text{nien} [_{S} \text{rɪmɔk rɪmhau ieram}]_{S}]_{NP} \text{kɪmarai}]_{S}$ RULE (14)
 $\Rightarrow [_{S} [_{NP} \text{nien} [_{S} \text{ieram rɪmɔk rɪmhau}]_{S}]_{NP} \text{kɪmarai}]_{S}$ RULE (15)

Ieram may then be optionally deleted by rule (16).

Consider now examples of sentences where the relativised noun is a possessor (18a, b) or is otherwise marked by a case-marking preposition (18c-e):

- (18) a. Iahigɪl (ieram) rɪmɪn rɪnɪmɪs rɪnvɪn Ifila.
 i-ahigɪl [(ieram) rɪm-n r-n-mɪs] r-n-vɪn Ifila
 nom:s-old [(rel) father-3:s 3:s-perf-die]3:s-perf-go Vila
 'The old man, whose father has died, has gone to Vila'

¹*Ieram* is obligatorily deleted if it is the subject of an adjective. Thus *uus rɪvɪt rɪva* 'the man who is good came', and (normally) not **uus ieram rɪvɪt rɪva*.

²The actual procedure for attaching person and tense prefixes to verbs and possessive suffixes to inalienable nouns has been ignored in this example.

- b. Iesolkeikeiaan uus ka (ieram) tahan menuk kamarva apwa iimwak.
 i-*ts*-olkeikei-*aan* uus ka [(ieram) taha-n menuk
 1:exc-neg-like-neg man that [(rel) poss-3:s fowl
 k-am-ar-va apwa i-imwa-k]
 3:ns-cont-pl-come loc loc-house-1:s]
'I don't like that man whose chickens keep on coming into my house'
- c. In uk kipaas (ieram) iemarate ntk ka lan.
 in uk kipaas [(ieram) i-*tm*-arate ntk ka le-n]
 it this axe [(rel) 1:exc-past-chop tree that ins-3:s]
'This is the axe with which I chopped the tree'
- d. Kova ka (ieram) iemamalkalik ton rinelhualg.
 kova ka [(ieram) i-*tm*-am-alkalik to-in]
 child that [(rel) 1:exc-past-cont-look:after dat-it]
 r-n-elhualg
 3:s-perf-hide
'The child that I was looking after is hiding'
- e. Peravın ka (ieram) iemofın nuw kam in rınkın ita.
 pera-*vın* ka [(ieram) i-*tm*-ofın nuw kam in]
 woman that [(rel) 1:exc-past-give:to:third:person yam dat she]
 r-n-kın ita
 3:s-perf-eat already
'The woman to whom I gave the yams has already eaten them'

In each of the examples in (18) the co-referential NP is replaced by *ieram* by rule (14), and *ieram* is then fronted by rule (15) and optionally deleted by rule (16). Where this co-referential NP is a possessor in a PP or is preceded by a case-marking preposition, however, a pronoun of the same person and number as the NP, and of a form determined by the nature of the PP or case-marking preposition, remains in the embedded sentence in the same position as the NP to which it refers. Rule (14) must thus be modified as (19), where K indicates a case-marking preposition.

$$(19) \quad [_{NP} NP_i [_{S} X + \left[\begin{array}{l} [_{PP} NP + poss + NP_i]_{PP} \\ [_{NP} \quad K + NP_i]_{NP} \\ [_{NP} \quad Y + NP_i]_{NP} \end{array} \right] + Z]_{S}]_{NP}$$

$$\implies [_{NP} NP_i [_{S} X + \left[\begin{array}{l} [_{PP} NP + poss + PRO + ieram]_{PP} \\ [_{NP} \quad K + PRO + ieram]_{NP} \\ [_{NP} \quad Y + ieram]_{NP} \end{array} \right] + Z]_{S}]_{NP}$$

Condition: $Y \neq K$

$Y + NP$ is not a possessive phrase

By rule (19), an appropriate pronoun is 'left behind' at the same time as the co-referential NP is changed to the relative pronoun.

5.1.3. COMPLEX TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE PHRASES

Complex temporal and locative phrases in Lenakel might have been considered along with relativisation, but they show sufficient differences - principally the absence of *ieram* - to warrant separate treatment.

5.1.3.1. Complex Temporal Phrases

One expansion of TP is:

$$(20) \quad TP \rightarrow [_{TP} [_{NP} (le) + nian + X]_{NP} + S]_{TP}$$

That is to say, a complex TP is made up of an NP with *nian* 'time', as its head - optionally preceded by the preposition *le* - this NP being followed by a sentence. This is basically the same rule as (13) above; the major difference is that the transformations (14) through (16) do not apply to such phrases, as the examples below illustrate:

(21) a. *Nian io apwa Lenakel, pwiak riva.*

nian io apwa Lenakel, pwia-k r-va

time I loc Lenakel, older:brother-1:s 3:s-come

'While I was in Lenakel, my older brother came'

b. *Nerin rtsveaan le nian inin rimaunin.*

ner-n r-ts-va-aan le nian in-n r-im-aunin

child-3:s 3:s-neg-come-neg loc time mother-3:s 3:s-past-call

'The child didn't come when his mother called him'

c. *Nian miin iakvin Ifila, pukas tahak rakamis.*

nian miin i-ak-vin Ifila, pukas taha-k r-ak-mis

time pl 1:exc-conc-go Vila, pig poss-1:s 3:s-conc-sick

'Whenever I go to Vila, my pig gets sick'

5.1.3.2. Complex Locative Phrases

One expansion of LP is:

(22) LP → [_{LP} (apwa) [_{NP} ikɪn + X]_{NP} + S + ikɪn + (TP)]_{LP}

That is, a complex LP is made up of an NP with the noun ikɪn 'place', as its head, followed by a sentence; ikɪn is then repeated after the sentence. The whole may be optionally introduced by the locative-introducer apwa.

(23) a. Titoga rɪmamasumw (apwa) ikɪn rɪmɪn rɪmɪni ikɪn.

Titoga r-ɪm-am-asumw (apwa) ikɪn rɪm-n

Titoga 3:s-past-cont-garden (loc) place father-3:s

r-ɪm-ɪni ikɪn

3:s-past-say place

'Titoga was gardening where his father told him to'

b. Iemvɪn (apwa) ikɪn nam rɪka ikɪn.

i-ɪm-vɪn (apwa) ikɪn nam r-ɪka ikɪn

1:exc-past-go (loc) place fish 3:s-not:to:be place

'I went to (a place) where there are no fish'

c. Uus aan rɪmsipɪn (apwa) ikɪn aan tɪnakvɪn ikɪn tolauk.

uus aan r-ɪm-sɪm-pn (apwa) ikɪn aan

man that 3:s-past-come:from-there (loc) place that

t-n-ak-vɪn ikɪn to-lauk

fut-2-conc-go place to-morrow

'That man came from where you (s.) are going tomorrow'

In normal conversation, however, one of the two occurrences of ikɪn is frequently omitted; there appear to be no semantic or syntactic conditions requiring one rather than the other occurrence of ikɪn to be deleted. However, both occurrences of ikɪn may not be omitted. Thus, in the examples below, (24b) and (24c) are both perfectly acceptable variants of (24a), but (24d) is ungrammatical:

(24) a. Iakamarɪk (apwa) ikɪn nien miin ripwɪr ikɪn.

i-ak-am-arɪk (apwa) ikɪn nien miin r-ipwɪr ikɪn

1:exc-conc-cont-live (loc) place coconut pl 3:s-many place

'I am living where there are many coconuts'

b. Iakamarɪk (apwa) ikɪn nien miin ripwɪr.

c. Iakamarɪk (apwa) nien miin ripwɪr ikɪn.

d. *Iakamarɪk (apwa) nien miin ripwɪr.

5.1.4. COMPLEMENTATION

In addition to the various expansions of NP given above, there is another expansion which is given below:

(25) NP \rightarrow S

That is, a noun phrase may be made up a sentence, these sentences occurring most frequently in object position.¹

The regular complementiser in Lenakel is *mamwa* 'that', which is placed immediately before the complement sentence by rule (26):

(26) X + [_{NP} S]_{NP} + Y \Rightarrow 1, *mamwa* + 2, 3
 1 2 3

Mamwa is optionally deleted under conditions discussed below. In the examples in this section, cases where *mamwa* may be deleted are marked by placing it within parentheses.

5.1.4.1. Subject Complements

Some examples of subject complements generated by rules (25) and (26) are given below; in each case, the complement is enclosed within square brackets in the second and third lines of the examples.²

(27) a. (*Mamwa*) *tiakaik apwa Lenakel rivot.*

[(*mamwa*) t-i-ak-aik apwa Lenakel] r-vit

[(*that*) fut-1:exc-conc-swim loc *Lenakel*] 3:s-good

'*It is good that I swim at Lenakel*'

b. (*Mamwa*) *tiakamairik le nauanu uk risetuatuwaan.*

[(*mamwa*) t-i-ak-am-ai-arik le nauanu uk]

[(*that*) fut-1:exc-conc-cont-pl-stay loc *village this*]

r-is-etuatu-aan

3:s-neg-correct-neg

'*It is not right that we (exc.pl.) stay on in this village*'

Where the complement is the subject of the sentence, a 'flip' rule may optionally operate, whereby the complement is moved to the end of the sentence. This rule is (28):

(28) [_S [_{NP} *mamwa* + S]_{NP} + X]_S $\stackrel{OPT}{\Rightarrow}$ 2, 1
 1 2

The examples below show sentences (27a, b) after the operation of rule (28). Note particularly that the presence of *mamwa* in these sentences is obligatory.

¹The verb of which this sentence is the subject always takes the third person singular person prefix *r-*. Apart from specifying that sentences are third person singular, it does not seem necessary to include the dummy element *it* in this rule, as has been done in some analyses of English.

²Subject complements occur much more rarely in Lenakel than object complements.

- (29) a. R \dot{v} it mamwa tiakaik apwa Lenakel.
 r-vit [mamwa t-i-ak-aik apwa Lenakel]
 3:s-good [that fut-1:exc-conc-swim loc Lenakel]
 'It is good that I swim at Lenakel'
- b. R \dot{s} etuatuaan mamwa tiakamair \dot{k} le nauanu uk.
 r- \dot{s} -etuatu-aan [mamwa t-i-ak-am-ai-ar \dot{k}
 3:s-neg-correct-neg [that fut-1:exc-conc-cont-pl-stay
 le nauanu uk]
 loc village this]
 'It is not right that we (exc.pl.) stay on in this village'

In such flipped sentences, the preposition to plus the free pronoun subject may optionally occur between the verb or adjective and the complement introduced by mamwa:¹

- (30) a. R \dot{v} it ton io mamwa tiakaik apwa Lenakel.
 r-vit to io [mamwa t-i-ak-aik apwa Lenakel]
 3:s-good dat I [that fut-1:exc-conc-swim loc Lenakel]
 'It is good for me to swim at Lenakel'
- b. R \dot{s} etuatuaan to kamar mamwa tiakamair \dot{k} le nauanu uk.
 r- \dot{s} -etuatu-aan to kam-ar [mamwa
 3:s-neg-correct-neg dat we:exc-pl [that
 t-i-ak-am-ai-ar \dot{k} le nauanu uk]
 fut-1:exc-conc-cont-pl-stay loc village this]
 'It is not right for us (exc.pl.) to stay on in this village'

In cases where a sentence is not flipped, it undergoes a nominalisation transformation, the form of which need not concern us here. Effectively, the verb of the complement is nominalised by the affix n-...aan, while the subject becomes a possessive phrase introduced by taha. Mamwa is obligatorily deleted.

- (31) a. Naikaan taha apwa Lenakel r \dot{v} it.
 [n-aik-aan taha-k apwa Lenakel] r-vit
 [nom-swim-nom poss-1:s loc Lenakel] 3:s-good
 'My swimming at Lenakel is good'
- b. Narikaan tamar le nauanu uk r \dot{s} etuatuaan.
 [n-ar \dot{k} -aan taha-m-ar le nauanu uk] r- \dot{s} -etuatu-aan
 [nom-stay-nom poss-1:exc-pl loc village this] 3:s-neg-correct-neg
 'Our (exc.pl.) staying in this village is not right'

¹This is equivalent to *for-to* complementation in English, except that no element equivalent to *for* is inserted to replace mamwa.

5.1.4.2. Object Complements

Some examples of object complements generated by rules (25) and (26) are given below:

- (32) a. R⁺m⁺ni mamwa inⁿ t^rva tolauk.
 r-⁺m-⁺ni [mamwa in-n t-r-va to-lauk]
 3:s-past-say [that mother-3:s fut-3:s-come to-morrow]
 'He said that his mother would come tomorrow'
- b. Iat^v r⁺maamh mamwa nerⁿ r⁺mamaik.
 Iat^v r-⁺m-aamh [mamwa ner-n r-⁺m-am-aik]
 Iat^v 3:s-past-see [that child-3:s 3:s-past-cont-swim]
 'Iat^v saw that his son was swimming'
- c. Iakhinatⁿ mamwa tⁿak^kin nar ka.
 i-ak-hinatⁿ [mamwa t-n-ak-kⁿ nar ka]
 1:exc-conc-know [that fut-2-conc-eat thing that]
 'I know that you (s.) will eat that'

For verbs like aamh in (32b) and hinatⁿ in (32c) which may also take noun objects, there are two possible permutations which may occur; these may not occur in sentences like (32a) whose verb, ⁺ni, may not take a noun object. One of these permutations involves emphasising the subject of the complement sentence by moving it out of that sentence into a position where it is the surface object of the matrix sentence. Thus (33a, b) are variants of (32b, c) to which this rule has applied:

- (33) a. Iat^v r⁺maamh nerⁿ mamwa r⁺mamaik.
 Iat^v r-⁺m-aamh ner-n [mamwa r-⁺m-am-aik]
 Iat^v 3:s-past-see child-3:s [that 3:s-past-cont-swim]
 'Iat^v saw his son swimming'
- b. Iakhinatⁿ iik mamwa tⁿak^kin nar ka.
 i-ak-hinatⁿ iik [mamwa t-n-ak-kⁿ nar ka]
 1:exc-conc-know you:s [that fut-2-conc-eat thing that]
 'I know you (s.) to be going to eat that'

The other permutation involves nominalisation; this occurs when stress is placed on the action, and is often used to draw attention to the particular way in which the action was performed.

- (34) a. Iat^v r⁺maamh naikaan taha nerⁿ.
 Iat^v r-⁺m-aamh [n-alk-aan taha ner-n]
 Iat^v 3:s-past-see [nom-swim-nom poss child-3:s]
 'Iat^v saw his son's swimming'

- b. Iakhinatín taham níkinaán nar ka.
 i-ak-hinatín [taha-m n-kín-aan nar ka]
 1:exc-conc-know [poss-2:s nom-eat-nom *thing that*]
 'I know you (s.) ate that'

5.1.4.3. Deletion of Complementiser

The complementiser *mamwa* is normally obligatory. However, it may be deleted when introducing a subject complement which has not undergone the flip rule (rule (28)), and it must be deleted when the nominalisation rule applies - see sentences (31) and (34).

5.2. OTHER TYPES OF EXPANSIONS

Three other types of expansion must also be examined: co-ordinate sentences, which are discussed in 5.2.1.; conditional sentences, examined in 5.2.2.; and comparative sentences, which are briefly explained in 5.2.3.

5.2.1. CO-ORDINATE SENTENCES

One possible expansion of S is:

- (35) S → S + conj + S

That is, a sentence may consist of two (or more) sentences joined by a conjunction. The major conjunctions in Lenakel are:¹

- (36) kani 'and'
 merou 'but'
 merou-in-ka 'because'
 ua 'or'

5.2.1.1. Connection: kani and m-

Two or more sentences in which the action is connected may be joined by the conjunction *kani* 'and':

- (37) a. Nasu r+vín apwa Lenakel kani nerín r+maroupín.
 Nasu r-vín apwa Lenakel kani ner-n r-ím-arou-pn
 Nasu 3:s-go loc Lenakel and child-3:s 3:s-past-follow-there
 'Nasu went to Lenakel and his son followed him there'

¹Note that *kani* translates English 'and' when joining sentences, although *míne* translates 'and' when joining NPs.

The conjunction *merou-in-ka* 'because', seems to be composed of three morphemes: *merou* 'but'; *in* 'it'; and *ka* 'that'.

- b. Iemkɪn nuw nenav kani tɪnakɪkɪn nuw nɪvin tolauk.
 i-ɪm-kɪn nuw nenav kani t-n-ak-kɪn nuw nɪvin
 1:exc-past-eat yam yesterday and fut-2-conc-eat yam some
 to-lauk
 to-morrow
 'I ate yams yesterday and you (s.) will eat some tomorrow'
- c. Iemvɪn apwa iauanu, kani io mɪne Tion kiaier iatɪv, kani
 nɪamha asuui rɪkɪs rɪmɪn.
 i-ɪm-vɪn apwa i-auanu, kani io mɪne Tion k-ia-ier iatɪv,
 1:exc-past-go loc loc-village, and I and John 1:inc-d-go:out out,
 kani nɪamha asuui r-kɪs rɪm-n
 and anger big 3:s-bite father-3:s
 'I went to the village, and John and I went off, and his
 father was very angry'

It is quite common for the demonstrative adjunct ka 'that, referred to previously', to follow kani, in which case the conjunction implies that the actions are sequential:

- (38) a. Iemvɪn Ifila nian kɪsil, kani ka rɪmɪn rɪva.
 i-ɪm-vɪn Ifila nian kɪsil, kani ka rɪm-n r-va
 1:exc-past-go Vila day three, and that father-3:s 3:s-come
 'I went to Vila for three days, and then his father came'
- b. Niko rɪva, kani ka neramɪm miin petɪmw kɪmaisoupaat.
 niko r-va, kani ka n-eramɪm miin petɪmw
 boat 3:s-come, and that pl-person pl all
 k-ɪm-ai-asou-paat
 3:ns-past-pl-proceed-east
 'The boat arrived, and then all the people came ashore'

In cases where the person prefix m- is used (see 3.2.3. above), the use of kani (or kani ka) is optional:

- (39) a. Iemakar kam inɪn (kani ka) mɪvɪn iimwa.
 i-ɪm-akar kam in-n (kani ka) m-vɪn i-imwa
 1:exc-past-speak dat mother-3:s (and that) and-go loc-house
 'I spoke to his mother and then went home'
- b. Kuri ka rɪmkɪs io (kani ka) makɪmw.
 kuri ka r-ɪm-kɪs io (kani ka) m-akɪmw
 dog that 3:s-past-bite I (and that) and-run:away
 'That dog bit me and then ran away'

5.2.1.2. Adversative Connection: merou

Adversative sentences are joined by the conjunction merou 'but':¹

- (40) a. Siak r+v+n apwa Kwamera, merou pwian r+mar+ik limwa.
 Siak r-v+n apwa Kwamera, merou pwia-n r-i+m-ar+ik
 Siak 3:s-go loc Kwamera, but older:brother-3:s 3:s-past-stay
 i-lmwa
 loc-house
 'Siak went to Kwamera, but his older brother stayed at home'
- b. Iemk+n nuw, merou n+imk+n n+te am.
 i-i+m-k+n nuw, merou n-i+m-k+n n+te am
 1:exc-past-eat yam, but 2-past-eat taro just
 'I ate yam, but you (s.) ate only taro'

If the adversative sentence is the negated version of the one preceding it, the sentence is normally not repeated after merou. Instead, kapwa 'no', is used in place of the sentence:

- (41) a. Iemaug+n maug+n ru, merou kapwa.
 i-i+m-aug+n m-aug+n ru, merou kapwa
 1:exc-past-eat and-eat try, but no
 'I tried and tried to eat, but I couldn't'
- b. R+imolkeikei m+v+n Ifila, merou kapwa.
 r-i+m-olkeikei m-v+n Ifila, merou kapwa
 3:s-past-want and-go Vila, but no
 'He wanted to go to Vila, but he didn't'

If the adversative sentence is thought to form part of a sequence with the preceding sentence, then both kani and merou are used:

- (42) a. R+v+n le n+mwak+lak+l kani merou k+nu tahan r+ka.
 r-v+n le n+mwak+lak+l kani merou k+nu taha-n r-t+ka
 3:s-go loc beach and but canoe poss-3:s 3:s-not:to:be
 'He went to the beach but his canoe was not there'
- b. Kapman rolkeikei maamh io kani merou io iemak+mw melhuaig.
 kapman r-olkeikei m-aamh io kani merou io i-i+m-ak+mw
 government 3:s-want and-see I and but I 1:exc-past-run:away
 m-elhuaig
 and-hide
 'The government official wanted to see me, and I ran away and hid'

¹There appears to be some historical connection between the word for 'but' (Lenakel merou) and the verb 'to hear' (Lenakel arou) in Tanna: compare Nivhaal i+lig 'to hear', with m+lig 'but'; or Kwamera aregi 'to hear', with maregi 'but'.

5.2.1.3. Reason: merou-in-ka

Reason sentences are introduced by merou-in-ka:

- (43) a. Iakamolkeikei miv̄n Ifila merou-in-ka io lakam̄s.
 i-ak-am-olkeikei m-v̄n Ifila merou-in-ka io i-ak-m̄s
 1:exc-conc-cont-want and-go Vila because I 1:exc-conc-sick
 'I want to go to Vila because I am sick'
- b. T̄rar̄ik iimwa merou-in-ka nihin ripw̄r.
 t-r-ar̄ik i-imwa merou-in-ka nihin r-ipw̄r
 fut-3:s-stay loc-house because rain 3:s-big
 'He will stay home because it is raining heavily'
- c. In̄n rin̄im̄s merou-in-ka rimoluók ak̄n.
 in-n r-n-m̄s merou-in-ka r-̄im-ol-uok ak̄n
 mother-3:s 3:s-perf-die because 3:s-past-do-work very
 'His mother died because she used to work too hard'

5.2.1.4. Alternation: ua

Alternative or disjunctive questions are linked by the conjunction ua 'or':

- (44) a. In uk sefentei ua tirk̄n pukas?
 in uk sefentei ua t-r-k̄n pukas
 he this Seventh:Day:Adventist or fut-3:s-eat pig
 'Is he a Seventh Day Adventist or will he eat pork?'
- b. Riv̄n Ien̄t̄im̄ ua rar̄ik am?
 r-v̄n Ien̄t̄im̄ ua r-ar̄ik am
 3:s-go Aneityum or 3:s-stay just
 'Did he go to Aneityum or did he just stay?'

When the sentence contains two disjunctive statements, both are normally introduced by ua:

- (45) a. Ua t̄rva tolauk, ua tiakv̄n apwa iimwan.
 ua t-r-va to-lauk, ua t-i-ak-v̄n apwa i-imwa-n
 or fut-3:s-come to-morrow, or fut-1:exc-conc-go loc-house-3:s
 'Either he will come tomorrow, or I'll go to his house'
- b. Ua nihin t̄r̄ip, ua noroan ripw̄r.
 ua nihin t-r-̄ip, ua n-oro-aan r-ipw̄r
 or rain fut-3:s-rain, or nom-mist-nom 3:s-big
 'Either it will rain, or else it will be very misty'

5.2.1.5. Repeated Action: the Verb *aroatis*

The verb *aroatis* 'to arrive', when used with the person prefix *m-* and appropriate number prefixes, denotes the termination of a repeated action and thus translates 'until':

- (46) a. *Riv̄n miv̄n maroatis lakap̄n̄p̄n.*
r-v̄n m-v̄n m-aroatis lakap̄n̄p̄n
3:s-go and-go and-arrive morning
'He went on and on until morning'
- b. *K̄muauḡn muauḡn muaroatis in̄n̄nilau r̄iva.*
k-̄m-u-auḡn m-u-auḡn m-u-aroatis in-n̄il-lau r-va
3:ns-past-d-eat and-d-eat and-d-arrive mother-3:ns-d 3:s-come
'They (d.) ate and ate until their mother arrived'

5.2.1.6. Purpose: *mamwa*

Purpose clauses are introduced by *mamwa*, which often contracts to *mwa*:¹

- (47) a. *Arho huaihue pukas mamwa takamarv̄n iimwa pwipwom.*
ar-ho huaihue pukas mamwa t-k-ak-am-ar-v̄n
pl-kill quick pig purpose fut-1:inc-conc-cont-pl-go
i-imwa pwipwom
loc-house soon
'Kill (pl.) the pig quickly so that we (inc.pl.) can all be going home soon'
- b. *Perav̄n tahak ramviin nuw mamwa takark̄n.*
pera-v̄n taha-k r-am-viin nuw mamwa t-k-ak-ar-kin
woman poss-1:s 3:s-cont-cook yam purpose fut-1:inc-conc-pl-eat
'My wife is cooking yams for us (inc.pl.) to eat'
- c. *R̄masouhiu mwa t̄irasumw.*
r-̄m-asou-hiu mwa t-r-asumw
3:s-past-proceed-north purpose fut-3:s-garden
'He went north to do some gardening'

A purpose clause may stand alone in a sentence, in which case it functions as an exhortation. Only the contracted form *mwa* appears to be used in this context.

¹ *Mamwa* does not, however, normally become *mwa* when it introduces a complement.

(48) a. Mwa r+v+n mil!

mwa r-v+n m-il
purpose 3:s-go and-dig
'Let him go and dig it!'

b. Mwa takarol nar ka!

mwa t-k-ak-ar-ol nar ka
purpose fut-1:inc-conc-pl-do thing that
'Let's (inc.pl.) get that done!'

5.2.2. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

There are two conjunctions which introduce conditions: *takamwa*, which indicates future conditions, and *kapamwa*, which introduces past conditions.¹

When *takamwa* is used, the verbal prefix *t-* 'future', is normally omitted (see 3.2.2. above):

(49) a. Takamwa r+va, iepaamh.

takamwa r-va, i-ep-aamh
if:fut 3:s-come, 1:exc-seq-see
'If he comes, I will see him'

b. Takamwa r+vsveaan, iepva lauau iimwam.

takamwa r-+s-va-aan, i-ep-va l-auanu
if:fut 3:s-neg-come-neg, 1:exc-seq-come loc-village
i-imwa-m
loc-poss:place-2:s
'If he does not come, I will come to your (s.) village'

c. Takamwa nihin r+ip, iesasumwaan.

takamwa nihin r-+p, i-+s-asumw-aan
if:fut rain 3:s-rain, 1:exc-neg-garden-neg
'If it rains, I will not work in the garden'

¹A certain amount of overlap has been noticed, in that informants will accept, and occasionally use, a future condition with *kapamwa* or a past condition with *takamwa*. The normal usage, however, is as given here.

Note particularly the frequent use of the sequential tense prefix *ep-* in the apodosis of conditional sentences.

It is possible that these two conjunctions derive from a verb *amwa*, *takamwa* being morphemically *t-k-ak-amwa* and *kapamwa* coming from *k-ep-amwa* (both impersonal verbs). The connection with *mamwa* is also interesting: Further research may shed some light on this matter.

Kapamwa is used for past conditions:

- (50) a. Kapamwa riva, iepaamh.
 kapamwa r-va, i-ep-aamh
if:past 3:s-come, 1:exc-seq-see
'If he had come, I would have seen him'
- b. Kapamwa risveaan, iepva lauau iimwam.
 kapamwa r-*ts*-va-aan, i-ep-va l-auanu
if:past 3:s-neg-come-neg, 1:exc-seq-come loc-village
 i-imwa-m
 loc-poss:place-2:s
'If he had not come, I would have come to your (s.) village'
- c. Kapamwa nihin rtp, iesasumwaan.
 kapamwa nihin r-*tp*, l-*ts*-asumw-aan
if:past rain 3:s-rain, 1:exc-neg-garden-neg
'If it had rained, I would not have worked in the garden'

5.2.3. COMPARATIVE SENTENCES

There are basically two types of comparative sentence. One merely contrasts the qualities of the two things being compared in two coordinate sentences, which may optionally be linked by merou 'but':

- (51) a. In uk ripwtr, (merou) ieram aan resuaas.
 in uk r-ipwtr, (merou) i-eram aan r-esuaas
it this 3:s-big, (but) s-the:one that 3:s-small
'This one is bigger than that one'
- b. Uusuaas ka rasantn, (merou) nerfm ravilfg.
 uus-suaas ka r-asantn, (merou) ner-m r-avilfg
man-small that 3:s-strong, (but) child-2:s 3:s-weak
'That boy is stronger than your (s.) son'

The other type of sentence uses the verbal adjunct mun 'more, again' after the adjective, with the second NP in the comparison being introduced by the preposition le; thus the examples in (52) are synonymous with those in (51):

- (52) a. In uk ripwtr mun le ieram aan.
 in uk r-ipwtr mun le i-eram aan
it this 3:s-big more than s-the:one that
'This one is bigger than that one'
- b. Uusuaas ka rasantn mun le nerfm.
 uus-suaas ka r-asantn mun le ner-m
man-small that 3:s-strong more than child-2:s
'That boy is stronger than your (s.) son'

A superlative sense is achieved by using the quantifier *petimw* 'all', as the head of the second NP in the comparison:

- (53) *Nam uk resuaas le petimw.*
nam uk r-esuaas le petimw
fish this 3:s-small than all
'This fish is the smallest (of all)'

5.3. PRONOMINALISATION AND OTHER FEATURES OF DISCOURSE

5.3.1. PRONOMINALISATION

As in most languages, nouns are not normally repeated after they have been mentioned once in a sentence; instead, pronouns or pronominal elements of some kind usually replace them. Since Lenakel pronouns are often omitted, especially in subject position, much of the weight of pronominalisation is borne by the person prefixes to the verb.

The contrasting use of *r-* and *m-* was discussed above in 3.2.3. This contrast is further illustrated below:

- (54) a. *Tom rimakar kam Misak kani mepakavin Lenakel.*
Tom r-im-akar kam Misak kani m-ep-akavin Lenakel
Tom 3:s-past-speak dat Misak and and-seq-go Lenakel
'Tom spoke to Misak and then he (Tom) went to Lenakel'
- b. *Tom rimakar kam Misak kani repakavin Lenakel.*
Tom r-im-akar kam Misak kani r-ep-akavin Lenakel
Tom 3:s-past-speak dat Misak and 3:s-seq-go Lenakel
'Tom spoke to Misak and then he (Misak) went to Lenakel'

The prefix *m-* may not, however, be used within a subordinate clause, and so this method of pronominalisation may not be employed there. Consider first the following examples:

- (55) a. *Tom rimavrein tahan kapra kam Misak le nian rimamatemalua.*
Tom r-im-avra-in taha-n kapra kam Misak le nian
Tom 3:s-past-sell-trans poss-3:s copra dat Misak loc time
r-im-am-atemalua
3:s-past-cont-young
'Tom used to sell his copra to Misak when he (Tom) was still young'
- b. *Tom rimavrein tahan kapra kam Misak le nian Misak rimamatemalua.*
Tom r-im-avra-in taha-n kapra kam Misak le nian
Tom 3:s-past-sell-trans poss-3:s copra dat Misak loc time
Misak r-im-am-atemalua
Misak 3:s-past-cont-young
'Tom used to sell his copra to Misak when he (Misak) was still young'

It appears from these examples that, if two nouns of the same person and number occur in a sentence, and if the first of these occurs in a subsequent part of the sentence, then it may be replaced by a pronominal element, as in (55a); but if the second noun occurs again, it may not be pronominalised, but must appear again, as in (55b).

As well as being replaced by pronominal elements, a pronominalised NP may also be replaced by a quantifier (as in (56a, b)) or a possessive-morpheme-plus-pronominal-suffix (as in (56c, d)):

- (56) a. Uus mil aan taniei; nian miin ker rīvtn maamh ker.
 uus mil aan ta-n-iel; nian miin ker r-vtn m-aamh ker
man dual that poss-3:s-friend; day pl one 3:s-go and-see one
'Those two men are friends; every day one goes and sees the other'
- b. Kamiar arvtn, merou kiu am tukuar+k.
 kami-ar ar-vtn, merou kiu am t-k-ak-u-ar+k
you:ns-pl pl-go, but two just fut-3:ns-conc-d-stay
'All of you go, but two should stay behind'
- c. Tiakofina nau tahak; iakoikeikei taham.
 t-i-ak-ofina nau taha-k;
 fut-1:exc-conc-give:to:addressee knife poss-1:s;
 i-ak-oikeikei taha-m
 1:exc-conc-want poss-2:s
'I'll give you (s.) my knife; I want yours'
- d. Ofa ntkok!
 ofa ntk-k
 give:to:speaker poss:to:eat-1:s
'Give (s.) me something to eat!'

5.3.2. OTHER FEATURES OF DISCOURSE

Two of the more important features of discourse, which will be apparent from the texts in the next chapter, are briefly mentioned here.

One of these is the fact that many sentences occur in which the only person prefix used is m-. This implies that rules of pronominalisation apply to the whole discourse and not just to the single sentence, and for this reason the illustrative sentences given above are not wholly typical of Lenakel sentences.

The other fact is that widespread deletion of tense-prefixes occurs in narrative texts. Generally, if a number of actions occur at the same time - or within the time-period covered by the same tense-prefix - then it is not necessary for any but the first verb to use the

appropriate tense-prefix. In fact, if the time/tense can be shown otherwise - e.g., by a temporal phrase - it is not necessary even for the first verb to show a tense-prefix.

These two facts should be borne in mind when the texts in the next chapter are examined.

CHAPTER 6

TEXTS

Two illustrative texts are given below. Both were told to me by Tom Hiua, of Lenmi. In presenting these texts, the whole story in continuous Lenakel is given first. This is followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme rendering of the text with interlinear morpheme glosses, and this in turn is followed by a free English translation. Notes to the text are given at the end; the numbers in the notes refer to the line-numbers in the morpheme-by-morpheme rendering of the text.

6.1. MWATIKTÍK AND TERAMSUMAS

Iarmís asuul ker rímkín petímw neramím miin raliáiu le Tín, netgín ka Teramsumas. Mímkín neramím miin míkín petímw ilar ne pukas ne menuk míne, mínkín petímw akín ilar. Mos neram tuan mímofín ilar le nouankoupwa, kani mímkín míkín neramím miin míkín petímw. Kani mímegísín ilar mamarvín.

Kani uus ker, netgín ka Mwatiktík, rakava am ka mierpa maamh ilar kamalvíkíl le nouankoupwa. Rímwa, 'E!' Rímwa, 'Neta un nakamaroi?'

Kani kamwa, 'Iakamalvíkíi. Ríptmar apwan rakavín tíregísín níktmar ker nar'.

Rímwa, 'Aah! Pwah iakíni to kamiar mamwa ramívhíatín kamiar. Tírkin petímw neram apín rol nauniin, kani ka míva míkín kamiar nauniin'.

Kamwa, 'Auee! Ríptmar, toko lakaitol marier? Ríniakís'.

Rííts kípaas mhoate nouankulu kani am ka kariar. Ríptk ilar mamarvín mamarvín marvín, noumwus ríkís ilar. Kani kalh nímkani mamarvaan mamarvaan, mínalrou nímataag le Teramsumas rínakava. Kani am ka, 'Auee! Aimi apus hualhue níkom!' Malmi malmi merou kapwa, to níkom rísapusaan.

'Ah! Aikimw!'. Rami ntkom ka mami apus.

Kani ka merou Teramsumas rinvva iuoktt. Kani am ka rivi lis le ntm, kani ka karvtn apwa iktn rharig tosig. Teramsumas riva, regts mamavtn mamavtn, merou am ntka, kani am ka rivtn apwa isou. Kani am ka rivi lis le ntm, kani am ka karier. Ripik ilar, mamarvtn mamarvtn marvtn mairoatis niel ka, kani am ka marit. Marit marit apwa ilis, mamaiwita.

Kani am ka Teramsumas rakavtn makavtn makavtn mtva le niel, merou kinarika. Rimwa, 'Ntkok ker nar miin ktmarva mnetuarvtn?'

Kani am ka Mwatiktik rowta apwa ilis, kani am ka mikiukiu mopwlan le kaio taha menuk. Kani am ka Teramsumas rimptik tehe mileltg mtva. Kani rarik mikiukiu mwealan, rimptik tehe, mileltg mtva. Kani am ka rimwa, 'E! Kamar apwa iakamaiwita'.

Kani am ka rimwa, 'Namwipwk, ntmaitol marvtn aan?'

'Iemarit le netptmar'.

Rofin netpin merou natirauai ate. Rimwa, 'Nakamareiua'.

Rimwa, 'Iemarit le ntmwataamar'.

Riliftn ntmwataan merou rinamauai ate. Rimwa, 'E! Nakamareiua, namwipwk'.

Rimwa, 'Iemarit le noultmar'.

Riliftn noulin merou rinamauaiasistn. Rimwa, 'E! Nakamareiua, namwipwk'.

Kani rimwa, 'Nar hua in hua, iemarit lan', malakhiaaví toulá. Kani am ka Teramsumas rakil aan lan ka, makilakil mit makavtn makavtn makava iuoktt rhiapttn sapwag.

'Auee! Ntkok ker nar miin, ntmaitol maikimw marva iktn uk?'

Kani am ka Mwatiktik rhoakru toulá le ktpaas, kani am ka rils Teramsumas mtvtn rautn mownapwnn masupwopwom. Kani ka rhalipn menuk miin petmw, kani ker rivtn kani ka mai le nelkn maroatis tenkapwa mileltg mtva. Rarhapk, merou rimwa, 'Ouaah, rntmts'.

Kani ka rhali ita mun ker, rivtn ka mai am le netpin mtvtn mier le tenkapwa. Kani ka mtva rarhapk, merou rimwa, 'Ouaah, rntmts'.

Menuk miin petmw. Kani ka rhalipn tkiskistk. Tkiskistk rivtn malikoaliko am uk ilis, mileltg mtva. Rarhapk, rimwa, 'Rntmts'.

Kani rtmhalipn kolametameta, rivtn ka, maulupn le ntkutn, mtva mier le ntpwagnouan. Mtva ka, kani ka reptmwa, 'E! Namwa, iemvtn le ntkutn mier le ntpwagnouan'. Kani rnti ntpwrhienaan lan.

Kani kaitite marva ka, Mwatiktik ritik netpin le ktpaas, menuk miin ktmarvtn, pukas miin kaisak, mamarvtn, neramfm miin ktmarvtn mamarvtn.

Kani ka rol naunin.

- 1 i-armis asuul ker r- \dot{t} m-k \dot{t} n pet \dot{t} mw n-eram \dot{t} m miin r-al \dot{t} lau le T \dot{t} n,
s-devil big one 3:s-past-eat all pl-person pl 3:s-spread loc Tanna,
- 2 netg-n ka Teramsumas. m- \dot{t} m-k \dot{t} n n-eram \dot{t} m miin pet \dot{t} mw il-ar ne
name-3:s that Teramsumas. and-past-eat pl-person pl all they-pl and
- 3 pukas ne menuk mine, m-n-k \dot{t} n pet \dot{t} mw ak \dot{t} n il-ar. m-os n-eram
pig and bird and, and-perf-eat all very they-pl. and-take pl-the:one
- 4 tuan m- \dot{t} m-of \dot{t} n il-ar le nouan-koupwa, kani m- \dot{t} m-k \dot{t} n
white and-past-give:to:third:person they-pl loc fence, and-past-eat
- 5 m-k \dot{t} n n-eram \dot{t} m miin m-k \dot{t} n pet \dot{t} mw. kani m- \dot{t} m-eg \dot{t} s- \dot{t} n
and-eat pl-person pl and-eat all. and and-past-look:out-trans
- 6 il-ar m-am-ar-v \dot{t} n. kani uus ker, netg-n ka Mwatikt \dot{t} k,
they-pl and-cont-pl-go. and man one, name-3:s that Mwatikt \dot{t} k,
- 7 r-akava am ka m-ier-pa m-aamh il-ar k-am-ai-av \dot{t} k \dot{t} l
3:s-come just that and-go:out-here and-see they-pl 3:ns-cont-pl-play
- 8 le nouan-koupwa. r- \dot{t} mwa, 'e!'. r- \dot{t} mwa, 'neta un n-ak-am-ar-ol?'.
loc fence. 3:s-say, 'hey!'. 3:s-say, 'what this 2-conc-cont-pl-do?'.
and 3:ns-pl-say, 'l:exc-conc-cont-pl-play. grandparent-l:exc-pl
- 9 kani k-a- \dot{t} mwa, 'i-ak-am-ai-av \dot{t} k \dot{t} l. r \dot{t} p-m-ar
and 3:ns-pl-say, 'l:exc-conc-cont-pl-play. grandparent-l:exc-pl
- 10 apwan r-akav \dot{t} n t-r-eg \dot{t} s- \dot{t} n n \dot{t} k-m-ar nar ker'.
loc 3:s-go:off fut-3:s-look:out-trans poss:to:eat-l:exc-pl thing one'.
- 11 r- \dot{t} mwa, 'aah! pwas i-ak- \dot{t} ni to kami-ar mamwa r-am- \dot{t} vhiat \dot{t} n
3:s-say, 'aah! let l:exc-conc-say dat you:ns-pl that 3:s-cont-lie
- 12 kami-ar. t-r-k \dot{t} n pet \dot{t} mw n-eram ap \dot{t} n r-ol nauniin, kani ka
you:ns-pl. fut-3:s-eat all pl-the:one black 3:s-do end, and that
- 13 m-va m-k \dot{t} n kami-ar nauniin'. k-a- \dot{t} mwa, 'auee! r \dot{t} m-m-ar,
and-come and-eat you:ns-pl end'. 3:ns-pl-say, 'auee! father-l:exc-pl,
- 14 toko i-ak-ai-atol m-ar-ier? r-n- \dot{t} ak \dot{t} s'.
perhaps l:exc-conc-pl-do:what and-pl-go:out? 3:s-perf-difficult'.
- 15 r-l \dot{t} s k \dot{t} paas m-hoate nouan-kulu kani am ka k-ar-ier. r- \dot{t} pk
3:s-take axe and-chop fence and just that 3:ns-pl-go:out. 3:s-lead
- 16 il-ar m-am-ar-v \dot{t} n m-am-ar-v \dot{t} n, noumwus r-k \dot{t} s il-ar.
they-pl and-cont-pl-go and-cont-pl-go, hunger 3:s-bite they-pl.
- 17 kani k-a- \dot{t} lh n \dot{t} m, kani m-am-ar-vaan m-am-ar-vaan,
and 3:ns-pl-pick breadfruit, and and-cont-pl-roast and-cont-pl-roast,
- 18 m-n-ai-arou n \dot{t} mataag le Teramsumas r-n-ak-va. kani am ka,
and-perf-pl-hear wind loc Teramsumas 3:s-perf-conc-come. and just that,

- 19 'auee! ai-ami apus huaihue ntkom!'. m-ai-ami
 'auee! pl-urinate extinguished quick fire!'. and-pl-urinate
- 20 m-ai-ami merou kapwa, to ntkom r-its-apus-aan. 'ah!
 and-pl-urinate but no, dat fire 3:s-neg-extinguished-neg. 'ah!'
- 21 ai-aktmw!'. r-ami ntkom ka m-ami apus.
 pl-go:away!'. 3:s-urinate fire that and-urinate extinguished.
- 22 kani ka merou Teramsumas r-n-va iuokt. kani am ka r-vi
 and that but Teramsumas 3:s-perf-come near. and just that 3:s-pull
- 23 lis le ntm, kani ka k-ar-vtn apwa iktn r-harig tosig.
 core loc breadfruit, and that 3:ns-pl-go loc place 3:s-close blocked.
- 24 Teramsumas r-va, r-egis m-am-avtn m-am-avtn, merou am
 Teramsumas 3:s-come, 3:s-look:out and-cont-go and-cont-go, but just
- 25 n-ika, kani am ka r-vtn apwa isou. kani am ka r-vi
 nom-not:to:be, and just that 3:s-go loc far. and just that 3:s-pull
- 26 lis le ntm, kani am ka k-ar-ier. r-tpk il-ar,
 core loc breadfruit, and just that 3:ns-pl-go:out. 3:s-lead they-pl,
- 27 m-am-ar-vtn m-am-ar-vtn m-ar-vtn m-ai-aroatis niel ka, kani
 and-cont-pl-go and-cont-pl-go and-pl-go and-pl-arrive oak that, and
- 28 amka m-ar-it. m-ar-it m-ar-it apwa ilis, m-am-ai-awta.
 just that and-pl-go:up. and-pl-go:up and-pl-go:up loc high, and-cont-pl-sit
- 29 kani am ka Teramsumas r-akavtn m-akavtn m-akavtn m-va le niel,
 and just that Teramsumas 3:s-go and-go and-go and-come loc oak,
- 30 merou k-n-ar-ika. r-imwa, 'ntk-k ker nar miin
 but 3:ns-perf-pl-not:to:be. 3:s-say, 'poss:to:eat-1:s one thing pl
- 31 k-im-ar-va m-n-etu-ar-vtn?'. kani am ka Mwatiktik
 3:ns-past-pl-come and-perf-itr-pl-go?'. and just that Mwatiktik
- 32 r-awta apwa ilis, kani am ka m-kiukiu mwa-apwa-le-n le
 3:s-sit loc high, and just that and-shake:head like-that-loc-3:s ins
- 33 kaio taha menuk. kani am ka Teramsumas r-im-tpk tehe
 tail:feather poss bird. and just that Teramsumas 3:s-past-take sea
- 34 m-leltg m-va. kani r-arik m-kiukiu mwa-aan-le-n,
 and-return and-come. and-3:s-stay and-shake:head like-that-loc-3:s,
- 35 r-im-tpk tehe, m-leltg m-va. kani am ka r-imwa,
 3:s-past-take sea, and-return and-come. and just that 3:s-say,
- 36 'e! kam-ar apwa i-ak-am-ai-awta'. kani am ka r-imwa,
 'hey! we:exc-pl loc 1:exc-conc-cont-pl-sit'. and just that 3:s-say,

- 37 'na-mwipw-k, n-ɪm-ai-atol m-ar-vɪn aan?'.
'pl-grandchild-1:s, 2-past-pl-do:what and-pl-go that?'.
38 'i-ɪm-ar-ɪt le netp-m-ar'. r-ofɪn netp-n merou
'1:exc-past-pl-go:up ins belly-1:exc-pl'. 3:s-give belly-3:s but
39 na-t-r-auai ate. r-ɪmwa, 'n-ak-am-ar-eiúa'.
int-fut-3:s-scratch broken. 3:s-say, '2-conc-cont-pl-tell:lie'.
40 r-ɪmwa, 'i-ɪm-ar-ɪt le nɪmwataa-m-ar'. r-lɪfɪn nɪmwataa-n
3:s-say, '1:exc-past-pl-go:up ins back-1:exc-pl'. 3:s-give back-3:s
41 merou r-n-am-auai ate. r-ɪmwa, 'e! n-ak-am-ar-eiúa,
but 3:s-perf-cont-scratch broken. 3:s-say, 'hey! 2-conc-cont-pl-tell:lie,
42 na-mwipw-k'. r-ɪmwa, 'i-ɪm-ar-ɪt le noul-m-ar'.
pl-grandchild-1:s. 3:s-say, '1:exc-past-pl-go:up ins knee-1:exc-pl'.
43 r-lɪfɪn noul-n merou r-n-am-aual-asɪsɪn. r-ɪmwa,
3:s-give knee-3:s but 3:s-perf-cont-scratch-tatter. 3:s-say,
44 'e! n-ak-am-ar-eiúa, na-mwipw-k'. kani r-ɪmwa,
'hey! 2-conc-cont-pl-tell:lie, pl-grandchild-1:s'. and 3:s-say,
45 'nar hua in hua, i-ɪm-ar-ɪt le-n', m-alak-hiaav-ɪn
'thing this it this, 1:exc-past-pl-go:up ins-3:s'. and-throw-down-trans
46 toula. kani am ka Teramsumas r-akil aan le-n ka,
rope. and just that Teramsumas 3:s-climb that ins-3:s that,
47 m-akil-akil m-ɪt m-akavɪn m-akavɪn m-akava iuokɪt r-hiapɪtɪn sapwag.
and-climb-climb and-go:up and-go and-go and-come near 3:s-hold branch.
48 'auee! nɪk-k ker nar miin, n-ɪm-ai-atol m-ai-akɪmw
'auee! poss:to:eat-1:s one thing pl, 2-past-pl-do:what and-pl-run:away
49 m-ar-va ikɪn uk?'. kani am ka Mwatiktɪk r-hoakru toula
and-pl-come place this?'. and just that Mwatiktɪk 3:s-chop rope
50 le kɪpaas, kani am ka r-lɪs Teramsumas m-vɪn r-autɪn
ins are, and just that 3:s-take Teramsumas and-go 3:s-fall
51 m-awnapwnɪn m-asupwopwom. kanɪ ka r-hali-pn menuk miin
and-kill:by:falling and-capsize. and that 3:s-send-there bird pl
52 petɪmw, kani ker r-vɪn kani ka m-ai le nelk-n m-aroatis te-n-kapwa
all, and one 3:s-go and that and-run loc leg-3:s and-reach poss-3:s-head
53 m-lelɪg m-va. r-arhapɪk, merou r-ɪmwa, 'ouaah, r-n-mɪs'.
and-return and-come. 3:s-ask, but 3:s-say, 'yes, 3:s-perf-die'.
54 kani ka r-hali ita mun ker, r-vɪn ka m-ai am le
and that 3:s-send already again one, 3:s-go that and-run just loc

- 55 netp-n m-vɪn m-ier le te-n-kapwa. kani ka m-va
stomach-3:s and-go and-go:out loc poss-3:s-head. and that and-come
- 56 r-arhapɪk, merou r-ɪmwa, 'ouaah, r-n-mɪs'. menuk miin petɪmw.
3:s-ask, but 3:s-say, 'yes, 3:s-perf-die'. bird pl all.
- 57 kani ka r-hali-pn tɪkiskisɪk. tɪkiskisɪk r-vɪn m-alikoaliko
and that 3:s-send-there k.o. bird. k.o. bird 3:s-go and-go:to:and:fro
- 58 am uk ilis, m-lelɪg m-va. r-arhapɪk, r-ɪmwa, 'r-n-mɪs'.
just this high, and-return and-come. 3:s-ask, 3:s-say, '3:s-perf-die'.
- 59 kani r-ɪm-hali-pn koiametameta, r-vɪn ka, m-aulu-pn le
and 3:s-past-send-there k.o. bird, 3:s-go that, and-enter-there loc
- 60 nɪkut-n, m-va m-ier le nɪpwag-noua-n. m-va ka,
anus-3:s, and-come and-go:out loc hole-mouth-3:s. and-come that,
- 61 kani ka r-ep-ɪmwa, 'e! namwa, i-ɪm-vɪn le nɪkut-n
and that 3:s-seq-say, 'hey! well, 1:exc-past-go loc anus-3:s
- 62 m-ier le nɪpwag-noua-n'. kani r-ɪni n-pwɪrhien-aan le-n.
and-go:out loc hole-mouth-3:s'. and 3:s-say nom-true-nom loc-3:s.
- 63 kani k-ai-atite m-ar-va ka, Mwatiktɪk r-ɪtik netp-n
and 3:ns-pl-go:down and-pl-come that, Mwatiktɪk 3:s-stab stomach-3:s
- 64 le kɪpaas, menuk miin k-ɪm-ar-vɪnɪn, pukas miin k-ai-asak,
ins axe, bird pl 3:ns-past-pl-call, pig pl 3:ns-pl-ery,
- 65 m-am-ar-vɪn, n-eramɪm miin k-ɪm-ar-vɪnɪn m-am-ar-vɪn.
and-cont-pl-go, pl-person pl 3:ns-past-pl-call and-cont-pl-go.
- 66 kani ka r-ol nauniin.
and that 3:s-do end.

There was once a big devil who ate all the people around Tanna, and his name was Teramsumas. And he ate up all the people and pigs and birds - he ate the lot of them. He took white men, and fenced them in, and kept on eating up people. But he kept watch on the white people to see if they went away.

And there was a man called Mwatiktɪk, who came upon this place and saw them playing inside the fence. And he said, 'Hey!', said he, 'what are you doing?'.

And they replied, 'We are playing. Our grandfather has gone to look for some food for us'.

But he said, 'Aah! Let me tell you that he is deceiving you. He's going to eat up all the black people, and he'll come and eat up the lot of you too'.

And they cried, 'Auee! Father, how then might we get away? It's difficult'.

He took an axe and chopped down the fence and they got out. He led them away and they travelled on until they felt hungry. So they picked breadfruit and roasted it, and when they were roasting it they felt the wind of Teramsumas' coming. 'Auee! Piss on the fire quickly and put it out!' They pissed and pissed but it was no use; the fire wouldn't go out.

'Ah! Go away!', said Mwatiktik, who pissed on the fire and put it out.

But Teramsumas had come closer. So Mwatiktik pulled the core of a breadfruit, and they went inside and he closed it up. Teramsumas came, searched and searched, but there was no-one, so he went away. Then Mwatiktik pulled out the core of the breadfruit, and they came out. He led them off, and they went on until they came to an oak-tree, and they climbed it. They climbed to the top, and sat there.

Teramsumas went on and on until he came to the oak-tree, but there was no-one there. And he said, 'My dinner came here but where have they gone to?'

Then Mwatiktik, who was sitting up above, shook his head like that with the tail-feather of a bird in his hair. Teramsumas went to the sea (to investigate the shadow moving), and came back. And Mwatiktik shook his head like this, and Teramsumas went to the sea and came back. Then Mwatiktik said, 'Hey! We're sitting up here'.

The other replied, 'My grandchildren, how did you get there?'

'We climbed up on our bellies'.

So he put his belly to the tree, but it began to get all scratched. So he said, 'You're lying'.

So Mwatiktik said, 'We climbed up on our backs'.

He put his back to the tree, but it became scratched. So he said, 'Hey! You're lying, my grandchildren'.

So Mwatiktik said, 'We climbed up on our knees'.

He put his knees to the tree, but they got torn to shreds. And again he said, 'Hey! You're lying, my grandchildren'.

So Mwatiktik said, 'See this thing? We climbed up on it', and he threw down a rope. And Teramsumas grabbed hold of it and climbed hand over hand until he came close, and then he grabbed a branch.

'Auee! My dinner, why did you run away and come here?'

Then Mwatiktik chopped the rope with an axe, and it took Teramsumas down and he fell and was killed. And Mwatiktik sent all the birds down there, and one of them went and ran from his feet to his head, and came back. Mwatiktik questioned him, and he replied, 'Yes, he's dead'.

All the birds went. And he sent the Tikiskisik bird. The Tikiskisik went to and fro on top of him, and came back. And when questioned he replied, 'He's dead'.

And he sent the Koiametameta bird, who went and entered his anus and went on until he came out of his mouth. And he came back, and said, 'Hey! Well, I went into his anus and came out his mouth'. And he said that it was true.

So they all came down, and Mwatiktik speared Teramsumas' belly with the axe, and all the birds cried, and the pigs called out, and the people too called out.

And that's the end.

Notes

- 3,4 I am unable to explain the reference to 'white men'.
- 4 nouan-koupwa: a fence made out of the koupwa tree.
- 6 Mwatiktik seems to be the Polynesian Mautikitiki.
- 8 imwa 'to say', is a quotative verb, used only to introduce a direct quotation.
- 9 'grandparent' refers here to Teramsumas.
- 13 'father' refers here to Mwatiktik.
- 15 nouan-kulu: a fence made out of the kulu tree. The story-teller has obviously made a slight change from the type of fence described in line 4.
- 20 I am unable to explain the function of to.
- 27 niel: a tree like an oak.
- 33 ipk tehe: an idiom meaning to collect salt, and used usually of inland people coming down to the sea for this purpose. Thus here we have Teramsumas going down to the sea to investigate the shadow made by Mwatiktik.
- 47 sapwag usually refers to the lowest branches of a tree, although apparently the reference is not so specific here.
- 57 tikiskisik is a small black bird with a long tail.
- 59 koiametameta is a black bird with red markings on its front and back.
- 64,65 These are the birds, pigs, and people whom Teramsumas had eaten and who are now released from his stomach.

6.2. NAU

Uus Nĩmĩtautumĩne le nlan taha nĩkovlaar tĩkol apwa Lenauhĩa. Kani ka ilar kĩnamarvĩn le nĩkoviaar. Kani merou peravĩn ker, peravĩn ietĩk, netgĩn ka Vertam - merou uus ka netgĩn ka Nau. Ilar ka kĩnamarvĩn apwa le nĩkoviaar Lenauhĩa. Kĩmarvĩn ka le suatu, merou kĩmĩlhleeih. Rarhapĩk mĩmwa, 'Kamaalhie?'.
 Merou am kamwa, 'Iinai, Ienkwenekalhia'.
 Kailiuok takrĩn merou am ka nĩhieelhaan. Rĩmwa, 'Kamaalhie?'.
 Merou am kamwa, 'Kamaalh Ienkwenekalhia'.

Kani ka kĩmarvĩn mamarvĩn marvĩn mairuatĩs apwa suatu ramasouhiu Lenauhĩa, Lenouamnĩm. Mĩmallil ikĩn mamwa tĩkaru kavha ka, maru akĩmwakĩmw marierpĩn apwa ilmwalimw Lenauhĩa. Mĩmailil ka, mareitait merou am Nau rĩnĩka. Rĩmwa, 'E! Nau rĩnetuvĩn?'.
 Kamwa, 'In apwa rĩnauieliel'.

Kani rĩnauieliel ka mĩva metpa ikĩn uk, merou-in-ka nĩkiin ramakavĩn le peravĩn ka, Vertam. Kani Vertam aan in aan rakowta aan paha loakamnum. Kani ka naunlin.

Nau ka nar ietĩk. Takamwa nakarkĩlh lo ker ka, rol ilk. Kani ka takamwa ieram rhinatĩn nĩgounnár tahan un, kani ka roi vit ilk. Takamwa rĩpkĩptĩk, tĩnakamĩs. Kani ka nauniln.

- 1 uus Nĩmĩtautumĩne le nlan taha nĩkovlaar t-k-ak-ol apwa
man Nĩmĩtautumĩne loc time poss nĩkoviaar fut-3:ns-conc-make loc
- 2 Lenauhĩa. kani ka il-ar k-n-am-ar-vĩn le nĩkoviaar.
Lenauhĩa. and that they-pl 3:ns-perf-cont-pl-go loc nĩkoviaar.
- 3 kani merou pera-vĩn ker, pera-vĩn ietĩk, netg-n ka Vertam - merou uus
and but woman one, woman from:here, name-3:s that Vertam - but man
- 4 ka netg-n ka Nau. il-ar ka k-n-am-ar-vĩn apwa le
that name-3:s that Nau. they-pl that 3:ns-perf-cont-pl-go loc loc
- 5 nĩkoviaar Lenauhĩa. k-ĩm-ar-vĩn ka le suatu, merou k-ĩm-ĩlhleeih.
nĩkoviaar Lenauhĩa. 3:ns-past-pl-go that loc road, but 3:ns-past-laugh.
- 6 r-arhapĩk m-ĩmwa, 'kamaalhie?'. Merou am k-a-ĩmwa,
3:s-ask and-say, 'they:laugh:where?'. but just 3:ns-pl-say,
- 7 'iinai, Ienkwenekalhia'. k-ai-aliuok takrĩn merou am ka
'here, Ienkwenekalhia'. 3:ns-pl-walk a:bit but just that
- 8 n-ĩhieelhaan. r-ĩmwa, 'kamaalhie?'. merou am k-a-ĩmwa,
nom-laugh-nom. 3:s-say, 'they:laugh:where?'. but just 3:ns-pl-say,
- 9 'kamaalh Ienkwenekalhia'. kani ka k-ĩm-ar-vĩn m-am-ar-vĩn
'they:laugh Ienkwenekalhia'. and that 3:ns-past-pl-go and-cont-pl-go

- 10 m-ar-vín m-ai-aroatis apwa suatu r-am-asou-hiu Lenauhia,
and-pl-go and-pl-reach loc road 3:s-cont-proceed north Lenauhia,
- 11 Lenouamním. m-ím-ai-ail ikín mamwa t-k-ak-a-íru
Lenouamním. and-past-pl-stand place that fut-3:ns-conc-pl-throw
- 12 kavha ka, m-a-íru akímwakímw m-ar-ier-pn apwa iimwailmw
kavha that, and-pl-throw all:about and-pl-go:out there loc nakamal
- 13 Lenauhia. m-ím-ai-ail ka, m-ar-eitait merou am Nau
Lenauhia. and-past-pl-stand that, and-pl-look:back but just Nau
- 14 r-n-íka. r-ímwa, 'e! Nau r-n-etu-vín?'.
3:s-perf-not:to.be. 3:s-say, 'hey! Nau 3:s-perf-itr-go?'.
3:ns-pl-say, 'he loc 3:s-perf-drown'. and 3:s-perf-drown that
- 15 k-a-ímwa, 'in apwa r-n-auieliel'. kani r-n-auieliel ka
3:ns-pl-say, 'he loc 3:s-perf-drown'. and 3:s-perf-drown that
- 16 m-va m-et-pa ikín uk, merou-in-ka níki-n r-am-akavín
and-come and-float-here place this, because heart-3:s 3:s-cont-go
- 17 le pera-vín ka Vertam. kani Vertam aan in aan r-ak-awta aan
loc woman that Vertam. and Vertam that she that 3:s-conc-sit that
- 18 paha loak-amnum. kani ka nauniin. Nau ka nar ietík.
west deep:water. and that end. Nau that thing from:here.
- 19 takamwa n-ak-arkílh lo ker ka, r-ol iik. kani ka takamwa
if:fut 2-conc-break law one that, 3:s-do you:s. and that if:fut
- 20 i-eram r-hinatín nígoun-nar taha-n un, kani ka r-ol vít iik.
s-the:one 3:s-know medicine poss-3:s that, and that 3:s-do good you:s.
- 21 takamwa r-ípkípk, t-n-ak-mís. kani ka nauniin.
if:fut 3:s-miss, fut-2-conc-die. and that end.

*There was a man from Nímítatumíne at the time that they were holding a níkoviaar at Lenauhia. And people began going to the níkoviaar. But there was also a woman, a woman from here, and she was called Vertam - the man's name was Nau. They were all setting off to the níkoviaar at Lenauhia. They were going along the road when someone laughed. And Nau asked, 'Where is that laughter?'.
But the others replied, 'Here, at Ienkwenekalhia'.
They walked a bit further, and the laughter sounded again. And Nau said, 'Where is that laughter?'.
And they replied, 'The laughter is from Ienkwenekalhia'.
And they went on until they reached the road which leads north to Lenauhia, at Lenouamním. And they stood there and threw their kavhas, threw them all around, and then came out into the nakamal at Lenauhia.*

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And they went on until they reached the road which leads north to Lenauhia, at Lenouamním. And they stood there and threw their kavhas, threw them all around, and then came out into the nakamal at Lenauhia.

And they stood there and looked back, but Nau wasn't there. So Vertam said, 'Hey! Where has Nau got to?'

And they replied, 'He went and drowned himself'.

He had drowned himself and floated here to this place, because his heart was set on that woman, Vertam. And Vertam sits out there to the west in the deep water. And that's the end.

Now this Nau was from this area. If you break any customary laws, he will make you sick. If someone knows the medicine for it, then he can cure you. But if he doesn't, you will die. And that's the end.

Notes

- 1 Nɪmɪtautumɪne is the name of a 'tribe' near Bethel.
- 1 nɪkoviɑɑr: the most important dance-ceremony on Tanna.
- 2 Lenauhia is a village on the Melbourne Road.
- 6 Nau asks this question because he thinks it is Vertam and another man laughing together.
- 6-9 All the pieces of direct speech in these lines are in the Nɪvhaal language.
- 7 Ienkwenekahia: location not known.
- 11 Lenouamɪm: location not known.
- 12 kavha: a long pole used in some dances, especially the nɪkoviɑɑr.
- 12 iimwaiimw = Bislama nakamal, which in Tanna refers to a cleared area, dominated by a large banyan, which is used for dances and for the men's daily kava-drinking.
- 16-18 Both Nau and Vertam went into the sea and drowned, both turning into stones. The reference to 'here' in line 16 is explained by the fact that these stones are found in the area where the story was told to me.
- 18 nar ietɪk: literally, 'something from here'.
- 19 lo: from English 'law'.
- 19 ol: in this context, means to cause someone to become ill.

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